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Policy and Practice

Collecting Contemporary Australian Art

1980 - 1995

A thesis
presented in fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of
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Massey University, Palmerston North
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To the Memory of my Mother, Bicky,

and

For my Father, André and my Brother, Andrew Peter

ABSTRACT

Since the 1970s contemporary art has been considered "a hot item". Art practice has been marked by diverse styles and innovative techniques and was often accompanied by a radical critique of art's production and its reception.

In this period, there have been shifts in the sensibilities of some intellectuals and artists and a growing cultural critique which questioned or rejected the homogenizing values and universalizing notions of the 'grand master narrative' espoused by art museums. Instead, a growing consciousness about 'the politics of difference' has challenged the art museum to acknowledge the importance of cultural diversity and adapt its policies and practices to reflect such dynamics.

This thesis examines the way in which art museums have developed and enacted policies to collect contemporary Australian art between 1980 and 1995 and the consequences of those policies for the construction of public collections. The discussion is framed by the context of government policies for the arts and cultural heritage which underwent significant ideological transformation in this period.

The thesis investigates the acquisition policies and practices of four leading Australian art museums between 1980 and 1995. It compares and contrasts acquisitions in those institutions and illustrates findings through a quantitative analysis of their collections.

The thesis argues that there is a substantial difference between the rhetoric of acquisitions policies and actual collections of contemporary art. It reveals the anomalies and tensions which surround 'the finely honed discursive and rhetorical devices created to justify the structural and institutional support for élite practice.'

It concludes that the collections of contemporary art are conservative, partial, incomplete and impoverished anthologies of contemporary art practice and that the art museum finds difficulty in overruling the traditional values of art history and the 'grand master narrative'. By establishing, perpetuating and institutionalizing the canon, the art museum systematically regulates and reproduces cultural representations. Furthermore, government cultural policies which increasingly support élite producers in 'cultural industries' and aim to disseminate the resulting 'Australian culture' to more consumers through cultural tourism and art export, assist the art museum to maintain its position.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Martin Shub, Discovery Media provided access to NATSIVAD, the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Artists DataBase. Information on the Taxation Incentives Scheme for the Arts came from Susan Nolan, Australian Department of Communications and the Arts, the National Association for the Visual Arts and Tom Lowenstein, Lowenstein Sharp Feiglin Ades. Senior Policy staff at Arts Victoria, Arts Queensland and the NSW Ministry for the Arts provided policy documents, annual reports and answered correspondence. Librarians at Massey University, the College Liaison and Inter-loan sections, assisted with overseas loans and access to ABN. The Parliamentary Library, Canberra, provided research reports and House briefings. Pamela Lovis assisted with proof reading. Andrew Abaza offered commentary and advice on constitutional law, economic theory and taxation issues. Roimata Olson helped shape and produce the final print copy. I am grateful to Professor Mason Durie, Head of the School of Māori Studies, Te Pūtahi-ā-Toi, for smoothing administrative arrangements on several occasions.

A substantial part of this thesis relies on data from the art museums surveyed, which in raw form were incompatible. The Art Management System database created especially for this project holds almost 30,000 records. Phillippe Limsowtin designed that system, presided over early data retrieval and tutored me in the basics.

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CONTENTS

Abstract iii

Acknowledgements iv

Table of Contents v

List of Figures ix

List of Tables xi

Abbreviations xiii

Glossary xiv

Reader's Guide to the Thesis xvi

Introduction **1**

Research Objectives **8**

The collections database formed for this project 9

Limitations 9

Preview of Chapters and Key Arguments **10**

Chapter One: Government and Cultural Policy **15**

Part One - Transformations: An Overview of Australia's Political Economy **16**

Egalitarianism, Utilitarianism and Paternalistic Intervention 17

Post World War II and Keynesianism 1940 - 1970 18

The New Paradigm 19

The Knowledge Economy and the "Clever Country" 21

Part Two - Transformations: Changing Approaches to Cultural Policy **23**

Government Patronage of the Arts and Cultural Development 23

The period of "voluntary entrepreneurship" c.1930 - c.1968 24

"Statutory patronage" - c.1968 to the present 24

"De-centralised patronage" - c.1985 27

"The arts industry model" - c.1989 to the present 28

Part Three - Cultural Policy Development After 1990 **31**

Introduction 31

The ALP and Coalition Parties and their Arts Policies 1980 - 1995 32

Victoria - *Mapping Our Culture* and *Agenda 21* 34

Queensland - A State for the Arts 35

New South Wales: Arts Funding is Cultural Policy 37

The Commonwealth - *Creative Nation*, 1994 39

Conclusion **41**

Chapter Two: Institutional Practice: Contemporary Collecting 43

Part One - Institutional Histories and Collecting Policies 45

National Gallery of Victoria 45

Acquisition policy development 47

The Development Collection 49

Art Gallery of New South Wales 51

Queensland Art Gallery 52

National Gallery of Australia 55

Part Two - Collecting in Practice 58

1. Overview 59

1.1 Number of acquisitions 1980 - 1995 59

1.2 Changes in the rate of acquisitions after 1987 61

1.3 Range of acquisitions 62

1.4 Value and number of acquisitions 63

2. Media 65

2.1 Installation, electronic and performance art 65

2.2 Decorative arts 66

2.3 Pictorial art (drawings, paintings, photographs and prints) 68

2.4 Collecting works by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander artists 69

3. Method of Acquisition 70

3.1 Purchase 70

3.2 Gifts 72

4. Artists 73

4.1 Number 73

4.2 Gender 73

4.3 Emerging artists 74

Part Three - Taxation Incentives for the Arts Scheme 76

Development and Implementation of the Tax Incentives for the Arts Scheme 78

Outcomes of the Scheme 1990 -1995 79

Analysis: The Scheme and Cultural Reproduction 81

Conclusion 85

Chapter Three: Contemporary Art and the Representation of Women Artists in Art Museums 87

Introduction 87

I - The Framing Discourses 88

The Status of Women - Equal Opportunity 88

The Contributions of Feminist Art Historians 92

II - The Empirical Evidence 95

Statistical Evidence - Previous Studies 97

Results of This Study 98

Part One: An Overview of the Empirical Study of Women Artists **98**
Women Make Up Approximately One-Third Of All Artists 98
Less Than A Third Of All Works Acquired Between 1980 and 1995 Are By Women Artists 101
Women Make The Largest Proportion of Textiles, Multimedia and Metalwork Yet These Are Least Likely To Be Acquired 102
The Greatest Number of Works Made By Women Are Prints, Photographs and Aboriginal Art 102
Summary 103
Part Two: An Examination of the Relationship of Media and Gender **103**
Key Findings Concerning The Relationship of Media and Gender 106
Sculpture and Painting 106
Printmaking 106
Ceramics 107
Photographs 107
Summary 108
Part Three: A Critical Analysis of Collecting Practices at the Margins **109**
Representation of the Women's Art Movement 110
Emerging Artists: The Michell Endowment and Margaret Stewart Endowment 113
"Is There A Gender Issue In Aboriginal Art?" 116
Conclusion **121**

Chapter Four: Collecting Contemporary Aboriginal Art **125**

Introduction **125**
Part One: Presentation of the Data **127**
The Growth of Contemporary Aboriginal Art in Public Collections 129
Contemporary Aboriginal art collecting escalates after 1988 129
All collections of Aboriginal art experience growth but the extent of growth varies 130
Purchase is the predominant form of acquisition 131
There is a nexus between acquisitions and exhibitions 133
The Development of Survey Collections of Contemporary Aboriginal Art 133
Collections favour 'tribal'rather than urban-based work 134
Collections do not maintain focus on regional representation 135
Part Two: Acquisition Practices in Art Museums Examined **135**
The Period of Oversight and Neglect - Art Museums and Aboriginal Art to 1984 137
Exhibitions of Aboriginal Art 1929 - 1984 139
Acquisitions of Aboriginal Art by art museums to 1984 140
Acquisitions at the Art Gallery of New South Wales to 1984 143
Acquisitions at the National Gallery of Victoria to 1984 145
The Period of Awakening: 1984 - 1988 146
Papunya - "too ethnographic for the galleries not ethnographic enough for museums" 146
Changes in policy and practice 149

Acclaim: Building the Profile 1988 - 1995 151
The Australian Bicentennary 1988 152
Strategic interventions: exhibitions and cultural tourism 153
Strategic interventions: the art market 154
Strategic reactions: art museums, exhibitions and acquisitions 154
Strategic reactions: employing staff of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander descent 157
Conclusion 158

Conclusion **161**

Appendices

Appendix 1: Brief for Design of Database: Art Management System 169
Appendix 2: Art Management System - Technical Information 174
Appendix 3: Operations Income Indicating Government Subsidy and Non-Government Revenue 186
Appendix 4: Australian Labor Party and Liberal Coalition Arts Policies 1986 - 1995 Compared 188
Appendix 5: Chronology of Key Government and Museum Policy Initiatives 191
Appendix 6: Total Acquisitions 1980 - 1995: Summary of Raw Data 194
Appendix 7: NGA Contemporary Australian Art Acquisitions and Total Acquisitions 1980 - 1995 Compared 195
Appendix 8: QAG Analysis of Acquisitions 1990 - 1995 196
Appendix 9: Rate of Acquisitions 1980 - 1987 and 1988 - 1995 Compared: Summary of Raw Data 198
Appendix 10.1: Works by Media in Individual Collections: Summary of Raw Data 199
Appendix 10.2: Total Works by Media: Summary of Raw Data 200
Appendix 11: National Trends (Media): Summary of Raw Data 201
Appendix 12: Frequency of Acquisition: Raw Data (Incidence 4-17 only) 204
Appendix 13: Taxation Incentive Scheme for the Arts 214
Appendix 14: No. of Works by Medium, Institution and by Gender 1980 - 1995 216
Appendix 15: No. of Unique Artists by Gender, Medium and Institution 1980 - 1995 217

Select Bibliography

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1	The Shift in Cultural Policy 1980 - 1995	7
2	A Typology of Arts Funding (after Rowse 1985)	25
3	Total Acquisitions 1980 - 1995	60
4	Contemporary Australian Art Acquisitions National Gallery of Australia	61
5	Rate of Acquisitions of Contemporary Australian Art 1980 - 1987 & 1988 - 1995	61
6	Range of Acquisitions by Media 1980 - 1995	63
7	Value of Acquisitions and Number of Works 1980 - 1995	64
8	Queensland Art Gallery Ceramics Acquisitions 1980 - 1995	67
9	Total Acquisitions Pictorial and 3-Dimensional Forms Compared	68
10	National Trends Print Acquisitions 1980 - 1995	69
11	Acquisitions of Aboriginal Art 1980-87 & 1988-95 Compared	70
12	Method of Acquisition All Institutions 1980-1995	70+71
13	Sources of Revenue for Acquisition by Purchase	71
14	Gender Total Number Contemporary Australian Artists Acquired 1980-1995	73
15	Frequency of Artists Acquired 1980 - 1995	75
16	Distribution of Donations under the Tax Incentives for the Arts Scheme by Number, Value and Category of Institution	80
17	Value of Individual and and Corporate Donations through TIA 1990-1995	81

18	Percentage of Works Created Before 1970 and Acquired Through TIA Scheme 1987 - 1995	82
19	Value of Works Made Before and After 1970 and Acquired 1987 - 1995	82
20	Gender and the Hierarchies of Value in the Art System	94
21	The Number of Women Artists Represented in All Collections 1980 - 1995	99
22	Representation of Women Artists in Individual Galleries 1980-1995	100
22	All Galleries Women Artists 1980-90 & 1990-95 Compared	100
23	Number of Works By Gender All Collections 1980 - 1995	100
24	Number of Works by Gender for Individual Galleries 1980 - 1995	102
25	Total Aboriginal Art Acquisitions 1980-1987 and 1988-1995	129
27	Acquisitions on Non-Aboriginal Art 1980-1995	130
28	Aboriginal Art Acquisitions 1988-1995	130
29	Method of Acquisition, Aboriginal Art 1980-1995	132
30	Collecting Contemporary Aboriginal Art	136

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1	Government outlays on cultural facilities and services 1986-1994	27
2	Goss Labor Government Review of Arts and Culture	36
3	National Gallery of Victoria Acquisitions Policies 1985 and 1994-95 compared	48
4	Queensland Art Gallery Acquisition Policies 1984 and 1988 compared (with amendments passed through Trustees in 1994 and 1995)	54
5	National Gallery of Australia Acquisition Policies 1976 and 1994 compared	56
6	Age at First Acquisition (%)	74
7	Discrete Women Artists Represented in Four Collections 1980 - 1995	99
8	Type of Art Practice by Gender	105
9	Number of Discrete Women Artists by Medium Acquired 1980 - 1995	105
10	Number of Women's Works by Medium Acquired 1980 -1995	106
11	Number of Artist Members of the Sydney Women's Art Movement Represented in Public Collections	110
12	Sydney Women's Art Movement Acquisition Details	111
13	Gender Of Artists Represented in the Michell Endowment 1980 - 1987	114
14	Gender Of Artists Represented in the Margaret Stewart Endowment 1987 - 1995	114
15	Women Artists in the Michell Endowment, the Margaret Stewart Endowment and the NGV by Medium	115

16	Representation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Women Artists in Four Contemporary Australian Art collections 1980-95	120
17	Collecting Contemporary Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Art 1980-1995	128
18	Aboriginal Art Acquisitions 1980-1995	130
19	Contemporary Aboriginal and Torres Stait Islander Art, Queensland Art Gallery	135
20	Exhibitions of Aboriginal Art 1980-1995 (Number)	154

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in the thesis. They are explained in context.

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
ACT	Australian Capital Territory
AGDC	Art Gallery Directors' Council
AGNSW	Art Gallery of New South Wales
ALP	Australian Labor Party
ATSIC	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission
CMC	Cultural Ministers' Council
CLR	Commonwealth Law Reports
DASETT	Department of the Arts, Sport, Environment, Tourism and Territories
DCA	Department of Communication and the Arts
DCITA	Department of Communications Information Technology and the Arts
EEO	Equal Employment Opportunity
EOC	Equal Opportunity Commission
HCC	Heritage Collections Committee / Council
NATSIVAD	National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Visual Artists Data Base
NGA	National Gallery of Australia
NGV	National Gallery of Victoria
QAG	Queensland Art Gallery
QLD	Queensland (State of)
SQL	Sequential Query Language
TIA	Taxation Incentives for the Arts Scheme
UNESCO	United Nations Education Scientific & Cultural Organisation
Vic	Victoria (State of)

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

(Sources indicated in italics)

Aboriginal Art For the purposes of this project, the database categorises all works of art made by artists of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander descent as Aboriginal Art.

Australiana Refers to material which may have value above and beyond that suggested by its inherent nature due to its association with Australian history or culture. *(Cultural Gifts Program, 1985)*

Avant-garde A term implying interest in advanced forms of contemporary art. *(Cultural Gifts Program, 1985)*

Ceramics Objects made of clay and subsequently fired. Includes all accepted sub-disciplines such as porcelain, pottery and earthenware. *(Cultural Gifts Program, 1985)*

Decorative Arts Visual art forms which derive from design and / or elaboration of objects of practical utility. *(Cultural Gifts Program, 1985)*

Drawings Two dimensional works of art dependent on the predominance of linear representation of masses. Principally a work of art created by means of linear media such as pencil, charcoal, chalk, conte, crayon / oil crayon, pen and ink, felt-tipped pen or fibre-tipped pen etc., Used where a work of art relies on these mediae. It is recognised that paintings may incorporate drawing in these mediae.

Glass A compound made from the fusion of silica and an alkaline flux under intense heat and often in combination with other ingredients.

Jewellery Artefacts fashioned from precious or semi-precious metals, stones or enamels designed to ornament the body. Contemporary jewellery may be made from a wide range of non-precious materials; its designation as jewellery is confirmed by its purpose. The database categorises jewellery as silver/metal which encompasses decorative arts made in metal.

Paintings Two dimensional works of art dependent on the predominance of representation of masses as opposed to drawings which depend largely on linear representation. In a technical sense this refers to works created with a brush by means of a medium orientated to the depiction of mass areas such as oils, gouache, synthetic polymer paint (acrylic), tempera or watercolour. Other media such as pastel and collage may be regarded

	as a form of painting. The data base created for this project identifies such works as mixed media. *(Cultural Gifts Program, 1985)*
Photographs	Images reproduced through the chemical action of light on sesitised paper or other support. Refers predominantly to still images. Moving images are classified in this project as film or video.
Print	Images produced in multiples based on master designs created by artists on suitable supports including a copper plate, woodblock, screenprint etc., and printed under the artist's supervision. Monoprints - a single impression print - is classified as a print. *(Cultural Gifts Program, 1985)*
Sculpture	A work of art in three dimensions, including relief works or works in the round. It excludes three dimensional work with utilitarian purpose. The database recognises furniture in this category.
Textiles	All cloth works of art. The database includes costume and fashion in this category.
Video / video recording	Magnetic tape recording used to capture visual images. The term encompasses video cassettes, video discs and any other receptacles of implanted signals, capable of translation into visual images. *(Cultural Gifts Program, 1985)*. The database includes only original works in this medium.
Watercolour	A transparent painting medium of which water is the vehicle, and its opaque variant gouache, most often applied to paper.

References

Mayer, R. (1969). *A Dictionary of Art Terms and Techniques*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell.

Rowlinson, E. (1980). Glossary of terms used in the description of painting, sculpture and drawing media. In T. Varveris, *A Cataloguer's Manual for the Visual Arts*. Sydney: Australian Art Gallery Directors Council

READERS' GUIDE TO THE THESIS

Authorities

Before undertaking analysis of the quantitative data on which this thesis is based, it was necessary to verify the orthography of artist's names as well as their biographical details.

For Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander artists dates of birth may not have been recorded in official documents and therefore information on older artists, in particular, may be imprecise. Similarly, artist's names may differ as current linguistic conventions change. In an attempt to standardise information, the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Visual Artists Data Base (NATSIVAD) has been taken as the authority for all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander artists biographical details.

NATSIVAD was first established by Dr. Luke Taylor for the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) in the period 1987-1990, listed some 1,300 artists and published by *Discovery Media* in 1991. The current database was updated and expanded with financial assistance from the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC) between 1993 and 1995. The NATSIVAD database comprised 5,500 records at the time my research commenced but has been extended since then. However, some artists represented in collections analysed in this current project did not appear in NATSIVAD. Every effort has been made to verify Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander artists' details and to ensure that inaccuracies and inconsistencies have been eliminated from the database established for this thesis. Despite this, it is likely that some errors remain.

The following Authorities have been consulted in the process of checking data and appear below in the priority order.

- National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Visual Artists Data Base (NATSIVAD). 4th edition. Discovery Media http://discoverymedia.purescript.com.au

- National Gallery of Australia (1983 & 1989). Australian Art: Artists' Working Names Authority List. NGA: Canberra

- Kleinert, S. and Neale, M. (Eds.). (2000). Oxford Companion to Aboriginal Art. Melbourne: Oxford University Press

- McCulloch, A. and S. (1994). The Encyclopedia of Australian Art. St. Leonards: Allen & Unwin

- Varveris, T. (1978). Cataloguers' Manual for the Visual Arts. AGDC: Sydney

Cultural protocols and respect

It is customary for some Aboriginal communities not to speak the names of the deceased during periods of mourning.

I am aware that several significant and senior Aboriginal artists have died during the course of preparing this research and that the official period of mourning may not be over. I wish to acknowledge their passing with respect for them and their kin. Wherever it was possible to remove their names from the narrative which follows, I have done so. In a few cases this was not possible.

INTRODUCTION

Art museums function to collect, exhibit, interpret and preserve works of art for the future. This thesis is concerned with the way in which four leading Australian art museums - the Art Gallery of New South Wales, the National Gallery of Australia, the National Gallery of Victoria and the Queensland Art Gallery - have interpreted one of those functions, and how they have developed and enacted policies to collect Australian contemporary art between 1980 and 1995. It considers the outcomes of those policies and practices on the construction of public collections.

Vera Zolberg speaks of the art museum's purpose to "preserve for future generations the aesthetic achievements of the past and present; providing models of quality for emulation by creative artists of the present and future; providing access to these works, while providing a framework for their understanding for as broad a lay public as possible" (Zolberg, 1993:155). By defining the purpose of the art museum thus, Zolberg, Pearce (1995) and Clifford (1988) suggest that art museums can be regarded as the apex of the collecting system. These collections provide a point of reference against which the rest of the collecting system can be measured and against which standards of quality can be judged. Further, as this thesis will assert, art museums construct, confirm and institutionalise the value creation and signification process which binds that system; they are, therefore, integral to the establishment and maintenance of the canon. Collections, a cornerstone of art museums, are the most potent indicators of those values.

Since the 1970s criticism has been levelled at the traditional values of the art museum. The post-structuralist critique, in particular, sees the art museum as a debased and discredited institution, founded on a series of fragile fictions which reinforces exclusion, suppresses innovation, and fails to admit critique of the art world and art production (Bourdieu and Haacke, 1995; Crimp, 1993; Foster, 1987; Donato, 1979). [1] Pointing to the proliferation of profit-making enterprises

[1] Quatremere de Quincy developed a similar critical stance of the art museum in the late 18th. Century (Sherman, 1994: 123).

undertaken by art museums, commentators claim that the late twentieth century art museum is in danger of "being sucked into the whirlpool of corporate capitalism's culture industry" (Luke, 1992: 5) or, as American artist Jenny Holzer's electronic billboard proclaims sardonically, "Money creates taste". Collections, once considered the 'life-blood' of the museum (Lasko, 1980, Noble, 1970, Wittlin, 1970), are scrutinised and revealed to be fetishized illusions of universal knowledge with each artwork treated independently both of the material conditions of its own epoch and of those of the present (Duncan and Wallach, 1980; Duncan, 1993; Crimp, 1993: 204).

Alternate viewpoints, mainly promoted from within the art museum, suggest that pressure from such critique has assisted in transforming art museums. So it is said that art museums now focus more on their social purposes and relationships with communities, and less on functions and procedures. It is this change in focus which has revitalised approaches to collecting and display (Karp, Kreamer and Lavine, 1992; Karp and Lavine, 1991; Weil, 1990). Evidence is presented that art museums have attempted to 'democratise' governance, programmes and collections and that they increasingly recognise that the museum's voice is not transcendent (Harris in Weil, 1990: 51; Burn, 1989). Numerous case studies support these assertions. They show that art museums can, and do, overrule the traditional values of art history and challenge the 'grand master narrative' by considering and employing different paradigms, for example, the social history of art (Pearce, 1995: 148; Conforti, 1989; Clark in Wolff, 1991: 708; Karp, Kreamer and Lavine, 1992; Karp and Lavine, 1991; Moody, 1991; Harper, 1990; Nochlin in Sherman, 1990: 55).

The fact that so many of these alternate viewpoints, mounted in defence of the art museum have been promoted by art museum practitioners leaves such viewpoints open to the charge of self-serving justification. The main problem with such defence discourses is that they fail to acknowledge the tensions and anomalies which continue to exist structurally and ideologically even when programmatic practice has been reconsidered and revised.

Some of the most trenchant critique of the art museum has come through contemporary art practice, particularly in its avant-garde manifestations. This critique has challenged the art museum and contributed to its transformation. The rebellion against Modernism was already noticeable in the 1960s. At that time, some artists and commentators began to question its fundamental tenets. Why was the

artist-genius always positioned at the apex of the art system? Was the need to celebrate the rapid succession and bravura of new art movements - "the great carnival of aesthetic experiments" - self-defeating? (Pinkey in Taylor, 1995: 389). Taking the lead from their European and American colleagues, Australian artists sought innovations which contested dominant conventions of art practice and its reception.

Installation and performance works reveal some of the paradoxes inherent in such explorations. Neither sculpture nor theatre, unable to be purchased or sold, transitory and ephemeral, these art forms undermined orthodox art museum attitudes to permanence and durability. However, in a bizarre bond, such avant-garde practices relied on, and were sustained by, the very ideologies and structures they sought to critique (Taylor, 1995).

Artists continually experimented with different media and forms throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Continuing the tradition of Dada, Surrealism and Pop Art, contemporary art practice sought to attenuate the values of art and its fetishized materials and meanings. Artists turned to synthetic and mass-produced materials, even detritus, to convey meanings, often ironically inflected, about the human condition, art and art museums.

During the 1970s and 1980s art became more overtly political in the meanings it conveyed. In response to social conditions and experiences art was affected by, and simultaneously contributed to, the political activism which characterised the 1970s and the discourse about cultural difference which marked the 1980s. From the latter grew distinct efforts to reassess and legitimise the art practices of those marginalised by the art system through gender, race, ethnicity and sexual orientation. The growing consciousness of cultural plurality was especially important to Australia, a country struggling to manage the legacies of its colonial past in addition to its multi-cultural present.

Public interest in contemporary art also grew and developed during the 1970s and 1980s. Contemporary art lost some of its 'avant-garde esotericism' with Pop Art, becoming both more visible and accessible (Beaucamp in Gubbels & Van Hemel, 1993: 126). Arguably, some of that interest was inspired by the sensationalism of art practice, and where buyers were concerned, it was often speculative. With the media eagerly reporting the most outlandish and controversial aspects of current art practices and bolstered by rising values in the art market, contemporary art

increasingly transmitted an infectious energy and vitality in stark contrast to the dour economic forecasting which dominated daily life in the 1980s.

Art museums, public funding, corporate collectors and art dealers fuelled the interest in contemporary art interest in several ways. From the 1970s national survey exhibitions, some with international credibility, featured prominently on Australia's calendar of art events staged by, or with assistance from, leading art museums. As the art world internationalised, more Australian artists contributed to mainstream exhibitions and symposia held overseas. The escalation of exhibitions domestically and internationally, provided opportunities for curators to diversify their professional practice. While curators based in Australia never acquired the same prestige as their high-profile European, American and, more recently, Japanese counterparts, their acumen was highly regarded as was the organisational support provided to them by public art museums. Importantly, these major exhibitions provided opportunities for curators to promote the work of select Australian artists. Inclusion in *Australian Perspecta*, the *Biennale of Sydney* or any one of a half dozen prestigious international exhibitions was an indication that artists were 'accepted' and ensured that those artists were well supported by public institutions in Australia. [2]

In part, the move by art museums to collect contemporary work was also a response to the premium prices commanded by historical Australian art. Without significant cash reserves rare, early works were often beyond the reach of public institutions. Although it brought risks of a different kind, collecting contemporary art allowed art museums to develop new strengths and to buy ahead of the market without hefty financial outlays. Art museums also recognised that contemporary art could become a draw-card for new, younger audiences engaged by contemporary art's polemic or by its trend-setting aura.

Contemporary art was certainly lively, experimental and contentious. Within the art world, and even more broadly, it was a considered a 'hot item'. How art museums accommodated the 'heat' of contemporary art's volatility and different aesthetic within the scope of their existing collecting framework, and whether art museums succeeded in doing so, are underlying questions for this thesis.

[2] There were few exceptions. One, Lyndal Jones, a multimedia and video artist, selected to represent Australia at the 2001 *Venice Biennale* is not represented by such works in any public art museums. She is quoted as saying: "In the past it was considered ephemeral but now with DVD, it's a very stable art form and much more feasible". (Georgina Safe, "Modern Choice for Venice", *The Australian*, April 20, 2001: 12).

In the broadest sense, art museum collections are selections of artworks which reflect contemporaneous values and concerns particular to time and place. The resulting collection has an intrinsic history and pattern of development which represents the art museum's deliberate intention to create relationships between real things.

A core curatorial responsibility is the decision to select particular works for public collections. This decision depends on connoisseurship - the exercise of thorough knowledge and critical judgements. Curators of contemporary art argue that in addition to connoisseurship further skills and attributes are required to cope with the special circumstances of contemporary collecting. They suggest that part of their role is to engage the contemporary world with curiosity, depth and attention to its varied structures, issues and cultural forms, and to retrieve evidence of the ideas and values which condition the production of the art object (Murphy, 1993:140; Barr quoted in Varnedoe, 1995). Those responsible for acquisitions of contemporary art need 'a Janus-headed attunement to the claims of both the past and the future always negotiating the potential of both across the unfolding territory of the present' (Murphy, 1993: 139). Given the dynamic nature of contemporary art practice, the claims of the future are less certain than is the case when dealing with historical works where the passage of time has allowed critical judgements to develop and mature. In this precarious position curators seek direction from the acquisition policy. This should provide vision, guidance, structure and priority for collection development. In that policy lies evidence of the art museum's intentions.

The outcome of the art museum's intentions is the result of acquisition practices, revealed through its collections. However, those outcomes may not be transcriptions of policy. As T. S. Eliot so eloquently reminds us:

> ...Between the idea
> And the reality
> Between the motion
> And the act
> Falls the Shadow...

Because acquisition activity is often contingent on resources and circumstances, and, at the point of decision-making, is always subjective, analysis of collections will

reveal the shadows, the disjunction and anomalies between acquisition policy and practice.

The contingent nature of acquisition activity has both institutional and political dimensions. The discussion of institutional practice presented in this thesis is framed, therefore, by consideration of government arts and cultural policy development which itself underwent ideological transformations in this period.

Government patronage of the arts has been a feature of Australian political and social life since Federation, although the methods and extent of that support has varied over time. Statutory patronage, essentially forms of state subsidy to support mainstream arts organisations and foster cultural development, has characterised government patronage in Australia since the 1970s. Generally, both Commonwealth and State Governments have justified their intervention in the arts in terms of the public good. It is seen as appropriate for governments to support that which improves the quality of life, validates and legitimates social values, and fosters a sense of national identity for the whole community. Art museums have received government funding because they are considered integral to public education. Accordingly, art collections, regarded as part of society's cultural capital, are pivotal in fulfilling that duty.

Since the 1980s there has been prolonged debate about governments' role in arts funding and cultural development. While many of the issues, such as funding levels, funding structures and funding emphases, remain constant points of debate, a significant ideological shift has occurred which increasingly emphasises economic returns rather than social benefits. In a period of economic restraint, and also because of changes in economic ideology, governments are disinclined to subsidise the difference between the real cost of arts production and what the market will pay. Instead, in an effort to reduce arts expenditure, governments have encouraged art museums to increase revenue through commercial enterprise, sponsorships and broadening market appeal. Government cultural policies, developed since the early 1990s, reflect this ethos and have been framed to support élite producers in 'cultural industries' which disseminate cultural commodities to consumers in a market economy. Figure 1, below, illustrates the shift in cultural policy and the tensions which arise between cultural and economic capital. This thesis will demonstrate this ideological shift and will argue that the pre-eminence of economic capital and

political circumstances assist the art museum to maintain its traditional position and values.

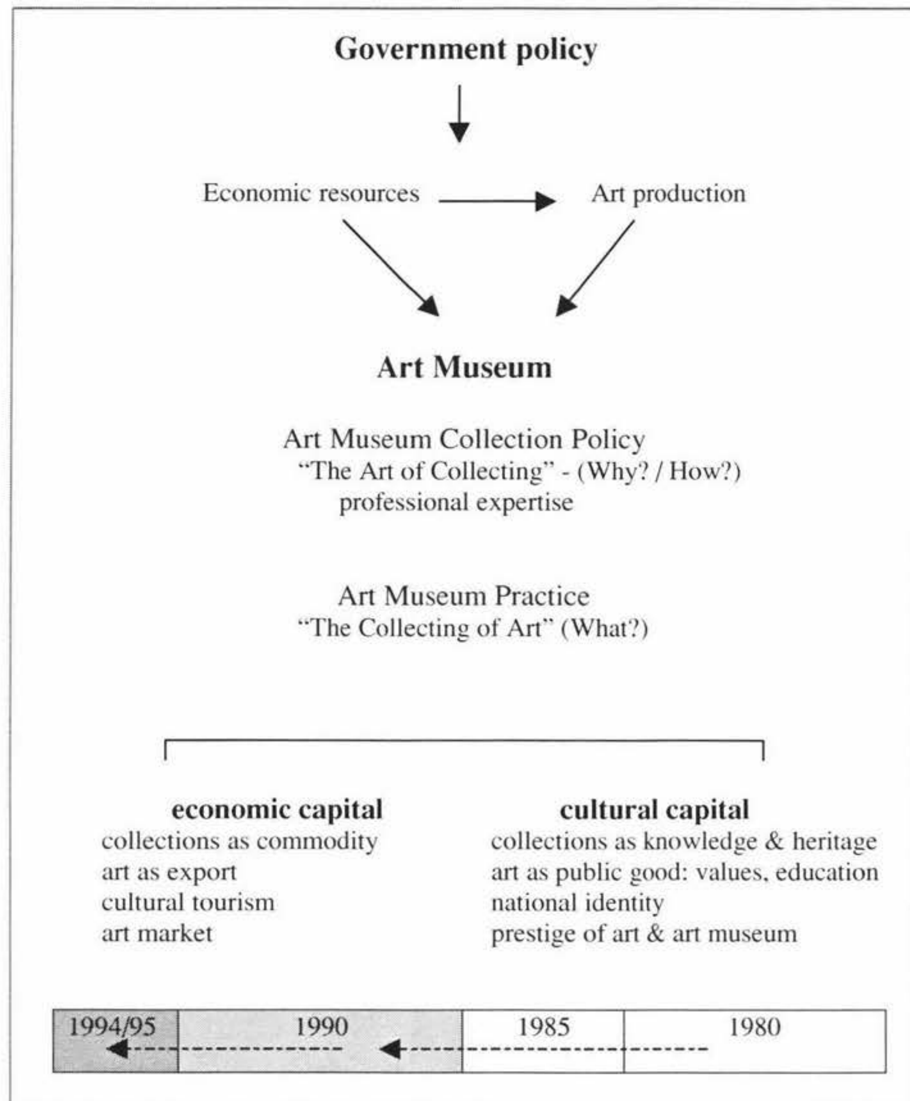

Figure 1: The shift in cultural policy 1980 - 1995.

The application of market principles to art museums treats collections in two ways. Firstly, as assets to be harnessed to increase revenue derived from rising numbers of visitors - in the new enterprise culture now referred to as clients or customers - and secondly, collections are used as 'trading capital' for the advancement of cultural tourism. It is consistent with this view, that collections must be filled with 'treasures' and 'masterpieces', their quality, rarity and distinction unparalleled and uncontested. This philosophy encourages competition for market share not only between art museums and other leisure industries but also between art

museums. In this climate of heightened competition for funding, sponsorship, audiences and prestige, there is also competition for acquisitions. It is a climate inimical to artistic or curatorial experimentation, a climate more likely to foster market tested and approved practice. That practice could advantage 'consecrated' or high art forms which command premium prices through rarity and distinction. It could also include more populist works which command celebrity status and where success is determined by economic return. Either way, the more that economic capital comes to dominate cultural policy, so the influence of cultural capital or symbolic capital diminishes.

Research objectives

This thesis examines acquisitions policies and practices in order to understand their impacts on the formation of public collections. It identifies and analyses the composition of four major public collections of contemporary Australian art developed over a fifteen-year period to determine comparative trends and goes on to consider such directions in the broader context of ideological changes in government cultural policy. In a very real sense because of their resources, prestige and political influence, the four art museums surveyed are the major force in the Australian art world. Together, they command the dominant position for Australian art acquisitions.

The purpose of the research is to examine three related premises. Firstly, that contemporary art acquisition policies and practices are constructed to systematically credential, regulate and sustain core assumptions about the traditional values of art history. Secondly, that art museums reproduce particular élite forms of cultural representations which, in turn, are fostered by government policies. And thirdly, that the capacity of the art museum to adapt to shifts in the nation's political economy ensures the longevity of the art museum and binds it to the ideology of the state.

The examination of these premises entailed four steps. The research began with a review of literature concerning contemporary collecting, the role of the art museum and theories of cultural reproduction. This was followed by a review of selected government documents and the records of the four art museums which are the subjects of this study. A database of acquisitions was developed. Raw data was

then assessed and statistical analyses prepared. Finally, comparative case study material was developed.

The collections database formed for this project

A database has been designed expressly to support the research project and to provide the means to analyse the quantitative data assembled. The database comprises basic acquisition data provided in text format by each of the institutions as outlined in the initial brief for the database design (See Appendix 1). The four institutions supplied all the data requested but three art museums withheld financial details. The Queensland Art Gallery agreed to provide financial data related to acquisitions provided that analysis of it was presented in aggregate form.

The database was created to convert text-based records to Delphi files, to allow manual input of additional data, to query the resulting data set, via SQL queries, and produce text files which could be imported into Excel, or other packages, capable of producing and representing graphics. Simplified technical documentation about the database can be found in Appendix 2. The database comprises 24,068 records of artworks and 3, 946 artists.

Limitations

There are several practical and methodological limitations to this project. Unforeseen problems were encountered in establishing the database. Data contributed by the four institutions were incompatible and an interface capability had to be programmed. Major cataloguing inconsistencies within the data sets also had to be resolved. The most common error related to the orthography of artists' names and recording birth and/or death dates. This issue was most acute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander artists where linguistic conventions affect the rendering of tribal names and, in the absence of official documents, some uncertainty remains about dates of birth and death. The list of authorities used to standardise the data entries appears on page xv.

Data had to be checked entry by entry and then verified - a painstaking, time-consuming and often frustrating process taking many months. Extensive checks for duplicates were made, but despite this, some inconsistencies remain. The final rate of error, estimated to be less than 1% of all artists, is acceptable and does not adversely effect the statistical analysis.

In addition to these practical issues, there are also methodological limitations. Data checking imposed constraints on the overall project, particularly the lack of further resources, and time, to undertake any qualitative research. Accordingly, a systematic methodological analysis of the acquisition process from policy development through to its implementation could not be attempted at this time. For pragmatic reasons then this project remains a quantitative assessment of collections augmented by reliance on archival research.

No matter how compelling the data may be, statistics need to be used cautiously and interpretations framed to accurately reflect the complexities of institutional behaviour. Quantitative analysis also flattens and blurs important distinctions. To take an obvious example: for more than three decades art critics have referred to the 'death of painting' following the upsurge of less traditional art forms and new media such as video, multimedia and performance art (Hoorn, 2000). The statistical analysis for this thesis indicates that 'flat art' - pictorial art including painting - is still the dominant force in collections. What the statistics cannot indicate is that there are considerable differences in style and content within the range of paintings and that much 'flat art' is experimental within the oeuvre. In such instances the statistical analysis has been interpreted with appropriate caveats. Even so, combining quantitative and qualitative research methods certainly would have strengthened the thesis. Most limiting of all: the narrative has no actors. In the 'de-peopled' landscape of quantitative analysis the personalities of art museum staff, artists and policy makers remain hidden and recognition of their efforts and achievements obscured.

The thesis set out with the express aim of only exploring its collecting function. There are, of course, many different ways that the art museum can accommodate non-traditional art forms within its exhibition and interpretative functions.

Preview of chapters and key arguments

Despite these limitations the quantitative data provide considerable information about what contemporary art has been collected recently by public art museums and point to some national trends. Gaps in those collections are also identified.

Also, the thesis highlights the disjunction between the rhetoric within the art museum and its actual practice. The rhetoric declares that art museums have opportunities and obligations to be supporters, advocates and interpreters of the new in art, and yet the record of acquisitions demonstrates a predisposition to collect in the name of 'museum quality' and to canonise a particular history of Australian art.

The thesis has been organised to move from the general to the particular: from the broad context of government policy, to consideration of institutional policies, and then, on to a more focused investigation of two particular collecting areas.

Chapter One provides an overview of Australia's political economy. The chapter outlines the radical transformation in the ideology of the state in the period 1980 - 1995 and charts the impact of these changes on cultural policy particularly as they affect government involvement in art museums. The chapter explains that by the time the Commonwealth Government launched its first comprehensive cultural policy document, *Creative Nation* (1994), cultural policy was closely aligned with Australia's economic interests. The view of creativity and excellence expressed in *Creative Nation*, and pursued through the vision of a cultural industry, honours the talented few at the expense of the many. The thesis asserts that such notions, embedded in policy, encourage élite forms of cultural construction to dominate and proliferate. For the art museum these political and economic circumstances assist it in maintaining its traditional position and values.

Chapter Two describes the evolution of collecting policies and practices within the four art museums being studied and presents evidence of what has been collected by them between 1980 and 1995. The tensions between policy and practice, between rhetoric and reality become apparent. On the one hand formalist concepts of Modernism prevail. Collecting is impelled by traditional concepts of aesthetic merit and professional expertise - referred to by one art museum director as, the 'resolute distinction of quality from mediocrity' and the quest to achieve 'curatorial brilliance'. On the other hand, art museums advocate support for new art, knowing that judgements about it are contingent. Nevertheless, unwilling and with insufficient resources to collect comprehensively, art museums resort to formalist criteria to select and acquire contemporary works. The resulting disjunctions are demonstrated in this chapter and the principal argument of the thesis is presented. The chapter concludes with a case study of the Tax Incentives for the Arts Scheme

which demonstrates that the State, through its instantiation of its economic ideology in cultural policy, participates in the reproduction of a conservative aesthetic.

Of all the major reassessments which have occurred in the visual arts over the last three decades the most significant have been those made in relation to gender and race. Chapters Three and Four examine the premise that women's art and the art of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, have occasioned revisions to the canon and to art museum practices.

Chapter Three examines the under-representation of women's art in public collections. Empirical data provides evidence of the extent and nature of the disparities which persist in these collections. The chapter, framed by the discourse of feminist art historians, argues that despite prolonged attempts, the canon has not been modified. Attempts to 'difference the canon' have succeeded to the extent that some women artists have been admitted but then only according to existing values. The chapter argues that their inclusion does not breech the values of the existing system.

Chapter Four addresses the acquisition of works made by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander artists. In this case empirical evidence shows that contemporary Aboriginal art has moved from a position of relative obscurity to one which proclaims that it is Australia's most important contemporary art movement. The data indicate that rapid increases in acquisitions occurred after 1988. The chapter argues that, at first glance, the success of contemporary Aboriginal art might be accepted as a revision to the canon. However, the thesis will argue that the revision to the canon is illusory. Finally, the canon cannot accommodate the complexities, nuances and ambiguities of cultural difference except through appropriation and aesthetic reassignment into a Western-based knowledge system. The chapter concludes that contemporary Aboriginal art's valorisation within revisionist Australian art history, and as a symbol of national identity, restores the credibility of the art museum which was lost when it ignored the resurgence of Aboriginal art in the 1970s.

While the presentation of the thesis is discursive, the underlying arguments and assertions, together with the empirical data, will pointedly indicate the consistency of cultural formations and cultural reproduction. The thesis does not seek to explain its cause, but instead aims to describe and identify characteristics of the disjunction between rhetoric and reality, appearance and essence, policy and practice. In one sense the exclusions which will be identified within the art museum

and seen to be supported by the State, suggest the 'grinding inevitability of cultural representations and reproduction'. Bourdieu's substantial contributions to critical analysis of cultural reproduction, in particular his concepts of the 'cultural field', 'cultural capital' and 'habitus' through which he so clearly elucidates the transmission, investment and reinvestment of cultural distinctions and discriminations, allow us to recognise these characteristics within the practices of the art museum (Bourdieu, 1993; 1991). It is an invitation to be alert to what lies beneath the surface of the judgements made daily within art museums.

In another sense contemporary art's vitality and continuing critical engagement with society suggests that cultural representations as they are exemplified in the permanent collections of the art museum, can be remediated through rigorously and continuously destabilising and deconstructing existing fields of knowledge.

CHAPTER ONE

Government and Cultural Policy

This chapter outlines the role that Australian governments play in the arts and cultural policy development. It has two objectives: firstly, to present an overview of the transformation in the ideology of the state in the period 1980 to 1995 and secondly, to chart the impact of these transformations on cultural policy. The goal of the narrative is to reveal the emergence of the cultural industry model and to suggest how it affects collection development in art museums. This last theme will be explored in detail in chapter two.

This chapter is divided into three parts: firstly, an overview of Australia's political economy; secondly, a discussion about the changing approach to arts and cultural policy development and, lastly, a consideration of cultural policies established after 1990. While this account draws on previous studies of cultural policy development in Australia (Stephenson, 2000; Mcdonnell, 1992 and Rowse, 1985), its focus on art museums presents new material and perspectives. The view expressed in this chapter is that cultural policy, driven by the economic rationalist agenda, advantages élitism, produces conservative outlooks within art museums, and constrains innovative collecting practice. Instead of realising the vision of the 'clever country', with Australians confident of their creativity and proud of their cultural achievements, economic rationalism's effect on cultural policy has been to categorise citizens into consumers and producers, to link cultural and economic value in ways which favour particular forms of cultural production and reception, to advance certain images of national identity and to promote economic returns from cultural tourism and private sponsorship.

Part One - Transformations: An Overview of Australia's Political Economy

"In many respects it is an age of ruins ... in which selfishness and pride, the idols of a corrupt heart, demand our homage and worship." Cardinal Moran, 1890.

Leading historians and political commentators have variously characterised the two decades from 1970 as an "age of ruins" (Clarke, 1985), a period of "reinventing Australia" (Mcintyre, 1999; Mackay, 1993) and the "end of certainty" (Kelly, 1992). All recognise that the period saw the remaking of the Australian political tradition in ways unparalleled since the 1890s.

It was once possible to ask the question, "What kind of society should Australia become?" and receive answers which referred to the enduring verities of the past - social justice, egalitarianism, paternalistic and interventionist government, and British traditions. By the 1980s persistent concerns about Australia's endemic declining economic situation saw all the old verities under siege. It was a period of questioning and widespread change. Significant ideas such as White Australia, Industry Protection, Wages Arbitration, State Paternalism and Imperial Benevolence that had constituted a compact referred to as the 'domestic defence model' (Bell, 1997:45) or 'Australian Settlement' were repudiated (Kelly, 1992: 1-5; Capling and Galligan, 1992; Castles, 1988). In place of this compact came multiculturalism, a free market economy, enterprise bargaining, economic rationalism and republicanism.

The vision for the new Australia was one based on accountability, competition, privatisation, de-regulation and globalisation. The government believed that economic prosperity could be found by trading competitively in de-regulated, tariff-free economic zones, and by encouraging foreign investment to an even greater range of privatised commercial activities. Despite increasing demands for leadership by the State in matters related to social justice, wealth re-distribution and cultural reconciliation, it sought opportunities to withdraw from service provision, choosing instead to operate in management mode, engaging in debate over policy and efficiency in policy outcomes.

What lead to these dramatic and far-reaching changes?

Egalitarianism, Utilitarianism and Paternalistic Intervention

Australian political culture is founded on two predominant assumptions, egalitarianism and utilitarianism. The adoption of these assumptions as principles has conditioned the development of its political institutions and activities as well as the national psyche since its foundation as a modern State.

'Mateship', and a 'fair go', appeared early in the newly founded colony. Unfamiliar and inhospitable terrain and 'the tyranny of distance' (Ward: 1992) as well as the lack of a rigid class system provided a context which forced settlers to accept hard work, ability and tenacity as the foundation for advancement rather than social position alone. As the *Emigrant's Guide to Australia* stated in 1853, "...the equality system here would stun even a Yankee" (Capper, 1973). Egalitarianism was cemented further by the experiences of the outback frontier and wartime - both contributing to anti-establishment attitudes - and was reinforced by social democratic ideals. In the two decades after World War II new industries and a buoyant export market sustained full employment. This ensured that the 'Australian Way of Life', once described as a house, a car and the quarter acre block, was realised for most people, including the many European migrants accepted after 1946. Few were prepared to admit that the "White Australia Policy", a racial supremacist policy that denied basic democratic rights to Aboriginal peoples and excluded non-European migrants, undercut this egalitarianism. [1]

The State played a leading role in the provision of public works and from the Depression of the 1890s sought means to insulate and protect the country from international economic fluctuations. Protection for Australian exports became a key factor in that platform and was seen as a means to secure the economic well being of its citizens. While debates between free-traders and protectionists raged prior to Federation and resurfaced from time-to-time thereafter, Australia remained committed to trade protection for its exports until the 1980s.

Paternalistic intervention by the State ensured that from its inception, Australia was to foster political and economic rights of its citizens in progressive ways unknown and untested in few other politically developed nations at that time. In many respects Australia was 'born modern' becoming a social lighthouse for the

[1] Adopted by the Labor Party's founding conference in 1905 and gradually disestablished between 1958 and 1966 (Macintyre, 2000: 143, 229).

world (Pusey, 1991:1). Thus, Australia espoused universal suffrage between 1894 and 1908 [2]- well before Britain and the USA. Its advances in social democracy - a minimum wage, wages arbitration, social security and education - together with a buoyant export economy based on agriculture and minerals, created a high standard of living and won Australia a reputation as the 'lucky country' (Horne: 1965). While the social critique from the mid 1960s began to expose the 'lucky country' as racist, masculinist, conservative and anti-intellectual, the egalitarian ethos remained a powerful symbol and a dominant value in Australian society.

In Australia, utilitarianism underpinned a particular form of state paternalism or interventionism which was etched on the functions of government from its foundation. Alfred Deakin, the 'father' of Australian Federation, wrote: "Instead of the State being regarded ... as an object of hostility to the labourer, it should now become identified with an interest in his works, and in all workers, extending to them its sympathy and protection, and watching over their welfare and prosperity" (Deakin, 1890 in Pusey, 1991). From the first convict settlements, state intervention became synonymous with public works and social welfare. The earliest roads, buildings and utilities were developed and maintained by government, not individual entrepreneurs. Colonial governments and, after Federation, successive Commonwealth governments, continued to underpin economic development (Butlin 1983: 82). It was not until 1930 that private investment outstripped public investment in the national economy (Bell, 1997: 65). The historian Keith Hancock observed more trenchantly in 1930: "Australians have come to look upon the state as a vast public utility whose duty it is to provide the greatest happiness for the greatest number" (Hancock, 1930: 69).

Post World War II and Keynesianism 1940 - 1970

Until the mid 1970s, the result has been an enduring belief that the State plays a leading role in fostering the material and social welfare of its citizens. While this ethos was established prior to Federation, it gained further credence through the implementation of Keynesian philosophies and practices post World War II. These philosophies gave priority to full employment as a right of citizens and ensured that this would be delivered through state-managed public works, state control over

[2] Nomadic aboriginal peoples were provided with the right to vote in 1962 (Macintyre, 2000: 229).

financial institutions and markets and public ownership of industries. As the dominant social, political and economic ideology Keynesianism was an effective force for more than three decades.

The New Paradigm

In the post war period Keynesian economics had been challenged from time to time, but it underwent renewed attack and began to lose its hold in the late 1970s particularly in western economies (Bell, 1997; Pusey, 1991). Keynesian economics was destabilised and, ultimately, replaced by important economic changes: deregulation of international finances, low growth rates and high inflation levels coupled with persistently high unemployment. The latter phenomenon, in particular, undermined social cohesion and consensus in Australia.[3] It was also a period which witnessed political upheaval with intense, often acrimonious debate within and between political parties as the ideologies of the Left and the Right were tested and then compromised by neo-classical economic theory.

Keynes' economic philosophy was supplanted by a new paradigm which relied on neo-classical economic rationalism centred on a methodological individualism. This new paradigm viewed the economy and markets as paramount and looked sceptically at the State as an economic manager. As Bell and others point out, one of the greatest ironies of modern political economy is that "Governments are judged by economic performance over which their control is limited" (Bell 1997: 5; Markoff and Montecinos 1993: 42; Kelly, 1992; Pusey, 1991).

Economic policy since the late 1970s has attempted to restructure economic development in such a way to improve business profitability, to control labour and wages, and to remodel the State into forms compatible with the private sector (Bell, 1997: 3). Economic rationalism, a term coined in Australia by Michael Pusey (1991), was distinguished by its ability to enter and dominate every aspect of social life and organisation. A vocabulary, practice and philosophy, it became the new and only logic of the marketplace (Macintyre, 1999: 239-40).

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[3] Unemployment rates rose steadily from 1970 at 1.5%, 1975 - 5.2%; 1980 - 6%; 1985 - 10%; and topped 11.2% in 1993. Some downward trends were experienced as a result of Labor's s Accord with unions and employers operating 1982-85. During the same period inflation fluctuated to reach almost 16% in 1975 (ABS Cat. Nos. 6204.0 & 6401.0; Bell, 1997: chapter 7 & 8)

In Australia, public sector reforms compatible with the tenets of neo-liberal economics were instigated by the conservative Liberal-National Party Coalition between 1975 and 1983, and enacted by successive social democratic Labor governments thereafter. The implementation of such reforms indicates a bipartisan consensus based on minimal electoral opposition to such policy shifts (Pusey, 1991: 3). Political and economic liberals strongly supported what was regarded as a form of utopianism seeking to radically change the fabric and culture of Australian society (Macintyre, 1999; Melleuish, 1998; Pusey, 1991). There was little dissent or public debate to counteract this position. While the Labor Party and the Liberal-National Coalition espoused economic rationalism to different degrees and argued about the speed of change, at the end of the 1980s the 'old order was finished' (Kelly, 1993:661). Both Parties eagerly embraced free market economic approaches, and agreed to cede State involvement in public works to the private sector and privatise State ownership of public resources.[4]

Throughout this period of economic restructuring the old patterns of egalitarianism, enacted through the benevolent Corporatist State, were significantly redefined. One indicator of the change was the attitude to social welfare taxes. In 1979, 62% of Australians believed taxes should be reduced and less spent on social welfare. By 1987 this had risen to 81% of the population (Australian National Political Attitudes Survey 1967, 1979 and 1987). The compact of 'Australian Settlement'- a strong State to protect living standards - was dismantled. Strategies to 'fight inflation first' were maintained throughout the 1980s. But, one by one, these strategies were shown to be ineffective in controlling the domestic economy. Tightening monetarist policies resulted in high interest rates; attempts to control wages resulted in volatile confrontations in the industrial relations arena, including within the Arbitration Commission; raising foreign exchange rates hurt manufacturing industries and the private sector could not expand when commodity prices fell. By the mid 1980s Australians were more economically polarised than ever before. Between 1982 and 1994 the top 10% of income earners had gained an increase of $100 per week, the lowest 10%, assisted by welfare, had gained $11 per week, but the real earnings of the remaining 80% declined (Macintyre, 1999: 253). Unemployment continued to rise throughout the 1980s and peaked at 11.2% in 1993

[4] Government enterprises (airlines, shipping, telecommunications) were partially privatised from 1990 and tariffs reduced progressively from the same period.

(ABS Cat. 6204.0). Amongst the hardest hit were young school leavers and those people working in deregulated manufacturing industries and the rural sector. As Stuart Macintyre puts it: "Deregulation swept away the fixtures of economic life, smaller government removed the mechanisms of public support, the maxim of user-pays eroded the ethos of the fair go" (Macintyre, 1999: 265).

The implementation of neo-liberal economic policy brought considerable change, uncertainty and dislocation within Australia. Gregory Melleuish argues that one response to such change is to develop a series of 'packages' designed to create order and restore self worth. Just as "Australian Settlement" itself was a "package", contemporary Australia now sought 'the magic bullet' in new "packages" such as "the clever country", "multiculturalism", and "republicanism" which offered the promise to regain control, and the dignity to realise individual potential (Melleuish, 1999:14). During the late 1980s and early 1990s governments promoted these "packages". As Michael James (1991) notes, just as government cultivated a "hands-off" approach to markets, so it became more interventionist in civil and cultural life.

Melleuish's concept of the "packaging of Australia" offers an important perspective on how economic rationalism, the arts and cultural development became closely aligned, first in government rhetoric between 1990 and 1993, and then in policy after 1994. Initially, economic rationalism was envisioned as a renovation of the economy, allowing Australia to become more efficient and competitive and better able to operate within global markets. Gradually, it was also seen as a way to change the behaviour of individuals, revitalise national values and purpose, and restore national cohesion. But if the arts were to be aligned, economic rationalism could not achieve this without recourse to another "package". That "package" was the "clever country".

The Knowledge Economy and the "Clever Country"

The concept of the "clever country" aimed to overturn another of Australia's failings, its anti-intellectualism. For Donald Horne, instigator of the *National Ideas for a Clever Country Summit* held in 1990, an alliance of Australia's intelligentsia could promote "the clever country" and a "creative nation" and restore national pride in cultural achievements. Thus, scientific and cultural goods, the products of the knowledge economy, could be regarded as export commodities, assets in the nation's

current account. The concept was quickly adopted. The Summit marked an extraordinary beginning to the Federal Election campaign that year. Just eight days after the Summit, the Prime Minister's policy speech, called for Australia to cast aside the idea of being a "lucky country" - an earlier Horne epithet - and instead, embrace the concept of the "clever country" (Ideas for a Clever Country; 1990: 5). Economic rationalism could overturn Australia's poor performance in international markets and it could also position artists and scientists to achieve recognition and prosperity for the nation.

That ideas and creative expression could be harnessed for cultural export and to advance national identity, were not new concepts or practices. Indeed, from the mid 1980s State Galleries regularly sent exhibitions of Australian art to China and Japan as a diplomatic gesture of goodwill and to cement trade relations with those countries. However, coupling national economic and cultural development to increase economic efficiency took existing policies in new directions.

Such thinking overturned accepted principles of government involvement in arts funding. Earlier, the prevailing assumption had been that all citizens were entitled to access the arts but that markets would not pay the real cost of cultural goods. Now, it was argued, a market-led economy could recognise and reward the outputs of creative expression and cultural consumers, not the State, would pay to sustain artistic forms. It followed then, that 'excellence' in art was that which the market endorsed.

The Prime Minister's 1993 address to the screenwriters and playwrights guild linked economic and cultural values:

> And good hearts and minds I think will recognise that to solve our social and economic problems we'll need a renewed sense of national purpose and new levels of national cohesion. To go successfully in the Asia-Pacific and the rest of the world we'll need new levels of confidence and mature self-esteem. ...if we are to make those economic, political and social advances I have just spoken of, we have to make a parallel cultural advance. ... our cultural development cannot be left to merely follow in the wake of the nation's economic progress... The economic imperative and the cultural one are not capable of separation - they have the same conclusion. We need to make things. And we need to export them... We need to send these things of excellence out into the world with our imprint on them...There is no doubt that we can get back to economic growth and general prosperity. But the prosperity will be more secure...if we also realise our culture is tied in with it and becomes part of it (Keating, 1993: 3-4).

These concepts and even particular phrases of this speech found their way into *Creative Nation*, the country's first written cultural policy announced late the following year.

The Prime Minister was "not simply talking about image, but about income" (Keating, 1993: 8) suggesting that two objectives - excellence and revenue generation - cannot be separated. When cultural value and commercial value are aligned in this way and promoted by government and if such endorsement is accepted by organisations such as art museums, this becomes a monopolising assertion of symbolic value. The circularity of endorsement between government, art museums and the marketplace is a self-perpetuating affirmation of cultural distinction.

Part Two - Transformations: Changing Approaches to Cultural Policy

This section aims to chart the transformations in cultural policy which occurred between 1980 and 1995. This period was marked by prolonged debate about governments' role in arts funding and cultural development. The following discussion will highlight the significant tensions stemming from ideological shifts which emphasised the economic returns from cultural heritage over the social benefits which accrue to society.

Government Patronage of the Arts and Cultural Development

Government patronage of the arts has been a feature of Australian political and social life since Federation, though the methods and extent of support have varied over time. In Australia, State patronage of the arts generally takes two forms: direct support through the provision of finance and government services, and indirect support comprising regulation through legislative measures and programmes which encourage public and some private sector involvement in the arts (Lewis, 1994; Schuster, 1996; Battersby, 1980).

In 1985 Tim Rowse proposed a typology of arts funding which identified three shifts in government policy from the 1930s to the mid 1980s (Rowse, 1985: 6-30; Stevenson, 2000:23). This typology identified the first period of "voluntary entrepreneurship" from 1930 to the mid 1970s, a second period of "statutory patronage" from the late 1960s to the mid 1980s, and a third, more radical period, of

"decentralised patronage" commencing in the mid 1980s. A fourth period of "the cultural industry model" from the late 1980s to 1995 can now be added. See Figure 2 (below).

The period of "voluntary entrepreneurship" c.1930 - c.1968

This period saw élites promoting particular forms of high culture through quasi-government agencies such as the Commonwealth Art Advisory Board, established in 1912, and semi-commercial ventures such as the Australian Elizabethan Theatre Trust, founded in 1953 (Macdonnell, 1992; Rowse, 1985; Battersby, 1980). Government funding was provided to these agencies to support art acquisitions or the performing arts but the funding system failed to meet the needs of visual artists, other art forms or heritage preservation. By the late 1960s board members of these agencies finally persuaded governments, particularly the Commonwealth government, to establish structures to fairly distribute government subsidies for arts development.

"Statutory patronage" - c. 1968 to the present

The period of statutory patronage saw the Commonwealth Government establish formal mechanisms to provide project funding and advice to government. The Australian Council for the Arts, the principal conduit for arts development, was established in 1968[5] and the Australian Heritage Commission a statutory authority to oversee the built and natural environment was established in 1975. The States also developed mechanisms to distribute funding to the arts. Queensland appointed the country's first Minister for Cultural Affairs in 1968, quickly followed by the first Director of Cultural Activities to advise that government on grants distribution to the performing arts (Macdonnell, 1992:28; Arts Committee, 1991: 35).

The Report of the Committee of Inquiry on Museums and National Collections (1975) recommended the establishment of the Australian Museums Commission, a statutory authority to co-ordinate government expenditure on museums and foster the development and preservation of their collections (Pigott Report, 1975: 3). However, this recommendation was rejected by the incoming Coalition Government.

[5] Later created under the Australia Council Act (1975) as a statutory authority.

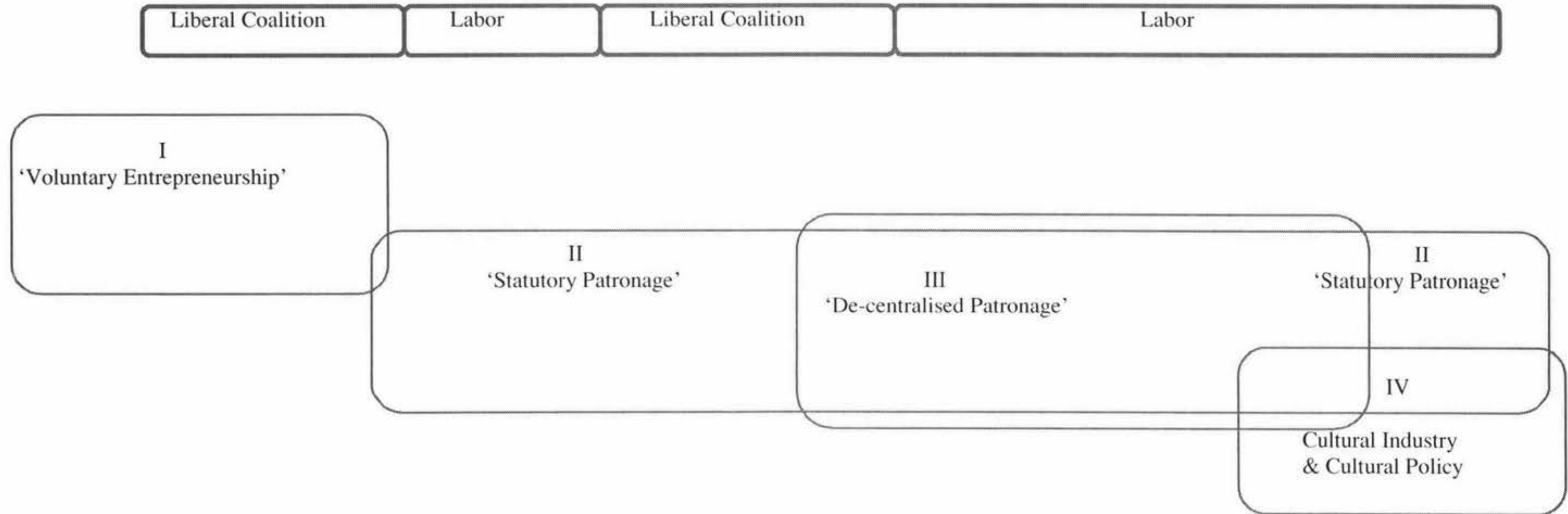

Figure 2: A typology of arts funding (after Rowse 1985)

The characteristics of statutory patronage for the arts and cultural heritage development were established from the outset and maintained through to the present. The State provides 'arm's length' funding to arts organisations and individuals to support 'excellence' and to reward certain forms of artistic production and distribution. The recipients of funding continue to include the largest and most prominent organisations such as the Australian Opera, the Australian Ballet and the Australian National Gallery. It is these organisations which represent and confirm "national life" and through which its values, customs and ethos are advanced (Horne, 1989; Rowse, 1985; Bourdieu, 1991). The assumptions which underpin this type of government patronage is a type of cultural *noblesse oblige*. The more cultivated are custodians of cultural values for the less cultivated; the less cultivated may become more cultivated given knowledge through access to those particular and sanctioned forms of cultural production.

Under "statutory patronage" Australian governments generally justified their support for arts funding in terms of the "public good". Economic arguments, while important, were secondary. Thus, the main "public good" justification for government intervention in cultural heritage is the provision of public collections of "a high standard which provide an intellectual resource and stimulate consciousness of collective identity" (Dept. of Finance, 1989:27). Economic benefits include direct and indirect spin-offs like cultural tourism and research based on those collections. Governments judge that public subsidy is warranted because cultural heritage management cannot be provided in sufficient quantity or quality at costs that the market will sustain.

Table 1 (below) indicates total government patronage for cultural facilities and services over the period 1986 to 1993. These outlays account for approximately 2.4% of all government outlays (ABS, 1994: 10). In general terms, the outlays by the Commonwealth and Local Government have shown little change in real terms in the six years between 1986 and 1991. State Government expenditure on cultural facilities and services peaked in 1987-88 and in 1992-93, due to capital works expenditures in Sydney (Darling Harbour) and Melbourne (Museum Victoria and the National Gallery of Victoria), respectively. In real terms State Government outlays have been reducing over the period. Commonwealth government expenditure on museums and art museums has increased in the same period (ABS - CMC, 1996:6; ABS, 1994:13).

Table 1 Government outlays on cultural facilities and services 1986 - 1994 ($ million)

Year	C'wealth	State	Local	Total	Art Museums / Museums		
					C'wealth	State	Local
1986	285	687	239	1,211	36	80	1
1987	273	880	276	1,429	30	92	1
1988	286	388	293	967	35	72	1
1989	202	492	265	959	40	64	1
1990	209	499	286	994	53	77	2
1991	208	562	294	1,064	46	71	1
1992	1,213	846	463	2,522	n/a	n/a	n/a
1993	1,261	996	n/a	2,257	67	152	n/a

Sources: 1986-1991 Australian Bureau of Statistics (1994) and 1992-3 Cultural Ministers' Council, 1996.
Notes: Figures for 1992 and 1993 include capital expenditure which has been included as a result of changes to Government reporting standards. All sums are provided at 1994 prices.

"Decentralised patronage" - c.1985

De-centralised patronage occurs when government funds are allocated to sub-sets of the community to support programmes within a defined sector (Rowse, 1985). Instead of aiming to fill cultural voids (the cultured vs. uncultured dichotomy), the aim is to make latent culture active, to ensure that different cultural values are an acknowledged part of cultural practice and Australia's cultural identity. Instead of concerning cultural disadvantage the issues of cultural difference and plurality are addressed in ways which challenge and oppose the culture of privileged élites (Hawkins, 1989; Horne, 1987; Rowse, 1985 & 1989). Throughout the 1980s, assisted by the Labor Party's Arts Platform, concerted attempts were made to shift State patronage into new "de-centralised" forms of community-based activity. One manifestation of this direction was the *Art in Working Life* Scheme partnered with the Australian Council of Trades Union, enacted through the Community Arts Board of the Australia Council. Despite some evidence that community-based programmes were implemented in mainstream cultural organisations, equivocation, tokenism and inconsistency at policy and funding level often stymied these efforts. In reality, "community arts" and "de-centralised patronage" became synonymous with forms of cultural remediation, art therapy for those excluded from the dominant cultural forms (Hawkins, 1989: 33-35). Eventually the drive to democratise culture and the focus

on different social values which underpinned "de-centralised patronage" was overrun by the emphasis on the economic returns from the arts.

"The arts industry model" - c.1989 to the present

Consistent with the neo-liberal economic reform agenda pursued from the late 1980s, governments' case for sustaining support for the arts shifted to encompass economic as well as public good arguments. Governments' aimed to "seek outcomes which gave improved heritage value for the taxpayer dollar" (Department of Finance, 1989: 2). In so doing, governments found it easier to justify expenditure on the arts and cultural development when such support was seen as instrumental in obtaining other government goals such as economic development or promoting national identity (Schuster, 1996).

By the late 1980s the concept of "private good", defined as those benefits enjoyed more or less exclusively and which could be assigned to specific individuals or groups and which could be marketed in some form (Dept. of Finance, 1989: 27), was promoted by governments as a means to offset public expenditure. Despite the lack of clarity in defining public and private good benefits within museums, with at least one commentator calling the distinctions "incoherent and necessarily tendentious in (their) bearing on museum policy" (Bennett, 1989(b): 38), 'user pays' became a catchcry for the implementation of charges for museum services.

A series of museum reviews instigated by both Commonwealth and State governments from 1986 sought to identify efficiency improvements within museums and demanded improvements in corporate planning, accountability and performance measurement from museums[6]. However, it was the Department of Finance's report *What Price Heritage?* (1989), which forcefully brought home the realities of the government's economic rationalist agenda to all Australian museums. Previously regarded as being in a 'special position', the Report made it clear that museums were now considered by governments "subject to the same rigour in assessment of benefits and costs" as other activities of government (Dept. of Finance, 1989: 28).

[6] For example the Joint Ministerial Review of Commonwealth Museums 1986-1988, the Victorian Auditor General's Review of Management of Heritage Collections, 1993 and the State Government's review of the Queensland Art Gallery 1992-3.

The emphasis on public sector reform, including the implementation of business planning within museums, became a preoccupation of governments at all levels. Deep concerns were expressed on several levels from museum practitioners, from arts administrators, academics and accountants. The concerns were also broad-ranging. Many were cautious about the incompatibility of translating broad public sector reforms into museums and about the inappropriate use of performance indicators[7] (Anderson, 1993: 33; Schuster, c.1996; McKinley Douglas, 1995; Weil, 1995; English, 1990 & 1991). Others were wary about adopting commercial accounting measures in not-for-profit practice (Carnegie and Wolnizer, 1996 & 1995; Rentschler and Potter, 1996). Generally, the museum sector perceived governments' aims to impose accountability measures usually associated with business enterprise profit-seeking orientation as contrived, too restrictive and incompatible with the broader, non-financial aims of museums. And yet, there was agreement that improved strategic planning and reporting would assist in improving organisational performance. The majority of art museums agreed with Doug Hall, Director of the Queensland Art Gallery, when he said:

> "...broad statements of policy enable you to undertake things with a degree of confidence... it serves both ways - as a way of managing down or thinking into programs, as well as protecting you from inappropriate proposals and ideas that come from outside...(Hall in Anderson, 1993:31).

At this time governments also renewed their bid to increase private sector support for the arts (DCA - McGauran, 1999; DCA - Alston, 1996; Australia Council - Bourke, 1993). Despite strong indications that business support for all cultural activities declined in real terms over the period 1986 to 1996, there is evidence suggesting that sponsorship of the creative arts, art museums and museums rose in the same period (Australia Council, 1993). Big business was most influential, contributing an average of 65% of all arts sponsorship (ABS, 1996; DCA, 1999 and 1996; Australia Council, 1993). While not directly explored in this thesis, research by Victoria Alexander suggests that the effect of business sponsorship on art museums in the USA results in populist programmes (Alexander, 1996a; 1996b).

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[7] Performance measures are defined as "statistics, ratios, costs and other forms of information which illuminate or measure progress in achieving the aims and objectives of an organisation as set out in its corporate plan" (Jackson, 1991:51). The museum sector has been unable to agree on common standards and it is customary for individual museums to develop specific criteria to measure organisational performance.

However, the increased levels of non-government revenue generated after 1988 by the four art museums investigated in this study, particularly through the development of their Art Foundations, is consistent with increases in business support (See Appendix 3).

Governments also promoted the economic benefits of cultural tourism, nationally and internationally. Research conducted on behalf of the Australia Council between 1986 and 1992 and by the Bureau of Tourism Research after 1993 concerning the economic impacts of cultural tourism was one indication of this interest (Australia Council 1995, 1992, 1991(a) & 1991 (b)). However, analysis of that material shows that while the number of visitors to cultural attractions and their spending rose, the proportion of tourists visiting museums and art museums between 1986 and 1992 fell (Australia Council, 1995).[8] As long as revenue from tourists visiting museums continued to rise, an actual downturn in overall market share did not appear to concern governments or museums.

Cultural exports and exchanges, particularly with countries in South-East Asia, were also encouraged and incentives were offered to achieve this[9]. Linking the Commonwealth Arts and Tourism portfolios, a move sometimes imitated by State Governments, and amalgamating the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade were indications of these new directions in economic development and cultural diplomacy. While these directions were aimed at consolidating Australia's regional trade initiatives, they were also a part of the wider discussion about the country's place in the Asia-Pacific Region and issues of national identity.

The inherent tension between crafting national identity and the notion of a market-driven arts and heritage industry is particularly evident in the appropriation of the economic jargon of the 90s used to assure taxpayers that the arts "are big business" (Stephenson, 2000; Moody, 1994). Research developed by the Cultural Ministers' Council, the Australia Council and the Australian Bureau of Statistics indicated that the arts industry earned more than the high-ranking traditional export earners of meat, wool and wheat combined. Such statistical evidence was frequently quoted in support of the economic viability of the arts (Australia Council 1998;

[8] BTR attributes this to trends away from visiting friends and relatives (interpreted as an absence of direct information about cultural sources) and direct competition from other tourist attractions (Australia Council, 1995).

Keating - ALP, Cultural Policy, 1993; CMC, Statistical Advisory Group, 1991). In his election address in 1993, the Prime Minister referred to the arts as the new

> "sunrise industries because they are in the business of information and ideas and design and innovation; they are export earners ... with vast potential for growth in Asia and elsewhere. That is why we propose an industry policy for the arts" (Keating, 1993).

Such rhetoric became a mantra: the annual government arts subsidy of $2.7 billion was an 'investment' which employed about 330,000 people and yielded a $13 billion return. *Ipse dixit* - "Culture creates wealth".

Part Three - Cultural Policy Development after 1990

Introduction

Prior to 1990 arts funding was, *de facto*, cultural policy. Broad principles consistent with public good interests existed and were the basis for arts funding and cultural development. In some instances, such as in New South Wales, arts funding was developed in response to political party platform of the government of the day (Kenny, personal communication, 2000).

Australian governments describe the purpose of cultural policies in various ways. Among the most frequently cited purposes are creating an appreciation of the country's diverse culture, creating a sense of community, common endeavour and achievement, meeting the cultural needs and protecting the cultural rights of individuals, and contributing to national prosperity (Commonwealth of Australia, 1994; Government of Victoria, 1991). Cultural policy development has also been defined as a set of guidelines informed by ideology through particular consultation (Radbourne: 1997: 281).

It is consistent with the pursuit of neo-liberal economic ideology that once governments viewed the arts as an industry, it was imperative to outline and co-ordinate priorities for that industry and to establish ways to measure the outcomes of policies and programmes.

[9] The Australia Council announced a shift in its international cultural relations policy in 1990-91 towards programmes in the Asia-Pacific Region and aimed to increase its spending in this portfolio to 50% of budget, approximately $3m annually (Australia Council, Annual Report, 1993-94).

By briefly investigating the content of cultural policies formulated by the major political parties, and by State and Commonwealth Governments after 1990, my aim is to reveal the factors which have impacted on such policy development. Through an analysis of these factors I go on to suggest that cultural policy assists art museums to pursue and maintain a conservative approach to collecting.

The ALP and Coalition Parties and their Arts Policies 1980 - 1995

In the absence of formal government cultural policies the arts platforms of major political parties provide some indication of policy intentions. These policies reveal more similarities than differences, despite the distinctive ideologies of the Parties involved (see Appendix 4).

The factors influencing the arts platform of these political parties remain consistent over time. Broadly, these factors fall into three categories. Firstly, recognition of public good benefits generated by the arts including the fundamental role in articulating and transmitting concepts of national identity. Secondly, the economic impact of the arts on national prosperity and, thirdly, social justice issues concerning access to, and participation in the arts. There is also agreement on several strategies to support policy. These include, backing major cultural organisations, expanding non-government support for the arts, the development of new technologies to promote greater access to the arts and the shared responsibility of Commonwealth and State Governments to provide and maintain cultural facilities.

The ALP and Coalition policies differed markedly in just two areas: firstly, in their attitudes to the Australia Council and, secondly, towards a national policy for museums. The ALP always regarded the Australia Council as a statutory authority accountable to government with autonomy over artistic assessment and the provision of assistance to applicants (ALP, 1988: 10). The Coalition sought greater control and from time-to-time considered replacing it with a Ministry for the Arts (Coalition, 1988). Thus, the Coalition's turn-around immediately prior to the 1993 federal election, and its pledge to maintain the Council, appears more about political expediency than consistent policy-making (Liberal Party, 1997; 1996: 11; 1994: 36).

Attitudes to national policy for museums were more fragmented both within the individual political parties and between them. Following the ALP's electoral success in 1984, the Party moved to implement the findings of the Pigott Report (1975). It was committed to the establishment of a "national museums authority

charged with the conservation, preservation and presentation of the nation's heritage" (ALP, 1986:11-12). By 1988, due to continuing economic constraints, a national museums authority was no longer deemed viable or politically expedient and the ALP amended its policy to "support national co-ordination... of the nation's heritage found in museums" (ALP, 1988:11). In sharp contrast, the Coalition remained consistently silent on the matter of a Museums Authority. As early as 1983, Senator Chris Puplick refused to be drawn into a debate with Brian Morris, the Chairman of the Museums and Galleries Commission (UK) at the Annual Australian Museums Conference. It was a sign that the Coalition's priorities were more firmly focussed on issues such as capital development of the National Gallery of Australia and the National Museum of Australia.

Close assessment of the policies of the political parties indicated that they are embryonic in form, lacking development, substance and detail. For the most part they appear to answer short-term political needs rather than offer a vision and direction for the nation's cultural development. Their greatest shortcoming is the failure to clearly articulate the bifurcation or "double strategy" which marks most modern arts policies (Langsted, 1990).

The "double strategy" incorporates two distinct strands: the democratisation of culture, and cultural democracy. The democratisation of culture can best be described as the mass distribution of élite culture at prices within reach of all, and in places where they have not been before. Hence, in Australia, the continuing emphasis on touring exhibitions and productions to regional and remote areas removed from access to the resources of art museums, theatres and other cultural productions available in capital and metropolitan centres. Cultural democracy recognises, supports and encourages the rights of many sub-cultures to contribute to arts development (Langsted, 1990). Moves within the Australia Council to establish the Art in Working Life programme as well as the art development work carried out through the Community Art Board, attest to the values of cultural democracy.

It is quite obvious that the political parties failed to grapple with such issues within the terms of their cultural policy statements. Nonetheless, the lapse is surprising. Issues of access and equity were given the considerable attention from the early 1980s particularly through agencies such as the Office of Multicultural

Affairs and through the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission since the early 1980s (Refer to chronology of policy initiatives, Appendix 5).

Victoria - "Mapping our Culture" and "Agenda 21"

In 1991 the Labor Government in Victoria launched the State's first written cultural policy *Mapping Our Culture*. At the time the Deputy Premier and Minister for the Arts, Jim Kennan, predicted that the following decade would see an increasing emphasis on cultural issues (Govt. of Victoria, 1991). There were two main reasons for this comment. One was the closer strategic alignment of cultural development with economic development. The other lay in the demographic characteristics of Victoria, a State with one of the largest and most ethnically diverse populations in Australia. Recognising and meeting the social and cultural needs as well as civil and political needs of citizens presented one of the greatest challenges to the Government. Achievement of equity, a 'fair go' for all, meant resolving the tension between formal equality and real differences created by social, economic and cultural inequities and then ensuring the participation of disadvantaged groups in decision-making (OMA, 1994: 28).

Mapping Our Culture succeeds in balancing economic and social goals. It clearly identifies the strategic nature of arts development by adopting a whole of government approach to its drafting.[10] The policy's stated aim, is to restore "the State's economic prosperity and optimise the commercial potential of arts production" by "promoting Melbourne as a cultural capital", marketing Victoria's "unique cultural assets" and "consolidating existing cultural infrastructure" strives for economic development through the arts (Govt. of Victoria, 1991: 20-22). Yet, the policy was also aimed at individuals; it embraced the populist as well as the élite high arts, the conventional and the avant-garde, and it spoke to arts practitioners and providers, patrons, users and participants. The "corporate speak" of business enterprise was tempered in this policy by the determination to democratise access and cultural participation.

In contrast, *Arts 21: The State for The Arts* released by the Liberal Government in 1994, evaded this balance. Instead, *Arts 21*, positioned the arts as an industry, forward-looking, enterprising and confidently building its economic base,

its human resources and financial performance as well as adding value to tourism, education and entertainment (Govt. of Victoria, 1994: 6). The industry development approach heralded by the Minister's Press Release (Storey, 1994), together with the performance measures announced as part of the policy, were closely aligned to the Government's management reform agenda aimed at improving performance through increased competitiveness of service delivery (Government of Victoria, 1997:3). The attempt to democratise cultural participation, seen in *Mapping Our Culture*, was reversed and gave way to "customer focused marketing". Ambitious capital works projects to expand Melbourne's major cultural institutions were aimed to position Victoria as a "leading supplier and distributor of cultural products and services in the domestic and world marketplace" (*Arts 21*, 10-11).

The 1994 Policy firmly shifted cultural policy from the supply side to the demand side. The Government was concerned less with cultural development of individuals and more concerned with them as arts consumers. Indeed, the Policy was strongly based on economic rationalist principles and market-driven approaches, advantaging mainstream dominant organisations over individual creative artists and smaller organisations. Accordingly, the Government agreed to extensive capital re-development of the National Gallery of Victoria. Part of the impetus for the re-development was an unashamed contest between the Melbourne gallery and its 'competitors' and rivals in Canberra, Sydney and even Brisbane. The Gallery's 1996 Strategic Plan makes the need quite plain: simply put, the Gallery's Board and Director determined that its market competitiveness was hamstrung by an outmoded building (NGV, 1996). Meanwhile the Gallery planned to circulate touring exhibitions of its Collections to regional centres, developing partnerships with the some of the oldest and most prestigious regional galleries in Victoria. Many of these were within three hours drive of Melbourne.

Queensland - A State for the Arts

The existence of cultural policy in Queensland prior to 1990 was a source of mirth for some (Craik, 1993), an oxymoron for others. The "Sunshine State" was dogged by stereotypical images of a "a laid-back" lifestyle, its people portrayed as

[10] Representatives from a range of government departments, among them Education and Training, Aboriginal Affairs, Ethnic Affairs, Tourism, Sport and Recreation, and Planning and Environment developed this policy.

xenophobic or racist and its new-found wealth from mining and tourism disparaged. Despite evidence that Government had supported the arts over many years, no coherent policy statements existed. It has been suggested that only when the Labor Government took office in 1989, with Premier Goss including the arts portfolio in his Ministerial responsibilities, were there decisive policy developments (Rainbird, 1992: 44).

The Goss Government quickly instigated reviews of arts funding and policy (see Table 2 below). The Report, *Queensland A State for the Arts*, a result of the major arts sector review, identified six principal issues: the predominance of major arts organisations; funding for individual artists; the decentralised nature of Queensland; support for indigenous arts, the professionalisation of arts management, and audience development. By 1995 the majority of the Review's recommendations had been implemented and the total of arts funding had risen to $100 million compared with $16.8 million in 1988/89 (Queensland Government, 1995).

Table 2: Goss Labor Government Reviews of Arts and Culture

Year	Review	Major area of focus
1990	Arts Division	Senior Management Structure
1990	Report, "Queensland: A State for the Arts"	Comprehensive review of Government support for the arts
1991-93	Policy reviews of statutory authorities: Performing Arts Trust (1991); State Library (1992); Queensland Art Gallery (1993)	Investigation of strategic management and policy

Between 1990 and 1995 Queensland's arts policies (like those in Victoria in 1991) displayed the "double strategy" - the simultaneous pursuit of the democratisation of culture and cultural democracy - discussed previously (page 22). The Queensland Government pursued this "double strategy" with vigour and determination, occasionally creating circumstances to bring this "double strategy" into a workable whole. The adoption of multi-year funding for selected major arts organisations provides an example of the strategy's implementation. By doing away with contestable annual funding, multi-year funding offered mainstream organisations a measure of financial certainty and stability. In return for this security the Government expected these organisations to advance the "double strategy". Organisations did this, firstly, by designing programmes aimed to increase

consumption of the arts. Regional arts touring programmes proliferated and significant cultural events, such as the Asia-Pacific Triennial produced by the Queensland Art Gallery, focused national and international attention on the State's major cultural institutions. Such programmes provided access to particular forms of élite culture, fostered unified expressions of national identity through the arts and increased pride in Queensland's artistic achievements. It also brought the achievements of Queensland's artists to the attention of other national organisations which had been accused of overlooking them.

The second strategy promoted greater cultural democracy. Arts organisations were encouraged to engage Queensland artists from diverse backgrounds to create new, innovative work in the expectation that long-standing inequities prevalent in Queensland (and Australia) could be redressed and the barriers to cultural representation challenged. The Government's priorities for indigenous arts, women, youth, artists of non-English speaking background, and the visual arts had been identified in *A State for the Arts*. The priorities were accorded increased funding, with the most substantial increase from $24,000 in 1989/90 to $584,078 in 1994/95, being for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Arts (Queensland Government, 1995: 33).

Throughout this period the Queensland Government favoured an industry model for the arts. The principal and consistent aim of the Arts Division, later to become Arts Queensland, was "to provide a secure base for the arts industry in Queensland" (Annual Report 1988/89: 45). The same imperative was expressed in the Government's Cultural Statement, *Building Local Going Global*, released in mid 1995. The strategies for cultural exports and cultural tourism were linked closely to the State's economic growth. Importantly, however, the full-blown free market rhetoric which characterised *Arts 21* is absent. Queensland's arts policy, at least up to 1995, strives to maintain the mission of cultural democratisation alongside that of cultural democracy.

New South Wales - Arts Funding is Cultural Policy

The NSW Ministry for the Arts was created in 1988 to advise the Government on all aspects of the arts and cultural activity in that State (NSW, 1993). Prior to this a Division of Cultural Activities was located within the NSW Premier's Department

and administered cultural grants. NSW administers the largest annual arts portfolio budget of any State; in 1993, for example, the arts budget was in excess of $142.5 million (NSW, 1993: 1). But the State remained without any formal or co-ordinated cultural policies until 1995 when the Labor Party was returned to power and the Party's election statements were adopted as Government policy (NSW Ministry, pers. comm. Kenny, 11 August 2000). Thus, NSW offers perhaps the most forceful, and certainly the most enduring example that arts funding was cultural policy.

While the level of funding assistance available from year to year was limited by Government decisions and priorities, an analysis of annual Cultural Grants Guidelines and the Ministry's Annual Reports from 1988 to 1995 reveal clear trends. The most significant of these is the persistent effort to engage and develop the "double strategy" discussed earlier. At the beginning there were efforts to strengthen participation in the arts "to ensure that people everywhere in NSW share in the rewards of a vigorous cultural life" (NSW Ministry for the Arts, 1993: Mission Statement). By 1992/93 the Ministry intervened to redress inequities in cultural representation and maintenance of cultural heritage practises. In part, these policy shifts in the arts sector came about as a result of principles contained in a range of NSW Government documents. These include, *Charter of Principles for a Culturally Diverse Society* (1993), the *Cultural Development Policy* (1995), the White Paper, *Building our Cultural Heritage: Ethnic Affairs Action Plan 2000* (1996), the *Statement of Commitment to Aboriginal People* (1997) and *Indigenous Arts Protocol: A Guide* (1998) (NSW, 1997: 4; NSW, 2000:np). The Government's priorities for the arts applied particularly to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples and to people from migrant backgrounds. In order to improve cultural democracy mainstream arts organisations were compelled to incorporate cultural diversity considerations in their activities as a condition of receiving Government support for their activities. From mid 1993 appointments to the NSW Arts Advisory Council and its committees, as well as to boards and trusts of major cultural institutions reflected greater cultural diversity. Such strategies to develop greater cultural diversity at governance level anticipated the formal policy announcements which were promulgated recently (NSW, 1997 and 2000).

A further contribution of the NSW Ministry for the Arts has been the determination to enhance co-ordination and partnerships between the three tiers of government (ALP (NSW), 1995: 3; NSW, 1999: 6). Within the museum sector this

has been expressed recently, "as the need to work collaboratively to conserve, document and interpret moveable heritage collections across New South Wales" (NSW, 1997). However, it should be noted that such precepts find their antecedents in recommendations made by the Museums Association - NSW Branch and the NSW Museums Advisory Council some years earlier (Jones *et. al.*, 1991; NSW Museums Advisory Council, 1994).

The Commonwealth - 'Creative Nation', 1994

The Commonwealth Government unveiled what it termed "the first national cultural policy in our history" on 18 October 1994 with fanfare and a "lavish show-biz style launch" costing around $250,000 (Cumming: 1995; Radbourne, 1997: 278). For the Government this was not just a launch of a cultural policy but confirmation that the status of the arts had changed. The nature of this launch was significant in two ways: the arts and cultural development were firmly positioned as an industry delivering clear economic benefits to the nation. At the same time, culture was overtly associated with national identity. The emphasis was no longer on subsidised suppliers of cultural products, cultural merchants with mendicant mentalities, but on the demands of consumers accessing cultural commodities in the free play of market forces. Those subsidies which remained were designed principally to offset market failure of the national companies and organisations. There were expectations too that these very companies, with assistance from the Australia Council, would broaden their operations by developing international marketing strategies to increase export earnings and endeavour to stimulate greater private sector support with the aim of becoming more self-sufficient. The message of *Creative Nation* was quite explicit: the arts and cultural development would only be viable through capitalising opportunities in the marketplace and cultivating commercial arrangements where businesses purchased promotional benefits from cultural organisations (Department of Communication and the Arts, 1996: Executive Summary). There could be no doubt that this cultural policy was also an economic policy and its text is peppered with aphorisms to remind readers that "Culture creates wealth", "Culture employs" and "Culture adds value" (Commonwealth of Australia, 1994: 7).

Creative Nation promoted national identity in particular ways. The Policy portrays Australian cultural life as vibrant, creative and innovative, an essential expression of a mature and robust society. Its 'distinctly Australian' qualities derived from a combination of factors that include an indigenous culture, British legacies, the diverse inheritances of immigrants, the experiences of region and the impact of place (p.9). And yet, the Policy chooses to emphasise the 'manufacture' of culture as the prerogative of the 'talented few'. The Policy addresses how to support and honour the élite 'producers' in the 'cultural industry', be they individuals or flagship organisations, and discusses how to make the resulting 'Australian culture' accessible to more Australians. What the Policy does not engage is the more complex question of cultural democracy, and how 'to bring out the artist in every Australian, and bring communities together through art' (Murphy, 1995; Gardiner-Garden, 1994). Despite the celebratory rhetoric of cultural diversity, the Policy's primary image is one of undifferentiated homogeneous communities passively consuming cultural products through Australian-content media or the latest *Playing Australia* or *Visions of Australia* roadshow.

If the Policy's conception of cultural development and its categorisation of 'producers' and 'consumers' is deeply flawed, so too is its portrayal of heritage. The Policy fails to grasp any of the complex issues surrounding the task of museums as they negotiate and evaluate issues surrounding cultural preservation. Such lapses illustrate the failure of the Policy to differentiate the multiple strands of the 'the arts' or to articulate the responsibilities of government for heritage. The grudging and hasty go-ahead[11] given to the Gallery of Aboriginal Australia is but one indication of this lapse. First, the project stalled. According to the Prime Minister, Australia had "out-museumed" itself (Keating, 1993). Political vacillation and the failure to raise private-sector funding at the levels required by the Commonwealth then compromised the project further. And finally, under the shadow of the Reconciliation process, the Gallery of Aboriginal Australia became pivotal but nevertheless a substitute for what was originally intended as a much grander vision as the National Museum of Australia (Commonwealth, 1994: 75; Gardiner-Garden, 1994).

[11] Just a week before the Government launched its Cultural Statement, the Arts Minister, reportedly proposed to the federal Cabinet's Expenditure Review Committee that the Museum be abandoned and its Aboriginal Collections transferred to the South Australian Museum. The proposal prompted considerable public outcry and was rejected (Gardiner-Garden, 1994).

The ideological underpinnings of *Creative Nation,* particularly its economic rationalist principles, assist in maintaining networks of privilege and exclusion. By backing the mainstream and encouraging élite practice the Policy approves and rewards the conventional but discriminates against the marginal, the avant-garde and the contingent.

Conclusion

This chapter began by citing the statements of historians supporting the claim that from the 1970s Australian society had changed profoundly in ways unprecedented since the 1890s. It went on to describe ideological changes which saw the dismantling of the interventionist corporatist State and its remaking into a free-market driven, competitive entity where neo-liberal economic policies dominated all aspects of political life and the impact of economic rationalism became normative considerations in social and cultural spheres.

It is not the business of this thesis to explain the underlying reasons for this. However, it is important to observe the power of the political-administrative discourse to reflect and drive political preferences for a "smaller, business-oriented, privatised and a more 'anti-social' state" (Pusey, 1991). It is also important to note its ability to bind in those very areas of society most closely associated with responsibilities to nurture, sustain and preserve creative expression, artistic forms and cultural identity. Given this pervasive and powerful force of change, it is not surprising then that cultural policy should mirror such ideology. Nevertheless, it is striking that the arts and cultural heritage sectors, with their predilections to challenge prevailing orthodoxies and their aspirations to be the critics and conscience of society endorsed the new era of cultural policy development. The senior representatives of these sectors embraced *Creative Nation*, revelled in the gala atmosphere of the launch, and the morning after, applauded, without irony, front-page headline banners like, "$250 million launches cultural revolution" (*The Australian*, 19 October, 1994: 1).

There were few public responses by members of the museum profession to *Creative Nation* or to its State Government counterparts. The exception was Bernice Murphy's address to the Museums Australia Conference (Murphy, 1995). Murphy expressed two major reservations: the first concerned the lack of the cultural policies,

particularly *Creative Nation*, to "re-examine the underlying values, goals, processes and character of its cultural history". She was also dismayed that once again policy for museums had been side-lined and the efforts of museums to model new co-operative arrangements through the Heritage Collections Committee marginalised.

The Heritage Collections Committee was formed in 1993 following pilot projects established under the auspices of the Cultural Ministers' Council between 1990 and 1993. The Report *Heritage Collections in Australia* (CMC, 1993) made recommendations about strategic directions particularly issues related to the preservation and access to the Distributed National Collection. The HCC was funded jointly by the Commonwealth, State and Territory Governments and major museums. The Committee had succeeded in engendering collaboration across a diverse and complex sector and had managed a series of research programmes and projects.

All cultural policies failed to appreciate the nature and importance of the strategic partnership developed through the HCC. All ignored the necessity and urgency of its work to stem the 'silent scarcely visible damage' wrought by sub-standard storage and poor preservation techniques. That they did so is further indication of the weaknesses and limitations of Government's attitudes to museum policy and museum development. For the most part, these new cultural policies supported capital works development, suggesting perhaps that there was infinitely more political mileage to be gained from such projects than those which considered the nature of collections, what might be collected, how it should be collected and why.

For museums, the new era of cultural policy development and the rise of the arts industry model did not engender a richer, more diverse or patterned conception of national identity, nor did it assist in promoting political debate about the representations of nation in the Australia's Distributed National Collections. Instead, cultural policy documents pivot on economic indicators, are liberally laced with the rhetoric of the market place and infused with aspirations for private and corporate investment for the arts. Rather than addressing matters such as the creation of community and meeting the cultural rights and needs of citizens, as was promised (Commonwealth Government, 1994:2; Victorian Government, 1991 and 1994), the arts - and with them museum collections - are selectively deployed as commodities reconfigured as resources for the delectations of the tourist industry.

CHAPTER TWO

Institutional Practice: Contemporary Collecting

He who controls the past controls the future. He who controls the present controls the past.
George Orwell.

Public art collections are constructions which seek to create pattern, order and meaning from the chaos and abundance which is the totality of art production. If the art museum's purpose is, as Vera Zolberg suggests, "to preserve for future generations the aesthetic achievements of the past", then the principles which govern their collecting practices can be described as, "the conscientious, continuous, resolute distinction of quality from mediocrity (Barr, 1977; Varnedoe, 1995). Various Australian art museum directors echo this definition, coined by the founding director of the Museum of Modern Art, Alfred J. Barr, [1] and its essence is imprinted on all of the acquisitions policies to be examined in this chapter.

James Mollison, formerly Director of the National Gallery of Australia, was certainly one who admired and advocated 'curatorial brilliance', the ability of astute curators to 'always choose the right work by the right artist from the right time (with) no marginal examples' (Mollison, 1994). He recognised that such practice is as much about subjective and emotional responses as it is about professional knowledge and collecting policies. In what might be seen as a plea to reconstitute the 'good eye', Mollison confessed, "I still know when something is really good because I somehow fill up in a strange emotional fashion" (Art Monthly Australia, 1989:4).

The stance taken by Barr and Mollison has its roots in the nineteenth century view that making art collections involves the ability to value works of art for their aesthetic qualities in isolation from social and political contexts. It is a tradition which views connoisseurship, the exercise of artistic judgement as a combination of

[1] For example: James Mollison, Director, National Gallery of Australia said, "...our proclaimed goal (is) of constant unrelenting and uncompromised excellence" (National Press Club, 30 August, 1977).

knowledge, insight and discrimination, as the foundation on which art collections are built (Eastlake, 1835; Osborne, 1979, Wolff, 1983). Despite criticism that aesthetics are helpless in the face of the avant-garde (Adorno, 1984) and, more particularly, that art itself and its reception are produced by historical processes (Bourdieu, 1979), the concepts of connoisseurship and aesthetics still prevail in art museums. Within them, as recent research has revealed, the 'cult of informed personal taste' is manifested with an 'almost insane self-confidence' (Moody, 1991 and 1989; Bruton, 1988).

Contemporary art itself suggests how those nineteenth concepts are outmoded and in need of reshaping. It is too glib to describe contemporary collecting as "connoisseurship of the present and future: a connoisseurship of anticipation" (Mayo, 1981:11), especially when innovative art, by its 'practice of negation', deliberately 'travesties' established aesthetic concepts (Clark, 1990). It is too easy to encourage 'buying ahead of the market' (Victorian Auditor-General, 1993; Mollison, 1989) when art market prices can escalate dramatically. As Saines (1999), Lewison (1991) and Moody (1991) readily acknowledge, prices often rise directly as a result of the exhibition activities of art museums and public galleries. It is unrealistic to support the 'encyclopaedic museum', when critique of the historicist paradigms of traditional art history reveal the "tininess and inadequacy of most art museum collections" (Krauss, 1990; Cripps, 1991; North, 1989). Equally, the sheer volume of artwork produced in any one period defies and defeats even the most adroit practice of 'cultural triage' aimed at salvaging works for public collections (Weil, 1990). It is impossible to identify the alterities of contemporary art when the 'neutral white cube' sucks in and reduces all art to the flatness of the museum wall in order to control its significance through the ratification of power and presence (Crimp, 1993; McEvilley, 1986; O'Doherty, 1976). As much as art museums may wish to see collecting as the exercise of connoisseurship, it is unrealistic and limiting to view it in these terms. The act of collecting, deciding what will be preserved and what will be discarded, and especially the criteria for preservation, are all deeply inscribed with political meanings. In a very real sense then, Orwell's aphorism with which this chapter begins, comes closest to describing the essence of collecting for public art museums.

See also, "The museum artists want to be part of ... is the museum which actively discriminates between the higher and lower, the more and less insignificant..." (McCaughey, 1986).

This chapter considers these issues, and concerns relating to them, and demonstrates that the results of practising the dicta espoused by Barr and Mollison are conservative, a-historical collections which bear remarkable similarity to one another. The chapter is organised in three sections: Part One describes the collecting policies for contemporary Australian art and locates these policies within the specific institutional histories of the four art museums studied. Part Two examines institutional practice by presenting quantitative evidence which illustrates the range and extent of acquisitions of contemporary art between 1980 and 1995. These first two sections demonstrate some tensions which exist between policy and practice. On the one hand, these art museums declare support for new art, knowing that an assessment of its significance will be contingent. On the other hand, policy statements contain the imprimatur to collect "only works of the highest artistic quality and historic importance". An analysis of acquisitions will demonstrate that such directives constrain collections and perpetuate particular types of collecting practice. Part Three is a case study of the Taxation Incentives for the Arts Scheme which demonstrates that the State through its instantiation of economic ideology in cultural policy, participates in the reproduction of a conservative aesthetic. The chapter develops the central argument of this thesis: that institutional policies and practices canonise a particular history of Australian art which, in turn, forms the visual capital by which taste is credentialled and sustained.

Part One: Institutional Histories and Collecting Policies

In order to understand how art museums decide what is to be preserved and what is to be discarded it is essential to examine the policies of individual institutions to determine their collecting intentions and trajectories. The information about individual institutions follows in the chronological order of their establishment as galleries.

National Gallery of Victoria

> *State Galleries usually hard pressed for acquisition funds, can easily fall prey to collecting only the safe and the time honoured in the name of 'museum quality' art and neglect their role as a supporter, encourager and interpreter of the new in art.*
> Patrick McCaughey, Director, National Gallery of Victoria, c.1981.

The National Gallery of Victoria is the oldest of Australia's public art galleries and, more than any other institution in the country, its collections provide an outline of world art from antiquity to the present day (NGV, 2000). Operating under the National Gallery Act, 1966, the Gallery is governed by a Council of Trustees appointed by the Governor in Council. The Gallery's statutory obligation is to maintain, develop and promote the State Collection (S.13 (1)(b)); to provide leadership in the provision of art gallery services in Victoria (S.13 (1)(g)); and, to contribute to the "enrichment of the cultural, educational, social and economic life of the people of Victoria" (S.13 (2)). [2]

The Gallery's commitment to contemporary Australian art was sparked in 1968. *The Field*, the inaugural exhibition to mark the opening of the Gallery's new premises, examined the most recent Australian developments in Colour-Field Abstraction through a selection of forty artists, eighteen of whom were under thirty years of age. This was a startling precedent for the Gallery, and for Australia where the newest and most progressive art was only shown in art schools or through art dealers. It presaged a new relationship between the public gallery and the living artist (McCaughey, 1986:8). The moment was not lost on Norman Reid, then Director of the Tate Gallery, London. Invited to open the exhibition, Reid spoke convincingly of the need for galleries to support new and adventurous art (Galbally, 1987; McCaughey, 1986).

Between 1968 and 1986 the Gallery took a number of steps to advance the position of contemporary art within the Gallery. The establishment in 1976 of a new curatorial position, Curator of Contemporary Art, resulted in an increasing number of acquisitions and exhibitions, among them smaller project shows which presented the latest developments in contemporary practice. The Michell Endowment provided funds to acquire the work of younger artists and in 1986 the Murdoch Court was developed as a permanent space for the display of contemporary art. Despite the Gallery's efforts, the Director, Patrick McCaughey, hinted at lasting tensions when, at the time of the opening of the Murdoch Court, he wrote,

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[2] The National Gallery of Victoria Act, 1966 was amended in 1996. While this thesis only investigates the period to 1995, these amendments do not substantively affect issues reported here in relation to collections, responsibilities of the Board or Director. Information provided in quotation marks is taken from the Act as it stood in 1995. In all other instances the précis provided is drawn from the Act and from the Gallery's policy papers (NGV Act 1966, http://www.ams.apc.vic.gov.au 13 February, 2000, 18 pages).

> Yet all this exists more brightly in the eye of the Gallery than for the artist or the art community. When the Gallery points to its concerns for the living artist, the contemporary audience sees tokenism. ...Exhibitions and publications are fine and valuable, but the centre of the museum remains its collections; being seen as part of the continuity of the valued past into the valued present is the heart of the matter (McCaughey, 1986:9).

For McCaughey, and for artists, what matters most is what contemporary works the Gallery chose to acquire and what works it displayed.

Acquisition policy development

In 1981 McCaughey declared that the Gallery's Acquisitions Policies would be re-examined and made public for the first time (NGV, Annual Report 1981, 1982). By 1985 the work had been completed, but the document was not made public. The Acquisitions Policy was revised in 1994 under the Directorship of James Mollison, and again in 1996 as part of a strategic planning process soon after Dr. Timothy Potts succeeded him as Director. Table 3 (overleaf) provides a comparative summary of the key features of these policies. The discussion which follows elucidates these features.

The 1985 policy is characterised by its acknowledgement of the rich collecting legacy of the past, a concern to maintain the national and international significance of the collections and their comprehensive nature through a cohesive, prioritised and targeted acquisition programme which fills gaps in the collections. Priority is accorded to Australian art in all media and regions but gives prominence to the work of artists living in Victoria. The Policy asserts the principles of aesthetic merit (p.1), and insists that work acquired through the Felton Bequest and the Art Foundation of Victoria[3] must demonstrate the 'highest standards of connoisseurship and scholarship' (p.1) to achieve 'museum standard works' capable of permanent exhibition.

The Policy also aims to "represent contemporary art fully within the Collection" and to fund its acquisition through admission revenue and through the G.H. Michell Endowment (NGV, 1985:8). Responsibilities to living artists and

[3] The Felton Bequest was endowed in 1904 allowing the NGV to become, for a time, one of the richest privately endowed art museums in the Empire. Capital and interest were applied to acquisitions managed by a Trust which appointed art advisors to make recommendations for acquisition. The Felton Bequest made it possible for the Gallery's encyclopaedic collections to be formed. The Art Foundation was established in 1976 to encourage business and private sponsorship. Government made matching grants to the Foundation. Interest from the Foundation was applied to major acquisitions.

Table 3: National Gallery of Victoria Acquisition Policies 1985 and 1994-95 compared

Components	1985	1994-95
Australian Art	• Distinctiveness of collections depend on Australian art. • Aim for comprehensive collection. Priority for colonial works of aesthetic quality & historical significance & Melbourne artists of the 1930s and 1940s. Acquire 'Heidleberg School' only if exceptional.	• Aim to illustrate history and development in all media. • Acquire works prior to 1950 only if these are of major importance. • Major artists to be represented by numbers and range of works to show their development and achievement in all media.
Contemporary Australian Art	• Accept responsibility for acquisition of contemporary art. Priority for representing contemporary art fully within the collection. • Major artists to be represented by groups of works. • Collect contemporary Aboriginal work by living artists in traditional and new media.	• Priority for works by living artists that reflect contemporary practice. • All works acquired will enter the Development Collection, and be re-assessed in 15 years for inclusion in the Collection - unless purchased through named funds ("museum quality").
Criteria	• Highest aesthetic standards. • Evidence of connoisseurship & scholarship to develop particular character of collection. • "Museum-wide" acquisitions (funded through Felton Bequest or Art Foundation) for permanent display	• Highest artistic quality & historical importance; premium condition. • Maintain NGV's status as the finest encyclopaedic collection outside Europe and North America. • Priority for works which can be exhibited but with independent value. • Highest priority for works of a kind or by artists not represented.
Media	• Scuplture in all forms will be stressed as much as painting. • Priority for contemporary furniture. Represent prints & drawings with finest, most important examples.	• Responsibility of departments to build up weaknesses through 1-3 year focus.
Method of Acquisition	• Utilise full financial resources inc. admissions, bequests & TIA • Value gifts.	• Conditional gifts discouraged. • Flexibility & opportunistic
Artists	• Priority for Melbourne/Victorian artists. • Recognise role of women artists.	
Co-operation	• Minimise duplication within Victorian collecting institutions. • Avoid duplicating specialist interests pursued interstate.	• Complementary rather than competitive.
Principles		• Costs associated with preservation, presentation, storage etc. integral to cost of acquisition.

craftspeople, including recognition of women artists, are clearly articulated (p.5 & 7). Moreover, urged on by art experts consulted during the Policy's development, there is an unmistakable intention by the Gallery to develop Australian contemporary art "beyond the fashionable, (and) to provide adventure and originality to the Collection" (Plant, 1985: Burke, 1985; Churcher, 1985; Galbally, 1985). Overall the Policy's purpose is to guide, clarify priorities and inspire both the Gallery's staff and its supporters for the task ahead. The language of the Policy is informative, its style erudite. The reader is left in no doubt that collection development is a collaborative enterprise requiring acumen, integrity and flair.

Importantly, the Policy also nominates a new area for acquisition, that of contemporary Aboriginal Art which is considered an "integral and essential part of contemporary Australian art" (NGV; 1985:5 & 7). The shared responsibility with the Museum of Victoria for acquisition and display of Aboriginal work is acknowledged, with the Gallery clearly delineating its own role in the "acquisition of contemporary Aboriginal art, both work made in traditional media and work made in new and innovative media" (NGV, 1985:7).

The 1994 Acquisition Policy maintains the priorities for Australian art and for contemporary art. However, there are two important differences: the language of the policy and the re-designation of the Development Collection. Perhaps most striking is the language and the presentation of the Policy documents. By 1994 there is evidence of a more clipped and business-like approach. The Gallery's values and philosophies that were expressed in the 1985 document, give way to rules, the discursive becomes the imperative. But the major change is reserved for the 1996 documents. There, the Gallery's acquisitions programme is but one of the 'outcomes' which will "re-establish the National Gallery of Victoria as the most active collector of Australian and international art". The Collection, and acquisitions, thus become the means to maintain the competitive edge in an operating environment which includes "competition among galleries" for acquisitions, audiences, image and reputation (NGV, 1996:4, 10-11).

The Development Collection

The Gallery's aim to collect work of young and emerging artists and to reflect the diversity of current practices had been actively pursued since the mid 1970s. The Development Collection was established to provide a mechanism for new work to be

acquired and catalogued but not accessioned into the Permanent Collection until evaluated fifteen years after purchase.[4] This programme, its principles and practices remains unique within Australian art museums. With a ceiling of $5,000 for each purchase, the programme encouraged "brave and experimental" acquisitions (Smith, 1997). Funding for the Development Collection came from private benefactors; first from the Michell Endowment which provided $100,000 capital for acquisitions between 1974 and 1987 and later, from the Margaret Stewart Endowment. The Gallery's 1994 Acquisitions Policy brought major changes to the Development Collection. From that time, all works of Australian art made after 1980 by less established artists were to be considered part of the Development Collection unless purchased from named funds (NGV, 1994).

One intention of the 1985 Acquisition Policy was to place the Gallery's relationship with living artists on a firm and fruitful footing (Plant, 1985; McCaughey, 1986). Without this, many felt the Gallery would be irreparably impoverished (Plant, 1985, Churcher, 1985, Galbally, 1985). By 1994 such intentions are no longer articulated within the Acquisitions Policy although there is evidence that in practice such support was forthcoming (McPhee quoted in McCulloch, 1996). Just two years later the situation changed again. Artists are not even identified as stakeholders in the 1996 Strategic Plan but merely aggregated within the disembodied entity of the Gallery's 'cultural consumers' (NGV, 1996:11). These attitudinal changes were accompanied by significant shifts in expenditure on contemporary art. In late 1996 *The Age* (Melbourne) reported that the Gallery had spent $148,348 on the work of living artists in 1995-96 out of a budget of $717,000 for Australian art, compared with $533,868 the previous year and $274,934 the year before that (McCulloch, 1996). As John McPhee, the Gallery's former Co-ordinating Curator of Australian Art, suggested, "You can draw your own conclusions as to what message that sends...." (in McCulloch, 1996).

By 1996, the Gallery's intention, expressed in the Strategic Plan, "is to play a significant role in partnership with Government to achieve the goals of the *Arts 21* strategy" (NGV, 1996:7). By relating directly to the Government's cultural strategy the Gallery's 'infrastructure objective' is to create a new building, to display its 'hidden treasures' and to re-establish itself as the 'pre-eminent Gallery in Australia

[4] Emerging artists were defined as those whose work was not represented in other State Gallery collections (NGV, c.1981).

and the Southern Hemisphere" (NGV, 1996:17 & 6). These goals threaten to subsume the more modest and more vulnerable intention to support the work of living artists:

> Contemporary art needs a deep and broad commitment from the director and trustees to that very small area of art that maybe won't get them on the front page - but will show that the institution is part of today's society (McPhee in McCulloch, 1996).

Art Gallery of New South Wales

> *As always at the very heart of our activities is our acquisitions programme. The acquiring of works of art for the permanent collections, whether by purchase, by gift or bequest, is undoubtedly the most poignant and pervasive of our responsibilities and, in all likelihood, the one (on) which future generations through the benefits and pleasures that they will derive from seeing such works, will make judgements.*
> Edmund Capon, Director, Art Gallery of New South Wales, 1986.

The foundation of the Art Gallery of New South Wales is closely linked to the Academy of Art which was established in 1871 to form an art collection, run an art school and offer public lectures (Thomas, 1972). A Government grant of £500, initially made to the Australian Museum, was transferred to the Academy in 1874 'towards the formation of a Gallery of Art' (AGNSW, 2000; McCulloch, 1994; Galbally, 1992; Thomas, 1972: 40). The Gallery was formally constituted two years later and incorporated by Statute in 1899. It operated under the aegis of the Department of Education until 1971 when it was transferred to the Ministry for Cultural Activities and then, in 1986, to the Ministry for the Arts (AGNSW, 2000; McCulloch, 1994). The Gallery is constituted under the *Art Gallery of New South Wales Act 1980*.

Over the last 125 years the Gallery has developed significant collections in Australian, European and Asian art aiming always to acquire the finest works available (AGNSW, 1993:13). Early limitations to the Collection included reduced acquisitions funds, the regionalism of its Australian collections and the strong focus on British art (Thomas, 1972:55; Free, 1972). Despite these constraints, acquisitions made in the late nineteenth century "signify not only the great moments in the history of Australian art, but also astute acts of recognition by the Gallery in forming its Australian collections" (Pearce, 1988:18). Certainly, acquisitions of Australian art

made since the 1960s have contributed to that legacy and created a comprehensive public collection. The Annual Reports for the last decade clearly suggest that Gallery celebrates traditional connoisseurial attributes - the "adroit and perceptive pursuits of the curators" - which have shaped and enriched the collections (Capon in AGNSW, 1990:11).

Since the mid 1970s the Gallery has taken a lead role in changing the profile of contemporary art in Sydney, and throughout Australia, through its close association with the *Biennale of Sydney* and *Australian Perspecta*. The *Biennale* was the catalyst for the appointment of the Gallery's first curator of contemporary art in 1979 which, in turn, provided the impetus for the Gallery to initiate *Perspecta*. Intent on cementing its commitment to these prestige events, to the advancement of contemporary art practice and the theoretical discourse which was associated with it, the Gallery restructured its curatorial departments within the decade, bringing together Australian and international contemporary art. The principal activity of the Contemporary Art Department was initially envisaged to be the organisation of events, performances and exhibitions. However, the department received several large bequests, [5] and now commands the most substantial independent support of any of the Gallery's curatorial departments. Thus, it has the capacity to acquire new work at a consistent and substantial level (AGNSW, 187:6).

While the Gallery's acquisition and exhibition activity can be tracked through Annual Reports, exhibition catalogues and media reports, there is no formal Acquisition Policy which outlines the Gallery's vision or details collecting priorities (pers. comm. Edwards, 1997). The absence of such documentation does not appear to have adversely affected the Gallery's standing with Government or with its community.

Queensland Art Gallery

The Queensland Art Gallery, like its Southern counterparts, owes its foundation to the efforts and enthusiasm of artists and prominent citizens eager to ensure that the visual arts were available for public education and entertainment. Because the State

[5] These included the Mervyn Horton Bequest for non-Australian contemporary art, the Rudy Komon Memorial Fund for emerging Australian artists and the Henry Salkauskas Fund, a biennial award for contemporary Australian art.

was not as wealthy as either Victoria or New South Wales, establishing cultural institutions in Queensland was slower to eventuate, their progress more fraught and their reputations less illustrious. Following its opening in 1895 the Gallery was housed in a series of temporary locations until, in 1982, it moved finally to purpose-built premises within the Queensland Cultural Centre (Galbally, 1992; Mellish, 1982). Once in its permanent 'home', the Gallery, previously overshadowed by the State Galleries in Melbourne, Sydney and Adelaide, and dogged by its history of dislocation, struggling professional identity and minimal funding, quickly set about conquering its weaknesses.

One legacy of the past was the Collection. It was small, comprising approximately 4,000 works, and far from perfectly formed. The Australian collections, for example, lacked major colonial and plein-airist works and held no characteristic large-scale late nineteenth century landscapes. However, there were acknowledged strengths in British academy works, a few European works of international distinction and a broad, eclectic collection of Australian works, some with iconic status. In addition to a collection of Queensland Art, there were small specialist collections of sculpture, ceramics and works on paper. It was acknowledged that the new building, acclaimed for its architectural merit, allowed sculpture, works on paper and contemporary art to be shown to particular advantage (QAG, 1984). In the building, the existing collections, and in the new collecting strategies for contemporary art lay the foundation for a more certain and stable future.

Between 1980 and 1995 the Gallery operated under two acquisitions policies. The first was used for some years before being adopted by Trustees in August 1984. Following the appointment of a new Director, and after a strategic review, an amended Policy was approved in May 1988. The Gallery reviewed its acquisitions policies regularly thereafter, making revisions from time to time in response to position papers tabled by curatorial departments (QAG, 1984, 1988, 1991, 1994, 1996). Neither the policies nor the reviews were made public. A comparative summary of the Acquisition Policies appears in Table 4 (below). [6]

The table illustrates the narrowing focus of the Gallery's collecting in three particular areas. To begin with the new policies led to a purchasing emphasis on the

[6] An expanded commentary and evaluation of these policies is possible here and in part two of this chapter because the Gallery kindly agreed to release some of its confidential reports for this project.

Table 4: Queensland Art Gallery Acquisitions Policies 1984 and 1988 compared, with annotations passed through Trust Board 1994

Components	1984	1988
Australian Art	• Aim for comprehensive collection; represent major artists & movements with characteristic works • Consolidate strengths post 1950s; reduce deficiencies of 18th & 19th. century, early Modernism, Melbourne Social Realism, Aboriginal Art, particularly contemporary; Australian sculpture of all periods. • Priority for artists not yet represented.	• Acquire pre-Federation works only if of extraordinary significance. • Purchase Australian painting & sculpture 1901-1979; Aboriginal art C.19th - 1979; Queensland Art and profile collections. • Acquire by gift/bequest: Painting & sculpture to 1900 only where work is significant and support current holdings; painting & sculpture which contributes to profile collections.
Contemporary Australian Art	• Strengthen holdings of abstract expressionism, collage, Minimalism and 'overtly political art'; provide some emphasis on installation & performance art. • Current art with representation of experimental, ephemeral and younger artists' work	• Acquire by purchase post 1979 Northern Australian Aboriginal and Islander Art; Queensland-based painting & sculpture. • Acquire by gift/bequest - significant additions to profile collections. • October 1993: Develop holdings of Robert Macpherson. • July 1994: reduce 'complacency' of collections by introducing 'ambitious and intelligent art', art which questions purpose of art. • February 1995: Establish profile collection of Ian Burns.
Criteria	• Works of 'great intrinsic quality' of highest aesthetic merit • Attribution, provenance & condition above reproach	• As previously
Media	• International art glass • Emphasis on graphic achievements • Strongly augment sculpture collection of all periods. • Collect photographs post 1950 • Decorative arts to support collections of paintings, sculpture & works on paper	• Profile collections - Contemporary Australian art post 1970; Queensland based works on paper, paintings, sculpture and decorative arts; work of young/emerging Queensland artists; Political posters • March 1994: develop new profile collection works on paper from Queensland C.19th. and early C.20th.
Method of Acquisition	• Purchase, Gift and Bequest	• Targeted purchase, gift and bequest
Artists	• Aim for comprehensive representation • Priority for Fairweather (exhibition planned 1986).	• July 1994: Women under represented; affirmative action required. • July 1994: Priority for exceptional works by less known Queensland artists
Co-operation	• Ensure duplication within Queensland institutions is minimised.	

art of the twentieth century, although scope still remained to add to historical works to support young and emerging Queensland artists. This was recognised as an area of national responsibility (QAG, 1991). And lastly, the Gallery wanted to re-define and improve its support for Aboriginal art. Since the mid 1980s the Gallery had relied on loans from the Queensland Museum, the Australian Museum and the Anthropology Museum at the University of Queensland to provide context for its small but growing collection of contemporary Aboriginal work. However, for reasons which are not specified, these long-term loans were no longer an option the Gallery wished to pursue. Consequently, the 1988 policy outlines the intention to acquire a small cohesive profile collection of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander work from the nineteenth century to 1970.

Part two of this chapter will analyse the policy's implementation and will provide some indication how closely these acquisition policies are pursued.

National Gallery of Australia

> *The Art Gallery is the power house of the nation's imagination. Imagination is needed to build a great nation but a nation can only by truly great by adding to a universal inheritance.*
> Professor Sir Joseph Burke, quoted in Australian National Gallery, An Introduction

The idea of an art gallery in Australia's national capital is as old as Federation. Designs for it featured in Walter Burley Griffin's master plan for Canberra (NGA, 1976:10). A national gallery was envisaged in a variety of ways. In 1911 Prime Minister Fisher saw it as a "collection of portraits of representative men" (ibid.; McCulloch, 1994: 814). The Commonwealth Art Advisory Board, established by Fisher in 1912 to advise on suitable commissions and to begin acquisitions, viewed the gallery more broadly as a collection of Australian art (ibid.: 12). In 1996 the National Gallery Committee of Enquiry (the Lindsay Committee) reported to the Federal Government that the new gallery should be concerned not only with development of a comprehensive collection of Australian art, including Aboriginal art, but also with art of its region, with art of the twentieth century and with the preservation of works of art from 'primitive cultures' in rapid transformation (ibid.: 17; NGA, 1994: 44). Government accepted the Lindsay Committee's

Table 5: National Gallery of Australia Acquisition Policies 1976 and 1994 compared

Components	1976	1994
Australian Art	• The first priority is to form the national collection of Australian art. • A comprehensive collection & focus for all other NGA collections. • Represent major figures & movements in depth; finest works by minor figures . • To contain fine & applied arts, • Aboriginal Art within tribal traditions through Dept. of Primitive Art, all other within Australian Art • Repository collections for study e.g. sketchbooks, artists' notes etc.	• To present a comprehensive collection of Australian art in all media • To collect for display and reference • To collect evolving traditions of Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islander Art, with an emphasis on contemporary work & historical precedents • To collect paintings and sculpture to illustrate multiple viewpoints
Contemporary Australian Art	• Representation of international major movements from 1850 to present which have an impacted on Australian art. • 'Art Current' programme to provide first-hand experience of new developments at the moment these trends emerge.	• To collect Australian contemporary art in depth
Criteria	• Highest aesthetic standards	• Artistic excellence
Media	• Prints, drawings & illustrated books from 1800. • Sculpture • Decorative Arts inc. theatre arts, fashion, • Photography: comprehensive international & Aust. Major works.	• To comprehensively collect prints, drawings & photographs for display & reference, national in scope & responsive to cultural diversity. Support selected artists in-depth • To selectively collect outstanding achievements of applied arts for display and reference
Acquisition Method	• Purchase and Gift	• Purchase and gift
Artists	• National focus	• National focus. To collect from all regions and periods.
Co-operation	• Co-operation & consultation between all cultural institutions with similar overlapping interests & collecting policies & specialisation	• As previously
Principles		• To collect within terms of acquisition policy, according to priorities. • Australian art to be collected for display and reference. • To apply the acquisitions policy to all acquisitions including gifts. • To respect all conventions on the purchase & export of cultural property

recommendations and despite considerable public opposition from those who wanted a National Gallery of Australian Art, it was the Committee's vision which guided the policy and future developments.[7] But, insufficient finance and debate over a suitable site delayed the project for many years. One member of the House of Representatives quipped: "The Government's progress on this important national responsibility has been like that of a lawyer towards heaven - at the rate of an inch each Good Friday" (Hayden quoted in Steven, 1982:17). Nevertheless, the official opening of the Gallery in October 1982 was cause for celebration. Proclaimed an 'Event of National Importance' the occasion was televised and broadcast to an audience of nearly 2 million Australians (NGA, 1982:3).

While the National Collection began early in the century there were few acquisitions. It is estimated that the Commonwealth Art Advisory Board had acquired approximately 1,100 works between its inception and the mid 1960s (NGA, 1994:14). The rate of acquisition accelerated in the decade after 1966 and at the time the National Gallery Act passed in Parliament in 1976, the Collection comprised approximately 23,000 works. By 1982 this had grown to almost 62,000 works and by 1994 to just under 90,000 works. Australian Art made up about 55% of the Collection.[8] Approximately 62% of the Gallery's total collections have been acquired by purchase (NGA, 2000).

Given its young life, the Gallery's achievements are considerable. Such intensive collecting on an international scale and within a relatively short period of time has relied on support from many quarters: substantial resources and bi-partisan support from the Federal Government; the expertise of staff and advisors, and on the goodwill of donors. The Gallery's activities attracted intense scrutiny from government, the media and the general public. Accusations of conspicuous extravagance were frequently levelled at the Gallery, particularly in relation to its

[7] A slightly more racy version of this vision was promoted by Robert Hughes in a radio broadcast in 1972: "The one thing Australian art can't afford right now is to be defensive. Any sense of identity... that bases itself on the idea of keeping up boundaries becomes in the end repressive and it slides into cultural neurosis. If the jambs aren't kicked out Australian art will largely remain a matter of furniture painting and cultural fetishism" (Quoted in Lloyd & Desmond, 1992:5).

[8] NGA estimates for collections - Paintings and Sculpture, 3,500; prints & Illustrated Books, 24,000 items; Drawings 20,000 sheets; Photography, 7,000. No estimates for Aboriginal Art or for Decorative Arts were available (NGA, 1994:17-33).

acquisitions of major international works.[9] It has been essential, therefore, that its professional practices were beyond reproach. In this respect, the National Gallery's practices were often more advanced than other Australian museums. The publication of its Acquisitions Policies in 1976 and 1994 is just one indication of such professional endeavour.

The Gallery's intention in creating the Collection of Australian art, was to "present the country's art in the wider context of the cultures from which (Australian) society has developed" (NGA, 1994:17). In keeping with the Lindsay Committee's recommendations, the Gallery sought to develop collections of Aboriginal Art and to demonstrate the evolving traditions of indigenous art practice operating throughout the country. As Table 5 (next page) indicates, the Gallery's overall aim was to develop a comprehensive collection for display and reference, encompassing the fine and decorative arts, which would represent major movements and artists as well as selectively representing lesser known artists. The aim to represent media, regions, movements and artists comprehensively has resulted in such extensive collections.

Part Two: Collecting in Practice

This section evaluates the implementation of acquisition policies in each of the four art museums. It does so by comparing the rhetoric of acquisition policy with the reality of collecting outcomes, testing for consistencies and inconsistencies between policy and practice. To this end, Part Two is divided into four sections. The aim is to develop a profile for individual art museums and to provide an overview of trends which describe the total contribution these four institutions have made to collecting contemporary Australian art over a fifteen year period.

It is anticipated that the statistical methods which have been used to quantify collecting outcomes will throw any disparities between policy and practice into sharp relief. Because the study analyses fifteen years of acquisitions, it avoids some of the sharp, short-term fluctuations, such as downturns in the art market or changes in curatorial personnel, which might distort its findings and diminish its validity as an

[9] In 1972-75, at the height of the debate over the costs of international acquisitions few realised that the sum of $572,238 spent on Australian art represented the largest amount ever spent by any Australian Government in such a timeframe (Lloyd & Desmond, 1992; Whitlam, 1985:566).

indicator of the strengths and weaknesses of policy implementation. Nevertheless, as outlined in the Introduction to this thesis, while statistics can create compelling indications of trends, they blur important distinctions of institutional behaviour and artistic styles. Where necessary, the statistical analysis which follows is augmented by caveats or further explanation.

This evaluation of collecting practice relies primarily on raw data tables developed from the database established for this project. Rather than introduce raw data in this chapter, statistical graphing methods have been used wherever possible to present the key features of the findings and illustrate the analysis which follows.

The analysis of the raw data is organised as indicated below:

1. Overview	1.1 Number of acquisitions 1980 - 1995 1.2 Changes in the rate of acquisition after 1987 1.3 Range of acquisitions 1.4 Value and number of acquisitions
2. Media	2.1 Installation, electronic and performance art 2.2 Decorative arts 2.3 Pictorial art 2.4 Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islander Art
3. Method of acquisition	3.1 Purchase 3.2 Gift
4. Artists	4.1 Number 4.2 Gender 4.3 Emerging artists

1. Overview

This study investigates acquisitions by purchase, gift and bequest of Australian art, in all media, made after 1970 and acquired between 1980 and 1995 by the Art Gallery of New South Wales, the National Gallery of Australia, the National Gallery of Victoria and the Queensland Art Gallery.

1.1 Number of acquisitions 1980 - 1995

All four art museums identify Australian art as a priority for collection development and aim to collect comprehensively.

As Figure 3, below, indicates a total of 24,068 works of contemporary Australian art have been acquired by these four art museums between 1980 and 1995. The National Gallery of Australia has acquired 12,865 works, almost 54% of the total, and more than the other three institutions combined. (Also refer to Appendix 6).

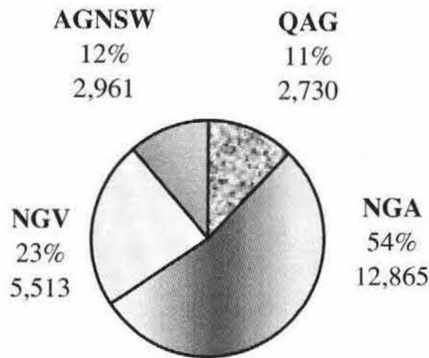
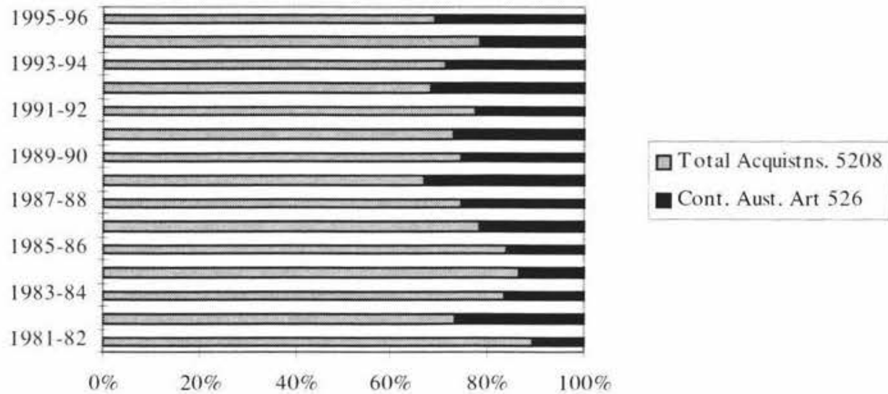


Figure 3: Total Acquisitions 1980 - 1995

The National Gallery of Australia's dominant position is consistent with its acquisitions policy which, as Part One of this Chapter has shown, aims to develop a comprehensive collection in all media suitable for display and research. It also reflects the Gallery's considerable financial resources, including funds for acquisitions, which are consistently higher than those of the other art museums surveyed (See Appendix 3). Data released recently by the National Gallery of Australia (NGA, 2000), allows the acquisitions of contemporary Australian art to be placed into a comparative context within its total acquisitions programme. Between 1974 and 1990 the Gallery acquired an average of 4,300 works annually which 'slowed', after 1990, to an average of 2,000 works a year. Figure 4, below, illustrates this trend, but it also shows that acquisitions of contemporary Australian art have increased in proportion to total acquisitions since the late 1980s (see also Appendix 7). Over the fifteen year period surveyed, on average, 30% of the National Gallery's acquisitions are contemporary Australian works.



Source: NGA, 2000 Corporate Plan 1999-and Art Management System

Figure 4: Contemporary Australian Art Acquisitions National Gallery of Australia

Data available from the Queensland Art Gallery indicates that its policy to promote contemporary Australian Art is being pursued vigorously (See Appendix 8). Although operating from a smaller base than the National Gallery of Australia, almost two-thirds of the Queensland Art Gallery's acquisitions between 1990 and 1994/5 are contemporary Australian works.

1.2 Changes in the rate of acquisitions after 1987

The rate of acquisition increases in all four art museums after 1987. This is illustrated by Figure 5, below. (See also Appendix 9).

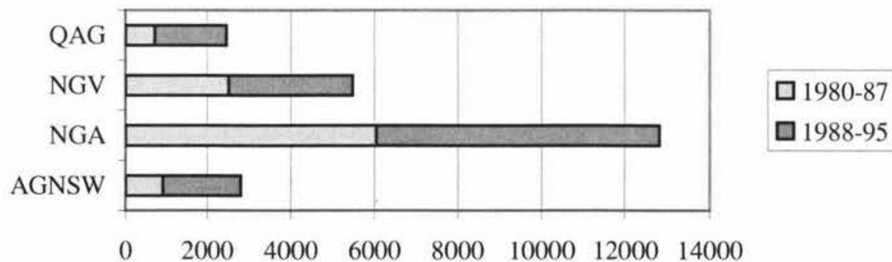


Figure 5: Rate of Acquisitions of Contemporary Australian Art 1980-87 & 1988-95.

Between 1988 and 1995 the National Gallery of Australia and the National Gallery of Victoria experience modest increases of 6% and 10% respectively. For both Galleries this growth is primarily the result of increased acquisitions of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Art. A brief discussion of this phenomenon occurs later in this section and a fuller account can be found in Chapter 4.

The increases experienced at the Art Gallery of New South Wales (69%) and the Queensland Art Gallery (74%) are more striking, but the causes of this growth have quite different explanations. After 1987 acquisition activity at the Art Gallery of New South Wales is most pronounced in drawings, prints, Aboriginal Art and photographs. There is strong evidence to indicate that the increase in the Gallery's total operations budget assists funding for all acquisitions (refer to Appendix 3). The Gallery's acquisitions vote doubles to $1.5 million in 1985/86, and there are regular and significant rises thereafter, particularly between 1988 and 1990 (with a peak of $5 million), and again in 1992/93 ($3.5 million). Also, several bequests assist in developing the Gallery's acquisitions of contemporary art. While it is not possible to determine how much of the increased acquisitions funding is directed specifically towards contemporary Australian art, it is reasonable to assume that the benefits of increased funding are experienced in this area of collection development.

The Queensland Art Gallery's growth is 'across the board'; all its collecting areas show marked increases after 1987. As indicated in Part One, this growth reflects the implementation of new strategic objectives and management structure, and major revisions to the acquisitions policy. These strategic changes, revealed in the data, suggest real, rather than rhetorical changes to the institution.

1.3 Range of acquisitions

The National Gallery of Australia, the National Gallery of Victoria and the Queensland Art Gallery collect across all areas initially identified for this project (See Appendix 1). To avoid duplicating collections held at the Powerhouse Museum, the Art Gallery of New South Wales does not collect any Australian decorative arts. Analysis of the raw data found in Appendix 10 shows that all four collections are strongly weighted towards prints and photographs. This is most evident at the National Gallery of Australia where almost 54% (6,582) of its total acquisitions are prints. In contrast, only by aggregating the diverse types of practice do decorative arts appear to make any impact on acquisitions. The paucity of

decorative arts within the collections surveyed relegates them to minor support collections. Even fewer works represent the more experimental media, such as electronic art, performance works and installation.

The trends identified for individual collections are replicated and consistent with the 'big picture' illustrated by Figure 6, below.

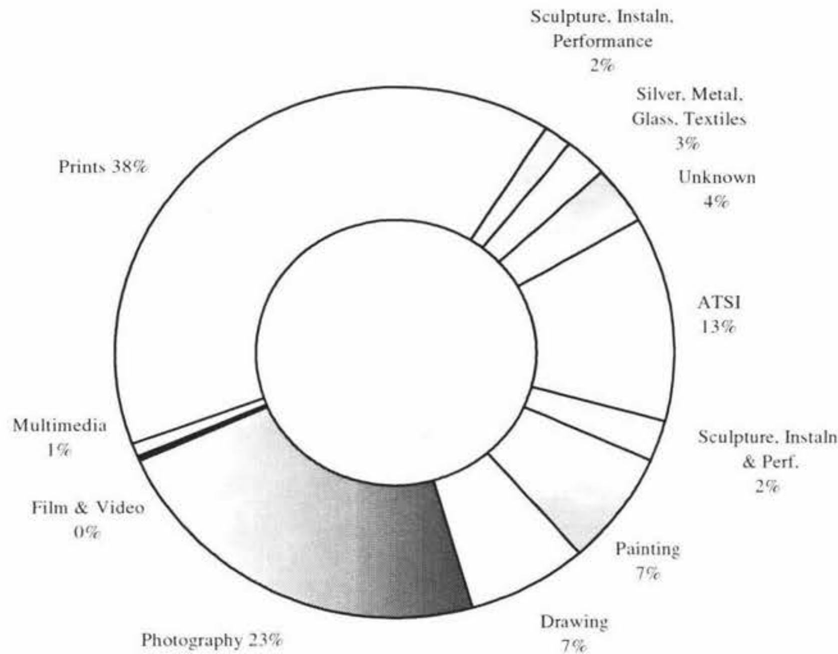


Figure 6: Range of Acquisitions by Media 1980 - 1995

1.4 Value and number of acquisitions

The Queensland Art Gallery was the only institution which agreed to provide information on acquisition expenditure. Given the structure of the art market in Australia, it is assumed that expenditures will be of a similar order for most works of art acquired by all four galleries. The main exception is for work by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander artists. As Chapter 4 will demonstrate, the Queensland Art Gallery's early acquisitions, principally made to support the exhibition *Balance 1990*, were modestly priced, and estimates provided here will be lower as a result. Nevertheless, a comparison of estimated acquisition expenditure with the number of acquisitions in particular media, is presented in Figure 7, below. This figure shows

that the greatest expenditure is directed towards the acquisition of paintings. It is estimated that half the total acquisition funds (approximately $19 million) are expended on 7% (1,681) works.

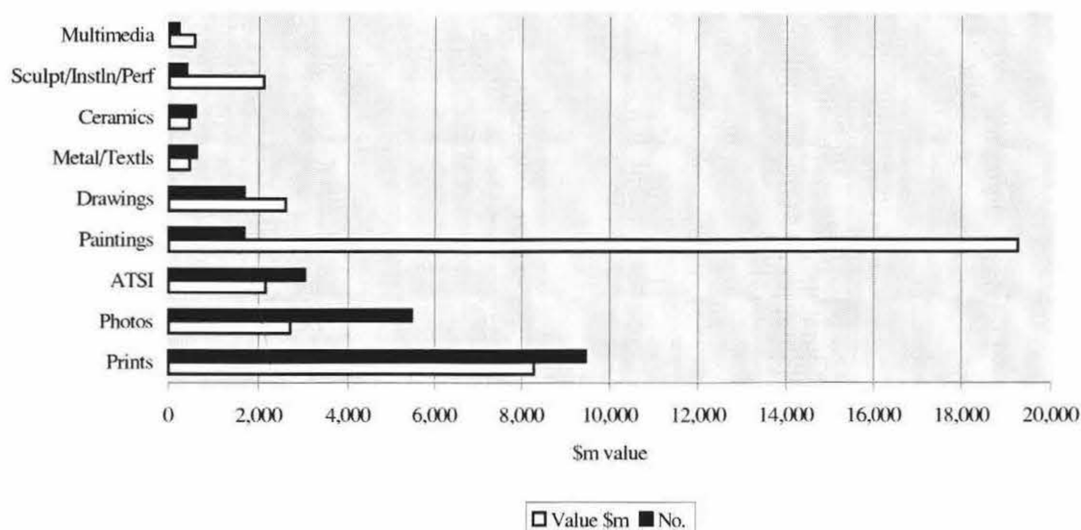


Figure 7: Value of Acquisitions and Number of Works 1980 - 1995

At this point, presentation of data has only provided a cursory, 'baseline' understanding of the extent of acquisitions in the four art museums. For the National Gallery of Australia, and in a more limited way for the Queensland Art Gallery, it has been possible to show that Australian contemporary art is a significant component of collection development. In addition, two significant trends have been identified. The first concerns the quantity of acquisitions and shows that works on paper, particularly prints and photographs, dominate. Totalling almost 15,000 works, these two media account for 62% of all acquisitions. The second trend concerns expenditure. Here, just 1,681 paintings - only 7% of all acquisitions - command half of all outlays, estimated to be $19 million. These two contrasting trends provide the foundation for further analysis of the data, particularly concerning media, method of acquisition and artists, which follow.

2. Media

Contemporary art challenges the *status quo*. It seeks to invent or explore new ideas and idioms as it attempts to confront, interrogate or re-interpret the familiar. Paradoxically, contemporary art is connected to its antecedents at the same time that it seeks distance from them. Contemporary art's antecedents lie in the traditional media of painting, drawing, sculpture and printmaking. More recently the lexicon of contemporary practice has been expanded by experimental photographic techniques, various forms of electronic art, installation, body art and performance works, or by the fusion of different art forms. While the use of new media on its own cannot be taken as proof of the vigour or quality of contemporary art practice, it is one feature of its experimental and innovative characteristics.

Statements and philosophies supporting the experimental and innovative nature of contemporary art permeate exhibition catalogues, inflect public debate and infuse acquisition policies. Already, this thesis has intimated that curiosity about contemporary art is widespread and that government cultural policy has promoted new media as part of the 'knowledge economy'. To varying extent the art museums in this study have sought to support contemporary art and its practitioners by either expressly seeking to collect new media or aiming to "represent contemporary art fully within the collection".

It is this context which prompted the investigation of collecting trends in relation to discrete art forms which follows. Two hypotheses invite examination. The first: that over the survey period, collections would increasingly reflect the presence of less traditional art forms such as multimedia, installation and electronic works. The second: that the gap between the fine arts - traditionally including painting, sculpture and drawing - and the decorative arts, also referred to as craft or applied arts, would have closed, or at least have narrowed considerably. Based on the evidence presented below, it appears that neither of these hypotheses can be supported.

2.1 Installation, electronic and performance art

From the 1970s much art has challenged prevailing notions of Modernism by confronting such formal definitions as 'artist', 'curator', 'art museum', 'collectible' and 'connoisseurship'. Some art has been deliberately ephemeral or transient,

challenging art museums' traditional, conservative conception of, and attachment to, the materiality of objects.

All four art museums acknowledge the importance of non-pictorial art as a marker of contemporary practice, yet installation, performance, assemblage and electronic art make little impact on any of the collections investigated (See Figure 6 above). Art museums in this study regularly exhibit alternative artforms. Acquisition policies purposefully emphasise the innovative contributions of conceptual art to Contemporary Australian Art (NGA, 1994; NGV, 1994; QAG, 1988). In some cases there have been attempts to 'kick start' collections of video art. In 1994, for example, the Queensland Art Gallery set aside development funds to commission advice and buy new work (QAG, 1994, Minute No. 144.8.1). While strategic reviews of collecting activity have repeatedly highlighted the omission of conceptual art and new forms of electronic art in one institution (QAG, 1991, 1994, 1995), such gaps and deficiencies are widespread. The anomaly between the rhetoric of acquisitions policy and the reality of practice is thus starkly exposed.

2.2 Decorative arts

From the time of its opening in 1982, the National Gallery of Australia took the lead by integrating decorative arts, in all media, into the permanent display of Australian art. Such action "challenges any assumptions that artistic achievement is to be found exclusively in the so-called 'fine arts' of painting and sculpture, and asserts that it may be found equally in a poster, a snapshot, or an embroidered cushion cover". (NGA, 1994:5). Other galleries quickly followed this lead by developing acquisition policies supporting comprehensive and representative collections of decorative arts (NGA, 1994:32-33; NGV, 1984:11) or of a particular media such as ceramics or glass art (QAG, 1988).

However, such policy and display strategies mask several incongruities. Generally, annual increases to collections of decorative arts, even to nominated profile collections, are modest. On average, galleries acquire fewer than twelve works each year (see Appendix 11). Even when peaks do occur, for example at the National Gallery of Victoria in 1986 or, at the Queensland Art Gallery in 1990, they happen primarily because of donations or exhibitions.

While many museums specifically acquire material for exhibitions, there are inherent dangers in this practice which may dilute collecting priorities. Acquisition

policies are silent on how to effectively balance long-term collecting needs with imperatives of exhibition development. The issue is a contentious one in museum circles and fuels a perennial 'chicken and egg' debate about whether museums collect to exhibit or, exhibit to collect. There are no simple answers, but several 'case studies' have emerged during this project which throw light on this issue.

Decorated Clay, an exhibition developed by the Queensland Art Gallery in 1991 to coincide with the Sixth National Ceramics Conference, offers a pertinent example. Co-ordinated by the Gallery's Regional Services Program, the exhibition fulfilled the State and Federal Government's cultural policy objectives for touring exhibitions to regional and remote areas. As a national survey exhibition, the exhibition included some work by Queensland ceramicists, including four from regional areas of the State, so meeting criteria stipulated in the Gallery's acquisition policy. It was agreed that the exhibition was of a high standard, that it brought attention to the work of at least one ceramicist not previously represented in a public collection, and it 'hit the mark' with conference delegates and funders. The political pragmatism of the exhibition is unmistakable; it met both political and artistic agendas successfully.

Why then, does the Queensland Art Gallery's 1991 Strategic Review remonstrate with the Decorative Arts department for "being consistent but far too sporadic in applying the Acquisitions Policy"? (QAG, 1991). The answer is graphically illustrated by the ten year trough between 1981 and 1991, illustrated in Figure 8. Quite simply, the Gallery made no consistently dedicated attempt to collect ceramics since a previous initiative in 1982. While some emphasis has been accorded this particular exhibition here, the example is not an isolated one.

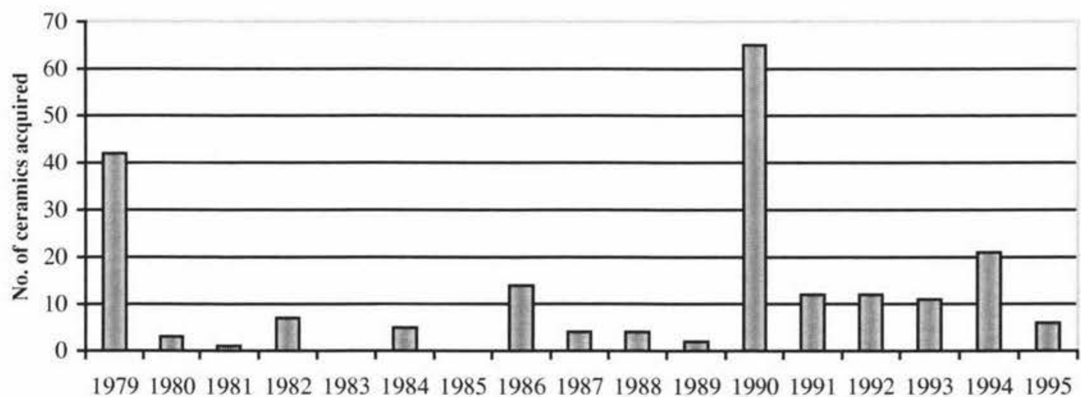


Figure 8: Queensland Art Gallery Ceramics Acquisitions 1980 - 1995

2.3 Pictorial art (drawings, paintings, photographs and prints)

As Figure 9, below, shows, acquisitions of pictorial art make up more than 88% of all acquisitions. This finding is consistent with the previous discussion concerning prints and photographs and experimental art forms, but several implications arise which have not been presented so far.

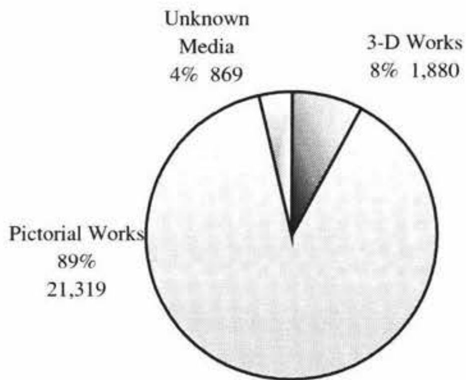


Figure 9: Total Acquisitions Pictorial and 3-Dimensional Forms Compared

The size and depth of the print collection developed by the National Gallery of Australia enables it to stand in its own right as well as being a support collection for Australian and International art. This collection is one of national significance and is widely regarded as the country's principal repository and study centre (NGA, 1994: 24-25). Like the National Gallery, the three other Galleries in this study also aim to collect prints comprehensively. Over time, this aim has been tempered by diminishing resources and by the National Gallery's ability to take such commanding leadership. This is illustrated vividly in Figure 10, below.

As a response to these circumstances at least one Gallery has sought to profile regional achievements. Arguably, it is the Queensland Art Gallery which has most consistently attempted to strengthen its holdings of Queensland-based work (QAG, 1988 and 1994). Certainly its collection of works on paper demonstrates a consistent commitment to meet these objectives (QAG, 1991, 1993, 1994). As Chapter One suggests, such strategies also correspond with State Government cultural policy to promote 'Queensland made'. In other Galleries maintenance of a national focus pre-empts the local or regional.

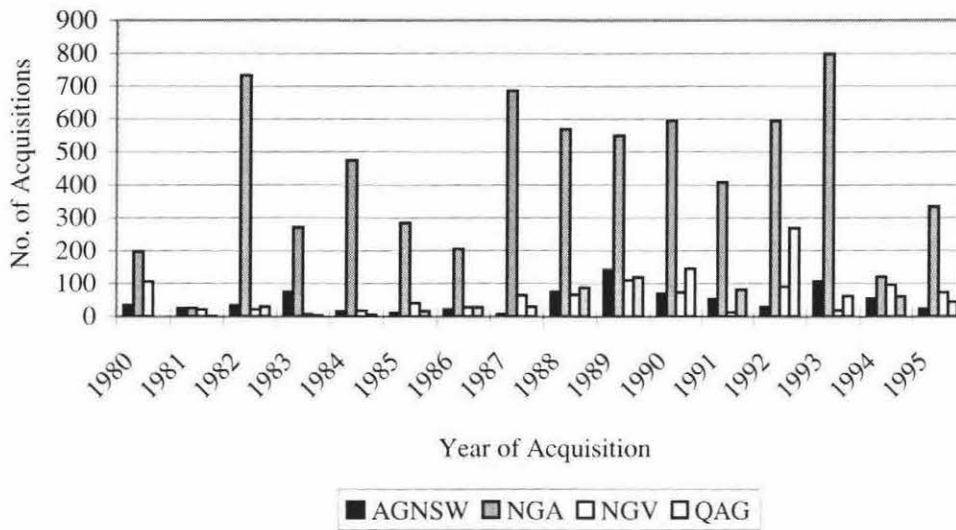


Figure 10: National Trends Print Acquisitions 1980 - 1995

The strength of the National Gallery of Australia's print collection together with increasing print collecting activity demonstrated by the other three Galleries after 1988, suggests that print collections may duplicate one another. While it has been difficult to pinpoint this accurately from the raw data,[10] there is evidence that extensive overlap does exist. Although co-operation between collecting institutions is mentioned in all acquisitions policies, this is one instance when close collaboration among Galleries is warranted.

2.4 Collecting work by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander artists

A salient feature of this research project has been to identify the rapid growth in acquisitions of work by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander artists, particularly after 1987. This is illustrated by Figure 11, below.

As Part One of this Chapter has already shown, the National Gallery of Australia was the only art museum to include Aboriginal Art in its acquisition policies from the outset. Although the Art Gallery of New South Wales had commenced collecting in this area during the 1950s and 1960s, those initiatives lapsed. By the mid 1980s all four Galleries had policies to support acquisitions of

[10] The raw data received from the Galleries does not identify editions, states, artist's or printer's proofs, state proofs or 'bon a tirer' prints all of which have different significance, especially in the development of a study collection.

work by Aboriginal artists (NGV, 1985; QAG, 1988) and acquisitions surged. It is the National Gallery of Australia and the National Gallery of Victoria which develop the most comprehensive collections of Aboriginal Art. The National Gallery of Victoria's Aboriginal Art collection increased ten-fold between 1988 and 1995 to become the second largest area of collecting within the Gallery.

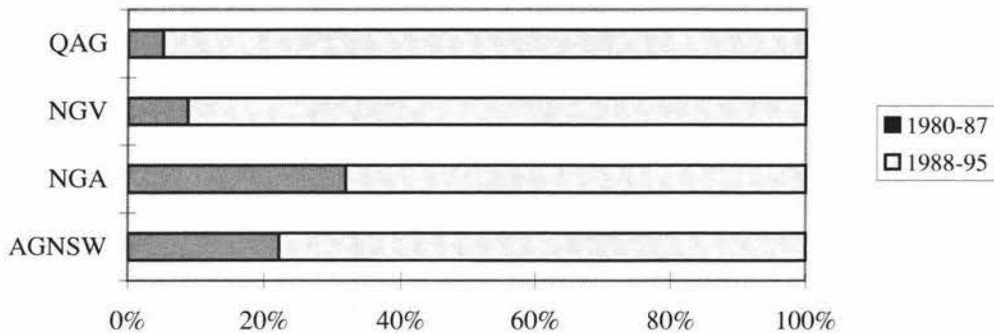


Figure 11: Acquisitions of Aboriginal Art 1980 - 87 and 1988 - 95 Compared

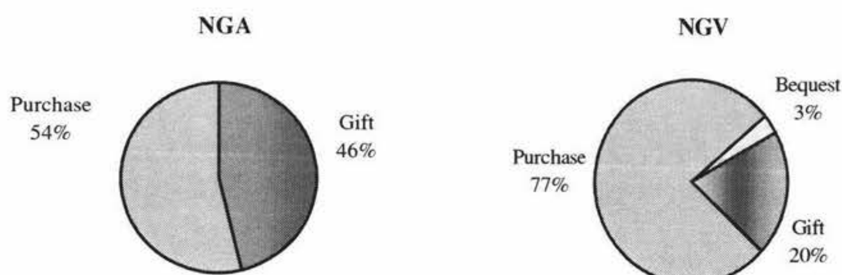
Generally, support for contemporary Aboriginal Art eventuated within the parameters of existing acquisitions' funding of each institution. An extended discussion concerning the purchase of contemporary work by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander artists is the subject of Chapter 4.

3. Method of acquisition

3.1 Purchase

It has been said that the tenor of a collection is best realised by purchasing works rather than relying on gifts or bequests (Saines, 1999). This statement strongly suggests that purchases allow specific acquisition goals to be advanced more cogently and consistently.

Figure 12, below and over, provides a comparison of acquisition methods for the four Galleries and shows that purchase is the most common form of acquisition.



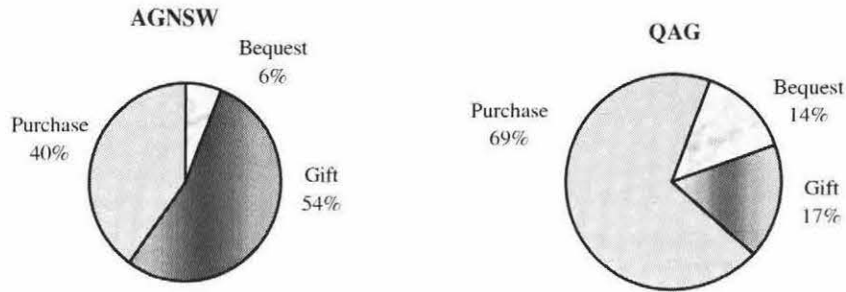


Figure 12: Method of Acquisition All Institutions 1980 - 1995

Sources of acquisition funds are diverse: annual Government grants, admission revenue, bequests and endowments, Art Foundations and one-off grants. A breakdown of these various forms of revenue for acquisitions at the National Gallery of Victoria and the Queensland Art Gallery is presented in Figure 13, below.

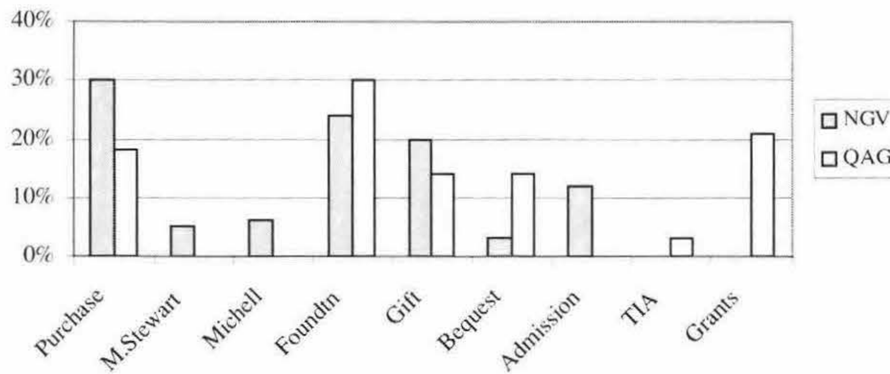


Figure 13: Sources of Revenue for Acquisition by Purchase

It is, perhaps the Art Foundations which have made the most lasting impact on the purchasing power of the four art museums surveyed. In the period under review, 24% of the National Gallery of Victoria's, and 30% of the Queensland Art Gallery's contemporary Australian Art acquisitions were funded in this way (see Figure 13).

By the 1980s each of the Galleries had established its own Art Foundation as a means to raise funds, from the business sector and from individuals, to be used expressly for acquisitions. Such endeavours were necessitated by decreases in

government appropriations for acquisitions and the rising costs of the art market. Together these circumstances strained institutional budgets and often placed desirable acquisitions beyond reach of the Galleries.

Over time, the Foundations' trust funds have become instrumental to acquisitions. There is also evidence that these Foundations have championed the development of contemporary art collections. The National Gallery of Victoria Foundation, for example, continues its strong support of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander art, with several leading mining companies contributing funds to this high profile collection. The Queensland Art Gallery Foundation is closely associated with the Gallery's Contemporary Art Acquisitions Program.

Paradoxically, at the very time that governments urge greater business support for the arts, surveys show that, overall, such support is falling (DCA, 1996; DCITA, 1999). The Art Foundations work against that trend, and by continuing to provide mainstay assistance to Galleries, become useful models of the public-private partnership favoured by governments. It is, perhaps, just such examples of conspicuous success which allow governments to maintain, rather than reduce, subsidies to these four flagship Galleries (see Appendix 3).

3.2 Gifts

Acquisition policies acknowledge the importance of gifts by referring to the generosity of past donors and pointing to the important legacies such actions have bestowed. In a sense the opportunism of accepting gifts is the antithesis of conscious planning and foresight concomitant with tightly focused policy development. This may, in part, explain the ambivalence with which gifts are viewed.[11]

Figures 12 and 13, above, underscore the contribution that gifts make to collection development particularly at the Art Gallery of New South Wales where 60% of acquisitions are gifts. In reality, however, Galleries constrain gifts within the parameters of policy. If collections are defined by purchase, then it seems, they are supported and extended with gifts provided that they meet controlled criteria.

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[11] See for example: NGA Strategic Plan 1999-2000 "The change away from the tightly focused policy was due in part to the controversy generated by the acquisition of ...*Blue Poles*... to avoid further difficulty the Gallery complied with the Government's wishes to purchase or accept gifts...". QAG, 1984: "The Gallery welcomes gifts and bequests that meet the stated criteria and encourages individual collectors and community groups to present works to the people of the State. [This paragraph is not, of course, appropriate in any public release of this Preamble.]"

4 Artists

4.1 Number

The database developed for this project has identified a total of 3,946 individual artists of whom almost a quarter (979) are artists of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island descent.

4.2 Gender

There are more males than females represented in these collections (see Figure 14), below. This is in sharp contrast to specific references to foster the work of women artists which appear in the institutional policy documents. It also runs counter to the prevailing patterns provided by Throsby and Thompson (1994) which indicate that there are more females than males practising as visual artists. Chapter 3 provides an extended discussion on women artists and their representation in Gallery collections.

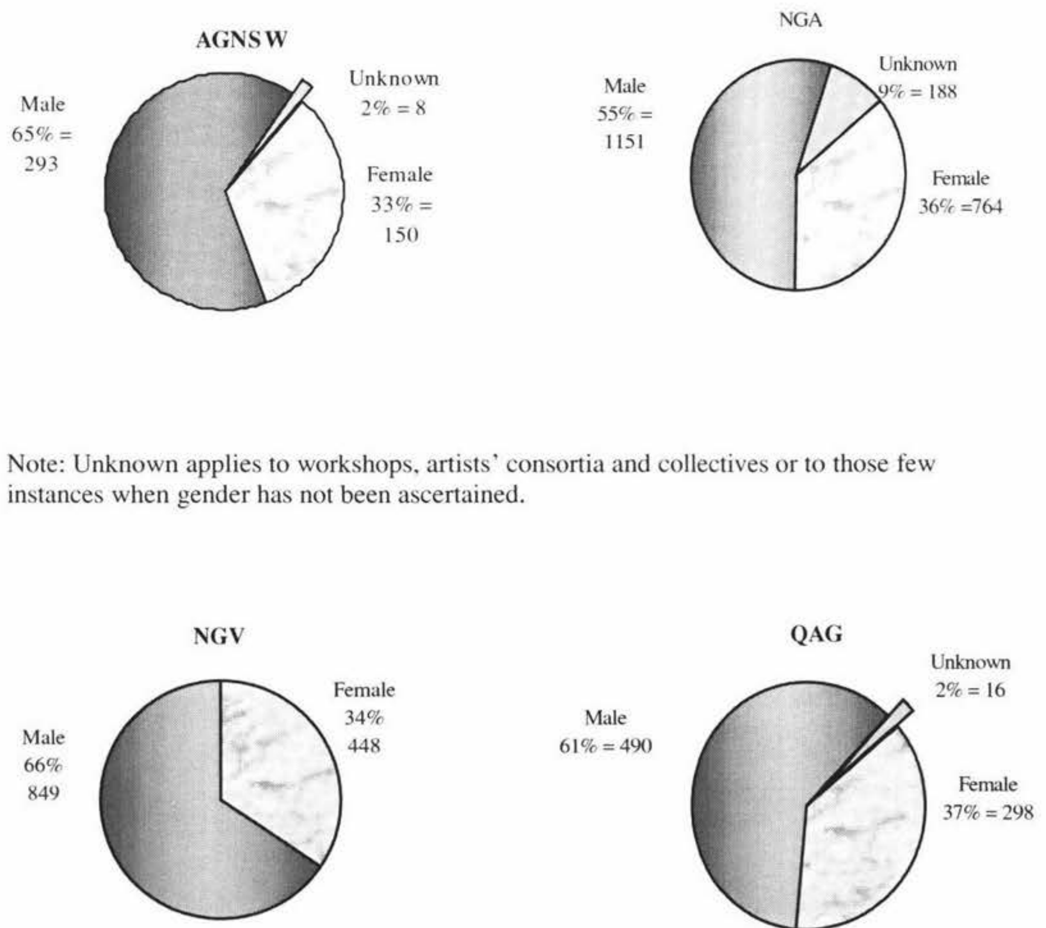


Figure 14: Gender Total Number Contemporary Australian Artists Acquired 1980 - 1995

4.3 Emerging artists

Age distribution of artists at first acquisition was investigated as a means of assessing policy principles supporting younger and emerging artists. Overall, the majority of artists are over 55 years of age when acquired, but a significant proportion of artists fall into the age brackets ranging between 30 and 44 years. Table 6 provides a summary of these findings.

Table 6: Age at First Acquisition (%)

Under 19 years	20-24 Years	25-29 Years	30-34 Years	35-39 Years	40-44 Years	45-49 Years	50-54 Years	Over 55 Years
3%	3%	12%	17%	17%	13%	7%	7%	20%

Note: The majority of those included in the under 19 years bracket are artists' collectives

Some upward variations do occur within individual Galleries. The National Gallery of Australia acquires a higher proportion (21%) of work by younger artists in the 30-34 years age range, and at the Queensland Art Gallery 20% of artists are between 35-39 years old. Nevertheless, the profile suggests that collections of contemporary Australian Art are most likely to include mid career and senior artists. Overall, Galleries demonstrate a cautious approach to collecting the work of emerging artists.

For some directors the roles and responsibilities of Galleries are quite clear in relation to emerging talent: "National galleries reward excellence by representing artists who have shown their mettle, who have survived for six to ten years and look as if they will work on into the future" (Mollison, 1989:6). For others like Patrick McCaughey and Doug Hall, the responsibility to support emerging artists made in the mid 1980s is no longer seen as pragmatic or a priority of collecting policy (QAG, 1996; NGV, 1996). Acquisitions policies have been amended accordingly.

The clearest evidence of the sifting process used to define and refine public collections comes not at the point of first acquisition but at the moments of decision-making concerning subsequent acquisitions of work by artists already represented in those collections. Analysis of the data reveals that 2,493 (68%) artists are acquired

once. Repeat acquisitions fall away sharply thereafter; only 288 (7%) artists have work acquired five or more times during the fifteen-year survey period. Figure 15 illustrates this below (see also Appendix 12).

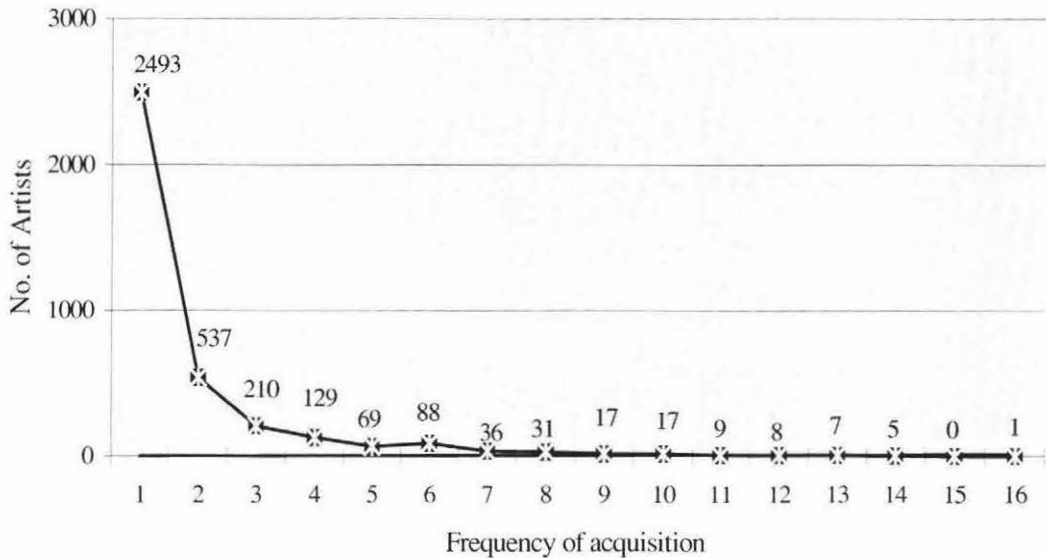


Figure 15: Frequency of Artists Acquired 1980 - 1995

Among these most frequently acquired artists just 47 are born in 1955 or later. Small as this group is there are some interesting characteristics which emerge and which are distinctive from older frequently acquired artists. This group of younger artists practises a range of art forms and is more balanced in terms of ethnicity and gender. Unlike their male counterparts who are painters, photographers and experimental print-makers, about a quarter of the women artists in this group are engaged in producing installation, performance and video art. But the Conceptual and Minimalist artists are not among this group. It is, of course, impossible to predict whether such a sample is a small sign of broadening attitudes concerning acquisitions or whether among these few artists there are those who will be chosen to join the canon of late twentieth century Australian artists. That several of them have been shown in major national and international exhibitions, suggests the latter. Those who have had work selected for such exhibitions generally create work high in narrative content and replete with iconographic intent, not conceptual work about art.

This situation is, perhaps, another sign that the verities of Modernism's aesthetic, as pursued by the art museum, endure.

Despite the tantalising prospect of change to acquisition practice, in reality such change is illusory. The first two sections of this chapter compared policy with practice. Reflecting on the outcomes of practice where predisposition to pictorial rather than experimental art forms prevail, where gender disparities dominate and where curatorial complacency to the nuances and differences of contemporary art masquerades as connoissueurship, it appears now that policy too is deficient. Policy was initially portrayed here as the process by which vision is articulated and promoted. When that vision rests on prevalent but ill-defined assumptions about 'aesthetic merit' and connoisseurship better suited to Modernism, and when those assumptions are neither tested nor re-defined to account for the varieties of contemporary practice, then it is not surprising that uniform collections result. Moreover, policy becomes the process through which some are summoned but few are chosen. For many their place is in the representative or systematic collections of prints or perhaps photographs. Others, principally the painters, are promoted to the élite corps installed in permanent collection display. The very few are accorded iconic status.

Acquisition policy and its enactment are ideologically inscribed to produce and reproduce those conservative forms of cultural capital most valued by society. The extent to which that conservative aesthetic is fostered is further demonstrated by examination of the Commonwealth Government's Taxation Incentives for the Arts Scheme.

Part Three: Taxation Incentives for the Arts Scheme [12]

> *The value of this scheme is inestimable for public institutions...for it is the prime means of attracting valuable works. It is one of the few Commonwealth Government schemes which is of any direct benefit to a state institution..."*
>
> Patrick McCaughey, Director, National Gallery of Victoria, Annual Report 1984-85.

[12] The analysis presented here relies on raw data obtained from the Department of Communication and the Arts for the period 1986/7 to 1995/6. DCA administers TIA but nevertheless admits that this material has some flaws due to the limitations of its database (DCA pers. comm, 24 March 1997). DCA's material was crosschecked against annual reports of the art museums concerned and against data compiled for the Art Management System generated for this research.

Tax incentives are the most ubiquitous form of indirect aid to the arts (Schuster, 1986:353), yet remain poorly documented and analysed. What is rarely understood is that tax incentives are a form of cultural policy with commercial and artistic outcomes which invite scrutiny commensurate with the critical investigation accorded to direct forms of cultural support.

Much of what is written in relation to the Australian Tax incentives Scheme for the Arts (TIA) is laudatory, praising the value, quality and range of donations to collecting institutions (DCA 1995 & 1997; Fish, 1992; NGV-AR, McCaughey, 1985). The Department of Communication and the Arts' (DCA) commentary on the Scheme perpetuates a particular rhetoric adopted by government and museums, which aims to endorse the success of TIA and the longevity of the scheme and analyses the scheme in terms of the number and financial value of donated works. Given recent government emphasis on analysing cost effectiveness the economic costs associated with establishing and maintaining the scheme relative to the returns have escaped analysis. There is always a danger that an evaluation of the scheme might be regarded 'as looking a gift horse in the mouth'. But it is important that tax incentives be critically assessed as a form of cultural policy with consequences for cultural reproduction and not just as a financial conduit for public collecting. The reasons for considered analysis are compelling. Is the scheme as successful as the rhetoric suggests? And what are the ramifications of the scheme for contemporary Australian art?

The analysis of TIA presented here is the first attempt to critically assess some of the outcomes of the scheme with respect to these questions. The discussion begins with a consideration of TIA's development and implementation and goes on to examine the impact of the scheme on the four art museums in this study. This examination will indicate that the scheme, as currently constituted, is not an effective means of acquiring contemporary art. The barriers to its effectiveness are ideological and structural and exist within government and the art museums. I argue that TIA's inception coincided with a reformist government attitude to cultural development in the 1970s but quickly became a means to decrease government expenditure in the arts and heritage. I will demonstrate that the scheme's impact on art museum collections is inherently a conservative one which preserves canonical practices and, furthermore, that contemporary artists are deterred from donating works under the scheme by the complexities of legislation associated with TIA.

Development and Implementation of the Tax Incentives for the Arts Scheme

The stimulus for the development of the TIA scheme in Australia came from US-based schemes which had been investigated by the 1975 Committee of Inquiry into Museums (Pigott Report). The Committee recognised the high cost of acquisitions and the scant resources available to develop public collections in Australia. Thus it recommended that taxation law be liberalised to permit tax incentives for the donation of private collections of 'national cultural importance' to approved public collecting institutions. Alternatives of straight line deductions, such as those implemented within the film industry, were not considered. Despite Treasury's opposition to using tax revenue foregone as a means of funding the Committee argued that this method would be less than the public cost of acquiring work at open sale (Pigott, 1975:101-102).

In October 1975 Labor Prime Minister Whitlam set up an inter-departmental committee to investigate tax incentives for the arts (Parliamentary Debates, House of representatives 100, 9 September 1976, 865). The Tax Incentives for the Arts Scheme[13] was announced by the Coalition Government in the Budget 1977-78:

> Continuing its active support for the Arts and as a way of eliciting greater co-operation from the private sector, the Government will liberalise the conditions under which income tax deductions are allowable for gifts of works of art and comparable property to public galleries, museums and libraries. ...The cost to revenue is expected to approach $1 million in 1977-78 and $2,5 million in a full year
> (Parliamentary Debates, House of Representative 106. 16 August 1977:53)

After a three year trial period which saw approximately $2 million worth of donations come into registered public collections, the scheme came into permanent effect on 1 January 1981 (DCA, 1998a:1; Macdonnell, 1992). What distinguished the new provisions from those existing at the time under Section 78 (1)(a) of the Tax Act was that an assessment of current market value determined the quantum regardless how long the donor had possession of the work. In other words, valuation creep was irrelevant. The scheme was an initiative which won, and has retained, bi-partisan support and while there have been amendments to the scheme from time to time, these have been aimed principally at administrative efficiencies.

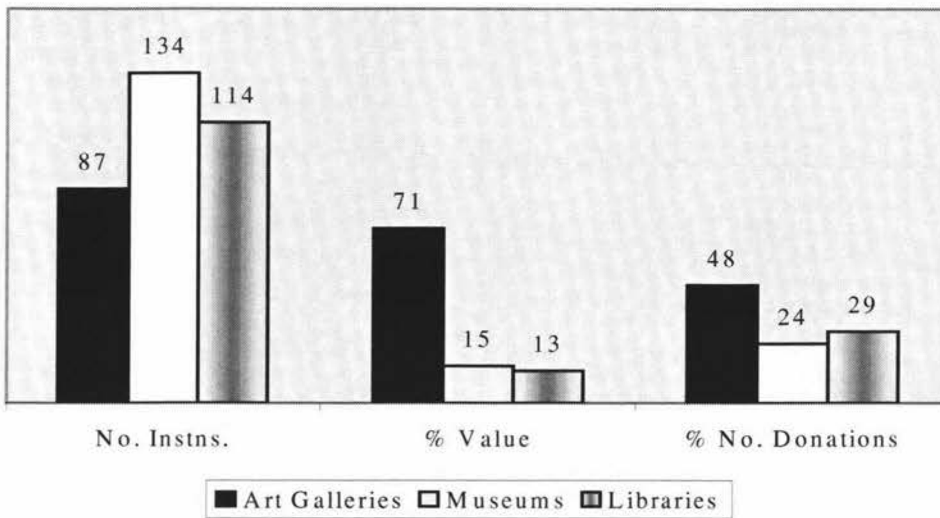
[13] From 1998 the TIA Scheme became known as the Cultural Gifts Program.

The scheme continues to be administered in accordance with Section 30-210 of the Income Tax Assessment Act through the Commonwealth's Department for the Arts. An expert committee supervises and endorses procedures stipulated in the Tax Act which require the donor, recipient collections and independent valuers, approved by the committee, to meet strict criteria. Despite the much publicised incident of over-valued donations of Pre-Columbian material gifted to the National Gallery of Victoria in 1981, loopholes in the legislation were closed and subsequently there have been few incidents of 'rorting' the system (Ingram, 1993; Clayton, 1988).

Legislation does not stipulate sanctions and penalties for museums failing to act with probity. However, public collections are required to verify that the gift meets collection policies "and will be of ongoing vale to the collections and the community" (DCA, 1998). Institutions are further required to ensure that the donation does not conflict with other legal provisions such as the Copyright Act 1968 and Aboriginal heritage protection. Since 1994 the guidelines also refer to Museums Australia's Policy, *Previous Possessions New Obligations*, concerning museums and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.

Outcomes of the Scheme 1990-1995

In 1996 the Department of Communication and the Arts released a summary of the previous five years of the TIA scheme. Figure 16 (below) illustrates that in quantitative terms the scheme has been successful. It has been particularly successful for art museums. The graph indicates that between 1991 and 1995, 350 public collecting institutions had received donations. These donations are worth approximately $68.6 million (DCA, 1996). Although art museums represent only about a quarter of TIA participant institutions, they are the greatest beneficiaries of the scheme both in value of donation and by number of gifts - 48% of donations are presented to art museums and comprise 71% of the total value of all donations (DCA, 1998:7). The intrinsic value of works of art greatly exceeds the value of donations presented to museums or libraries.



(Source: Deductions, June 1996. Canberra: DCA)

Figure 16: Distribution of Donations under the Tax Incentives for the Arts Scheme by Number, Value and Category of Institution

Figure 17 (below) indicates that in the period 1990 - 1995, the majority of donations (97%) came from individuals. Those donations were valued at approximately $50 million (DCA, 1996). Corporations donated 20% of gifts with an estimated worth of approximately $11.8 million.[14] Correlating material presented in Figures 16 and 17, it is estimated that art museums have received approximately $43 million worth of gifts under the TIA Scheme in the five years between 1990 and 1995. Libraries and museums have received an estimated $18.8 million under the Scheme during this period.

[14] Some of the most notable corporate donations include the Arnott's collection of Aboriginal art presented to the Museum of Contemporary Art in 1993 (Ingram, 1993).

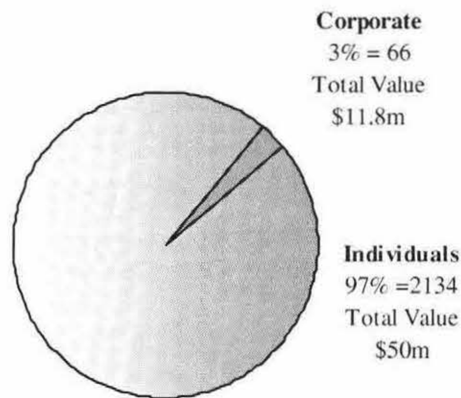


Figure 17: Value of Individual and Corporate Donations through TIA 1990 - 1995

Overall, the TIA scheme is an important conduit for acquisitions. My research indicates that a broad range of works is donated under the scheme and reflects a close match between donations and key collecting areas of particular art museums. The Art Gallery of New South Wales has received significant donations of Asian Art; the National Gallery of Australia accepted gifts of textiles from South East Asia, artists' archives and additions to its important holdings of Melbourne artists of the 1930s and 1940s; and, the National Gallery of Victoria has received a range of gifts from Aboriginal Art to textiles, reflecting its encyclopaedic collections. Such patterns suggest that ~~that~~ not only are the regulations governing the scheme, particularly those concerning "ongoing value to the collection", strictly adhered to, but also that donors are highly discriminating about their choice of recipient institution. Indeed, a system of referrals between art museums exists to ensure that the 'best match' between donor and recipient collection is made.

Analysis: The Scheme and Cultural Reproduction

However, when DCA's data for individual art museums is analysed more closely distinct patterns of cultural reproduction emerge. Donors are more likely to gift works of art made prior to 1970 rather than more contemporary works. Appendix 13 and Figure 18, below, show that 61% of works donated under the scheme between 1987 and 1995 were created before 1970. DCA's tabulations do not indicate when

some works were made, thus 11% of donations have been classified as 'date unknown'.

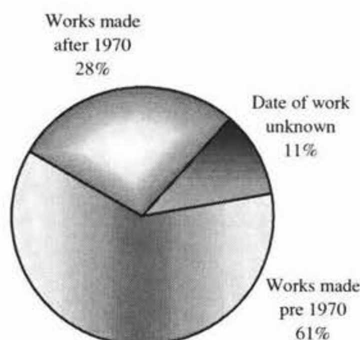


Figure 18: Percentage of Works Created Before 1970 and Acquired Through the Tax Incentives for the Arts Scheme 1987 - 1995.

It follows that the value of works made prior to 1970 is disproportionately higher than the values of works made after 1970. (See also Appendix 13). This is clearly illustrated in Figure 19, below. The average value of works created prior to 1970 is $13,588 and $2,181 for works made after 1970. This reflects market place realities which generally accord higher values to older works.

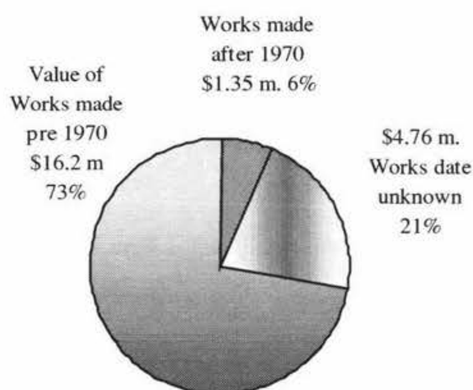


Figure 19: Value of Works Made Before and After 1970 and Acquired 1987 - 1995

When the TIA gifts of contemporary work are further analysed according to media, gender and ethnicity of artists, several observations are of particular

importance. There is a low incidence of works by women, artists of non-English speaking background and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander artists. Media such as photography, ceramics and textiles (other than high fashion or textiles from South East Asia, presented to the National Gallery of Australia) are rarely donated. Generally speaking, works in these media are most likely to be of a lower monetary value and would not, therefore, attract tax benefits for donors.

It appears then, that the scheme is designed to attract donations which command premium values in the art market. In turn such high value donations are most likely to afford donors the greatest tax benefit. Furthermore, scanning the list of donations confirms that gifts reflect conservative, mainstream and conventional aesthetic standards. TIA donations transfer such standards to public collections where their presence confirms and assists in perpetuating such norms.

Currently few artists donate their works through TIA. There are several structural reasons for this. No provision currently exists within the legislation for altruistic donations on a tax paid rather than on a deductibility basis. Artists are further alienated from TIA by an abundance of anomalies and bewilderingly complex provisions in the legislation which apply to them alone. Capital Gains Tax legislation adds a number of complications. It distinguishes between 'trading stock' and the 'artist's personal collection', yet fails to define these terms. More complex still are provisions concerning Capital Gains which is levied on works created after the threshold of September 1985. If artists donate work which is trading stock, and potentially their tax assessable income, then the extent of their deduction is limited to the cost of producing the work. It is obvious that the material cost of production, in the majority of cases, remains a small component of the total intellectual and artistic output. If the donation is not trading stock the Commissioner of Taxation must be satisfied that the works were not held for material gain (DCA, 1998a:2). In an overwhelming number of cases, artists are severely disadvantaged by such provisions. In short, there is little incentive for artists to donate their works (Lowenstein, pers. comm. 3 March, 1997). The anomalies in tax legislation persist irrespective of the stated arts policies of the main political parties to introduce more incentives for private giving, philanthropy and business support for the arts (Labor Arts Platform, 1986:14; 1988:11; 1991:16; 1994:23; Liberal/National Arts Policy, 1988:5; 1996:24; Appendix 4).

In addition to these structural impediments there are obstacles for artists aiming to donate works under TIA provisions which are more subtle and pervasive than these legislative complexities. From my informal discussion with curators it appears that they are least likely to encourage donations by living artists. They are concerned that many artists whose reputations are not fully established may seek to donate works and 'dilute' the quality of collections. It should be noted that such concerns have been expressed within the very institutions which currently provide formal processes for periodic collection re-assessment and rationalisation. Furthermore, curators perceived that their workloads might increase substantially, particularly their role in negotiating with potential donor artists, as a result of broadening taxation regulations.

In the mid 1990s the National Association for the Visual Arts lobbied government for changes to the TIA legislation. Ministerial submissions were prepared but no response has been forthcoming (Lowenstein, 1997). It is not difficult to see why. Significantly, the Tax Incentives Scheme for the Arts has been durable, withstanding political and Treasury concerns. Other incentive schemes introduced for the film industry, for example, have been more volatile politically and, as a result, less successful, and therefore short-lived. The Tax Incentives for the Arts scheme demonstrates that the government's agenda for the public-private sector mix in arts support is working. Art museums clearly benefit as do donors. And, as the Scheme's promotional literature points out, "donors cherished items will be enjoyed and appreciated by all Australians" (McGauran, 1999).

To mark the twentieth anniversary of its establishment the programme was re-branded in 1999. This was accompanied by a publication, *The Art of Giving*, produced by the Department of Communication and the Arts. The book's lush, full-colour images offer a panoply of Australian icons. Among them we find the Bradman Collection, a bark painting from Arnhem Land, a Holden HT Brougham Sedan and the high camp costumes worn by the Skyhooks. And there are illustrations of artworks donated to art museums. All but two of these are paintings. All of the paintings are landscapes. Three of the artworks were made after 1980. Just one is by a woman, Lucy Yukenbarri, an Aboriginal woman from the Kimberley.

Inscribed in the pages of *The Art of Giving* we see representations of national identity which celebrate traditional viewpoints and values. The images of realist

Arcadian landscapes return to a familiar trope, the connection between 'Australian-ness' and the land. *The Art of Giving* does not invigorate and reassess that trope. Rather than challenge prevailing images of national identity by encouraging donors to gift innovative or controversial works, it is content to portray the scheme through a conservative aesthetic which praises and privileges the conventional over the contradictory and contentious.

Conclusion

Murphy (1993) has defined contemporary art as both a temporal and intellectual shift between the past and the present. Contemporary art occupies the space between knowing the past and imagining the future, creating "new cultural artefacts of many different kinds that challenge, articulate and resonate our sense of knowing and being" (Murphy, 1993:20). It follows then that contemporary art is connected to both its artistic heritage and to the social and political dimensions of the society from which it springs. Contemporary art curators concur: "Contemporary art practice is where we come face to face with creativity, ...it's a core element in the fabric of society" (Lindsay, 1993; Saines, 1999; McPhee, 1996 & 1993; Duncan, 1993).

However, this chapter presents a different picture. There is certainly a high volume of acquisition activity in the four art museums surveyed. But it is not the intensity of the acquisition activity which is important, despite its long-lasting effects. Rather, it is what the data reveal about the construction and institutionalisation of cultural capital which is its most telling feature.

The quantitative data presented here offer some 'tell-tale' signs that amidst the numerical strengths there are weaknesses and omissions. Many of these have been elaborated at length in the preceding pages. The data, and the analysis which has accompanied it, also hint that these omissions could be indicative of a wider triple-stranded complacency. This attitude fails, firstly, to enunciate why it is important to collect contemporary art, and why contemporary art is challenging. There is little critical reflection or debate about the nature of public collections. And yet, art museums push on to develop collections which closely resemble one another in content and ideology, collections which are marked by a cautious and conservative approach quite at odds with the obligation to present "ambitious and intelligent art" (QAG, 1995).

CHAPTER THREE

Contemporary Art
And the Representation of Women Artists in Art Museums

The Advantages of Being a Woman Artist:

- *Working without the pressure of success.*
- *Not having to be in shows with men.*
- *Having an escape from the art world in your 4 freelance jobs.*
- *Being reassured that whatever kind of art you make it will be labelled feminine.*
- *Not having the embarrassment of being called a genius.*
- *... Knowing your career might pick up after you're eighty ...*

Guerrilla Girls, *The Advantages of Being A Woman Artist*, Postcard, 1995.

Introduction

Australian women artists might have added 'not having to worry about selling work to public art galleries' to the *Guerrilla Girls* sardonic text.

The main purpose of this chapter is to present findings from a quantitative analysis of gender representation in four mainstream Australian public collections of Australian contemporary art. This is possibly the first time that quantitative evidence on a national scale has been used to illustrate the extent of representation of women's work across these collections[1]. The analysis of the empirical data will be framed by two separate discourses: firstly equal opportunity legislation and policy and secondly, the contributions of feminist art historians. This chapter will show that Australian public collections of contemporary art suffer from a gross distortion because of the absence of women's work. Identifying and quantifying the extent of the gender disparity will reveal fundamental weaknesses in the current approach to

[1] A literature review indicates that the only quantitative studies on the representation of women in art museums undertaken to date are: Waldman, A. (1982). *A Survey of Purchases of Australian Contemporary Art 1956-81 in the Art Gallery of New South Wales* (unpublished), from which Linda Bowman developed an abbreviated analysis published in *Women in the Arts Report* (1982), and Rogers, V., Baldock, C.V. and Mulligan, D. (1993) *What difference does it make?* Both studies are limited to particular institutions, the Art Gallery of New South Wales and the Art Gallery of Western Australia respectively.

collecting. As well, the mechanisms and practices through which this is occurs will be discussed. The analysis of the quantitative data provides compelling evidence that within the four art museums investigated "Women (Don't) Hold Up Half the Sky" [2]. However, the chapter does suggest some solutions which may assist in producing fundamental changes to collecting practices and an improvement in the representation of women's contemporary art in Australia's public collections.

I - The Framing Discourses

The Status of Women - Equal Opportunity

The first of the discourses I will employ to frame the discussion of the empirical data is that relating to equal opportunity in relation to gender.

The quest to improve the status of women has been an ongoing concern since the mid nineteenth century. Australia, with New Zealand, were the first countries to accede to women's suffrage but the gender dimensions of reform were re-ignited in the mid 1970s. In the wake of the United Nations' International Women's Year and the Decade of Women (1975-1985), Australia created the Office of the Status of Women in 1982. A spate of legislation followed, including the *Sex Discrimination Act (1984)*[3] and *the Affirmative Action (Equal Employment Opportunity for Women) Act (1986)*. (See Chronology, Appendix 5).

The emphasis of Australia's domestic legislation in these areas has been towards social welfare policy, not 'cultural' inequalities and patterns of exclusion. During the 1980s many Australian women had been aware of the growing contradictions prevalent in society, particularly in relation to equal pay, and equal access to employment, education, health services and housing. There were, for example, proportionally ever more women with qualifications in higher education but a restricted range of jobs were available to them at lower pay than their male counterparts (Curthoys, 1994). Legislative changes were aimed at redressing such economic and social inequalities and to 'level the playing field'. Dr. Peter Wilenski, formerly Chairman of the Public Service Commission, admitted that the decision to implement EEO legislation was based on the view that behavioural change would

[2] Anne Newmarch, *Women Hold Up Half the Sky* (screen print) made to mark International Women's Year 1975. The work is held in the collections of the National Gallery of Australia and the Queensland Art Gallery.

[3] The *Sex Discrimination Act (1984)* was enacted in order to comply with Australia's obligations under the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women

precede attitudinal change. He felt that behavioural change, for Australians, would only occur through a legislated medium (Hull in Van Den Bosch and Beale, 1998:37).

If the aim was to provide for long-term attitudinal change then legislation, particularly the Commonwealth's *Sex Discrimination Act 1984* [4] and the *Affirmative Action (Equal Opportunity for Women) Act 1986*, held a 'seductive allure' that it would right a range of inequalities. Such legislation was always constrained - and ultimately weakened - by the 'limits of liberal legalism' which only address formal aspects of inequality by providing for access to equal opportunities. It does not address the issues of the substantive or systematic nature of sex discrimination. Moreover, the law is always ham-strung in such matters, needing to identify a 'wrong-doer' who can be held legally responsible for the harm which is legally cognisable (Thornton, 1994:218). As Thornton (1990 & 1994), Poiner and Wills (1991) and Ronalds (1991) have shown, this legislation confers no rights on individuals but rather establishes bureaucratic mechanisms that focus on form not substance. Accordingly, the *Sex Discrimination Act 1984* while providing for 'special measures' (see S.33) to correct disadvantage also imposes rigid burdens of proof for complainants which makes them particularly vulnerable in the face of corporate power which has the ability to conduct protracted and expensive litigation.[5] Similarly, the *Affirmative Action (Equal Opportunity for Women) Act 1986* is chiefly concerned with reporting structures to support management-devised and monitored Affirmative Action Plans for organisations with more than one hundred staff. Again, the likelihood that feminist perspectives are swamped in the sea of male dominated managerial hierarchies is great.

Following the implementation of EEO and Affirmative Action legislation, a number of reports appeared which tentatively began to address 'cultural issues' in relation to the representation of women. These included the House of Representatives Inquiry into Equal Opportunity and Equal Status for Women report, *Half Way to Equal* (1989), the Australia Council's *Women in the Arts* reports (1982, 1983, 1985, 1986 and 1987) and *What Difference Does it Make?* (Rogers:1993).

(Thornton, 1994).

[4] The States' legislation follows the same pattern. See *Anti-Discrimination Act 1977* (NSW); *Anti-Discrimination Act 1991* (Qld); *Equal Opportunity Act 1984* (Vic).

[5] See for example, *Australian Iron and Steel v. Banovic* (1989) EOC 92-271 (High Court); *Teed v. Mount Alexander Hospital* (1987) EOC 92-211 (Victorian Equal Opportunity Board); *Chief General*

However, only those reports commissioned by the Australia Council were concerned with the status of women artists as a distinct occupational group. The main thrust of the reports was to present research in relationship to career and work opportunities, income and related material conditions of women artists and the arts infrastructure. The reports revealed particular forms of discrimination such as the exclusion of women's work from collections and exhibitions, sexist attitudes by arts reviewers and the under-representation of women on the boards of arts bodies (*Women and the Arts*, 1982; Rogers *et al.*, 1993). Statistical analysis revealed the extent of disadvantage. The first Women and the Arts studies between 1978 and 1982 showed that women comprised just one-third of Australia Council grant applicants with the Visual Arts Board recording the fewest applications from women. Even when women did apply, they asked for less money than male applicants. Significantly, women artists' earnings from creative arts and related arts income was shown to be one-third less than their male counterparts. Ten years later Throsby and Thompson reported there was no variation in that trend (Throsby & Thompson, 1994: 46). The early reports included strategic recommendations such as:

> All galleries and exhibiting bodies to ensure that women are equally represented in exhibitions, purchases, commissions and grants. (Australia Council, 1987: 53).

There is no indication within subsequent reports that such recommendations were ever taken up.

As important as these reports were for the arts, none of them took up the challenge issued by Janet Wolff (1989) to investigate the mechanisms and practices of exclusions and locate these within an integrated sociological account. The failure to do this meant that Public Service organisations like art museums could observe the limited form of legislation without engaging with its wider social dimensions. Accordingly, leading art museums appeared to apply Affirmative Action exclusively to paid employees but not to volunteers, and not to acquisition and exhibition policies. Invited to participate in the year-long National Affirmative Action Pilot Program initiated by the Australia Council in 1985, the National Gallery of Victoria declined. However, the National Gallery of Australia did participate.[6] Its activities were reported cautiously by the Australia Council in the following terms:

Manager, Department of Health v. Arumugam (1987) EOC 92-195 (Victorian Supreme Court).

[6] It was not possible to establish whether AGNSW and QAG were invited to participate.

> Though skeptical (*sic*) at the beginning about the need for the program, the Chief Executive lent his support and commitment to the Pilot Program and showed commitment to his staff. Slow but good progress was achieved and suitable AA initiatives were explored and implemented (Australia Council, 1987: 21).

Indeed, the caution is well founded. Neither the National Gallery of Australia nor the other art museums surveyed for this project appear to have advanced Affirmative Action for staff with any alacrity; by and large women remained in the middle and lower professional curatorial and professional ranks.

Andrea Hull, formerly Director of the Australia Council's Policy Unit, celebrates the success of the Feminist Movement, Affirmative Action and Equal Employment Opportunity and their positive impact on the arts. She cites increased numbers of women holding influential senior positions in art museums - including Betty Churcher's Directorship of the National Gallery of Australia from 1990 to 1995 - as proof of that impact (Van Den Bosch and Beale, 1998: 36-38). However, as several writers point out, celebration of 'how far we have come' reminds us all that a few successful women do not a revolution make (Moore, 1991:6; Ewington, 1995).

Data on employment in Australian museums and art museums is contained in the Australian Bureau of Statistics Culture/Leisure Activities Statistics. However, the data are of limited benefit in determining gender.[7] Information compiled for this project suggests that the number of women working full time in senior management and curatorial positions in the art museums investigated has grown over the period 1980 to 1995. On average about 40% of those positions are occupied by women. This is in contrast to employment characteristics in non-art museums reported by Trotter (1996). She reports that just 30% of women worked in museums full time; that the number of women in senior positions ranged from just 10% at the Australian Museum, to about 33% at the National Museum of Australia and the Powerhouse Museum.

In compiling this analysis an interesting phenomenon was encountered. As expected, a number of women had worked their way up through junior curatorial and managerial ranks to more senior levels of service. In a number of art museums

[7] In order to ascertain gender representation within the art museum it was necessary to extrapolate data presented by the ABS and to check this against material presented in the Annual Reports of the art museums included in this study.

managerial restructuring has created a senior executive tier, often occupied by men, and effectively displacing senior women managers. Such strategic re-shuffling accentuates an already hierarchical structure, and marginalised women even further from decision-making. While there has been a noticeable upward shift in the number of women appointed as Trustees, this is still a predominantly male preserve. In short, equal opportunities are available but "are effectively contradicted and disguised by profound levels of constraint, containment and oppression" (Parker and Pollock, 1981: 134).

EEO and Affirmative Action have alleviated but not eradicated some forms of gender inequality. However, as feminist lawyers such as Margaret Thornton have argued, the legislation is limited by liberal legalism. Equality is realisable only among the 'society of equals' in the public sphere. Since that system is patriarchally devised, managed and monitored it is apparent that the pull towards inequality is inexorably determined (Thornton, 1994: 224).

In the case of practising artists who are self-employed EEO and Affirmative Action affect them only peripherally. They are on the margins, outside positions of influence. While they may have advocates such as the Australia Council and the National Association of the Visual Arts, these organisations admit that they can do little to address matters directly (Australia Council, 1983: 18).

For women artists the 'vicious circle of exclusion' tightens further when their position is considered in relation to the art museum. There, the institutional structure continues to mirror and reproduce the gender biases of the social world (Wolff, 1989: 4). The top echelons of senior managerial authority and governance remain a male preserve which privileges existing hierarchies of knowledge.

The Contributions of Feminist Art Historians

The second of the discourses I will employ to frame the presentation of the empirical data is the work of feminist art historians.

Since the 1970s feminist art historians have challenged definitions of what constitutes art and the values which are expressed in museum collections. Art history, they contend, is the last bastion of reactionary thought designed to sustain a grand master narrative, whose principal character, the heroic creative male genius, stands surrounded by sycophants always ready to claim rewards bestowed by

exclusive private connoisseurship and material fetishism. Art history and its ally, the art museum, are enveloped by a "rhetoric of empty eloquence" and constricted by a methodology which reproduces élitist concepts of class, race and gender.

The debate largely occurred outside Australia but sprang to life when Lucy Lippard visited Australia in 1975, just prior to the publication of her book *From the Centre: Feminist Essays on Women's Art*. Her presence invigorated critique in art and feminist publications such as *Meanjin* (Stephen, 1975:4, 380-86), *LIP* and *Art & Language*. Art historians Anthea Callen (1979), Carol Duncan (1993), Germaine Greer (1979), Lucy Lippard (1976), Linda Nochlin (1970) and Griselda Pollock (1988) - together with women artists - formed 'sites of resistance against the modernist canon'. They began to deconstruct the natural assumptions of the predominantly white, western, male art history viewpoint revealing it as a selective, élitist, romantic, meta-historical discourse which venerated the artist as hero-genius with sculpture and painting as his privileged practice. The examination of this "whole erroneous intellectual substructure" - in Nochlin's memorable phrase - stressed the need for an analysis of the social and institutional substructures supporting art production.

Nochlin and Pollock convincingly portrayed the institutionally maintained discrimination against women artists and challenged its neutrality and objectivity. They demonstrated that women artists were disadvantaged through lack of access to training, (specialised training in particular), were excluded from the major art forms and were confined to the 'lesser' subjects of art - genre painting, still-life and landscape. As Pevsner and White's earlier research indicates, few women were awarded prizes or commissions (Pevsner, 1940:96). These historians also pointed to the role of the art critic as a central agent in perpetuating ideologies of the dominant system and inflecting even the most avant-garde practice with its stereotypical values (Parker & Pollock, 1981: 136). They showed that art history privileges certain forms of creativity and art practice, for example the high arts over applied and decorative arts, just as it values scholarship which produces retrospective exhibitions, monographs and *catalogues raisonnés* rather than community arts or collaborative practice.

These patriarchal standards and values are revealed in a series of binary oppositions which delineate hierarchies and particular types of discrimination. A diagram illustrates them as follows:

	Female Artists	Male Artists
Art Form	Craft	Art
Knowledge	Technical - manual skill	Intellectual / Creative
Media	Decorative Arts Printmaking	Painting Sculpture
Materials	Textile, clay, paper	Canvas, pigment, oils
Art Market	Low monetary value	High monetary value
Audience	Domestic	Public

Figure 20: Gender and the hierarchies of value in the art system

The canon of high art while not immutable or even singular, nevertheless, affirms 'the beacon of common culture for an educated élite' (La Capra quoted in Pollock, 1999:3). In seeking to challenge the hierarchy of values and to 'difference the canon', feminist art historians have generally adopted two stances with concomitant responses. The first, understands the canon as a structure of exclusion. It results in the selection of neglected women artists, 'Old Mistresses',[8] for admission to the canon alongside 'Old Masters'. The second, understands the canon as a structure of subordination and domination, and responds by valorising practices and processes vilified within the canon. Exhibitions and monographs such as Judy Chicago's installation project *The Dinner Party* (1979) and Rozsika Parker's *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine* (1984),[9] are examples of responses to this latter stance.

As Griselda Pollock's latest contribution (1999) to the discussion on differencing the canon reveals, both of these stances are examples of being "trapped within a binary where reverse valuation of what has hitherto been devalued does not

[8] The term was first used in 1972 as the title for an exhibition *Old Mistresses: Women Artists of the Past* at the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. "The title of this exhibition alludes to the unspoken assumption in our language that art is created by men. The reverential term 'Old Master' has no meaningful equivalent; when cast in the feminine form 'Old Mistress', the connotation is altogether different..." A. Gabhart and E. Broun, 1972. See also the book by R. Parker and G. Pollock (1981) *Old Mistresses Women, Art and Ideology.*

[9] *The Dinner Party* was exhibited in Australia in 1988/89 and concepts articulated in *The Subversive Stitch* were presented in an exhibition of the same name curated by Natalie King at Monash University Gallery in 1990.

ultimately breech the value system at all" (Pollock, 1999:25). Here Pollock echoes Janet Wolff (1989) by suggesting a third stance which is at once more subversive and more useful to the practice of art history and the art museum than either of the positions previously canvassed. That stance sees the canon "as a discursive strategy in the production and reproduction of sexual difference" operating in a complex of power relationships (Pollock, 1999:26). Because the canon cannot admit the complexities and ambiguities of sexual difference nor the plurality of experience and creative expressions of it, it is, once again, but now in new ways, exposed as a weakened structure.

The deconstruction of existing fields of knowledge opens new perspectives and ideologies. Just as the *Guerrilla Girls* worked to subvert existing practice by participating within it, exposing its weaknesses and limitations, so this 'third way' advanced by Wolff (1989) and Pollock (1999) does not attempt to correct the meta-narrative but relentlessly de-stabilises the canon from within.

II: The Empirical Evidence

The two discourses outlined above - the equal opportunity discourse and the discourse related to feminist art historians - frame the empirical evidence that follows.

How women and women artists are represented and by whom should be central issues for art museums. Yet despite urgent demands from the Women's Movement for social equity and a strong feminist critique directed at the representation of women in collecting institutions, art museums have been slow to respond to the challenges of gender representation.

Significant under-representation of women in the visual arts is not a new phenomenon. The persistence of these circumstances has been a source of protest and discontent for feminists and for women artists for many years. The 1970 Whitney Museum's Annual Survey was picketed because women artists made up less than 5% of all exhibitors. Six years later women demonstrated at the Art Gallery of New South Wales when the *Biennale of Sydney* failed to include a single woman artist. Despite subsequent negotiations which insisted on 50% representation in future exhibitions, only the 1985 *Perspecta* achieved that aim.

The representation of women artists in exhibitions was surveyed during the 1980s. These surveys reinforced the image of persistent under-representation of women's art in exhibitions like the *Sydney Biennale*, *Perspecta* and the *Mildura Sculpture Triennial* (Van Den Bosch, 1982;). In addition, Ricketson surveyed art reviews in the *Age* (Melbourne) in 1985 finding that women artists received 16% of 'profiles'; 25% of reviews and 40% got brief mentions (Ricketson, 1986).

As recently as 1994, Jenny Zimmer suggested that there was still considerable work to be done to ensure women's place within the spectrum of Australian art:

> A detailed survey may show that women in 1994 are well represented and extremely influential in the visual arts. The mission to establish the significance of women's art in the spectrum of Australian art may therefore be thought to be complete. However the continuation of a number of major researched historical survey exhibitions suggests that this point has not yet been reached (Zimmer in McCulloch, 1994:763).

As Zimmer implies, and consistent with the approach of feminist art historians to make good the past exclusions, much recent research has focused on identifying women artists and their contribution to the development of Australian art. In the main, research has centred on the period from white settlement to 1940 (Burke, 1980; Peers & Hammond, 1992; Kerr, 1992; Topliss, 1996). This research has revealed major gaps in public art collections. Many women artists of the earlier period are not represented at all, suggesting that the spotlight of art history has been so intensely focused on the premise of the male artist as hero, that curatorial vision has been permanently blinded.

It is now 'accepted wisdom' for women to be accorded equal representation in major exhibitions nationally and internationally and in government funded programmes (Ewington, 1995; Andrea Hull in Van Den Bosch and Beale, 1998). The rhetoric of 'state feminism' may give the appearance that equality prevails. As this current study suggests, the reality is quite different. The state of representation of women artists in public collections is a reminder that the art museum has yet to fully engage and debate the issue of equal opportunity and the stunning limitations of existing policy and practice.

Statistical Evidence - Previous Studies

Earlier empirical studies have focused principally on the economics of collecting contemporary Australian art. Those studies indicate that art museums play a significant role as purchasers [10] (Prosser, 1989; Spring, 1989-91; Throsby, 1994).

Despite statistical evidence that Australian women artists comprise the majority of practising artists (ABS, 1993; Bardez & Throsby, 1997; Prosser, 1989; Throsby, 1983 & 1986; Throsby and Mills, 1989), and 90% of all tertiary art students (Rogers, 1993:82), no empirical research on a national scale has been undertaken to quantify the representation of women artists in exhibitions or public collections. Indeed, Throsby and Thompson (1994) surmise "that over the past 10-15 years the position of women artists has improved to some extent" (p.44).

The only study that specifically examines the representation of women artists in art museums is one carried out by Victoria Rogers, Cora Baldock and Denise Mulligan, *What Difference Does it Make?* (1993). That landmark study is confined to a 'snapshot' of acquisitions and exhibitions in a single year, 1991, in just one state - Western Australia. It was a pilot study commissioned by the Australia Council and the Western Australian Department for the Arts and took as its subject women arts practitioners and administrators in the performing and visual arts. The impetus for the study was part of the policy direction to improve the economic standing of arts practitioners and followed research in the 'Women and the Arts' projects mentioned earlier in this chapter.

A significant finding of *What Difference Does it Make?* and one which highlighted the problem of gender in the art museum, was that the Art Gallery of Western Australia's equity policy belied its practices. Women were prominent in senior management and curatorial positions - though not the Board - yet exhibitions and acquisitions were dominated by male artists (Rogers *et al.*, 1993: 7-11).

Elsewhere, Gael Newton, Curator of Photography at the National Gallery of Australia, called for a quantitative, comparative examination of male and female photographers represented in art museum collections to be carried out, in the context of a study of buying patterns in other media (Newton, 1995(b): 335).

One reason for the delay in developing such studies is that data collection is time-consuming and complex. Improvements in institutional databases and national

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[10] Interestingly, Quadrant Research's report *To sell art, know your market* commissioned by the Australia Council in 1997, ignores the role of the art museums entirely.

policy initiatives revolving round the 'Distributed National Collection' are likely to make this easier in the future. While the study undertaken for this thesis cannot pretend to be comprehensive, it does attempt to offer some insights into the issues raised by Gael Newton and by Victoria Rogers and her colleagues.

Results of This Study

This thesis has drawn together data from three State Galleries and the National Gallery of Australia for the period 1980 to 1995. All four institutions are mainstream public art museums and actively collect contemporary Australian art. The data set is a census of all the artists and works of art (made after 1970) collected by the four art museums. The data set consists of 3,946 artists and 24,068 works of art; of these 1,446 (37%) are women artists and 7,535 (31%) are works of art produced by women.

Appendix 14 contains raw data tables which quantify the acquisitions of women's work in each institution. Statistical graphing methods have been used to present this data. Accordingly, tables and graphs illustrate the key findings of the research presented below.

The quantitative analysis is presented as a series of research findings and is grouped in three parts. Part One provides an overview of the key features of the survey. Part Two examines the relationship of media and gender, and Part Three presents critical analysis of subsets of information about feminist, emerging and indigenous artists. There are two aims in presenting the data in this way. Firstly, to elucidate the 'broad-brush' argument statistically, then, to augment this largely structuralist analysis by moving to a critical examination of collecting policies and practices at the margins, areas of practice which may be masked in the wider statistical analysis.

Part One: An Overview of the Empirical Study of Women Artists

Women Make Up Approximately One-Third of All Artists

Women artists make up approximately one-third of the artists represented in each of the four collections surveyed. There is just a 4% variation between the Art Gallery of New South Wales with the lowest representation (33%) and the Queensland Art Gallery at the other end of the scale (37%). Table 7 indicates the number of discrete

women artists whose works were acquired annually between 1980 and 1995 by each of the institutions surveyed.

Table 7:
Discrete Women Artists Represented in Four Collections 1980 - 1995

Year	AGNSW		NGA		NGV		QAG	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1980	4	13	30	21	28	33	8	53
1981	16	26	17	29	27	30	1	13
1982	15	37	98	28	33	35	5	21
1983	10	29	71	30	17	30	4	18
1984	12	28	63	28	23	32	5	20
1985	8	18	38	23	27	29	3	27
1986	9	25	68	34	27	26	3	19
1987	9	30	101	37	25	23	18	35
1988	36	35	106	31	33	31	25	34
1989	21	30	125	39	73	39	39	37
1990	11	31	151	45	30	25	83	38
1991	15	24	66	42	72	38	39	39
1992	14	30	67	35	46	31	41	34
1993	10	21	76	37	17	33	39	39
1994	24	44	42	33	62	35	44	42
1995	3	16	65	46	81	37	29	34

Figure 21 (below) aggregates this information for the entire period for all four institutions. This diagram reveals that women artists comprise just over a third of all artists represented in the four collections surveyed. Figure 22 indicates the situation for individual institutions.

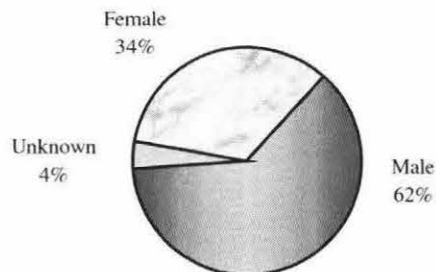

Figure 21: The Number of Women Artists Represented in All Collections 1980 - 1995

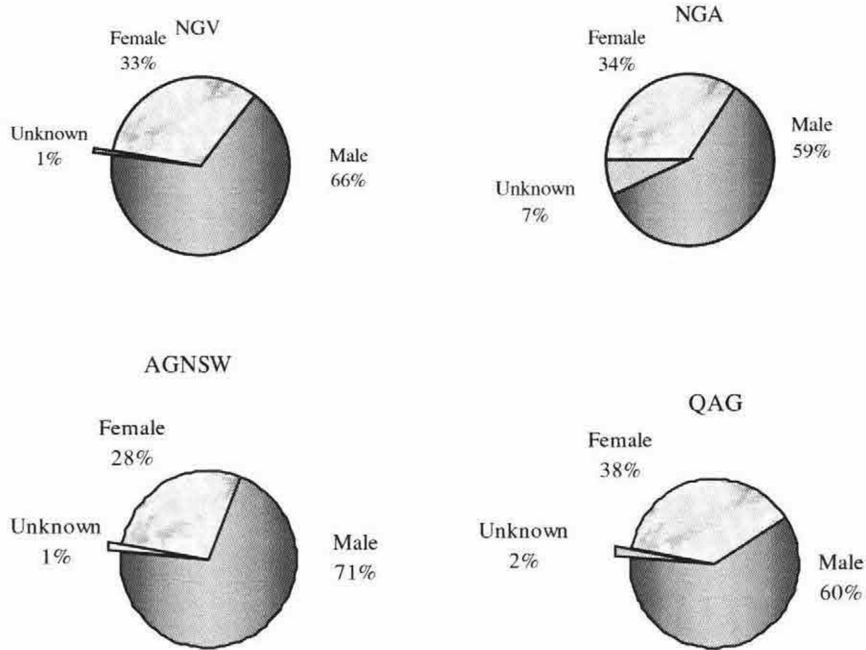

Figure 22: Representation of Women Artists in Individual Galleries 1980 - 1995

Notably, the period between 1990 and 1995 is characterised by an increase in the proportion of women artists represented, as well as an increase in the number of their works acquired. This period sees the largest percentage increase in the acquisition of women's artwork for the entire period surveyed. (See Figure 23 below).

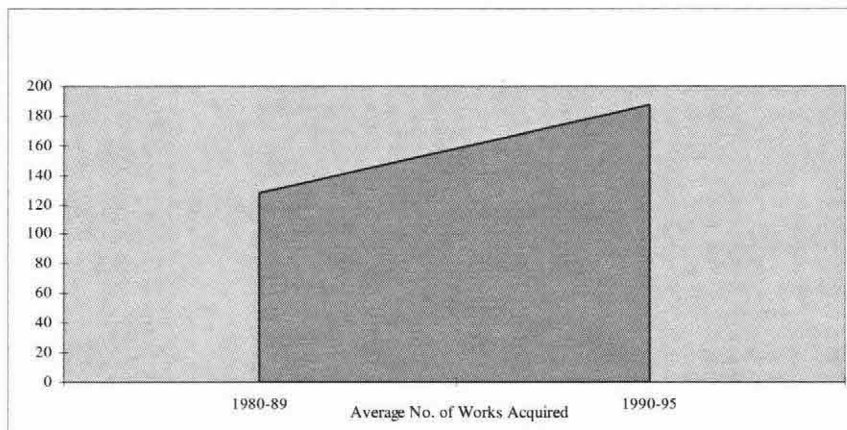

Figure 23: All Galleries Women Artists 1980-90 & 1990-95, Compared

There are three main factors which contribute to this phenomenon. First, positive discrimination for women's work as collections 'catch up' and prepare exhibitions related to the twentieth anniversary of the International Year of Women (1995); second, increased curatorial and critical interest in women's photography and printmaking; and third, active collecting by a number of women curators with strong feminist inclinations. The interest in collecting contemporary Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander art also escalates during this period.

Between 1990 and 1995, in particular, collections begin to exhibit the one-third "quasi-magical number... the unexamined fraction", first pinpointed by Julie Ewington (1995:110), which seems to characterise an acceptable - if not satisfactory - level of participation by women in public life. It is, after all, a level of representation which falls far short of the equal representation demanded by women artists in the 1970s and far shorter still of the representation that could reflect women's involvement in art.

Less Than A Third of All Works Acquired Between 1980 and 1995 are By Women Artists.

Works by women artists comprise fewer than 31% of all acquisitions in the period 1980 - 1995. Figure 24 illustrates aggregated information for all institutions and Figure 25 graphs findings for the four institutions. The Art Gallery of New South Wales acquires the least number of works by women, a fact which may be explained in part by the high rate of gifts presented to that Gallery by senior male artists (Annual Reports, AGNSW).

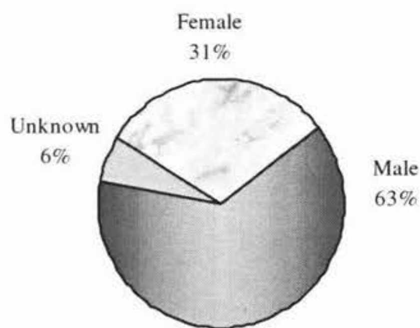

Figure 24: Number of Works By Gender All Collections 1980 - 1995

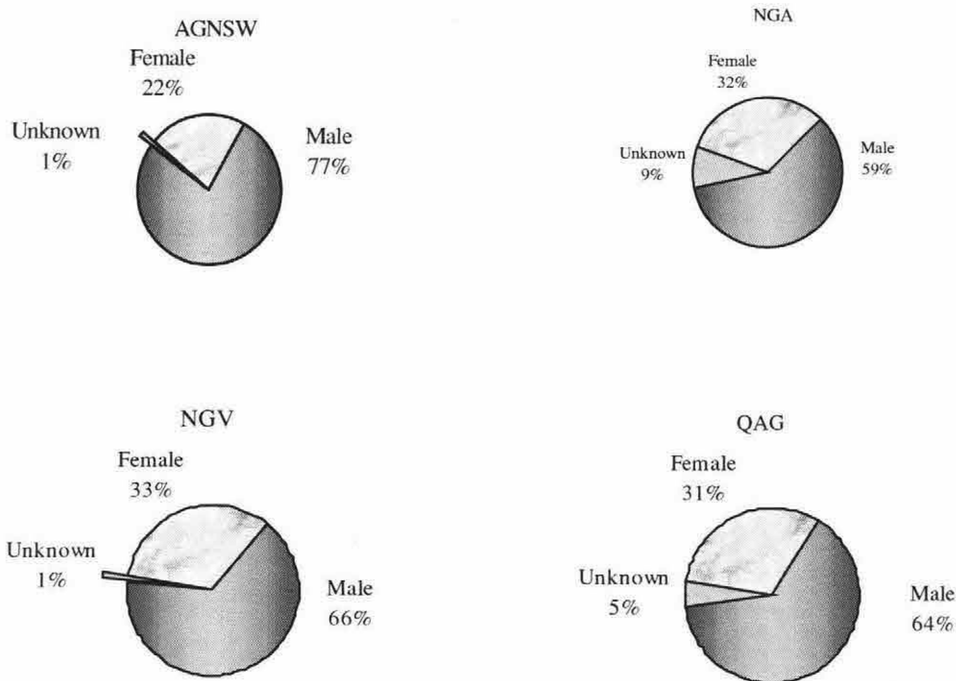

Figure 25: Number of Works by Gender for Individual Galleries 1980 - 1995

Women Make The Largest Proportion Of Textiles, Multimedia And Metalwork, Yet These Are The Least Likely Works To Be Acquired.

The largest proportion of women's artwork acquired is in textiles (58%), multimedia works (52%) and silver and metal (46%). Together this represents the work of 313 individual artists, or 22% of all women represented. However, collections are least likely to seek acquisitions in these media - just 514 textiles, 216 multimedia works, and 392 silver/metal objects were acquired. This is less than 5% of all acquisitions over 15 years, an indication that despite modest sale prices the works are not highly regarded nor a high priority for collections.

The Greatest Numbers of Works Made By Women Are Prints, Photographs & Aboriginal Art

The greatest number of art works made by women is prints, photographs and Aboriginal art. However, consistent with earlier findings in this chapter, women still only make up about a third of the artists represented in these media.

Some individual institutions show a slight variation to this pattern. At the Queensland Art Gallery, 42% of printmakers represented in the collection are women. Details are shown in Table 9 (below).

Works by women of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander descent make up 34% of the acquisitions of contemporary indigenous material. Previous studies (Altman, 1989), reveal that a significant majority of Aboriginal artists working in communities are women. It is therefore surprising that the proportion of women's work acquired is relatively low. A detailed discussion of the gender dimensions of acquisitions of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander art appears in Part Three of this chapter.

Summary

The most salient feature of the empirical research is that women artists are significantly under-represented in the four collections surveyed. In fact, an inversion has been demonstrated by this investigation of acquisitions: women artists comprise 60% of all Australian visual artists (Throsby and Thompson, 1994:10), yet less than a third of them are represented in public collections.

While there is some evidence that a slight improvement has occurred during the latter part of the review period, that change is still modest in scale. Ultimately women's numerical significance as art producers, established in previous studies, does not translate to acquisitions.

The broad findings about the gender aspects of media, presented in this section, foreshadow the detailed discussion which follows now.

Part Two: An Examination of the Relationship of Media and Gender

> *Let men of genius conceive of great architectural projects, monumental sculpture and elevated forms of painting...let men busy themselves with all that has to do with great art. Let women occupy themselves with...pastels, portraits or miniatures. Or the painting of flowers, those prodigies of grace and freshness which alone can compete with the grace and freshness of women themselves. To women above all falls the practice of the graphic art, those painstaking arts which correspond so well to the role of abnegation and devotion which the honest woman happily fills here on earth...*
> Léon Legrange, Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1860.

Since the Renaissance art history has ascribed different values to particular forms of artistic expression and production. The unique pre-empts the multiple, aesthetic

form is promoted over the functional, the hand-made is elevated over the manufactured and finally, creative innovation is prized more than artistic competence.

In addition to these generic values which contribute to hierarchical structuration, further valuation relating to particular media create yet another hierarchical structure. Such structure grants supreme status to particular media; painting and sculpture are ranked highest, the decorative arts lowest. Drawing, printmaking and photography are located at points between. Though Modernism has allowed some flexibility, each stratum is further codified; portraiture is of greater significance than landscape, still life and genre painting; studio ceramics are considered more important than production wares, with fine craft always distinguished from the utilitarian; and for textiles, *haute couture* surpasses quilt-making. Even in the late twentieth century when the distinctions between the visual arts and crafts have become blurred there is still a strong predisposition to value the former rather than the latter. This distinction is sustained by the monetary value of artworks: paintings and sculpture out-price all other media.

One of the differentiating factors in regard to incomes of both visual artists and craftspeople is gender. The disparity is especially marked for craftspeople, with men earning almost three times as much as their female counterparts (Bardez and Throsby, 1997: 22). It is not difficult to understand why this occurs. Due to other responsibilities, women work fewer hours at art practice than men, are engaged in art practices which are of less economic value and are least likely to be acknowledged by the art system - meaning the art market, museums and critical response.

Australian researchers acknowledge the complex gender roles within the visual arts and craft industry and the significant differences which are manifest between art forms (Bardez and Throsby, 1997; Prosser, 1989:29). In his survey of 2,500 individuals and organisations closely associated with the visual arts, Prosser tabulates types of artistic practice by gender. The findings are reprinted below as Table 8.

Statistically, men are most likely to be painters and sculptors, glass artists, jewellers or metalsmiths. On the other hand, women are most likely to practise as printmakers or to work in leather, textiles and papermaking (Prosser, 1989:29). In general, this difference also distinguishes economic status: glass artists, woodworkers, painters and sculptors outstrip the earnings of printmakers or textile

artists. The average income for textile artists is just half that of painters and sculptors (Prosser, 1989:53).

Table 8: Type of Art Practice by Gender

Media	Female Artists (%)	Male Artists (%)
Prints & Drawings	63	37
Jewellery / Metalwork	43	57
Wood & Furniture	15	85
Glass	41	59
Leather, Paper, Textiles	89	10
Ceramics	61	38
Photography	47	53
Painting & Sculpture	41	59
Other	36	64
TOTAL	54	46

Source: Prosser, G. (1989).

Appendix 15 tabulates acquisitions and the relationship of media to gender (ceramics, drawings, glass, installation, multimedia, paintings, performance, photographs, prints, sculpture, textiles and video/film) on an annual basis in the period 1980 - 1995 for the four art museums surveyed.

Summary tables on which the discussion about media and gender are based appear below (see Table 9 and Table 10).

Table 9: Number of Discrete Women Artists by Medium 1980 - 1995

Medium	AGNSW		NGA		NGV		QAG	
	No. F	%F	No. F	%F	No. F	%F	No. F	%F
Aboriginal Art	21	39	263	37	201	33	5	15
Ceramics	n / a		52	37	41	31	49	45
Drawing	18	18	85	26	33	29	23	29
Film / Video	n / a		10	24	n / a		n / a	
Glass	n / a		1	10	4	17	13	25
Installation	n / a		1	25	1	20	1	17
Multimedia	8	67	8	26	25	58	21	40
Painting	34	17	80	25	106	25	65	26
Performance	n / a		n / a		1	33	1	25
Photography	62	31	143	38	75	40	40	38
Prints	74	34	473	32	80	34	158	42
Sculpture	8	36	31	28	12	13	11	17
Silver / Metal	n / a		34	40	30	48	4	33
Textile	n / a		64	52	39	57	18	75
Other	2	18	4	31	1	100	n / a	

Table 10: Number of Women's Works by Medium, Acquired 1980 - 1995

Medium	AGNSW		NGA		NGV		QAG	
	# Works	% F	25	33	460	33	416	36
Aboriginal Art			n / a	80	34	70	37	18
Ceramics							60	36
Drawing	38	12	211	21	64	23	50	37
Film / Video	n / a		11	22	n / a		n / a	
Glass	n / a		1	7	4	13	13	23
Installation	n / a		1	20	1	20	1	17
Multimedia	14	78	18	30	32	56	36	44
Painting	44	16	113	20	129	23	76	25
Performance	n / a		n / a		1	33	1	14
Photography	352	27	610	30	701	40	133	24
Prints	146	19	2326	34	190	22	340	34
Sculpture	8	33	42	25	13	12	11	15
Silver / Metal	n / a		71	45	58	29	20	63
Textile	n / a		118	47	133	59	25	69
Other	2	18	4	31	1	100	n / a	

Key Findings Concerning the Relationship Between Media and Gender

Sculpture and painting

Acquisitions of paintings and sculpture are dominated by the work of male artists, with approximately five times as many paintings by men being acquired. The Art Gallery of New South Wales provides a slight contrast with considerably higher numbers of sculptures made by women. The figures presented for paintings and sculpture in Tables 9 and 10 above and in Appendix 15 mirror the 'snapshot study' of the Art Gallery of Western Australia (Rodgers *et al.*, 1991).

Printmaking

Despite the preponderance of practising women printmakers identified by Prosser (63% female, 37% male), collections analysed here disproportionately favour the work of men. Just 19% of prints acquired by the Art Gallery of New South Wales are by women, which rises to 34% at the National Gallery of Australia and the Queensland Art Gallery. While Rogers (1991) reported that acquisitions of prints and drawings at the Art Gallery of Western Australia approached gender parity (24

works or 44% by ten women compared with 30 works or 56% by eighteen men), the same cannot be said of the art museums surveyed here. Overall, acquisitions demonstrate the dominance of males in this medium.

Ceramics

Prosser reported that women comprised 61% of all ceramicists (see Table 8, above). Yet, ceramics acquisitions, like those in printmaking, disproportionately represent the work of males. However, the balance has shifted, marginally, in favour of women's work; women comprise 39% of all ceramicists and make 36% of ceramic works acquired.

As detailed in the previous chapter, most significant is the low number of ceramics acquired. Ceramics rank sixth of fourteen art forms surveyed in this study. The mainstream public collections appear to eschew collecting fine craft such as ceramics, textiles and metal/jewellery. It would seem that women ceramicists are confronted by a double jeopardy: gender and the marginalisation of craft from the fine arts.

Photographs

Prosser (1989) records that women make up 47% of photographers - it is the only area of visual art practice which sees such similar proportions of male and female practitioners. Rogers' (1991) survey of the Art Gallery of Western Australia suggests that it is in the acquisitions of photography that the gender gap is most likely to reach parity. The current study does not paint such an optimistic picture. Expectations raised by the Prosser and Rogers studies are disappointed when the four collections are analysed more closely.

All four art museums have a strong track record of collecting photography, particularly over the last five years. Numerically, photography represents the second highest category of acquisition with 5,472 works acquired in total. (See Figure 6, Chapter Two). The Art Gallery of New South Wales and the National Gallery of Victoria provide contrasting situations. Photography is the largest single art form collection for both art museums and the collecting area which has enjoyed the greatest growth in recent years. For the Art Gallery of New South Wales photography represents 47% of the total Australian art collection and 32% for the National Gallery of Victoria.

However, it is only the National Gallery of Victoria which has succeeded in breaching Ewington's 'quasi-magical number' (1995), the 'acceptable' one-third representation of women. At the National Gallery of Victoria 40% of the photographic collection is the work of women. In contrast, at the Art Gallery of New South Wales male photographers still dominate acquisitions - 69% of male photographers have contributed 73% of the photographic collection.

Discussion with curators of photography indicate that the strength of women's representation in this medium is, in part, due to its low production cost to the practitioner, relatively inexpensive costs to the collector, and to its connection with visual reality (North, 1982; Crombie, pers. comm. 1999; Newton, pers. comm. 1999). The last point arises from photography's role as a documentary tradition which advanced the systematic recording of social conditions. As a medium photography was particularly well suited to feminist politics and many women used photo-documentation, as well as the pictorialist mode, as forms of artistic expression. In particular, the photo-documentation projects which took place in industrial and domestic settings in the 1970s, underscored the evident inequalities and the way in which women's work was undervalued overall. Such work has found its way into public collections.

What has not so readily found its way into public collections is the photographic work which deals with social constructions of femininity. This work was often exhibited in the alternative gallery sector and critical acclaim has eluded the photographers concerned.

Since the mid 1980s work by women photographers has become highly experimental and demonstrates considerable shifts in style and subject - shifts, which according to at least one commentator, are not so apparent in the work of male photographers of the same period (Newton, 1995(a)). That work too is being acquired for public collections.

Summary

The words of French art critic Léon Legrange with which this section began capture the stereotypically destructive stance of the male observer of women's art in the late nineteenth century. Certainly, Legrange's notions that femininity is divinely ordained are discordant today. Equally problematic are his binary oppositions of male genius and female taste. For Legrange, male artists are 'properly' occupied by

the high arts and it is only through such media that they can express the truly universal and elevated themes which transcend the everyday. Implicit here is the assumption that it is the male artist's birthright to follow this path. By contrast, women's art practices are always linked to the realm of earthly delights. Here is a familiar hierarchical order maintained in art history: woman transforms nature to culture, for example, by making flower studies; man elevates culture to the sublime. Nowadays there is an urge to dismiss Legrange's remarks on the relationship between media and gender as irrelevant and outmoded. However, it is possible to recognise in them threads which connect his condescension to current views about 'feminised' art forms and media.

The empirical analysis of women's work in four public collections has revealed several aspects of the relationship between media and gender. Women predominate as textile and multimedia artists, but these art forms rarely enter public collections. Also, there is ample evidence that women practitioners are in the majority - at least as printmakers, ceramicists and textile artists - yet the analysis of acquisitions over fifteen years indicates a considerable gap between numbers of practising artists and their representation in collections. Women artists are also significantly under-represented in the collecting areas with the greatest number of acquisitions - Aboriginal Art, prints and photographs. One reason for the exclusion could be that women's work, its subjects as well as the materials with which it is made, stands outside the dominant inscriptions of aesthetic excellence which continue to be attached to the media of high art and which inform the construction of public collections. Those inscriptions and values, learned within the academy, are still deeply entrenched within art museum practice, despite the de-constructions of feminist art historians and the efforts of the Women's Movement.

To the lessons learned from the analysis of the full collections it is possible to add lessons we can learn from an examination of collecting practices at the margins of those collections. This investigation is the subject of Part Three.

Part Three: A Critical Analysis of Collecting Practices at the Margins

This particular investigation aims to identify if the overall findings are mirrored in the smaller subsets of acquisitions and to highlight particular areas of policy and

practice which may be masked in the wider statistical analysis. Three specialist collecting areas will be examined: the Sydney Women's Art Movement (feminist artists); the Michell and Margaret Stewart Endowments at the National Gallery of Victoria (emerging artists), and indigenous women artists.

Representation of the Sydney Women's Art Movement

The Women's Art Movement was established first in Sydney in 1974 and then in Adelaide in 1976 as a parallel to other Women's Liberation activities. The Sydney Women's Art Movement (1974-76) and the Women's Art Group (1976-81) was founded by a small, but influential group of feminist artists of sixteen artists including, Jude Adams, Jenny Barber, Vivienne Binns, Frances Budden, Virginia Coventry, Louise Dalton, Pat Fiske, Beverley Garlick, Joan Grounds, Barbara Hall, Paula Lake, Jan MacKay, Marie McMahon, Barbara O'Brian, Toni Robertson and Louise Samuels (Moore, 1991).

Just how responsive have art museums been to the work of these feminist artists? An answer to the question can be provided by considering the acquisition take- up rate by the art museums in this study. As Tables 11 and 12 indicate, just over a third of the group is represented in collections at three art museums.

Table 11: Number of Artist Members of the Sydney Women's Art Movement Represented in Public Collections

Yes	No	Total	%
6	10	16	37.5

The Art Gallery of New South Wales collection, the art museum with the primary brief to collect NSW artists, holds fewest works. More significant still is the slow take up rate of acquisitions. The majority of works were acquired in the early 1990s coinciding with the development of exhibitions to mark the centenary of women's suffrage or the twentieth anniversary of International Women's Year. With the exception of the National Gallery of Australia, it has taken the other galleries between 11 and 17 years to bring these artists into their collections. This can hardly be seen as an indication of response to contemporary practice!

Table 12:Tthe Sydney Women's Art Movement Acquisition Details

Artist and Total No. of Works Acquired	Collections No. of Works				Method of Acquisition		Average time between creation of work & acquisition
	AGNSW	NGA	NGV	QAG	Purch	Gift	
Vivienne Binns 20	2	13	0	5	90%	10%	5.5 years
Frances Budden 6	0	2	0	4	100%		11.6 years
Virginia Coventry 45	0	2	39	4	100%		8.1 years
Joan Grounds 6	0	5	0	1	66%	33%	11.5 years
Marie McMahon 98	12	58	1	27	93%	7%	6.6 years
Toni Robertson 67	1	36	1	29	84%	16%	7.8 years

Tracking acquisitions of particular artists also provides an indication, though by no means conclusively so, that the work of some feminist artists remained 'sidelined' for long periods. Vivienne Binns was a pioneer in the feminist movement and a founder of the Women's Art Movement. Her contribution is considered by women artists to have been a "more visible and practical example (and) more inspiring than Germaine Greer's absent theoretical one" (Kerr, 1993).[11] Her works, *Suggon* (multimedia, 1966) and *Vag Dens* (acrylic on canvas with mechanism, 1966), were purchased by the National Gallery of Australia in 1977 and 1978 respectively. They were shown briefly in the early 1980s then remained in storage until the 1995 exhibition *Women Hold Up Half the Sky*, held to mark the International Women's Year (pers. comm. Tim Fisher, 10 October 1998). Much of Binns' work aroused the ire of (male) critics. Her first solo exhibition, at which *Suggon*[12] was unveiled, was greeted with dismay by Elwyn Lynn (himself a painter in the international modernist style): "...she has turned Watters Gallery into a tenth

[11] Kerr refers here to Australian expatriot Germaine Greer's books especially *The Female Eunuch* (1970) and *The Obstacle Race* (1979) and her contributions to the gender debates conducted largely from her base in England.

[12] Both *Suggon* and *Vag Dens* are explicitly feminist, highly political, abstract works, strongly

rate phallic temple" (quoted in Kerr,1993). At the very least this leaves the reader uncertain about the focus for his anger! Even more horrified, others declared the exhibition consisted of "messy pornographies of monsters, genitalia in pop colours [and] biological fantasies" (Kerr, 1993: 338).

Speculation about the slow response of art museums to the Women's Art Movement could take two paths. One view - 'better late than never' - would be to applaud the acquisitions as late, but essential, additions which finally acknowledge the role of the Women's Art Movement. These acquisitions then become a vindication of the works and of the historical importance of these artists. Another view would deplore the lag time between creation of the works and their acquisition. The interval suggests, at best, a curatorial lapse in judgement or an institutional inadequacy; or, at worst, that collecting feminist work in the 1980s fell prey to reactionary attitudes to the prevailing political images of the works. Quite literally the work was 'too hot to handle' and certainly, in the example of Binns' banning to the National Gallery of Australia's Fishwyck stores[13], judged too salacious to expose to public view. The response from one senior manager of curatorial services is apposite here:

> ...These works will invariably only enter collections with historical hindsight when they are seen to have a value which transcends their aesthetic value. They are so big and so important in terms of the moment they marked that we need to buy them. And maybe the world's greatest example of that is Judy Chicago's *Dinner Party*. She's only ever made one decent work in her entire career, and yet, offered it at the time, would I have bought it? I don't think so... (Saines, 1999).

Both of these arguments point to further issues of great importance in relation to acquisitions policies and practices: are these works now admitted by virtue of their artistic merit or because of their historical value? Are some works acquired through different criteria than the aesthetic ones outlined in acquisitions policies? And, what does this suggest about the gate-keeping role of the art museum?

Feminist artists face an irreconcilable dilemma. Should they move to challenge existing systems of representation from within the mainstream, with the incrementally gradual changes that implies? Or, should they move to set up alternative systems? On the one hand exclusion from the mainstream deepens and

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suggestive of female genitalia.

[13] The off-site stores of the National Gallery of Australia located in an industrial precinct some

reinforces the marginalisation, denies participation in decision-making and a hand in differently determining the production, meanings and ideologies of the dominant culture (Parker and Pollock, 1981: 135). On the other hand, change may best be effected by more radical alternatives, including working in co-operatives and in community-based situations. Furthermore, participation in the mainstream leaves artists open to 'appropriation' by the dominant culture.

This brief examination of the Women's Art Movement offers a number of lessons and raises several issues. It supports earlier discussion in Chapter 2 which suggested that the practice of acquisitions is considerably more arbitrary than indicated by formal collections policies. Why else would works judged to be inappropriate for the permanent collection, 'make the grade' a decade later? Are there really two types of acquisition policies with different criteria - one for the permanent collection and one for exhibition development? Whatever the answer to these questions the issues remain. If collections of contemporary art in public institutions are to be the repository of the highest creative achievements and the markers of crucial turning points in contemporary artistic endeavour, then their function is seriously compromised by such examples of selective acquisition practice. It would also suggest that current acquisitions policies make little allowance for collections from the 'wild zone'- that specific area of women's experience and art practice which falls outside dominant cultural discourse (Ardener in Wolff, 1989: 2) and into which category work by Viv Binns and her contemporaries fits.

Emerging Artists: The Michell Endowment and Margaret Stewart Endowment

As described in Chapter Two, the Michell Endowment and the Margaret Stewart Endowments, 'development collections' of contemporary art by emerging artists within the National Gallery of Victoria, are unique in Australia. While the goals and policies of these two Endowments have been discussed earlier, the discussion which follows here revolves round the question: do acquisitions made under the Endowments offer a different perspective on gender balance? And if so, why?

As Tables 13 and 14, below, indicate there has been some shift towards a more even gender balance through these two programmes. Women comprise 35% of artists represented in the Michell Endowment and 41% of artists acquired under the

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distance from the Gallery.

Margaret Stewart Endowment, compared with 34% of artists in the National Gallery of Victoria 1980-95. The number of works by women artists represented in the Endowments is also higher than for the National Gallery of Victoria as a whole. Women artists comprise 43% of the Michell Endowment and 36% of the Margaret Stewart Endowment, compared with 33% for the National Gallery of Victoria. This outcome has its foundations in the increased representation of women's work in all media (Table 15).

Table 13: Gender of Artists Represented in the Michell Endowment 1980 - 1987

Year	No. Artists Female	No. Artists Male	Total No. Artists	% Female Artists	No. Works Female	No. Works Male
1980	11	16	27	41	26	18
1981	8	16	24	33.3	17	23
1982	11	22	33	33.3	23	33
1983	3	7	10	43	3	10
1984	5	8	13	38	11	9
1985	7	13	20	35	9	20
1986	2	4	6	33.3	4	6
1987	7	13	20	35	8	15
Total	**54**	**99**	**153**	**35%**	**101**	**134**

Table 14: Gender of Artists Represented in the Margaret Stewart Endowment 1987 - 1995

Year	No. Artists Female	No. Artists Male	Total No. Artists	% Female Artists	No. Works Female	No. Works Male
1987	2	5	7	29	2	5
1988	6	11	17	35	8	17
1989	9	15	24	38	11	33
1990	6	8	14	43	9	15
1991	6	18	24	25	9	22
1992	15	16	31	48	25	42
1993	4	1	5	80	6	2
1994	6	4	10	60	7	7
1995	6	8	14	43	8	8
Total	**60**	**86**	**146**	**41%**	**85**	**151**

Table 15:
Women Artists in the Michell and the Margaret Stewart Endowments by Medium

% Women	Paintings	Sculpture	Prints	Photos.	Drawings	Ceramics
Michell	32% (43)	0	63% (22)	77% (7)	41% (12)	100% (1)
M. Stewart	35% (39)	33.3% (3)	26% (19)	80% (8)	50% (9)	0
NGV	25%	13%	34%	40%	29%	31%
All Collections	23%	24%	36%	37%	26%	39%

Note: Number of works acquired for Endowments appear in brackets.

However, while this balancing in gender representation is encouraging, according to the curators involved it cannot be attributed to any positive discrimination or affirmative action on their part (Lindsay & Minchin *pers. comm.* 12 October, 1998).[14] Instead, a policy decision by the Margaret Stewart Endowment Committee may explain in part the higher representation of women acquired within that Endowment (NGV Archive, file G 1296/1). Seeking the widest possible cross-section of contemporary art practice, acquisitions were sought from artist-run exhibition spaces, artists' studios and alternative spaces as well as commercial galleries (McPhee, 1995; Smith, 1998). It is this second rung of alternative galleries and exhibition venues in the capital cities which have demonstrated a commitment to showcasing the work of young artists at the beginning of their careers, and to maintaining strong links with the art schools.[15] In Australia the tradition of these spaces began with the opening in 1970 of *Inhibodress* Gallery in Sydney by the artists Mike Parr, Peter Kennedy and Tim Johnson. Its Melbourne counterpart, *Roar*, and more recently the state-subsidised art spaces such as *200 Gertrude Street* (Melbourne), *Artspace* (Sydney) and the *Institute of Modern Art* (Brisbane) form an antidote to the dealer galleries supported by venture capital.

Despite the small size of the Endowment samples, the analysis suggests that a change in the source of supply impacts on the gender balance of representation. Two

[14] Notably the NGV's Annual Report 1986/87 makes specific mention of the leading part played by Australian women artists in recent acquisitions under the Michell Endowment in that year.

[15] As Prosser (1989) has indicated 90% of art school students are women.

issues emerge from this. Firstly, the extent to which the first-rung dealer galleries filter out women artists from their 'stables' and secondly, the dependency of art museums on those same dealer galleries.

The art system is a coterie in which the artist, the dealer gallery, the art museum and the critic are closely linked. It is a system which has been variously described as a "huge dysfunctional family" (Duffin in Miles, 1994), a "chummy booze and favours network, where none of the chaps are girls" (Moody 1989 & 1994; Petherbridge, 1994), and a "haven for alienated, expatriated and idealistic talent" (Duncan, 1993). Within it there is certainly evidence of a clearly defined axis of mutual endorsement and legitimisation of certain individuals and practices. The extent of that endorsement is exemplified by the 'king-makers', among them leading art dealers who are members of government arts funding panels, art curators in major art museums who 'moonlight' as art critics for the leading daily papers, curators and art dealers who collaborate as advisers to corporate collections. While it may not be a consciously organised conspiracy, such circumstances strongly imply that the structural features of the art system, with its overlapping intersections, define artists' careers. It is hardly surprising then, that public collections reproduce the same patterns of inclusion and exclusion.

'Is There A Gender Issue in Aboriginal Art?' [16]

A study of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander artists and artistic representation in public collections raises another set of gender related issues not revealed by the broad brush examination conducted earlier.[17]

Contemporary Aboriginal art is a vital and vibrant practice with considerable stylistic variation. Current thinking distinguishes the differences in contemporary Aboriginal art practice by acknowledging the different histories and different cultural, social, political and demographic circumstances which are part of its creation. These differences can be located regionally or geographically. Two separate but related strands of practice can be identified: one occurring in the remote areas of northern Australia and another occurring in a variety of urban settings.

[16] The title for this section comes from an article of the same name by Vivien Johnson (1995). This article has provided substantial background for my discussion here.

[17] It is customary for some Aboriginal communities not to speak the names of the deceased during periods of mourning. I am aware that several Aboriginal women artists have died recently and wish to record their passing with respect for them and for their kin. Wherever possible I have removed their names from the text. In a few cases it was not possible to do so.

Within each strand there is great diversity and it has taken some time to acknowledge all outcomes of this diverse practice as 'Aboriginal art'. Work which encompasses customary Dreaming designs produced in remote communities is now considered by most art museums no more or less 'authentic', than the political posters, or multi-media and installation works made by artists of Aboriginal descent living in the towns and cities of 'settled' Australia.

Three main issues impact on the question, "Is there a gender issue in Aboriginal Art?" - the art economy; the nature of gender roles in Aboriginal society and its relationship to the type of art which is developed, and the role of feminism. Together, these issues provide a context for the collection of Aboriginal women's work by art museums.

Recently, international as well as national agencies have promoted cultural industries as one means of valuing cultural identity and establishing the economic foundations of self-determination for indigenous peoples. One such project, UNESCO's *The Futures of Culture* (1991), stressed the importance of cultural activities in enabling human resource development and economic self-sufficiency. In Australia too, the economy of art production is seen as an important contribution to the overall social and economic development of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in remote communities:

> ...evidence exists which places the annual retail value in relation to (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander) Visual Arts, Crafts and design, specifically, conservatively at an estimated $84 million. Further, it reveals that empowerment in decision making related to training, product and service delivery, market determination and ownership of the means of production were critical facets of consideration. It also indicates that emphasis on maintaining the balance of cultural maintenance in its spiritual dimension and its development as an intellectual and artistic activity contribute to provision of a sustainable economic base for both individuals and communities (ATSIC, Draft Cultural Strategy, 1998).

There has been an on-going concern that Aboriginal art and craft production and marketing, particularly work produced in the remote communities of northern Australia, should operate on sound commercial principles. As ATSIC points out, it is important that financial benefits accrue directly to the source producers rather than to the middlemen responsible for selling works in the cities.

A Government Review was established in 1989 to examine and evaluate the industry's standing and viability, and recommend strategies for improving its

management.[18] The Review Committee was chaired by Jon Altman, Director, Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research at the Australian National University.

The Committee's report (the Altman Report) is fundamentally a policy review, underpinned by strong economic analysis. The Report's wide-ranging recommendations substantially altered the funding and Aboriginal art distribution systems to ensure its long term viability. Research undertaken for the Report offers substantial information related to the role of Aboriginal art producers working in seventeen non-urban communities and localities. It is one of the few documents to offer some insights into the role of Aboriginal women artists working in remote areas.

Margie West, Curator of Aboriginal Art at the Museums and Galleries of the Northern Territory, was commissioned by the Review Committee to investigate the role of Aboriginal women artists (Altman, 1989: 6, 41-43). West's research shows that the majority of art producers in remote communities are female - 56% are women and 44% male. In assessing work output in selected communities, West showed that women produced a substantial majority of all work - 95% of all work at Yirrkala and 71% at Yuendumu was women's art work. Their work comprised a range of artefacts including necklaces, clap sticks and dilly bags. As well, Aboriginal women were the primary producers of carvings and dijeridus. However, a corresponding share of the economic returns did not match the creative output.[19] In another instance of the 'inverse proportion to respective level of participation' inverse proportion to respective level of participation', commented on earlier, on average males earned 69% of all income derived from sales. In some communities such as Maningrida and Ramingining men earned nearly ten times as much annually as women (West in Altman, 1989:41).

Altman (1983) and Anderson and Dussart (1988) assert that this economic differentiation is due in part to the artform, media, meaning and size. Bark paintings

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[18] The Review had been prompted by political disputes in 1987 involving the Federal Government, members of the Association of Northern and Central Australian Aboriginal Artists and a government subsidised retail company, Aboriginal Arts Australia Ltd. Between March and September 1987 members of ANCAAA boycotted sales to AAAL. Lifting of the boycott was contingent upon announcement of the Review (Altman, 1989: 1).

[19] Signs that Aboriginal art is rapidly changing in response to market forces is that women's work, especially paintings, by figures such as Emily Kngwarreye, Kitty Kantilla and Queenie McKenzie are eagerly sought at significant prices but still not matching those achieved by men. The record price for a work up to 1995 was $38,000. By 1998 that record was broken twice: A 1997 work by Johnny Warangkula Tjupurrula fetched $206,000 at Sotherby's 1997 auction. (Fitzgerald, M. (1999); Gibbon, B. (1999).

rather than batik, or, fine art rather than craft, earn more in the marketplace. Men's designs are valued more than those of women, and men are making larger scale works which fetch higher prices.

It should be noted that several researchers reveal that patterns of Aboriginal art production change rapidly and that regional differences can be substantial. In communities such as Maruka and Mutitjulu the reverse pattern has been described by Altman (1983) and in Mt. Allan incomes are almost equal (West in Altman, 1989). Nevertheless, the Altman Report and subsequent opinion published by the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC, 1998) lends credence to the evidence that Aboriginal women's work attracts lower levels of economic returns than that of male Aboriginal artists. What this evidence explains is why there is an economic differential but not why men and women's work should be so differentiated.

In Aboriginal culture the arts are indivisible from life and living. They are integral to the expression of beliefs and values, a source of knowledge and tribal lore and a fundamental link to the Dreaming, the spiritual forces which sustain life. For many Aboriginal people then, the emphasis on the art economy undermines the customary concepts and values of Aboriginal cultural life. In what is seen as a continuing desecration by Western ideologies, Aboriginal culture is 'reduced to its artefacts', or, put another way, reduced to materialism, to what is visible and commercially viable.

Vivien Johnson is one commentator who vehemently opposes the tenor of the Altman Report (1995). She argues that it creates an image of a "vast downtrodden army of female producers whose under-valued labour holds the rambling edifice of Aboriginal art together", hiding the real issues of gender beneath an economic discussion (Johnson, 1995:352). For Johnson, and for Aboriginal women such as Jackie Huggins (1994), the gender issue in Aboriginal society is much more complex. Theirs is a timely reminder that the roles of men and women in Aboriginal society are founded on the concept of inter-relationship and balance which continue even in the context of colonial rupture. 'Men's business' and 'women's business' are distinct forms of inter-dependent knowledge and demand different responsibilities. This is a very different situation to the constructed images of a gendered hierarchy

where only Aboriginal men practice and reap the rewards of fine arts.[20] Indeed the high esteem in which a significant number of Aboriginal women artists are held currently, suggests a dramatic change in the appreciation of women's art and a growing recognition that there is a strong, continuing tradition of ritual, iconography and visual expression belonging exclusively to Aboriginal women. This recognition is accorded to works in fibre as well as to paintings. There are changes too in the form that women's work is taking. For example, Emily Kame Kngwarreye's large, colourful acrylic canvases have been accorded widespread recognition and are an example of the growing breadth of media and creative expression.

The complexities of the gender relationships in Aboriginal society are further highlighted when considered in a context of feminist discourse.[21] In a Western context, until quite recently, gender was understood to be the most salient form of oppression - that is until issues of race entered consideration. For many Aboriginal women the term 'double disadvantage', used by government departments to describe the need to provide affirmative policies and programmes for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women, is insufficient to describe the multiple oppressions of race, class and gender encountered by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women.

The analysis of the representation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women's work in art museum collections which follows may perpetuate the Western materialist emphasis of which Johnson is so critical. However, it is presented here as the beginning of the discussion about changes in collection policies and curatorial practices undertaken in Australian art museums in the last fifteen years, a discussion which continues in the next chapter.

Table: 16:
The Representation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Women in Four Contemporary Australian Art Collections 1980 - 1995

Institution	No. ATSI Women	% ATSI Women	% All Women
AGNSW	18	39%	33%
NGA	210	45%	36%
NGV	172	37%	34%
QAG	62	35%	37%

[20] There is considerable disparity between anthropologists, artists and art historians on this point. West (1990) suggests that in some communities women have been forbidden to paint. Marika in Johnson (1995) argues that this is "what the white man put out..."

[21] See especially Jackie Huggins (1994) who was among the first to comment on gender and racism.

Table 16 shows that for the four art museums surveyed, the proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women represented is greater than the proportion of women overall. Most notable is the high proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women represented in the collections of the National Gallery of Australia. The raw data assembled for the project indicate that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women's work encompasses all media, with particularly strong representation in painting. Younger Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women tend to be represented by more works than their white counterparts.

The National Gallery of Australia has led the other institutions in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander acquisitions. Not only has the NGA purchased more Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander work over a longer period, but it has demonstrated a strong commitment to collecting in all media with thorough representation from all geographical areas in particular Papunya and the East Kimberley region. It is the most representative collection in the country. Contrary to its own acquisition policies (1994 and 1998), there is also some evidence that the National Gallery of Australia has purchased the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander student work - including that of women.

While these findings need to be further explored, the position of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women's work at least tentatively suggests that some different issues underpin the acquisition of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander artworks. For the moment, it is important to glimpse the possibility that the acquisition of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander work is predicated on different criteria from that of aesthetic merit.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander art challenges the art museum to question whether it is appropriate for aesthetic criteria to be the primary arbiter of its collections. It begs re-consideration of allied terms 'quality' and 'excellence' which have been crucial components of connoisseurship, canon formation and the creation of public art collections.

Conclusion

The current study indicates that the extent of women's under-representation in public collections is greater than that demonstrated in any previous Australian studies. It

demonstrates convincingly that there is a sharp contradiction between women's participation rate as artists and their representation in public collections. The data are sufficiently robust to suggest that what holds true for the four art museums surveyed may also be indicative of a nation-wide pattern.

The statistical analysis which forms the foundations of this chapter confirms that women's work remains considerably under-represented in major public collections. In general terms just over a fifth of painting and sculptures, less than a quarter of the drawings, less than a third of photographs and prints, and just over a third of ceramics in these four public collections are made by women. The link between acquisition and medium is particularly noteworthy because it reinforces established stereotypical gendered patterns of women's art practice.

In the fifteen years surveyed women's work makes up about a third of all work acquired. While there appears to be a slight re-balancing towards gender parity between 1990 and 1995, that shift may be attributed to increasing numbers of acquisitions in photography and printmaking, traditionally two strong areas of practice for women artists. This indicates that acquisitions reflect just 'more of the same' rather than a departure from existing acquisition patterns. Some links between the twentieth anniversary of International Women's Year and acquisitions have also been suggested as factors contributing to the increase of women's work acquired in the early 1990s.

The patterns observed for all acquisitions between 1980 and 1995, and the issues raised by them, has been extended by examining three separate categories of art acquisitions made at 'the margins': the representation of work by members of the Sydney Women's Art Movement, emerging artists in the Michell Endowment and the Margaret Stewart Endowment and finally, for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women artists. Analysis of these subsets of data support the general conclusions outlined above. Importantly, it has been shown that widening the source of acquisition to include artists' studios and alternative exhibition spaces improves gender representation in collections. The examination of acquisitions related to the Sydney Women's Art Movement and to women artists of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander descent suggests that criteria other than aesthetic excellence are factors in some acquisitions. In addition, representation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women's work in museum collections has raised the issue of gender in

relation to post-colonialism, an important theme but one which is beyond the scope of the current study.

This chapter drew substantially on the work of feminist art historians, lawyers and sociologists who, since the 1970s, have exposed the ideological limitations of a dominant, patriarchally-centred knowledge system which marginalises women and women's creative expressions. That knowledge system is deeply etched into the fabric of society, inscribed through the academy, maintained through public institutions like the museum and then re-imprinted on museum audiences.

Various strategies have been proposed by feminists to counteract such discrimination and to make space for women's identities, knowledge and artistry. These include the reclamation and affirmation of 'heroine' artists, and the valorisation of previously under-valued art forms. Both tactics are essential to an expanding awareness of the issues and both have resulted in ameliorating accumulated neglect.

Important as these tactics are, they remain remedial exercises. They do not break free of the essentialist framework which characterises the dominant hierarchies of aesthetic excellence or canon formation. For this reason then, the strategy proposed by Wolff (1989) and Pollock (1999), of continually and resolutely de-constructing and de-stabilising the ideological limitations of the art system, appears to be the most effective possibility for art and curatorial practice today.

De-stabilising art museums' public presentations let alone de-constructing acquisition policies to expose the structural imbalances of gender, is a politically charged activity, one which is only nervously tolerated within the museum profession, and is always threatening and unwelcome in the larger arena of cultural policy development. Dissonance and dissent are ingredients ill suited to the homogenising values of national identity

For the *Guerrilla Girls* there is, perhaps, a solution. 'Dilemma labels' were 'invented' by Robert Sullivan of the Smithsonian's American Museum of Natural History in the early 1990s as one means to alert the museum's visitors to misleading and often embarrassing lapses in representation or interpretation, particularly in instances where cultural bias had been expressed in museum displays. Sullivan explained that there were insufficient resources to correct all the mistakes or to reconstruct expensive dioramas. Equally so, it may be impossible for Australian art

museums to correct the imbalances apparent in collections. Thus, a 'dilemma' label for Australian public art museums might read:

> You will probably know already that more than half of Australia's population is female. You might be interested to know that nearly 60% of artists working in Australia today are women. We regret that due to forces beyond our control, only about a third of our collection of contemporary Australian art is made by women. We are continuing our efforts to improve the representation of women artists. If you wish to assist us in this programme your donations can be placed in the box at the front counter.

For the *Guerrilla Girls* such tactics might be possible. For the four leading mainstream art museums surveyed here, perhaps not.

CHAPTER FOUR

Collecting Contemporary Aboriginal Art

"Decline and Its Aftermath
The decline and ultimate destruction of a culture when overtaken by the superior forces of another culture is a tragic thing to witness... In this respect the story of Australian Aboriginal culture is little different from the story of the demise of other primitive cultures..."
McCulloch, A. (1984). The Encyclopedia of Australian Art. p. 8.

"... That those sentiments, widespread at the time, have since then been abundantly disproved is a tribute to the strength of the Aboriginal people and a commendation to the advisers who were prescient enough to assist them in their wishes.

Since, Aboriginal art has come to be regarded with international respect as a major force in contemporary Australian art. ..."
McCulloch, A. & S. (1994). The Encyclopedia of Australian Art.

Introduction

These entries from *The Encyclopedia of Australian Art*, written a decade apart, are one of the most revealing indications of a striking change which has occurred recently in Australian visual arts practice. The second entry, appears under the heading, 'The Renascence of Aboriginal Art'. 'Renascence', of course, suggests revival. The use of this word in a reference work deserves some reflection. One implication is that Aboriginal culture has been revived by a series of interventions orchestrated by members of the settler society and, in this particular case, by the prescience of art advisers, the majority of whom are of European descent. It is also possible to inscribe other meanings into this heading. To understand, perhaps, that Aboriginal Art, with a tradition extending beyond the narrow time frame of Western art history, offers instead a renascence of Australian visual arts and national identity.

These wider issues and their implication frame this chapter. The primary purpose of this chapter, however, is to present and analyse data on collecting trends of contemporary Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander art in four mainstream Australian art museums between 1980 and 1995. The research presented here will indicate that the position of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Art has changed dramatically within these institutions during that time.

In 1982 Aboriginal Art comprised less than 0.4% of all contemporary Australian art acquisitions. By 1994, just a dozen years later, this had increased to 28%. Together, these four art museums now represent nearly a thousand Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander artists - just over a quarter of all artists acquired by those collections in the last fifteen years.[1] Aboriginal art has become "hot property" not only for the art market, which has registered record sales prices and volumes, and for the tourist industry[2], but also for these public collections.

This chapter also aims to analyse the reasons for this growth in acquisitions. At the heart of this endeavour lie three related questions: Why were Australian art museums so slow to collect Aboriginal art? What prompted the boom? And perhaps most important: is the art museum's interest in contemporary Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander art at the vanguard of a revitalisation in museum practices or is it an appropriation of success?

My discussion of these issues occurs in three parts. Firstly, a presentation of the data which quantifies Aboriginal art acquisitions over the survey period and lists the key results from an analysis of the data. Secondly, an analysis of the development of acquisition practices in narrative form. And thirdly, I will briefly discuss the impact of policy on practices. The chapter concludes with some reflections on how the acquisition of contemporary Aboriginal Art has assisted in challenging and 'differencing the canon'.

[1] It is extremely difficult to quantify the number of Aboriginal artists. The 1989 Review of the Aboriginal Arts and Crafts Industry (the Altman Report), estimated that there were 6,000 Aboriginal artists (Altman, 1989: 12). However, these estimates have been revised according to several variables including definitions of full-time artists. See also m. Neale (Ed.). (1994). Yiribana.

[2] The record price at auction was reached in 1997 when *Water Dreaming Kalipinypa*, 1971, by Johnny Warrangula Tjupurrula fetched AUD$206,000. In 2000 the same painting fetched $486,685. In 1979/80 it was estimated that the overall size of the Aboriginal arts industry was $2.5 million (Altman, p.17). The Australia Council estimates that the value of purchases of Aboriginal art and souvenirs by international visitors is $46 million annually (Australia Council, 1993a:1).

Part One: Presentation of the Data

Data collected from the four participating art museums provides one means to quantify, locate, describe and account for the growth of contemporary Aboriginal art acquisitions in these institutions over the survey period. The data offer information about each collection and provide opportunities for comparisons between them.

Several raw data tables have been developed and appear in this chapter. Because this raw data requires interpretation statistical graphing methods have been used to present key features of the data and are integrated within the discussion presented below.

Throughout this chapter the term Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Art refers to all artworks made by those of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander descent and so identified by the artists themselves, participating institutions, the NATISVAD database and Authority Lists. A few artists, such as Sally Morgan, who consider that primary identification as Aboriginal is to be marginalised as an artist, have, nevertheless, been identified as Aboriginal in the data. A fuller discussion concerning the efforts made to ensure the accuracy of data, particularly in relation to the orthography of artists' names and their tribal affiliations, and other issues related to the research methodology, have been discussed in the Introduction to the thesis.

Collecting Contemporary Aboriginal Art 1980 - 1995, Table 17, overleaf, provides an overview of acquisitions by year and by institution indicating the number of works acquired and the number of individual artists represented in each year's acquisitions. This table provides information on the quantity and rate of contemporary Aboriginal art acquisitions. As well, it provides comparative data about the quantity and rate of acquisition for Non-Aboriginal works.

The analysis of the raw data has resulted in six key findings which will be summarised in two groups:

1. The Growth of Contemporary Aboriginal Art and Public Collections.

    (a) collecting escalates after 1988;
    (b) all collections experience growth but the rate of growth varies;
    (c) purchase is the predominant method of acquisition; and,
    (d) there is a nexus between acquisitions and exhibitions.

Table 17: Collecting Contemporary Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Art 1980 - 1995

Collecting Contemporary Aboriginal Art 1980 - 1995

	Art Gallery of New South Wales			**National Gallery of Australia**			**National Gallery of Victoria**			**Queensland Art Gallery**			**Total**		**% ATSI**
	Aboriginal & TS Islander		Other	Aboriginal & TS Islander		Other	Aboriginal & TS Islander		Other	Aboriginal & TS Islander		Other	ATSI Wks	Other Works	
Year	No. Artists	No. Works	No. Works	No. Artists	No. Works	No. Works	No. Artists	No. Works	No. Works	No. Artists	No. Works	No. Works			
1980	0	0	162	12	22	504	3	21	526	0	0	20	43	1212	3%
1981	0	0	143	9	12	171	0	0	325	0	0	8	12	647	2%
1982	0	0	146	6	8	1793	0	0	289	0	0	58	8	2294	0.3%
1983	0	0	124	57	97	600	0	0	301	2	2	51	99	1076	8%
1984	1	9	90	29	57	631	2	2	145	0	0	50	68	916	7%
1985	5	11	89	30	65	509	9	10	287	0	0	49	86	934	8%
1986	1	1	56	50	107	492	15	37	334	1	1	62	146	1090	12%
1987	1	1	80	36	92	887	20	32	225	8	11	404	136	1596	8%
1988	5	11	577	30	98	1102	34	54	237	7	11	120	174	2036	8%
1989	7	8	255	128	300	839	82	159	254	8	23	167	490	1515	24%
1990	2	2	147	107	175	734	70	122	130	86	119	277	418	1288	25%
1991	11	0	142	57	84	550	101	246	243	6	6	177	336	1112	23%
1992	13	15	95	59	119	871	61	122	214	7	9	367	265	1547	15%
1993	8	17	284	44	70	973	11	11	138	30	41	142	139	1537	8%
1994	1	8	253	37	68	258	110	218	179	24	29	143	323	833	28%
1995	2	16	72	30	63	469	85	145	465	16	23	106	247	1112	18%
Unknown	0	0	147	12	28	17	1	1	41	2	3	254	32	459	
Total	**57**	**99**	**2862**		**1465**	**11400**		**1180**	**4333**		**278**	**2455**	**3022**	**21204**	
% ATSI		3%			11%			21%			11%				

2. The Development of a National Profile of Contemporary Aboriginal Art.

(a) collections favour 'tribal' than urban work;

(b) collections do not maintain focus on regional representation.

1. The Growth of Contemporary Aboriginal Art and Public Collections

Aboriginal Art collecting escalates between 1988 - 1995

The most salient finding is the pronounced escalation in the number of acquisitions of works by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander artists since 1988/89. As is illustrated in Figure 26, below, almost 80% of all acquisitions of Aboriginal art were made in the seven years between 1988/89 and 1995.

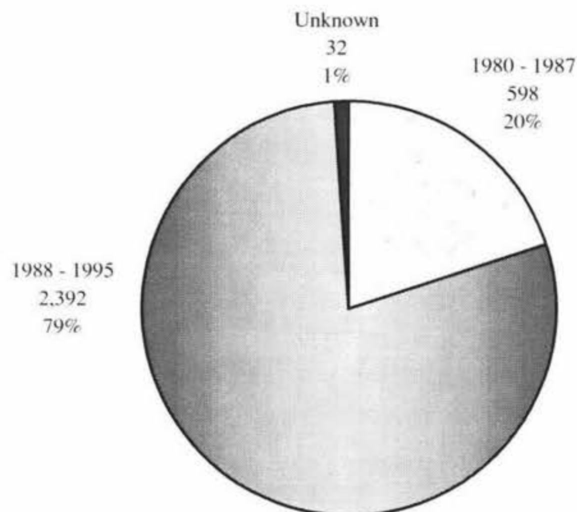

Figure 26: Total Aboriginal Art Acquisitions 1980 - 1987 and 1988 - 1995

The significance of this finding is best illustrated by a comparison with acquisitions of Non-Aboriginal art over the same periods. Figure 27, below, shows an appreciable increase in the number of works acquired after 1988 which is consistent with the incremental shift in resources supporting the acquisition of contemporary Australian art during this time. But, this shift is by no means as

dramatic, nor as pervasive, as the growth in acquisitions of Aboriginal art over the same period.

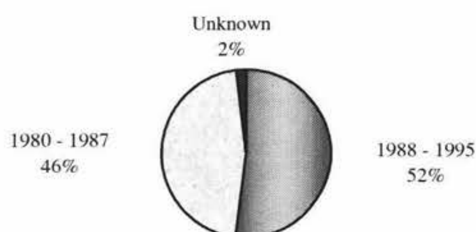

Figure 27: Acquisitions of Non-Aboriginal Art 1980 - 1995

All collections of Aboriginal Art grow but the rate varies for particular institutions

The rate of acquisition at the National Gallery of Australia and the National Gallery of Victoria are instrumental to this substantial growth overall. Between them, these two art museums have acquired nearly 88% of all contemporary Aboriginal Art collected in the fifteen years of surveyed (See Table 17). Further evidence of the growth in acquisitions is illustrated in Table 18 and Figure 28, below. The extent of the contributions by the National Gallery of Australia and National Gallery of Victoria is clearly shown.

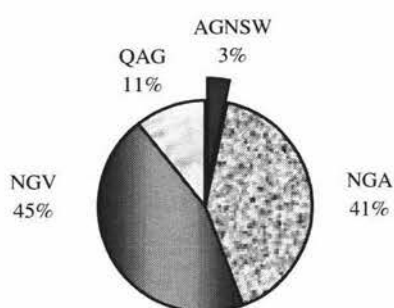

Figure 28: Aboriginal Art Acquisitions 1988 - 1995

Table 18: Aboriginal Art Acquisitions 1980 - 1995

ATSI	1980 - 1987	1988 - 1995	Sub-total	Unknown
AGNSW	22	77	99	0
NGA	460	977	1437	28
NGV	102	1077	1179	1
QAG	14	261	275	3
Total	598	2392	2990	32

The National Gallery of Victoria's commitment to collecting Aboriginal art is demonstrated most forcefully after 1988. Operating from a modest foundation established between 1980 and 1987 of just over a hundred Aboriginal works, the National Gallery of Victoria increases its acquisitions of Aboriginal art tenfold in less than seven years. This phenomenon is illustrated in Figure 28 (above) which shows that acquisitions of Aboriginal Art at the National Gallery of Victoria eclipse those at the National Gallery of Australia after 1988. Indeed, as Table 17, above, has shown, acquisitions of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Art comprise more than 21% of the National Gallery of Victoria's total Australian contemporary art acquisitions for the period surveyed. Given the National Gallery of Australia's dominance in the field of contemporary Australian art acquisition over the survey period - it collects more than the other three institutions combined - the National Gallery of Victoria's position is all the more remarkable.

Also of note is the surge in Aboriginal art acquisitions at the Art Gallery of New South Wales and the Queensland Art Gallery after 1988. While this growth is modest in scale when compared with the other two Galleries, it does suggest a significant change in ethos. For both Galleries this growth is associated with strategic developments, including the development of additional exhibitions and permanent display areas for Aboriginal art. In 1995 both of these institutions established full-time positions for a Curator of Aboriginal Art and appointed staff of Aboriginal descent to those positions. These developments and their impact on acquisitions will be discussed in part two of this chapter.

Purchase is the predominant method of acquisition

For the most part acquisition funds are derived from annual government grants. As noted in Chapter 2, these funds are augmented by a variety of fund-raising strategies. From 1984 both the National Gallery of Victoria and the National Gallery of Australia earmark a proportion of admission funds for the purchase of Aboriginal works. Art Foundations, established by each of the Galleries to raise capital for acquisition reserve funds, also play a significant part in acquisitions. While there is evidence that all Art Foundations contribute donations for Aboriginal art purchases, the National Gallery of Victoria has been most successful in drawing funds from their Foundation for this purpose. Just over half the Aboriginal works acquired by

the National Gallery of Victoria are purchased with funds donated through the Art Foundation of Victoria. Interestingly, it is the Foundation's mining company donor members, many of whom operate in the traditional homelands of Aboriginal people in northern Australia, which are predominantly associated with purchases of Aboriginal work.[3]

Figure 29, below, indicates that between 1980 and 1995 the majority of Aboriginal works (88%) are acquired by purchase.

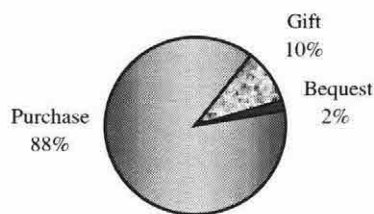

Figure 29: Method of Acquisition, Aboriginal Art 1980 - 1995.

Gifts and bequests play a minor role in the acquisition of contemporary Aboriginal Art at all four art museums. The National Gallery of Victoria has the highest proportion with 15% of its acquisitions made as gifts. The majority of these come from private collectors. With an increasingly buoyant secondary market characterised by rapidly rising values of Aboriginal Art, it is anticipated that opportunities will be taken by art museums to encourage donations through the Tax Incentives for the Arts Scheme in the future.[4]

There is a nexus between acquisitions and exhibitions

[3] In 1996 CRA said, "For most of the time of iron ore mining ... in the Pilbara, the local Aboriginal people were ignored. There is a large scar on the site of the barramundi dreaming at Argyle - there is a similar scar on the spirit of the women in the area. ...I feel it is appropriate to express regret to Aboriginal people in general and to the communities of Cape York, the Pilbara and East Kimberley region in particular." (Quoted Brennan, F. (1997) Closing Address Aboriginal Reconciliation Convention.).

[4] The Taxation Incentives Scheme for the Arts and its particular relationship to contemporary art was discussed in Chapter Two. That discussion noted that the Scheme was structured so that maximum benefits accrued to donors gifting works of high value to the Scheme.

There is a close correlation between recent acquisitions of Aboriginal art and in-house exhibitions for all four art museums surveyed. However, this situation is most pronounced at the National Gallery of Victoria and the Queensland Art Gallery.

The National Gallery of Victoria's two major exhibitions in the early 1990s, *Mythscapes: Aboriginal Art of the Desert* (1989) and *Spirit in Land: Bark Paintings from Arnhem Land* (1990), feature acrylic paintings on canvas, and bark paintings, respectively. In both cases the majority of works (almost 90%) were acquired after 1988. Thus, these exhibitions are directly allied to recent acquisitions in ways not always so readily apparent in the Gallery's other collecting areas.

An even greater synergy can be found in the example of the Queensland Art Gallery's exhibition *Balance 1990: Views, Visions, Influences*. 'Field acquisitions' supporting the curatorial theses of the exhibition were made direct from producers, going outside the customary procedures and committee processes usually reserved for acquisitions. In this particular example the 'field acquisitions' not only became the exhibition but also the foundation of the Gallery's Contemporary Aboriginal Art Collection.

These examples are already a preliminary indication that in a structural sense different curatorial rationales and processes apply to the acquisition of Aboriginal Art. Such adaptations may, in part, signal an eagerness to support "the finest art achievements to date in Australia" (Mollison quoted in Wright, 1984), and an endeavour to create a distinctive public culture and national Australian identity. Equally, such actions can be seen as a continuation of the nineteenth century principles of 'salvage ethnology', where the curator acts as the advance raiding party, acquires work, pronounces it 'art' and institutionalises it, in advance of the art market's commodification of it (Kasfir, 1999:135).

The Development of a National Profile of Contemporary Aboriginal Art

Overall, the aims of the four collections is similar: all seek to develop survey collections which document the continuing and evolving traditions of Aboriginal Art nationally and to acquire works of high artistic merit. Within this broad rubric, collections also strive to represent current innovations as well as profile individual artists. It is inevitable that given the short period which has elapsed since these collections of contemporary Aboriginal Art were established, that they do not yet

fully reflect the diversity or stylistic variations of the various art movements which characterise contemporary practice.

More recently, and in response to the depth and breadth of its Aboriginal Art collections, the National Gallery of Australia has determined that it will "keep abreast of contemporary developments, focus on exemplary earlier works and address unrepresented areas" (NGA, 1999:27).

Such aims are consistent with categorisation and classification of Western art history into schools, movements, styles, and masterpieces and its attendant emphases on originality and the unique. Aboriginal art is located within the existing Western ideological paradigm, irrespective of whether such situation is appropriate.

Collections favour 'tribal' rather than urban-based work

While acquisition polices claim to establish broad-ranging survey collections, in reality, certain art communities are privileged over others. In general, this is seen most clearly in the split between the 'autodidacts' of inland and remote areas and those Aboriginal artists located in urban centres. Over the survey period, the former are represented more strongly in public collections, while artists in the latter category, many of them art-school trained and working on the 'cutting-edge' of contemporary practice, have still to gain curatorial acceptance.

There are complex and contradictory forces at play in such situations. The Galleries are at pains to point out that the "labels of 'traditional' and 'urban' are clearly unsatisfactory for they take no account of the 'open borders' between desert, regional and urban artists" (quoted in Neale, 1994). And yet, the 'autodidact', untrained in a Western sense, is valorised for those qualities, as well as those 'authentic' experiences of 'tribal' life, which give rise to creative expression. Often, their work is presented similarly. The work of the 'new Modernist hero' (Benjamin, 1998) is rarely opened to critical discussion with most exhibitions, catalogues and symposia deliberately promoting only the most positive responses from respected figures in the art-world (McDonald, 1998). So, while the debate about what constitutes 'authentic' Aboriginal art may have been stilled in major public galleries, the debate about what constitutes good Aboriginal art has yet to be fully articulated.

Collections do not maintain focus on regional representation

There is a tension between the attempt to develop national survey collections and stated aims within acquisition policies to ensure regional representation. Analysis of collecting patterns at the Queensland Art Gallery reveals this tension quite clearly. Despite an acquisitions policy which identifies Queensland art and artists as a priority, analysis indicates that the priority for acquisitions of Aboriginal art is elsewhere. (See Table 19 below and Appendix 8).

Table 19: Contemporary Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Art, Queensland Art Gallery

Year	Indigenous Qld.	Indigenous Other States
1991	30	27
1992	0	0
1993	6	36
1994	9	18
Total	45 (36%)	81 (64%)

Part Two: Acquisition Practices in Art Museums

"...contemporary indigenous art alone represents our art to the rest of the world and plays a star role on the local stage" (Kerr, 1997:53).

Between 1988 and 1995 Aboriginal contemporary art moves from backstage to centre stage, from a position of relative obscurity and indifferent curatorial support to one which proclaims that it is Australia's most important art movement and a cornerstone of national identity. This recognition pervades the art world: there is evidence of it in public collections and exhibitions, in the record sums bid at auction and in the reviews of art critics. At the same time, Aboriginal art is 'adopted' by the wider population, who demonstrate an interest in attending exhibitions of Aboriginal art and buying mid-priced artwork. Aboriginal art is conspicuously part of fashion and interior design, corporate logos and marketing campaigns.

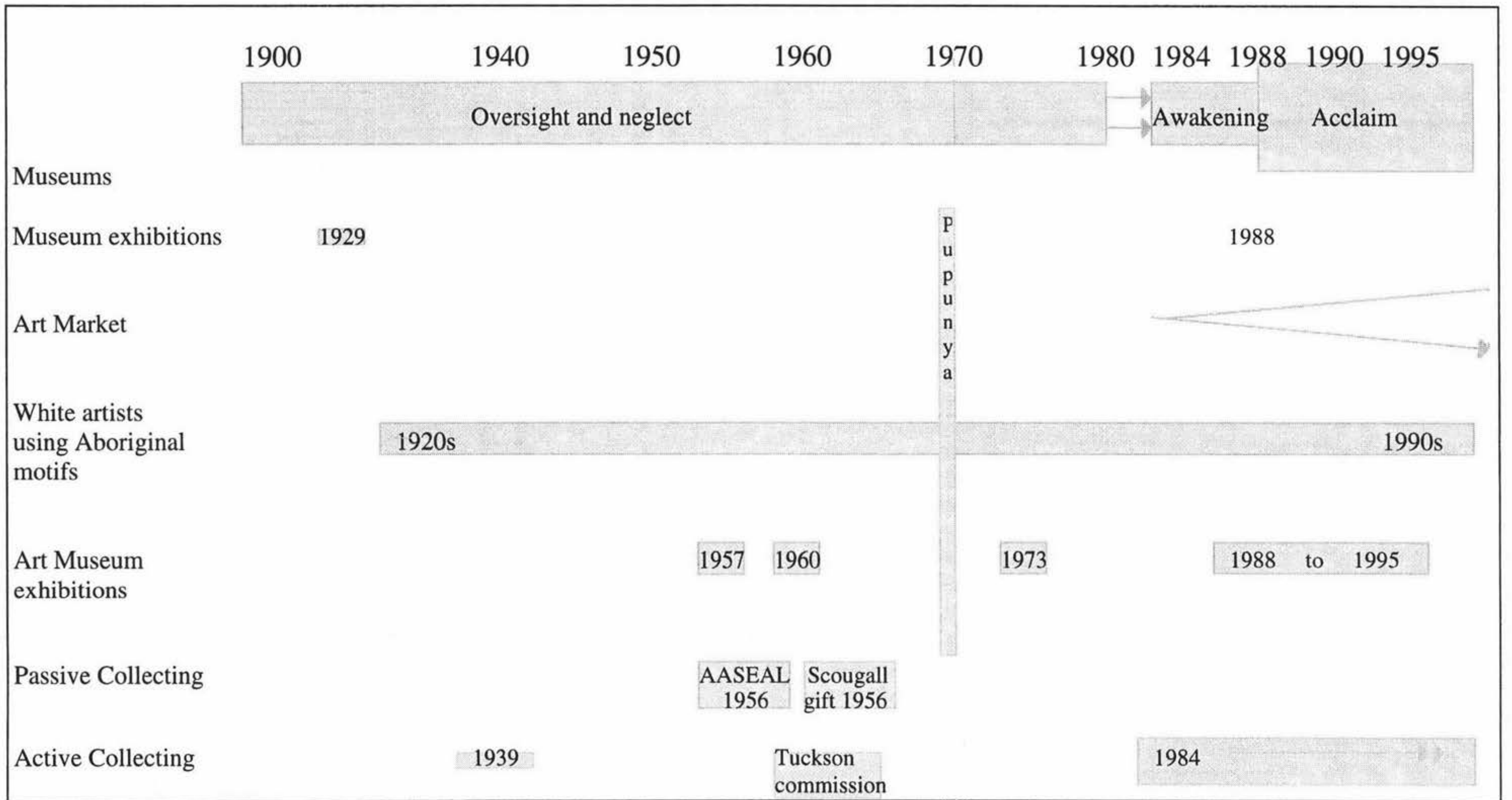

Figure 30: Collecting Contemporary Aboriginal Art

In a seminal contribution to the historiography of Australian Aboriginal art, Philip Jones contends that the Australian art establishment's serious acceptance of Aboriginal art dates from the early 1960s (Jones, 1988:176).[5] I argue that formal acceptance of Aboriginal art by art museums' comes much later - almost twenty-five years later. Indeed, based on the frequency of exhibitions and rates of acquisition, Aboriginal art is overlooked and neglected by the majority of art museums until the mid 1980s (See Figure 30, adjacent). Thereafter, gradual changes in policy and practices within some art museums are responsible for a rate of growth which outstrips all acquisitions of Australian contemporary art (see Table 17). This shift occurs in two stages. The first signs of change occur around 1984, a period of "awakening", which sees institutions responding, albeit belatedly, to new art movements which spring up in Papunya and the Western Desert beginning in the early 1970s. This tentative support for Aboriginal contemporary art gains momentum in the aftermath of the Australian Bicentennial. During this phase curators, critics and audiences acclaim Aboriginal art. It is this last phase which makes the greatest impact on acquisitions and which changes the nature of public collections substantially.

Period of Oversight and Neglect - Art Museums and Aboriginal Art to 1984

Australian museums and art museums have played a complex, often ambiguous role in preserving and promoting Aboriginal art. On the one hand, they have been complicit in the colonising process, wresting ownership and control from the Aboriginal peoples, presenting material culture from the exotic 'other' and perpetuating stereotypical notions that Aboriginal cultural heritage was immutable and the product of doomed peoples. Many commentators argue that museums, like society as a whole, maintained the 'Great Australian Silence' by failing to question the motives and outcomes of a colonial past, perpetuating instead the twin fictions of *terra nullius* and that settlement was peaceful[6] (Mundine, 1996:107; Torres in

[5] Jones' essay, presented in conjunction with the exhibition *Dreamings: The Art of Aboriginal Australia*, 1988, is the first scholarship to consider the development of Aboriginal art as 'art'. My discussion of exhibitions, shown between 1929 and 1960, draws substantially on this work.

[6] Since 1988 attempts to present revisions to the standard histories of Australian settlement have been controversial. See Powerhouse Museum's 1988 captioning of objects as 'pre invasion'; Australian Teachers' Federation Conference 1988 and amendments to historical texts used in schools; same issue in Queensland 1991 and in NSW in 1994. Reynolds, (1999) 154-158.

Thompson, 1990:61; Fourmile, 1990; Reynolds, 1999). The lament, at its most poignant, comes from Aboriginal people themselves: "At best, the past is misrepresented by museums; at worst it is falsified by presenting a series of lies - for instance that Aborigines no longer existed as a race, *The Last Tasmanians*, Being one example (Mundine, 1996:107).

On the other hand, much precious cultural material would have perished without the intervention of museums[7]. More recently, the critical acclaim accorded Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander contemporary art, and its prominence within the international art scene, is in no small way connected to the role of Australian museums and art museums in advancing this work through exhibitions and monographs. Significantly, it was art museums rather than art history departments which promoted a "new Australian art history", acknowledging Aboriginal art as an intrinsic part of the formation of national identity. For many art museums and their staff, the claim is broader still. As Daniel Thomas, Director Emeritus of the Art Gallery of South Australia and the first curator of Australian art (appointed in 1965) has said, "Australian aboriginal art ... is in the 1980s a very conspicuous reason for the white community's new respect for Aboriginal culture generally" (Thomas, 1988:12).[8]

Until quite recently art museums, in particular, distanced themselves from Aboriginal art. It was the distinction between ethnography and aesthetic values as much as the predominance of the evolutionist assumptions which attached to the emerging theories of primitive art in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, which ensured that Aboriginal art was not collected by art museums until well into the 1940s (Berndt, 1964; Sutton, 1998).

The first Chair in Anthropology was established at the University of Sydney in 1926, but the study of Aboriginal art did not begin until the late 1930s. Only a few researchers analysed designs and art styles, working to develop an appreciation of the aesthetic qualities of Aboriginal art through an extensive publication programme for the museum-going public (Sutton, 1988:159).[9] However, this

[7] Improved conditions to preserve Aboriginal material culture was a major theme in the Pigott Report, 1975.

[8] Similar ideas had been expressed by A.P. Elkin. See Foreword to the booklet by F. McCarthy *Australian Aboriginal Decorative Art* (1938).

[9] Among them was Frederick McCarthy, the first social anthropologist trained at Sydney University and a curator at the Australian Museum in Sydney.

appreciation was impeded by a climate which regarded Australian Aboriginal culture as the least sophisticated of any 'primitive' peoples.

Exhibitions of Aboriginal Art 1929 - 1984

One of the earliest and most significant of the exhibitions to consider Aboriginal art was held in 1929 at the National Museum of Victoria.[10] *Primitive Art* included bark paintings collected by Baldwin Spencer, Director of the Museum of Victoria, in 1912 as well as an extensive range of cultural material from a widespread geographic region (*The Herald*, 9 July 1929; Jones, 1988:166; Caruana, 1995:19). It was not unusual for museums to display such material. What was significant about this exhibition was its location within the Museum's Print Room and the definition of the material on exhibition as 'art'. The exhibition's organisers included a number of influential art establishment figures and amateur ethnologists well known for their support of Aboriginal art (Jones, 1988:166)[11]. *The Herald's* review, *Aboriginal Art Show Opened*, is redolent with categorisations and assumptions which were to prevail for another sixty years: "...Among them is a fine collection of bark drawings...the work of the fierce Alligator River tribes, whose artists evidently included cubists and impressionists..." (*The Herald, op. cit.*). For the first time in an exhibition, two Aboriginal men, Wankangurru men from the Birdsville Track, were brought in to demonstrate artefact production inside the exhibition. In an era which saw the development of dioramas, the 'living diorama' was more than a novel departure in exhibition practice. However, *The Herald's* terminology is even less considered when describing their contribution. After commenting on the special arrangements to heat the environment, the review goes on, "Ethnologically, however, there are more important exhibits than Jack and Stan ...".

A number of exhibitions took place in the 1940s and 1950s which broadened thinking about, and response to, Aboriginal art - but none were shown in art museums. Notable among these exhibitions were those presented in David Jones

[10] In 1857 in the Museum's *Facts and Figures*, W.H. Archer noted, "...there is one prominent defect...the total absence of Victorian aboriginal relics. ...All that tangibly relates to the aboriginal natives of the land we now inhabit should find a place of perpetual preservation here." There is little evidence that Aboriginal collections were developed by the Museum until after 1870.

[11] Organsisers included Robert Croll who was to play an important role in the recognition of Albert Namatjira's artwork ten years later and George Aiston, author of *Savage Life in Central Australia* (1924), was responsible for the presence of the two Wankangurru men, Stan Loycurrie and Jack Noorywauka, at the 1929 exhibition.

department store in 1941 and 1949. The first of these exhibitions[12] brought the work of Aboriginal and white Australian artists together to explore themes, designs and motifs of Aboriginal Australia (Jones, 1988:170; Caruana, 1995:19).

In 1957 another exhibition, *"The Art of Arnhem Land"*, launched at the Festival of Perth and curated by Professors Ronald and Catherine Berndt, located Aboriginal artists into distinct styles and traditions. This focus was continued and expanded in the touring exhibition curated by Tony Tuckson, Deputy Director of the Art Gallery of New South Wales, for the inaugural Adelaide Festival of the Arts in 1959-60. The exhibition was shown at the Art Gallery of South Australia before touring to other State Galleries and then to the Bienale de São Paulo. It was the first time that an Aboriginal art exhibition placed art as the central focus. Individual artists were identified by name, and aesthetic considerations, rather then ethnographic ones, were promoted. It was an approach to exhibiting which was to endure, changing forever the attitude and presentation of Aboriginal art in public art museums.

Despite elisions, this brief overview of Aboriginal art exhibitions offers evidence of changing art museum practices, exhibiting Aboriginal art as art, rather than ethnology. Exhibitions adopted western art historical methods to describe Aboriginal art in a series of 'schools' and styles. More importantly, individual artists were identified as creators of these works. Aboriginal art's acceptance as 'art' at this time is linked to wider international discussions concerning 'Primitive Art', abstraction and conceptual art which occurs from the late 1940s (Read, 1944 & 1945; Tuckson, 1964). Revisions in anthropological studies, which grew to accommodate an aesthetic perspective alongside the religious and cultural context, also assisted in creating a climate sympathetic to new approaches to displaying Aboriginal art.

What is not so clearly apparent is the failure of art museums to appreciate the multivalent qualities of Aboriginal art. Rigid perceptions about the nature of art and insufficient prescience to comprehend the complexities of Aboriginal art denied art museums the chance to develop either exhibitions or collections at this time.

[12] Roger Butler, Curator of Australian Prints, National Gallery of Australia, considers this as the first

The Acquisition of Aboriginal art by art museums to 1984

The early history of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander collections in art museums is characterised by sporadic bursts of collecting, followed by long intervals of inactivity and malaise. Australian art museums are slow to react and despite international trends which indicate an acceptance of 'Primitive Art' as High Art, continue to debate these issues until the mid 1980s.[13]

Although Australian artists demonstrated a long tradition of incorporating the stylistic influences of Aboriginal art into their work, art museums did not pursue this theme in their collections and did not seek out its sources. The climate remained inimical to Aboriginal Art. Influential anthropologists such as A. P. Elkin, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Sydney from 1933 until 1956, discounted the artistic merits of paintings on bark in ochres as well as newer forms of artistic expression. "Pictorial art in (Central Australia)", he wrote, "is poorly developed ... of conventional design and...crude. The Aranda 'School' of water-colour artists have deserted nothing, for there was almost nothing in their own tradition which could be developed". (Elkin, 1964:268). While there is now ample evidence that artworks made with European materials were being fashioned by Aboriginal people from the mid nineteenth century, art museums showed no inclination to promote scholarship about, or acquire, such artforms until the mid 1980s.[14] With the exception of Tony Tuckson, there were few advocates for Aboriginal art working in art museums prior to the mid 1970s.

There are few exceptions to this picture of curatorial neglect. Albert Namatjira's name and work is most closely associated with the 'Hermmansburg School'. His watercolour, *Haast's Bluff (Ulumbaura),* was acquired by the Art Gallery of South Australia in 1939 making it the first work by an Aboriginal artist purchased by a State Gallery (*Time*, July 26, 1999:62; Art Gallery of South Australia,1999 pers.comm.)[15] For its time, this acquisition was farsighted. In 1938,

exhibition in which Aboriginal art received official sanction (Butler, 1987).

[13] In 1982 the Metropolitan Museum, New York, opened the Rockefeller Wing housing Primitive Art, signalling its acceptance as "High art". See Hilton Kramer "The High Art of Primitivism" *New York Times Magazine* 24 January 1982 18-19,62. Also, Bulletin of COMA, January, 1993.

[14] The National Gallery of Australia purchased William 'King Billy' Barak's *Corroboree* (1880s), pencil and ochres on paperboard in 1985/86. Andrew Sayers, then Curator of Australian Drawings at the NGA published *Aboriginal Artists of the 19th. Century* in 1994. This was the first scholarly work concerning early Aboriginal artists.

[15] In 1988 Albert Namatjira was the only Aboriginal artist to rate a mention in the list of eminent Australians compiled for the Bicentennary. At the same time other artists such as John Bulun Bulun

despite public acclaim and sell-out exhibitions, the Melbourne art critic Harold Herbert wrote, "... there is no need for a fanfare of trumpets. I do not accept his (Namatjira's) paintings as outstanding art" (Batty, 1963:36). Indeed, when the National Gallery of Victoria considered Namatjira's work for its collection in 1954, Professor Sir Joseph Burke, a member of the Gallery's Council and Head of Fine Arts at the University of Melbourne, declared, "I think they are frightful... we should look around for an early Namatjira. These are absolute pot-boilers". Sir John Medley, chairman of trustees, was even more disparaging, "...Namatjira's work has gone down hill terribly". (Batty, 1963:82). These comments only hint at the complex story of Namatjira's art. At the time, many critics believed that Namatjira excluded himself from the ranks of 'authentic' traditional Aboriginal art by adopting water-colour as his preferred medium. Others, like Tony Tuckson, recognised the irony that Namatjira gained recognition precisely because his work appeared the least Aboriginal in content and style. For a long time Namatjira was characterised as the "wanderer between two worlds" (Batty 1963), his intentions, skills and creativity appreciated but misunderstood by a white audience too ready to claim him and his works as proof of successful assimiliationist policies. Instead, as more recent exhibitions have revealed, his work portrayed his ancestral Dreaming and was always firmly grounded in traditional mores; only his idiom was an adaptation and concession to Western materials and techniques (Thomas, 1986:26; Megaw, 1992).

With the exception of the Art Gallery of New South Wales, other art museums made few acquisitions of Aboriginal art between 1940 and the late 1960s. Unlike the Art Gallery of New South Wales which was established as a separate entity from the Australian Museum, the National Gallery of Victoria and the Queensland Art Gallery shared premises with State Museums until 1968 and 1976 respectively. It is possible to speculate, therefore, that their proximity to substantial collections of Aboriginal ethnographic material overshadowed the need for these State Galleries to collect Aboriginal art.

When works were acquired it was most often as a direct consequence of fieldwork or as gifts from private collectors. Active collecting through purchase is rare. The National Gallery of Victoria, for example, appears to have purchased only

and David Malangi, artists who had designed Australian bank notes with Aboriginal motifs, were names not easily recognised by Australians.

two water-colours by Edwin Pareroultja during this entire twenty-year period (Ryan 1989:20).

Australian art museums received an unsolicited boost to their Aboriginal collections in 1965. Paintings in natural pigments on bark and card, acquired by Charles Mountford during the 1948 American-Australian Scientific Expedition to Arnhem Land (AASEAL), were distributed among art museums and museums in Australia and the USA. This gift was to become the foundation of Australian art museum collections (Tuckson, 1964:63; Sutton, 1988:172; Caruana, 1995:19; Neale, 1994:13).

In later life Mountford had come to believe that Aboriginal people created works purely for 'art's sake' - a view which contradicted prevailing thinking and which today would find few supporters. However, this view fuelled Mountford's insistence that the distribution advantage art museums rather than the state museums. He hoped that such a gift would be instrumental in developing new attitudes to modernism and to the role of 'primitive art' within it. It seems that Mountford was to be disappointed: at the time, few of the recipients displayed these works at all, and then rarely as 'art'. Karel Kupka a Czech artist, amateur ethnologist and keen collector of Aboriginal cultural material, and a supporter of Mountford's views, wrote that it was only the Queensland Art Gallery which showed these gifts as art and not as anthropological curiosities (Kupka: 1962; Queensland Art Gallery Annual Report, 1991-92: 34).[16]

While the impact of the AASEAL gift can be appreciated in hindsight, the reactions of art museums at the time appeared less enthusiastic. Tony Tuckson referred to this gift distribution of twenty-four paintings per State Gallery as a negative (or passive) form of collecting and indicates that there was considerable debate whether Aboriginal art should be shown in art museums at all (Tuckson, 1964:63).

That art museums were the apathetic recipients of government *largesse* is perhaps illustrated most vividly by experiences at the Queensland Art Gallery. Only in 1991-92 did that Gallery finally accession the fourteen bark paintings and nine gouaches from the AASEAL - Mountford gift (Queensland Art Gallery Annual

[16] Kupka was a keen collector of Aboriginal art in the late 1950s and 1960s. In 1984/85 the National Gallery of Australia repatriated 137 Aboriginal bark paintings and carvings from the Kupka Collection held in France (National Gallery of Australia Annual Report, 1984/85, 16-17).

Report 1991-92: 33-34). With the exception of the Art Gallery of New South Wales (then named the National Art Gallery of New South Wales), there is little evidence that the AASEAL gifts sparked continued collecting in this area.

Acquisitions at the Art Gallery of New South Wales to 1984

More than thirty years after the artist Margaret Preston wrote in support of Aboriginal art (Preston, 1925, 1930, 1940), and ten years after the AASEAL expedition, Tony Tuckson accompanied Dr Stuart Scougall, an orthopaedic surgeon and private collector, on a field trip to northern Australia. The trip was funded entirely by the Art Gallery of New South Wales. The main purpose of the expedition was to collect Aboriginal art and in particular to transport a commission of Pukamani Grave Posts from Melville Island to Sydney.[17] This commission, together with additional bark paintings and sculptures from Yirrkala, presented to the Gallery by Dr. Scougall in 1959, was to enhance the AASEAL gift substantially and to pave the way for other important gifts and purchases by the Gallery in the early 1960s. The most notable of these was the purchase of 158 bark paintings and sculptures from the collection of the Rev. Edgar Wells, supervisor of the Methodist Mission at Milingimbi 1949-59 (Neale, 1994).

Critical opinion, which greeted the inaugural display of the Scougall gift, was mixed. Douglas Stewart, the *Bulletin's* art critic commented:

> ... these 17 grave posts make a somewhat bizarre display ... and most people will wonder if the proper place for them is not the museum ...though (these posts) have definite artistic merit of an elementary kind, (they) are really more in the nature of ethnological curiosities than works of art.
> (*Bulletin*, 1 July 1959).

The artist, James Gleeson writing in the *Sun* newspaper retaliated: "Whatever their symbolic significance might be they represent an ensemble of abstract shapes of considerable aesthetic appeal..." (The *Sun*, 18 July 1959). These comments are indicative of the canonical methods which applied to the evaluation of Aboriginal art excluded it from art museums, while simultaneously securing non-Aboriginal art's position within public collections.

[17] When Tuckson and Scougall arrived at Melville Island work on the commission had not begun. The team was able to document the entire process of securing, carving and painting the Grave Posts.

Tuckson's impact on the Aboriginal collections at the Art Gallery of New South Wales continued until his death in 1973. Thereafter, acquisitions stalled. Funding constraints were only partly responsible for the loss of momentum. Tuckson's role had been instrumental to the development of the collection; he had been its champion, demonstrating a passionate conviction about the importance of Aboriginal art to Australian art.[18] After his death, and with a new Director appointed, curatorial responsibilities for the Aboriginal collections were not designated clearly. The Curator of European Art held a 'watching brief' for Aboriginal Art until 1990, when curatorial responsibility was transferred to the Australian Art department. As Margot Neale has observed, "The tide went out on the Aboriginal art collecting activities at the Gallery" (Neale, 1994:14).

Acquisitions at the National Gallery of Australia to 1984

As detailed in Chapter Two, the Lindsay Report (1966) provided for the acquisition of the highest achievements of Australian Aboriginal artists, both inside and outside tribal traditions. At first acquisitions of 'traditional' Aboriginal art came under the aegis of the Department of Primitive Art, with non-traditional work delegated to the Australian Art Department (National Gallery of Australia Annual Report 1976:13-14; 1994:18). Later, this framework was amended to "document the continuing and evolving traditions of Aboriginal art ... with particular emphasis on the major achievements of major artists and groups of artists". Carriage of this brief was vested in the Department of Aboriginal Art (National Gallery of Australia, 1994:18).

Because of the relatively late development of the National Gallery's Collections, and because much Aboriginal art of historical interest had already entered public collections, the Gallery's Collection of Aboriginal Art predominantly represents the last thirty years. Although some bark paintings were purchased by the National Gallery in the early seventies the first major purchases, a collection of 137 bark paintings by the Western Arnhem Land artist Yirawala, date from 1976.

The Gallery's commitment to Aboriginal art was clear from the outset and expectations of its performance were high. Despite demonstrating leadership in this area of collecting, criticism was levelled that it moved too slowly in showing

[18] "Aboriginal art ... should be collected and preserved, and exhibited, in order to foster a greater awareness and appreciation of this form of art among members of the general public, as well as among artists. ... there is no question at all that it will come to have a much greater bearing on our own Australian art in the years to come." (Tuckson, 1964: 68).

transitional or contemporary work at the time of its Opening in 1982 (Megaw, 1986; Johnson, 1984). Admittedly, the Gallery had failed to include a substantial number of Aboriginal works in its touring exhibitions which preceded the Official Opening.[19] However, there is evidence that the Gallery acknowledged Aboriginal art and Aboriginal artists as part of the Official Opening by installing Aboriginal works in its permanent survey of Australian art, by devoting permanent Gallery space to Aboriginal art and maintaining its acquisitions programme (NGA, 1982; Thomas, 1989: 7-9).

The Period of Awakening: 1984 - 1988

"A defiant and brilliant gesture from the midst of disaster" Andrew Crocker, Papunya Tula Art Advisor, 1981.

Papunya: "Too ethnographic for the galleries not ethnographic enough for museums"

The challenge to art museums came from the most unprepossessing place - Papunya. This settlement in Central Australia was planned by the Commonwealth Government as part of its policies to bring nomadic desert peoples together and to provide them with the amenities of town life. Papunya has been called the "last great assimiliationist experiment" (Johnson, 1996:20). There, according to a government pamphlet, "the prime function ... (was) to bear the initial brunt of the burden of overcoming the divergence of social customs between the Aboriginals and the white man and, by training and precept render the native acceptable to everyday Australian social life..." (Johnson, 1996:18).

In the paradox that was - and is - Papunya, desolation, disease, filth and despair co-existed with a remarkable, silent creativity: "Aboriginal people made the sand speak as they drew in it their hieroglyphs" (Bardon, 1989:13). As Geoff Bardon, the Social Studies and Art teacher for the Papunya Special School, laboured to transcribe those marks, the Aboriginal yardmen showed interest and continued painting their ancient *Dreamings* onto the walls and cement floors beneath the school, and eventually on board, paper and canvas supplied by Bardon. These men - Mick Tjapatjarra, Long Jack Phillipus Tjakamarra and Clifford Possum Tjapaltjarri

[19] Only one bark painting was included in the Genesis II exhibition which toured throughout the country in 1979.

and their kinsmen "reveal(ed) themselves as the great painters they had always been" (Bardon, *op. cit.)* [20]

Between July 1971 and August 1972, 620 of the earliest acrylic 'dot paintings' were delivered in nineteen consignments to the Stuart Arts Centre in Alice Springs (Hogan, 1986; Maughan & Zimmer, 1986; Anderson & Dussart, 1988). It appears that just seventy-nine of these works went into public collections in this period. The Museums and Art Galleries of the Northern Territory purchased seventy-eight works from the first three consignments, and one work from the fifth consignment was acquired by a Spanish art museum in Barcelona (Maughan & Zimmer, 1986). An investigation conducted for this thesis indicates that none of the four art museums surveyed in this study acquired any works from this earliest period of Papunya art until at least 1989.

Indeed, it was the smaller and perhaps less influential Art Gallery of South Australia which lead the way for Australian art museums in the acquisition of works from Papunya - just as it had with the purchase of Albert Namatjira's *Haast's Bluff* in 1939. In 1978 a gift of twenty works reached the Gallery from the Aboriginal Arts Board of the Australia Council via the offices of Bob Edwards, the first Director of the Board and a former curator at the South Australian Museum. However, these works remained in storage until the early 1980s. The real turning point for the Gallery came in 1980. Ron Radford, recently appointed to the position of Curator of Australian Art, argued spiritedly for the purchase of Clifford Possum's *Man's Love Story* against reservations from the Gallery's Director and Trustees: "The work was large, difficult to store and it was painted in a dot technique that seemed to bear no relation to authentic Aboriginal art, by an artist who had never studied at an art school, and who displayed no knowledge of the western art tradition which directed the Gallery's collection of European and Australian painting" (Hylton, 1996:10).

The acquisition submission was measured, but left the Board of Trustees in no doubt that this was a bold step:

> The Board is respectfully asked to consider this proposed acquisition without prejudice or preconceptions, not as an example of ethnology suitable for an historical or ethnological museum, but as an excellent work by a living Australian painter....It is proposed that the painting be

[20] Ironically, at the very time that the Government which had been working to establish legislation to preserve important cultural sites it did not comprehend the importance of these paintings. The first traces of what was to become the major new art movement of the century were destroyed when the Papunya School was refurbished.

> hung in the Gallery unashamedly with other Australian contemporary abstract paintings. (Items for Acquisition - proposed Purchase AGB 80/11 24 November 1980, Art Gallery of South Australia).

Curatorial argument and persistence won through; the work was acquired and immediately took its place alongside the permanent display of contemporary Australian art. This method of display, and its motives, were constantly questioned by critics throughout this period.

It was not just the curatorial profession which was slow to engage with the new acrylic paintings from Papunya. The ingenuity and creativity of Papunya artists was slow to engage international and national art audiences alike. Initially selling for modest prices between $25 and $30, early sales of Papunya art were disappointing. Many in the art market saw these works as 'inauthentic'; for them the subject matter and medium precluded admission as art. There were other aspects which were off-putting for collectors more accustomed to the refined aesthetics of the salesroom. The works seemed disorganised. Paint was applied in technically inept ways and artists often used a garish palette, which could include "punk pink". These were trademarks of the many un-saleable works stored at Papunya Tula Artists Co-operative or at the Aboriginal Arts Board in the early years of this art movement (Johnson, 1996).

It was the persistence of a small number of arts advisers, museum staff (rarely art museum staff), anthropologists and agencies such as the Aboriginal Arts Board of the Australia Council who ensured financial and institutional support, and who persevered in developing institutional and market acceptance of this new art movement. Of particular importance was the role played by the Aboriginal Arts Board of the Australia Council. As well as administering grant programmes, the Board also initiated a series of touring exhibitions, and purchased new work. Under the Board's auspices a number of exhibitions toured nationally and internationally. Some of these toured with government assistance; in other cases partnerships were formed with business sponsors and Cultural Foundations established by private collectors.[21]

It is not surprising that art museums were slow to accept the challenge of this new art form. Until then, their sole focus had been on bark painting and carving.

[21] The Peter Stuyvesant Cultural Foundation and the 'entrepreneur' and private collector Robert Holmes a Court were instrumental in sponsoring early touring exhibitions.

The new medium of acrylic on canvas was unconventional and uncomfortably inauthentic. For Aboriginal people the "sand paintings were always there - ... the style has changed but not the message" (Papunya Tula Artists, 1986 in Johnson, 1996).

Changes in policy and practice

New attitudes to Aboriginal Art began to emerge in the art world during the early 1980s. The winds of change began to stir all four art museums around 1984 but was felt most strongly in Melbourne and Canberra.

In 1984 Patrick McCaughey, the Director of the National Gallery of Victoria, voiced his increasing frustration that the division of collecting responsibilities for Aboriginal art between the Museum of Victoria and the Gallery no longer provided a satisfactory outcome for visitors to the Gallery. He argued that the Gallery's reputation to collect encylopaedically would be jeopardised if it did not collect and show Aboriginal art on a regular basis. He then amended the Gallery's policy and set aside a permanent gallery on the main visitor thoroughfare for a rotating display of the Gallery's Aboriginal Collections and touring exhibitions. "The Gallery's overall policy is to concentrate on contemporary Aboriginal art in the firm belief that it is important to show Aboriginal art and culture as a living phenomenon and dispel the unjust view that Aboriginal culture is both geographically and temporally remote." (National Gallery of Victoria, Annual Report, 1984-85:np).

In a parallel move calculated to claim media attention, James Mollison, Director of the National Gallery of Australia, chose Australia Day, 26 January 1984[22] to laud the achievements of Aboriginal artists and to announce that, in future, the Gallery would be displaying more Aboriginal art and that $75,000 of the Gallery's admission revenue would be earmarked for Aboriginal art (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 January, 1984; National Gallery of Australia, Annual Report 1983-84:40).

This change in policy boosted the Collection considerably and made possible some bold purchases including the first works produced by Aboriginal women artists at Papunya. The allocation of a small percentage of admission fees - it was after all only about 9% of the National Gallery of Australia's admissions for 1984/85, and

[22] Mollison's statement appears under a general heading *Patriotism in Australia*. Under the same heading, Professor Geoffrey Blainey in an article entitled *A Farce of A Day*, is quoted as saying, "Nothing important happened on 26 January, 1788... It is purely a day for officials..."

mirrored a similar policy at the National Gallery of Victoria - was an important symbol. Patrick McCaughey had put his finger on it: exhibitions of Aboriginal art were an outstanding success with the public hungry to know more about Aboriginal art (National Gallery of Victoria, Annual Report 1984-5). How much the Galleries followed public expectations or how much those same Galleries were responsible for creating that expectation is difficult to gauge. What is sure is that the very public imprimatur both McCaughey and Mollison gave to Aboriginal art boosted its profile. Significant for their institutions too, is the support for a curatorial department solely dedicated to oversee the collection and management of Aboriginal art. It is these twin features - directorial acumen and curatorial flair - which drives both institution to pursue collecting in this area with such vigour.

For the Queensland Art Gallery and the Art Gallery of New South Wales circumstances were quite different. The Queensland Art Gallery began to include references to Aboriginal art in its Collections Policy from 1984. The Australian Art Acquisitions Policy adopted in that year, recognised the deficiency in collecting Aboriginal art and specifically contemporary Aboriginal art (p.3), and proposed strategies for closing the gap: "...the transference of Aboriginal art to board and canvas with the use of commercial paints is of major significance. It may be very profitable", suggested the policy, "to concentrate upon building up a fine collection of the work of contemporary Aboriginal artists" (Queensland Art Gallery, 1984:8). This cautious statement was followed by a 'non-exhaustive list' of forty-two Aboriginal artists (p.8-9), all men from Central Australia, Arnhem Land or Bathurst Island. The same document included statements concerning Australian 'current art', in particular support for experimental and younger artists' work, and several 'wish lists' but no Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander artists appeared among them.

There are two 'blind spots' here. The first is the difference between identifying the deficiency and taking steps to remedy it. The Gallery endures the deficiency for a further eleven years. The second 'blind spot' is the failure to think about regional representation, in particular how to collect the art of Queensland artists, including artists from Torres Strait. Contemporary Aboriginal art is equated primarily with developments in the Western Desert and the Northern Territory to the exclusion of more local work. Equally, the Gallery does not appear to respond to new work being produced by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander artists working in urban centres. The work of urban Aboriginal artists was just beginning to emerge in

dealer galleries and in public collections such as the National Gallery of Australia. The Queensland Art Gallery did not respond to this new direction for contemporary Aboriginal art until at least 1989 indicating, perhaps, that the Gallery lacked the initiative, judgement and energy to follow suit.

At the Art Gallery of New South Wales the early successes of Tony Tuckson receded into the past. Curatorial responsibility for Aboriginal art appeared to rest uneasily with the Curator of European Art. Djon Mundine, an Aboriginal art advisor located in Central Australia, assisted the Gallery with recommendations for the future development and management of the collection (Art Gallery of NSW, 1985:12), but everything was suspended waiting until funds for the appointment of a part-time curator of tribal art could be found (Art Gallery of NSW, 1986:12). Meanwhile, the Gallery, keen to secure a strong financial base for its operations, was active in organising major international blockbusters, establishing the Gallery Foundation and building developments. Aboriginal art was on the 'back burner'.

Both the Queensland Art Gallery and the Art Gallery of New South Wales share common characteristics which might account for their slow response to collecting Aboriginal material. In both Galleries curatorial responsibility for collecting Aboriginal art fell to curators with an already demanding portfolio and management priorities were focused on different concerns.

Acclaim: Building the Profile 1988 - 1995

As shown in Figure 26, increases in the number of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander acquisitions are most noticeable after 1988. Several factors combine to focus attention on Aboriginal peoples and Aboriginal art at this time. An important catalyst in the process of raising consciousness about Aboriginal social justice issues is the Bicentennial year, the year in which two hundred years of white settlement is commemorated. The Year of Indigenous Peoples is marked in 1993 and serves to strengthen the focus begun five years earlier. At the same time, the profile of Aboriginal contemporary art is raised by a variety of strategies which hinge on exhibitions, the art market and successful promotion nationally and internationally. Institutions are forced to re-consider their position and practices; in doing so they quickly contribute to each of these strategies.

The Australian Bicentennary 1988

1988 was a year of mixed emotions. For many Australians the Bicenntennial of white settlement was a year to celebrate achievements and nationhood. For Aboriginal people it was a time to mourn colonial conquest, dispossession and its aftermath, to protest injustices and continuing inequity; to celebrate the resilience of a culture which has adapted and endured through fifty millennia.

The incongruities, tensions and paradoxes of the year are captured most evocatively in a single acquisition commissioned by the National Gallery of Australia. *The Aboriginal Memorial,* 1988, created by forty-three of the most senior ceremonial leaders and artists from Central Arnhem Land, was sited at the main entrance to the Gallery. It is an installation of two hundred hollow log coffins, called *dupun* (Yolngu) or *lorrkon* (Western Arhem Land), one for each year of white settlement, permanently preserved in the Gallery, symbolising a forest of souls, an enduring and poignant reminder of Australia's 'secret history' of massacre and decimation. (Mundine, 1992; NGA, Annual Report 1987-88; Caruana, 1995).[23] The catalyst for the creation of this potent, highly charged work came from John Pilger's 1985 documentary *The Secret Country.*[24] The film noted that in a land strewn with cenotaphs, honouring the memory of Australian servicemen who had died, not one stands for those (Aboriginal peoples) who fought and fell in defence of their own country" (Pilger, 1985; 1989:29; 1998; NGA Annual Report 1988-89:20; Mundine 1988, 1992:3). *The Aboriginal Memorial* relies on ancient tribal traditions which use the arts to align the spiritual and natural worlds and through its title and political message, invokes a new idiom capable of "changing white Australians thoughts about Aboriginal people and Aboriginal art" (Mundine, 1992).

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[23] *The Aboriginal Memorial* was relocated in early 1998 as part of a major re-installation instigated by Dr. Brian Kennedy, appointed Director of the National Gallery of Australia in 1997. The decision to move the work prompted public outcry. One of the more subtle comments came from Daniel Thomas, formerly the Gallery's Senior Curator of Australian Art: "..the shift away from the Gallery's front door makes the symbolic message of Aboriginal deaths less forceful. The weakened meaning is perhaps more serious than the benefit of more exhibition space…(Thomas, 1998:8).

[24] Pilger (1998:248) attributes this insight to the Aboriginal poet and activist Kevin Gilbert. See also Gilbert's poem *Memorials.* See also, *For the Fallen* a poem by Bruce Dawe: "...You fought here for your country. / Where are your monuments? / The difficulties we have in belonging / - these are your cenotaph...". The issue of how to commemorate Aboriginal peoples who died in colonial conflicts gathered momentum in 1998. At a book launch at the Australian War Memorial, the Governor-General noted the absence of cenotaphs marking the 'black wars'. This remark lead to a sustained public debate. See Inglis, 1998; Reynolds, 1999; *The Courier-Mail* 1998 (date) and *The Australian* (date).

The power of art to transform thinking was evidenced in the commissioning of this work and in public reactions to it. As the centrepiece of the exhibition, *The Continuing Tradition*, it drew large audiences, including large numbers of Aboriginal people visiting the Gallery for the first time (National Gallery of Australia, Annual Report 1988/89: 20). The exhibition also drew unprecedented levels of international comment from both Europe and the USA. John McDonald, art critic for *The Sydney Morning Herald*, referred to these events in Canberra as the best things to come out of the National Gallery (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 December, 1988).

Strategic interventions: Exhibitions and cultural tourism

International acclaim also greeted other major exhibitions that year. The first exhibition of Aboriginal art to tour museums in the U.S.A. since 1941 was developed at the instigation of the Asia Society Galleries in New York in partnership with the South Australian Museum. [25] *Dreamings: the Art of Aboriginal Australia* opened in New York in 1988 and then toured to Chicago and Los Angeles before commencing its Australian season in 1990. Response to the exhibition was overwhelming; it broke attendance records and commanded prime time media coverage. The exhibition's principal curator, Peter Sutton, described the coverage as "...fair to gushing. (with) an impressive amount of very serious and bulldog-like attention from curators, scholars, collectors and assorted generally intense sort of people, especially in New York. It was the exhibition content that created the essential impact of *Dreamings*, and I think it is fair to say that the 'Acrylic Factor' made the exhibition a success more than any other single thing" (Sutton, 1989). When *Time* magazine's art critic Robert Hughes declared *Dreamings* to be significant, it was. (Hughes: 1988) [26].

In Paris, *Les Magiciens de la Terre* at the Centre Pompidou opened as *Dreamings* closed its New York season. Australia's contribution to this mammoth exhibition included bark paintings from Maningrida, and a monumental sand painting from the Yam Dreaming. *Yarla*, covering more than forty square metres executed *in situ* by six artists from Yuendumu, also won widespread critical acclaim. New York and Paris had both played a major role in the 'Primitive Art' - High Art

[25] Between 1988 and 1989 over a dozen exhibitions of Aboriginal art were shown in leading American centres, may of them in the lucrative commercial dealer sector See Fry and Willis, 1989.

[26] Hughes' textbook *The Art of Australia* first published in 1966 and regularly reprinted had persistently omitted any reference to Aboriginal art.

debate earlier. Now, it seemed fitting that Aboriginal art should be celebrated in the world's two major art centres.

Strategic interventions: The art market

Buoyed by this international success, Aboriginal art gradually came to prominence in the art market. In 1994 Aboriginal paintings netted AUD$288,086 at Sotheby's. The following year this rose to AUD$893,318, and increased again in 1996 to AUD$1,196,650 (*Financial Review*, 30 July, 1999:12). With its total of AUD$3.5 million, the June 1998 sale was placed on a level with non-indigenous sales by multinational auction houses. International bidders, particularly from the U.S.A., pushed sale levels to new heights with keen interest being shown in the rare early works from Papunya (Ingram, 1997; 1998; 1999). The prestige value of the 'Black Market' (Ingram *ibid.*) could no longer be discounted, as celebrities and knowledgeable collectors vied for premium works.[27] Elsewhere, sales at community art centres, like Desart Incorporated, also continued to rise with turnover increasing between 40% and 50% in 1997-98 (*Financial Review, op. cit.*)

Strategic reactions: Art museums, exhibitions and acquisitions

The growing profile of Aboriginal art, particularly its reception overseas and within the art market, influenced reactions and pressed home the need for increased exposure through exhibitions within Australian art museums.

Table 20: *Exhibitions of Aboriginal Art 1980 - 1995 (Number)*

	1980 - 1988	**1988 - 1995**
Art Gallery of New South Wales	2	8
National Gallery of Australia	6	10
National Gallery of Victoria	6	15
Queensland Art Gallery	1	8

As Table 20, above, illustrates, exhibitions became much more of a focal point for activity after 1988. Three main types of exhibitions of Aboriginal art emerge: exhibitions drawn substantially from the permanent collection of the initiating gallery; exhibitions drawn from outside sources including private and other public collections and temporary touring exhibitions circulated under the auspices of external agencies. In examining the context for the development of Aboriginal art collections it is the first two types of exhibitions which have the most impact on collection development.

The National Gallery of Australia and the National Gallery of Victoria, both with a track-record of collecting Aboriginal art, were in a good position to develop exhibitions which drew substantially on their holdings - and to acquire new work to support the 'exhibition habit'.

In many respects the National Gallery of Victoria and the National Gallery of Australia set the pace for the other art museums. In developing exhibitions these two galleries were careful to introduce aspects of Aboriginal contemporary art practice to the public in stages. It was a model imitated by other art museums. Accordingly, the earliest exhibitions emphasised context and historical developments, before moving to exhibitions which presented artforms and styles: bark painting and acrylics to begin with, and then, only infrequently and much later, the work of urban Aboriginal artists. The logic of this is two-fold: it mirrors the collection emphases and directions and it also allows curators to examine issues related to regional and geographic diversity - for example, bark paintings from Arnhem Land, 'dot' paintings from Central Australia, the figurative work of the Kimberley.

While these strategies were aimed at educating gallery-goers about the broad directions of contemporary Aboriginal art there were a number of pitfalls not immediately apparent. Curators recognised that innovative Aboriginal art was being produced in remote areas of Northern and Central Australia and began collecting principally from those areas. The Aboriginal Art Advisers located in remote communities also encouraged curators to develop public collections from this base; art dealers showed similar work and, with only few exceptions, international exhibitions focused first and foremost on work from 'the outback'. The art system

[27] Museums in North America rode the wave of rising prices taking the opportunity to de-accession Aboriginal works. The Glenbow Museum in Canada offered a range of works for sale and a bark painting from the Art Institute of Chicago set the world auction record in 1996 (Ingram, 1999).

with its alliances and overlaps and almost totally Euro-centric approach has always been prone to self-perpetuating practices and self-fulfilling directions. It was no different for Aboriginal art. As a result, few public collections questioned the preponderance of painting as a preferred medium for acquisition even when the production of textiles and carving began to proliferate. Even fewer curators took on the challenge of collecting Aboriginal art of the specific regions they were mandated to chart. Contemporary Aboriginal Art as presented in many of the public collections began to look as though it was primarily the product of Aboriginal painters working in the Northern Territory and remote areas of Western Australia.[28]

While praising public galleries for at last recognising the vibrancy of Aboriginal art, an increasing number of commentators, many of them Aboriginal, began to voice concerns about the limited perceptions in museums and art museums (Fourmile 1990; Cochrane, 1993 (Meanjin). Henrietta Fourmile's paper to the *Extending Parameters* Conference in Brisbane in 1990 encapsulates some of these concerns and it is appropriate to quote from it at length here:

> "... But there are negatives. The first is the failing of state art museums with the notable exceptions of the Western Australian Art Gallery (sic) and the Northern Territory Museum and Art Gallery (sic), to patronise artists of their own state. The Queensland Art Gallery, for example, ... has never had an exhibition of Aboriginal art from within this state, yet Queensland is the state with the largest Aboriginal population. The two Aboriginal art exhibitions which it hosted in 1988, namely The Inspired Dream and the Papunya women's ground painting, were both from the Northern Territory. Furthermore, of its collection of 170 Aboriginal artworks at the beginning of 1989, only seven were by Queensland Aboriginal artists. By concentrating on the works from Arnhem Land and the Western Desert the messages we received were that, first, we were not 'real Aborigines', that we had fallen from grace - not our fault of course, but that was never taken into account by those who had little knowledge of the history of Anglo-Aboriginal relations in Queensland, and, second, that our talents were never considered worthy of being exhibited in the Art Gallery.

Fourmile's statement also raises the issue of duplication between rival collections. While many policy documents insist collection developments in sister institutions be evaluated to avoid replication, in practice only the most general efforts

[28] After the survey period i.e. after 1995, there are appreciable differences in the number, range and geographic distribution of Aboriginal art acquisitions.

are made in this regard. Contemporary Aboriginal art collections in the four institutions considered represent the same artists.

To some extent comments like those of Henrietta Fourmile alerted art museums that Aboriginal people remained distanced from the very programmes which had been intended to promote Aboriginal art. The 'co-option' of Aboriginal art to service Australia's image overseas, or, to cement a distinctive national identity were points not lost on art museum professionals, or on Aboriginal people. Living in a world where the remnants and consequences of the colonial legacy irrupted daily across the news media, it was easy to see that museum practice, not just collections, needed to become more inclusive

Strategic reactions: employing staff of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander descent

Curatorial staffing structures for collections of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander material in all the art museums surveyed undergo the most dramatic changes in the period after 1988. Designated curators of Aboriginal Art were employed only at the National Gallery of Victoria and the National Gallery of Australia, a circumstance not replicated by the other two institutions until 1994 when those positions filled by people of Aboriginal descent.

Affirmative employment policies operated with the Commonwealth from 1991 (National Library: 1998) and State Public Services soon after that. The National Museum of Australia and some State museums had begun employing Aboriginal curatorial staff from the late 1970s, but major art museums lagged behind. There is little evidence that recruitment, career and training strategies to increase access to full-time employment in art museums were established within those institutions. So, the appointment of full-time curatorial staff of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander descent within major art museums signalled an important shift in institutional practice. Daphne Wallace was appointed to the position of Assistant Curator of Aboriginal Art at the National Gallery of Australia in 1990. The Art Gallery of New South Wales and the Queensland Art Gallery followed with curatorial appointments in 1994 and 1995 respectively. In all cases these appointments went to applicants with guilt-edge curatorial qualifications; all possessed strong academic backgrounds and had proven work experience in visual

arts and in art museums. In general, art museums came to recognise the importance of employing Aboriginal curatorial staff but wanted staff workplace ready.

At the Queensland Art Gallery and the Art Gallery of New South Wales this is exactly what these institutions got. Within a year of her appointment, Margot Neale, Curator of Indigenous Art at the Queensland Art Gallery, had secured fifty new acquisitions, a 15% increase to the existing Collection. In addition to important historical bark paintings, Neale bought a substantial body of contemporary art including works from Papunya and by renowned urban artists such as Lin Onus and Robert Campbell Jnr. Several of these acquisitions brought attention of another sort to the Gallery. It was the first time the Gallery had invested substantially in Aboriginal art. At least $800,000 was spent on contemporary Aboriginal work alone with an auction record of $60,000 achieved for an early period Papunya work, *Bush Tucker Story* by Mick Namarari Tjapaltjari. The 'spend-up' was made possible by a special allocation provided by the Queensland Government to mark the Gallery's Centenary. It provided a *grande finale* to an otherwise quiescent period of collecting for Aboriginal art at that Gallery and offered promise for future development.

There is a double irony surrounding these acquisitions. The bitterest is perhaps that these acquisitions occurred at the very time that the Human Rights Commission was investigating allegations concerning the 'stolen generations' and at the peak of the Wik Native Land Rights case in the High Court. As was revealed during the course of 1996, the Queensland Government, between 1910 and 1970, had been among the most rapacious in promulgating policies concerning the 'stolen generation' and more currently, under pressure from mining companies and agri-business, was fighting to uphold lease-hold claims against Aboriginal peoples. And there are 'stings in the tail' reserved for those in art circles too. On hearing of the acquisitions, would anyone stop to consider that without resale royalties (droite de suite) artists such as Mick Namarari Tjapaltjarri and their kin could not benefit financially from the sale of work at auction? Would art museum staff recall that Robert Campbell Jnr., himself one of the 'stolen generation', finally disillusioned, committed suicide in his fiftieth year. Not surprisingly, art museums were silent about such matters.

Conclusion

Australian art museums operate in a society which for thirty years has been considering more closely social justice issues concerning the Aboriginal peoples. Art museum staff are citizens who have witnessed *The Enquiry into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody,* the 'Mabo decision' and its aftermath and the early, fraught attempts at 'Reconciliation'. Some curators have declared that their experiences managing Aboriginal art projects at the very time that the Mabo decision was handed down "radicalised our attitude to contemporary Aboriginal art" (Saines, 1999). The visual arts are seen as fundamental to the portrayal of the depth and complexity of Aboriginal culture. As well, the visual arts provide one means for Aboriginal communities to become economically self sufficient. Many art museum staff therefore remain optimistic that the growing recognition of Aboriginal art can only overturn the prejudices against Aborigines and advance their self-determination.

The belief in the transformative, even redemptive powers of art have their antecedents with Matthew Arnold, but are simplistic and ineffective in this current context. Since 1988 governments have portrayed the cultures of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples as an "essential element of *Australian* identity, a vital expression of who we *all* are" (Creative Nation, 1994:6). In other words, the visual arts of the 'other' is co-opted by the mainstream to promote national identity.[29]

Art museums are mediators between art's production and reception. In the case of contemporary Aboriginal art this appears as mediation between the minority black producers from the 'outback' and reception by the white, urban, upper-class majority. What art museums aim to mediate is a particular form of Aboriginality: the spiritual 'inside' knowledge of the 'other' which can never be fully communicated or understood by the uninitiated, the white receivers, including the art museum itself. There is an inherent inversion and paradox in this relationship. The 'other', demonstrably the most marginalised and least powerful in Australian society, becomes powerful in ways rarely understood by art museums or by the community at large. It is this consequence of its own marketing of Aboriginal Art which the State does not understand. Furthermore, acquisition of the commodity which is 'art' only provides a form of limited ownership; that is, ownership of the object and with it an

[29] Marcia Langton promotes the view that the principles of self determination by Aboriginal people should determine such decisions.

edited version of its meaning - the full meaning remains for ever obscured, witheld, the property of the 'other'. Who then controls?

The paradox becomes obvious in another important way. Recently art museums have successfully 'adopted' Aboriginal art securing its position within the paradigm of 'High Art'. Art museums, with the art dealers, have become king-makers, promoting the notion of the 'modernist hero'. But the motives may be less benign than first thought. The process of restituting Aboriginal contemporary art, adopting it into the mainstream, building an *Australian* identity on it, has been an essential step in the process to recover institutional credibility. As arbiters of taste, art museums have been revealed deficient twice: once, during the period of oversight and neglect when Aboriginal art was abandoned by the institutions and then again in the 1970s, by their failure to anticipate the success of the Papunya movement. The vigour with which Aboriginal art is acquired between 1988 and 1995 can be seen to ameliorate past negligence and reinstates the tarnished reputation of the institution.

The admission of Aboriginal art into the academy comes at the very time that concerns about the position of Aboriginal peoples is felt most acutely and the impact of colonialism is critiqued most trenchantly. And yet, the acquisition of Aboriginal contemporary art on the art museum's terms, according to a Western art historical method, reinstitutes a new imperialism antithetical to the intrinsic values of Aboriginal culture. Indeed the acceptance of Aboriginal art within the canon has been achieved without in any way disrupting the power structures within the institution. Aboriginal curators institute consultative practices with select communities in order to further acquisitions and exhibitions but, on the whole, these practices are confined to the Aboriginal art department and fail to spill over into other areas of the museum's activities. More often than not, whether by design or expediency, Aboriginal curators, few in number and with no counterparts in management and governance within art museums simply comply with the time-honoured and sanctioned curatorial practices.

It is no doubt an unwelcome and uncomfortable suggestion that the museum is a battle-ground. It has become so because while the art museum criticises the colonial past it is complicit in reproducing a new imperial ideology. Instead of 'differencing the canon' Aboriginal art has been used to create a cultural commodity.

CONCLUSION

According to Bourdieu's theoretical model any social formation is structured by way of a hierarchically organised series of fields each defined as a structured space with its own laws of functioning and its own laws of force (Johnson, 1993:6; Bourdieu, 1993). Power is diffused throughout the social space and is manifested within the field of cultural production as a struggle between cultural and economic capital (Bourdieu, 1993:40). In this model one of the fields, the field of cultural production, is considered to operate autonomously from the field of power. In this respect, the most disputed frontier is the one which separates the field of cultural production and the field of power (Bourdieu, 1993:43)

Underpinned by Bourdieu's model of the field, cultural and economic capital, this thesis has considered one fraction of the field of cultural production. Specifically, it has investigated two practices: the collection of contemporary art by the public art museum and government's development of cultural policy. It has also explored the interdependency of structure and agency through the examination of these two practices.

Support for contemporary art in Australian art museums has grown markedly since 1980. At one level this is evidenced by the increased number of exhibitions, publications and conferences which have contemporary art practice as their focus. Performance art, installations and multi-media arts are a familiar part of public programmes in many Australian art museums. However, first-hand observation suggests that there is a sharp contrast between the busy and varied temporary exhibition schedule of many art museums and the more conservative approach to collecting for the long-term.

Other tensions are, perhaps, less obvious. Artists create work just ahead of the market's taste and, in the process, often react against the 'museumification' of art. Yet artists seek the museum's imprimatur to designate their work successful. Such paradoxes provide the *frisson* at conferences attended by art museum staff, animate curatorial discussions and prompt further questions for researchers.

In an effort to come to grips with such concerns, this thesis began with a series of simple questions about collection development and cultural policy. What was the range and extent of acquisitions of contemporary Australian art between 1980 and 1995? What would analysis of these acquisitions reveal about collecting practices and the state of contemporary art collecting? Did cultural policy influence art museum policy and practice? And in what ways did cultural policy affect practice?

In attempting to address such questions this thesis, at its broadest level, reveals the domination of economic capital over cultural capital. It does so in two particular ways. Firstly, the influence of the field of power through its prosecution of economic rationalism, has inextricably bound these four art museums to that purpose. While governments stop short of making artistic judgements, they do influence the context for value creation and operational management. Quite plainly: if government is the piper who plays the tune, and if that tune is economic rationalism and a cultural industry, then government funded art museums follow that tune. It was tempting to argue that art museums could follow that tune managerially, yet still be responsible for virtuoso *pas seul* performances artistically. However, the analysis of the quantitative data shows that art museums and government cultural policy combine in a *pas de deux* of dramatic force.

Secondly, in demonstrating the interdependency of cultural and economic capital the thesis also suggests that economic capital's growing domination in the cultural field operates more subtly and insidiously than it would first appear. Most importantly, the art museum 'misrecognises' and disavows the significance of this.

As Chapter One has shown, Australia's approach to cultural policy was redefined between 1980 and 1995. The period of 'statutory patronage', which had commenced in the mid 1960s with the establishment of formal mechanisms to distribute government funds, was predicated on public good justifications. Alongside this, 'de-centralised patronage', was a form of government funding which recognised the need for community cultural development apart from mainstream cultural practice. By the late 1980s, influenced by neo-liberal economic ideologies, governments sought ways to minimise their financial role in arts and cultural heritage management. Following a series of reviews about museums' activities, governments demanded that museums become more efficient, adopt business planning methods and become more entrepreneurial in their activities. Increasingly,

museums were regarded as part of an arts industry which, according to statistical evidence, demonstrated that it did provide economic benefits to the community as a whole. Instead of emphasising the creation and production of the arts, with the artist central to maintaining 'the greatest civilising and humanising values of creative excellence in our lives" (Commonwealth of Australia, 1986; Whitlam, 1985:588), the focus of the arts industries was on consumption, 'user pays', commercial viability and cultural tourism. Cultural values became the values of the marketplace.

The tension demonstrated in the juxtaposition of creativity and industry found outlet in vigorous and increasingly polarised public debate about government's role in arts funding. In part that debate can be seen as a struggle between cultural and economic capital. By 1986, to many working in museums and art museums, it appeared that successive governments had turned their back on Australia's cultural heritage collections. A Minute from the Cultural Ministers' Council described the mood of the museum sector as one of "steadily growing anger at the failure of the Commonwealth Government to address the question of the nation's movable cultural heritage and to integrate the management of (it) within a broader framework of the National Estate" (CMC, 9 March 1989: 5-6). There is no doubt that this anger was relieved, for a time, by the Commonwealth Government's determination to develop a cultural policy. However, as the thesis indicates, *Creative Nation*, when finally released in 1994, was inscribed with the rhetoric of the market-place and failed to address the issues of collection development and maintenance. Within Commonwealth and State cultural policies, collections featured only as trading capital for the advancement of cultural tourism and particular configurations of national identity.

The thesis does not investigate why museums' reactions to *Creative Nation* were so muted. However, it records that the impact of cultural policies on the four museums art museums surveyed has resulted in expanded capital works development and increased levels of public and private funding. The thesis therefore suggests that compliance with cultural policies driven by economic interests results in distinct rewards and benefits for the four art museums surveyed. Thus, for the time being, the tensions between cultural and economic capital may be obscured. However, the thesis also implies that those tensions, stemming from the state's inconclusive and inconsistent attitudes to cultural heritage collections, remain ready to irrupt into the relationship between the state and museums in the future.

Chapter Two examined collecting policies and practices within art museums and illustrated tensions and anomalies of a different sort. The art museum's rhetoric endorses experimental, contentious, 'cutting-edge' contemporary art practice. Yet, in reality, as the data analysis has shown, collections are conservative responses to contemporary art practice, reflecting and perpetuating the canon and its traditional hierarchical classifications. By protecting and maintaining the canon, the art museum safeguards its autonomy as an arbiter of cultural distinction. Canon creation is an overt act of symbolic violence against inclusiveness. While the canon is sufficiently dynamic to accommodate contestations from time to time, it always depends on exclusivity to maintain its veracity. In both economic and cultural terms, it is the canon which gives the art museum its competitive advantage in masterpieces, icons and cultural treasures. The artist as hero is as significant here as the artwork. Together they become highly prized commodities within the knowledge economy. Within the field of power, economic rationalism is well fitted to recognise the economic value of the canon and well prepared to appropriate its profitability for economic not cultural ends. Art museums 'misrecognise' the nature of this bad-faith economy.

Challenges within the cultural field can produce changes to the *status quo*. These challenges are most likely to come from those with least cultural capital, those on the margins. In Chapter Three and Chapter Four the thesis examined the challenges posed to the art museum by women's art and by Aboriginal Art respectively.

Despite the efforts of feminists, women artists and feminist art historians, only the most gradual changes to the gender balance of collections could be identified. In the face of a disproportionately high number of women participating as artists, the changes to their numerical representation in art museum collections after 1990 appears a slight achievement indeed. Following the lead of Griselda Pollock and Janet Wolff, the thesis concluded that the only option to achieve canon re-formation in the long-term was to continuously de-construct and de-stabilise the ideological limitations of the art system and the practices of the art museum. The thesis also recognised that in terms of cultural policy there was little 'political mileage' to be gained from dissent. Dissonance and discord would always run counter to the homogenising values promoted by images of national identity.

The examination of acquisitions of Aboriginal art in Chapter Four revealed a

series of ambivalences, anomalies and contradictions. Art museums denied a place to 'primitive art' but particularly since 1988, have moved to affirm and accept contemporary Aboriginal art within their galleries and collections. The thesis charted the change from denial to affirmation. In so doing, it questioned the nature of the recent institutional possession, identifying within it an appropriation which redeems inadequate curatorial judgements of the past and restores institutional credibility. By collecting contemporary Aboriginal art, by assisting its widespread acceptance within the art market and creating its place within the canon, art museums validate their own artistic judgements.

The re-invention of Aboriginal culture supplies a ready-made, unique and marketable native identity which provides further trading capital for cultural tourism. That this form of Aboriginal culture should be affirmed and become the basis for re-conceptualisations of Australia's national identity at the very moment that the Commonwealth Government withholds an apology for past injustices, remains bitterly ironic.

What has become apparent through this research is that the field of power and the fraction of the field of cultural production which relates to the formation of collections of contemporary Australian art between 1980 and 1995, are interdependent. Instead of a disputed frontier separating the field of cultural production from the field of power, the corridor between these two fields is open for traffic with only cursory effort to maintain the semblance of border control.

What then remains of the disputed frontier or the battle lines within the cultural field?

Occasional skirmishes across the border, camouflaged as access, equity and empowerment, do nothing to breech the field of power. Despite the bravura which accompanies incendiary attacks by feminist art historians and artists within the field of cultural production, they too have only intermittent effect on art museums collections. Even when the tactics of ethnic diversity eventually weaken resistance of the cultural forces, it is the cultural forces which declare themselves the victors, dictate the peace terms, and then hold the true victors captive to wider agendas of national identity. Meanwhile, curatorial sentinels resolutely stand watch over the canon ready to ride shotgun to protect it from the renegade actions of populists. Extermination is not an option. But guards, still intent on preventing the infiltration

of community art to the art museum, are happy to send these amateurs packing to the nearest social history museum.

If all of this sounds too much like combat waged on the battleground of the art museum, then the metaphor may add dramatic force to what might otherwise be described in distanced terms. The art museum's representations of contemporary art through collections established in perpetuity are partial, incomplete and biased. To indicate that these representations are anything but 'fragile fictions' is to misrepresent them and to deny art's often radical responses to contemporary society.

What then, are the implication of this research for art museums? Permanent collections of art mirror the values of the time in which they were acquired. They do so as much by what is collected as by what is omitted. Even while engaged in contemporary art collecting, the most contingent area of collecting, the art museum is bound by rules and protocols which assist in maintaining its role as a value centre. The thesis has demonstrated just how deeply entrenched those values are. However, it is just this sense of the 'grinding inevitability of cultural representation and reproduction' which invites remediation.

How might this be accomplished? At a fundamental level art museums need to be more questioning about their values and purposes, and more critically conscious about the nature of cultural reproduction and their contributions to it. But in itself this will not create the sea change required to democratise the institution and allow it to be truly responsive to the diversity of artistic practices and forms inherent within contemporary visual arts practice. In this respect many contemporary artists, particularly those engaged in conceptual and avant-garde practice, point the way for the art museum. It is those artists who are prepared to question modes of cultural representation, to subvert cultural norms and aesthetic intentions and challenge the centre stage of conservatism. However, it is art museums which need to effect change. They cannot resile from their obligations to develop collections which express and make visible the complex relationship of art to society. That relationship is not about the affirmation of "the GTB - the Good, the True and the Beautiful" (Bourdieu and Haacke, 1995), but rather about acknowledging the multi-layered nature of art and society, in all its varied structures, issues, cultural forms and alternative histories. Art museums need to find ways to allow public collections, not just public programmes, to respond to this variety, to maintain the free exchange of

ideas and independence from "neo-conservative champions of morality and good taste" which masquerade as cultural patronage of the state.

There is much research to be done to extend, complement or contest the findings and viewpoints presented here. There are other methodologies, particularly qualitative research, which should be pursued. Collections need to be studied further in order to better understand the evolution of artistic styles and aesthetic development and what this might disclose about cultural constructions. Curators and senior managers need to be questioned about the processes of decision-making which pertain to acquisitions and the rejected proposals for acquisition. For while the art museum's function to collect is just one of its primary purposes, the legacy of the collection remains its most visible archive of the present and its most enduring contribution to the future.

If the radar scan of this research has been successful, it has been so only to the extent that it has revealed some of the shadows beneath the surface of public collecting. The research for this thesis is but a small task in the much larger endeavour to understand the complex social relationships which constitute the art museum and which contribute to cultural formations.

Brief for the Art Management System

Information to be developed on six art museums ie:
Queensland Art Gallery
Art Gallery of New South Wales
National Gallery of Victoria
Art Gallery of South Australia
Art Gallery of Western Australia
National Gallery of Australia

Information needs to be analysed for each institution and for all six institutions. I need to be able to compare and contrast data within a single museum and between all six institutions. I imagine that data can be presented in the form of tables and graphs. Pie charts will be needed for oral presentations and the thesis defence.

Basic data for each institution.
List all Australian Art Acquisitions for each institution of all works made since 1970 and acquired since 1980. Each entry needs to contain the following information:

Unique identification number
Suggest sequential number, commencing withworks from QAG 1 - 2733 etc
Likely to 18,000 - 25,000 works total

Artist's Surname
Artist's First Name
Artist's Second Initial
Male / Female
Birth date
Death date (if applicable)
Nationality / Ethnicity
State of origin (State in which artist works or worked predominantly)
Title of work (This may require longer entry)
Date work made (Year only)
Medium (May require longer entry)
Accession number (Up to ten numbers - alpha/numeric)
Credit line (May be long entry)
Date of acquisition (Some museums give day/month/year; others only year. Suggest first option if available to differentiate between financial years)
Source 1 of acquisition: (by seller/agent/donor/ bequest /by name)
Source 2 of acquisition: (e.g. Tax Incentives for the Arts)
Price paid (Actual purchase price)
Value (Valuation given for donation)

Some rules to govern nature of the basic entries:

Name of artist: - Assumption is made that museums will be consistent with spelling, title, birth-death date. In case of discrepancy reference to National Gallery of Australia's Authority List.

Nationality / Ethnicity: - data presented by museums is not consistent. Sources for reference National Gallery of Australia Authority List and/or Susan McCulloch, Encylopaedia of Australian Art. (May need to annotate entries manually).

Date of acquisition: All museums to be analysed operate a 1 July - 30 June financial year.

Source of acquisition 2: Includes Grants; Tax Incentives for the Arts;

Collaborations: Data entry will be annotated to indicate whether the work is a collaborative one, the number of artists involved in the collaboration. Separate data will be developed to provide more detail on these works.

Background: - An issue which has arisen is the (surprising) large number of collaborative works which have been acquired. This may indicate a new initiative prompted by funding sources e.g. encouraging NESB artists; an artistic response to poor market sales (especially for emerging artists), or a turning away from installation art to a form which is more marketable; a response from artists about training and professional development or mentoring e.g. senior artists working with younger ones - learning new techniques e.g. sculptors working with painters; painters and printmakers etc.,

Issues To Be Analysed From Data

1. Basic information about acquisitions

1.1 Information for each institution
1.2 Information about all institutions surveyed
1.3 Comparative information between institutions

Total number of works by institution per year and per period 1980 - 1995. Information for each museum and for all museums required.

e.g. Table One
no. works by year 1980 81 82 83 etc. to 1995
List
Individual museums
Total

Total number of works by media for each museum and all museums by individual year and by period 1980-95.

e.g. Table Two (2.1 - 2.15)
No. works by media acquired 1980 etc. Painting; Sculpture; CeramicsSilver/Metal; Glass
Photography; Prints; Textiles; Installation; Video; Performance.

List
Individual art museum
Total no.

Percentage of works by media per institution acquired annually

e.g. Table Three (May be best as a graph)
Percentage of works by media acquired per year
Media for acquisitions as above
List individual museums

Total number of works by age of artist per institution by year and by period

e.g. Table Four
Artists born prior 1939; 1940-49; 1950-59; 1960-69; after1970
no. artists; no. works.
List
Individual museums

2. Information about Artists

Age profile of artists acquired per institution and overall. (See Table Four)
(Provides information about acquisitions and young emerging artists)

Total number of works by gender of artist per institution by year and by period.

e.g. Table Five (Graph?) For clarity should there be one graph for each year?
Gender of artists acquired 1980 -1995
No. of artists by gender; by year of birth and by year of acquisition

Ethnicity of artists acquired. Categories Australian; Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islander; NESB; Other

e.g. Table Six (Graph?) 6.1 - 6.15 (i.e. 1980 = 6.1 - 1995 = 6.15)
Can correlation between age and gender be tabulated for each and all institutions, for each and every year?

Ethnicity of artists acquired 1980 -1995

No. of artists for each ethnic group by total and by individual art museums.

Geographical location/area/ region of predominant practice

Note 1: Information available will yield State: region will be difficult to identify
Note 2: Do we need a table of the number of artists acquired per museum per year?
Or, can this be derived from total number by gender - Table 5?

e.g. Table Seven - 7.1 - 7.15 i.e. 1980 - 1995
Geographic location of artist's predominant practice by year
State of origin e.g. Qld. etc. / No. artists / % of all artists/year
List museums

3. Information About Method And Source Of Acquisition.

Price and value of acquisition (Note: will I have the data for this across all institutions?)

e.g. Table Eight - Method of acquisition
By year for each institution
Purchase
Gift
Bequest
Foundation
Sponsor
Grant
Tax Incentives for the Arts

e.g. Source of acquisition - Table Nine
By year; by individual art museums.
Source acquisition
Seller - dealer/agent; sale by artist; sale by other individual

Gift - dealer/agent; artist; individual not previous categories e.g. Friends of the Gallery

Grant - Commonwealth, State Govt., Local Govt

Sponsor - Corporate, Other

Tax Incentives - Artist; Individual; Company

Collaborations

Table 10: Graph?
No. of collaborative works purchased per year 1980 - 1995 and % of all acquisitions for each Gallery

Table 11: Characteristics of the collaborations
Who are they? M/F? Age?
(Average no. artists collaborating on a single work)
What is their ethnic background?
How was the project funded? (May not know this from data we have)
How was the acquisition financed?
Gender; Ethnicity (Aust/ NESB / ATSI / other)
Average age

Table 12: Source of Funds for project and acquisition (Use same format for Table 9)

By year; by individual art museum;
Source of Funds
Seller - dealer/agent; artist; other individual

Gift - dealer / agent; artist; other individual

Grant - Commonwealth; State Govt.; Local Govt

Sponsor- Corporate; Foundation; Tax Incentives; Artist

List Individual museums

ART MANAGEMENT SYSTEM

Background

The Art Management System (AMS) was created for the following reasons

1 To convert over 24,000 records from text files provided by the Queensland Art Gallery, National Gallery of Australia, National Gallery of Victoria and the Art Gallery of NSW.
2 To allow the manual input of additional data.
3. To query the resulting data set and produce text files which can be imported into excel or other package capable of producing and presenting graphics.

In the text below, the following terms are used:

Artist: An individual(or occasionally an organization) that produces a piece of art.
Work: An item of artwork.

1 Art Gallery Data Conversion

Individual gallery data is presented in discrete Field Format, i.e. each field is presented on a separate line in the text file. Additionally multiple lines per field are allowed so data can be in the format given below:

Surname: 1 = Smith
Surname; 2 = Jones
Given Name: 1 = Peter
Given Name: 2 = Paul

This would list two artists named Peter Smith and Paul Jones.

The conversion is a two step process:

First, the data presented in the ASCII file is copied into the table RawWorkData.db. This table contains one field per line in the ASCII input file, ie:

Surname: 1 => RawWorkData.surname1
Surname: 2 => RawWorkData. Surname 2
Surname: 3 => RawWorkData. Surname3

Once the ASCII file has been translated to a paradox table, the RawWorkData table is converted to three tables:

1. work.db (Art Works)
2. artist.db (Artists)
3. artistwork.db (This table records the relationship between artist and works).

Each RawWorkData record contains multiple artists and artist information. This information is converted to multiple Artist records.

Each RawWorks data record also contains information for a single Work Information from one RawWorkData record forms a single Work record.

The relationship between the artists that produce a work and the works themselves is stored in the ArtistWork table. The artistWork table contains only the ArtistID and WorkId of the artist, and work involved in the relationship.

Additionally , there are list tables which provide a selection list for various fields in the Artist and Work tables:

Medium.db

SourceOfAquistion.db

PlaceOfBirth.db

Institution.db.

Conversion Issues

The data given in the ASCII import file is not ideal. The data in some categories do not always convert to a common type. To resolve this, some assumptions have been made regarding the initial data:

Field: year of birth

Field: State
here the first mentioned State is used.

Field: Price
The first number after a "$" is taken.
(Note: for perfect conversion, native currency values should be placed after the $AUS figure, eg $2000 ($AUS) $1900 ($NZ)
NOT
$1900 ($NZ) $2000 ($AUS)

Unique Works
These are differentiated using the accession number.

Unique Artists
These are differentiated using surname, givenname, gender and year of birth.

Overview of Interface

File

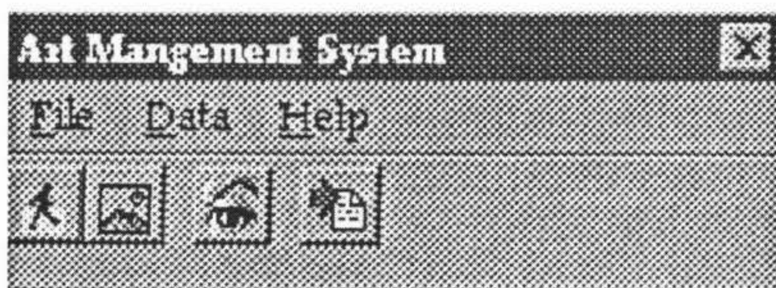
Exit	This exits the system

Data

Artists	Displays the Artist Information window
Works	Displays the work Information window
Look at Data!	Displays the window that allows querying of the system
Import	Displays the window that allows the importation of data

Help

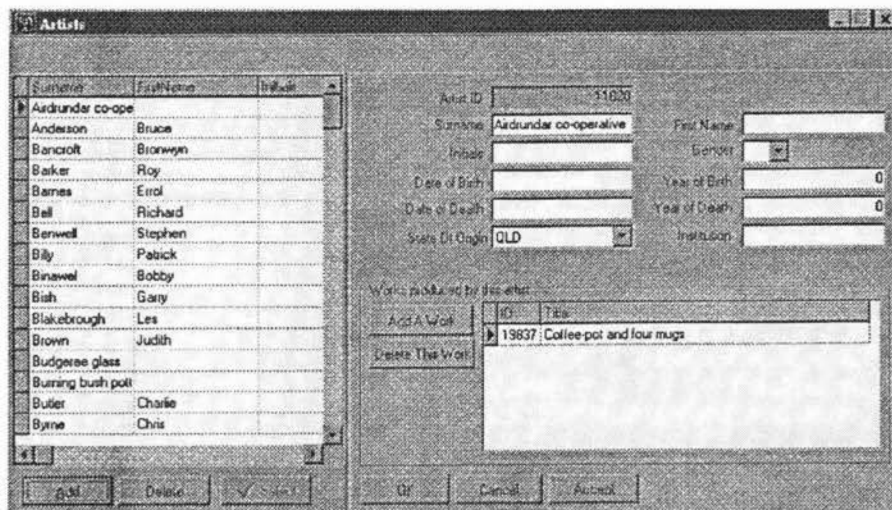
About Displays information about the program



Artist Information Window

This allows the addition and maintenance of the Artist data.

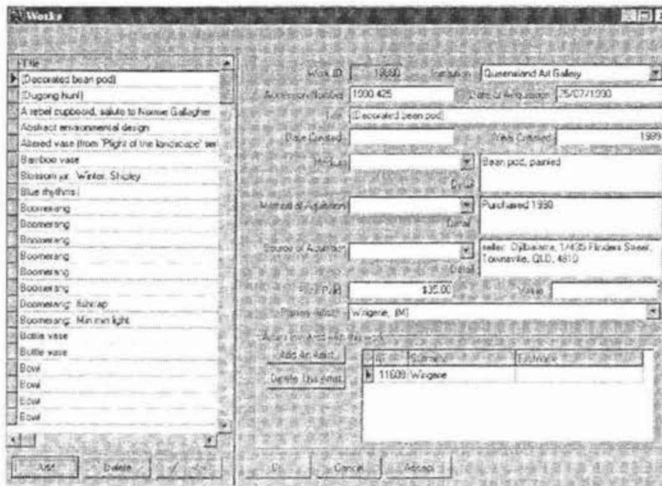
The Add A Work button allows the addition of Works to a particular Artist. To add a Work to an Artist, press the Add a Work button. This will display the Work Information Window. At this stage, an existing Work can be selected, or a new Work can be created and selected. Selection is achieved by pressing the select button. The Select button is only available when a window has been activated for the purpose of selection.



Work Information Window

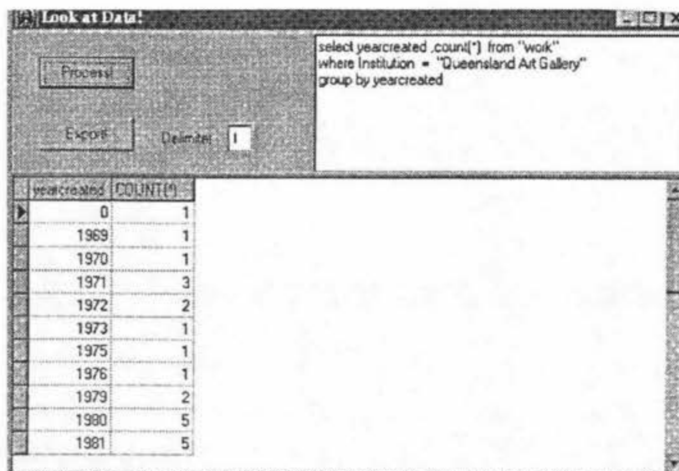
This allows addition and maintenance of Work data.

The Add An Artist button allows the addition of artists to a particular Work. To add an Artist to a Work press the Add an Artist button. This will display the Artist Information Window. At this stage an existing Artist can be selected, or a new Artist can be created and selected. Selection is achieved by pressing the Select button. The Select button is only available when a window has been activated for the purpose of selection.



Look at data Window

This allows the querying of the data. An SQL statement is typed into the edit box and the Process button is pressed. If the SQL statement is valid then the export button can be pressed to export the data to a text file. The delimiter edit box allows the specification of a delimiter. By default the l character is used. Excel, the intended target for this file, can be import data with almost any delimiter.

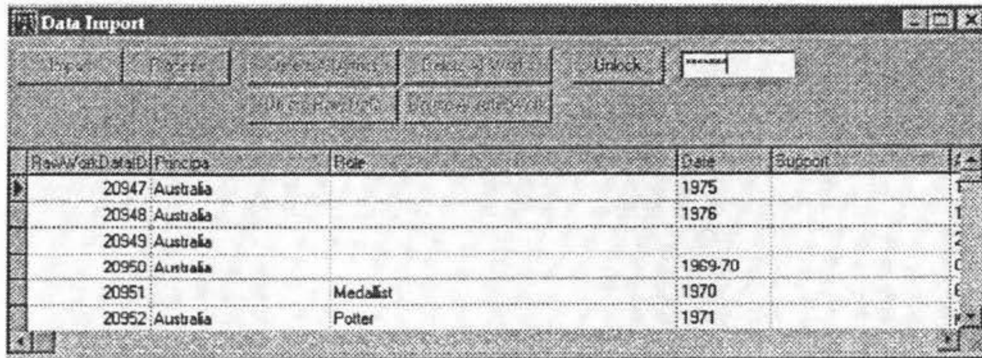


yearcreated	COUNT(*)
0	1
1969	1
1970	1
1971	3
1972	2
1973	1
1975	1
1976	1
1979	2
1980	5
1981	5

Import Window

This allows the importation of data into the Raw Works data.db table. Artist, Work and Artist Work data can be deleted. In general this is a bad idea. To prevent accidental catastrophes a password is needed to activate the Import, Process and delete buttons.

The password is *******. After the password is entered, the Unlock button should be pressed to unlock the other buttons.



Queries.txt

Available Fields:

Work Table:
WorkID/AccessionNumber/Title/DateCreated/YearCreated/Medium/Mediumdetail/MethodOfAquisiton/MethodOfAquisitondetailll/SourceOfAquisition/SouceOfAquistionnDetail/DateofAcquisition/pricePaid/CurrentValue/Institution/YearOfAquisition/PrimaryArtistID

Artist Table

ArtistID/surname/FirstName/Initials/Gender/DateOfBirth/DateOfDeath/PlaceOfBirth/Ethnicity/StateOfOrigin/Institution/YearOfBirth/YearOfDeath

ArtistWork Table
ArtistWorkID/ArtistId/WorkID/

Queries:

Query1 QAG1,AGNSW1 . . .
"lists all years of acquisiton with numbers of acquistions per year"

```
select yearofaquisiton, count (*) from "work" where Institution = "Queensland Art Gallery"
group by yearofaquisition
```

Query 2
"lists all state of origins with the number of acquisitions between the years 1980 and 1996 inclusive

```
select
        artist.StateOfOrigin,
        count (*)

from
        "work", artist
where
        artist.artistid = "work".primaryartistid and
"worki".yearofaquisition>= 1980 and
"work".yearofaquisition <= 1996
agroup by artist.stateofOrigin,
```

Query 3
"This lists all the amount of acquisitions in a particular year in a particular state for a particular year between the years 1980adn 1996 inclusive"

```
select
        artist.StateOfOrigin,
```

```
        "work"yearofaquisition,
        count(*)
from
        "work", artist
where
        artist.artistid = "work",primaryartistid and
"work".yearofaquistioin >= 1980 and
"work" yearofaquisition <= 1996
group by artist.stateofOrigin, "work".yearofaquisition
```

"Same as above but with price.data"

```
select
        artist.StateOfOrigin,
"work".yearofaquisition,
count(*),
sum (pricepaiid),
avg (pricepaid),
Min (pricepaid), max (pricepaid)
From
        "work", artist
where
artist.artistid = "work". Primaryartistid and
"work".yearofaquisition >= 1980 and
"work".yearofaquisition <= 1996
group by artist.stateeofOrigin, "work". Yearofaquisition
```

Question 4

The Number of works per medium per institute per year between years 1980-1995

Question 4.1 and 4.2
% of acquisitions per medium per year
% of total price paid by medium per year

```
select YearOfAquisition,medium, count (*) from "work"
where
Institution = "Queeensland art gallery" and
YearOf Acquisition >= 1980 and
YearOf Acquisition <= 1995
Group by
Yearofaquisiton,medium
```

Question 5.

Number of artists per year

```
Select
Yearofbirth, count (*)
From "work", artist
Where
```

Institution = 'Queensland Art Gallery' and
Artist.artistid = "work". Primaryartistid
Group by yearofbirth

6 As above but by gender

select
yearofbirth, gender, count (*)
from "work", artist
where
institution = 'Queensland Art Gallery' and
artist.artistid = "work" primaryartistid
group by yearofbirth, gender

6.1 Total number of works per gender per year of acquisition

Select
Yearofaquistion, gender, count (*)
From "work", artist
Where
Institution = 'Queensland Art gallery' and
Artist.artistid = "work".primaryartistid
Group by
Yearoifaquistion, gender

Question 7
Number of works acquired in partriuclar year ragne for artists with particular age range

Select distinct
Count (*)

Form "work", artist
Where
Institution = 'Queensland Art gallery' and
Artist.artistid = "work".primaryartistid and
Yearofaquisition >= 1980 and
Yearofaquisitionn <= 1996 and
(1996 – yearofbirth) >= 19 and
(1996 – yearofbirth) <= 29

7.1
as above but with given age ranges
See manual

Question 8

Ethnicity

Question 8.1

Nubmer of ATSI artists acquired per year

Select yearOfaquisiton, cultureal description, count(*) from artist, "work"

Where

Primaryartistid = artistid

Group by yearofaquistion,cutluraldescription

Quesiton9

Select yearofaquisiton,methodofaquistion, count (*)
From
"work"
where
institution = 'Queensland Art gallery'
group by
methodofaaquistion,
yearofaquisiton

Question 10

Select yearofaquistion, sourceofaquisitoin, count (*)
From
"work"
where
institution = 'Queensland art gallery'
group by
soruceofaquistion,
yearofaquisition

Question 11

Select yearofaquistion, count (*) from "work"
Where
(select count (*) from artistworkwhere artistwork.workid = "work".worked) > 1
group by yearofaquisition

Question 12

Dealers in each state

Question 13
Select distinct
Yearofaquistion,
Count (*)

From "work", artist

Where
Institutitonnn = 'Queensland aRt gallery' and
Artist.artistid = "work"primaryartistid and
Yearofaquisiton >= 1980 and
Yearofaquisition <= 1996 and
(1996 – yearofbirth) >= 19 and
(1996 – yearofbirth) <= 29
group by yearofaquistion

Question 14

Select
Yearofaqusition,count (*)
From "work", artist
Where
Institution = 'Queensland art Gallery' and
Artist.artistid = "work".primaryartistid and
Gender = "M"
Group by yearofaquisiton

Question 6
Need ethniiiicity added in

Question 15

Select
Yearofaquistion,stateoforigin, count (*)
Form "work", artist
Where
Institution = 'Queensland Art Gallery' and
Artist.artistid = "work".primary artistid
Group by yearofaqquisiton, stateoforigin

Question 16
Select yearofaquistion,methodofaquistion,count
(*)
From
"work"
where
institution = 'Queensland aRt Gallery'
group by
methodofaquistion,
yearofaquisition

Question 17
Select
yearofaquistion,sourceofaquistion,count (*)
From
"work"
where

institution = 'Queensland Art Gallery'
group by
sourceofaquistion,
yearofaquisition

Question 18
Select yearofaquistion,from "work"
Where
(select count (*) from art where artistwork.worked = "work".worked) > 1
group by yearofaquisition

Question 19
Select yearofaquisiton, from "work"
Where
(select count (*) from artistswhere artistwork.worked = "work".worked) > 1 and
institution = 'Queensland Art Gallery'
group by yearofaquistion

"Dealers in Vic"
sleect * from "work"
where sourcofaquistioinnnn '%,VIC%' and
soruceofaquisiton like 'agent%'

"Dealers in vic per year"
select yearofaqusition, "work"
where sourcofaquistionnn '%, VIC%' and
sourceofaqusitionndetail like 'agent%'
group by yearofaqusition

Querys

1 Total Number of works in QAG. Between 1980 – 1995 inclusive.

Select
f.YearOfAquistion,
f.medium,
f.count (*),
c.count (*)
from "work" f,c
where
f.Instituion = "Queensland aRt gallery" and
f.YearOfAquisitonn >= 1980 and
f.YearOfAqusition <= 1995 and

```
c.YearOfAqusition = f.YearofAqusition and
c.Instituion = F.Institution and

group by
f.yearofaquistion,
f.medium

select
f.YearOfAquistion,
f,medium,
f.count (*),
x as
(select
count (*) x from "work" c
where
c.Institution = F.Institution and
c.YearOfAqusition = F.YearOfAqusition ) Y

form "work" f
where
f.Institution = "Queensland Art Gallery" and
f.YearOfAquistion >= 1980 and
f.YearOfAquistion <= 1995
group by
f.yearofaquistion,
f.medium

update artist
set ethnicity = 'Switzerland'
where ethnicitydetail like '%Switzerland%'

select yearOfaqusition,culturaldescription,count (*) from artist, "work"
where
primaryartistid = artistid
group by yearofaquistion, culturaldescription
```

Appendix 3: Operations Income Indicating Government Subsidy and Non-Government Revenue

Year	ART GALLERY OF NEW SOUTH WALES						NATIONAL GALLERY OF AUSTRALIA					
$ '000	**Acquisitn**	**% Acq**	**Non-govt Revenue**	**Governmt Grant.**	**Total Operatn**	**% Govt.**	**Acquisitn**	**% Acq.**	**Non-govt. Revenue**	**Govt. Grant**	**Total Operatn.**	**% Govt.**
1979-80	654	76%	413	451	864	52%	4,742	63%	9	7,500	7,509	100%
1980-81	724	80%	579	320	899 (a)	36%	8,783	79%	60	11,065	11,125	99%
1981-82	456	16%	682	2,161	2,843	76%	2,677	18%	192	15,000	15,192	100%
1982-83	629	17%	538	3,071	3,609	85%	4,371	24%	2,677	15,400	18,077	85%
1983-84	695	11%	2,214	3,931	6,145 (b)	64%	3,446	21%	2,981	13,710	16,691	82%
1984-85	709	14%	1,430	3,711	5,141	72%	4,508	26%	3,289	13,900	17,189	80%
1985-86	1,520	27%	1,954	3,762	5,716	66%	3,793	21%	2,871	14,875	17,746	84%
1986-87	1,431	23%	2,289	3,917	6,206	63%	3,635	21%	2,025	15,425	17,450	88%
1987-88	1,290	7%	2,318	16,900	19,218 (c)	88%	4,420	20%	6,684	15,699	22,383	70%
1988-89	5,045	22%	6,832	15,822	22,654 (d)	70%	3,830	19%	3,437	17,239	20,676	83%
1989-90	2,093	17%	3,949	8,213	12,162 (e)	66%	4,829	20%	5,835	18,927	24,762	76%
1990-91	1,420	11%	3,501	9,543	13,044 (f)	73%	9,905	38%	4,364	21,939	26,303	83%
1991-92	n/a	n/a	8,875	11,200	20,075 (g)	56%	n/a	n/a	7,759	24,163	31,922	76%
1992-93	3,564	21%	8,508	9,831	18,339	54%	12,635 (h)	45%	8,494	19,405	27,899	70%
1993-94	1,344	6%	13,187	10,740	23,927	45%	4,955	20%	5,256	19,557	24,813	79%
1994-95	1,444	5%	17,409	11,333	28,742	39%	3,581	13%	7,823	19,690	27,513	72%
1995-96	n/a	n/a	12,351	12,418	24,769	50%	6,499	19%	9,733	24,592	34,325	72%

Appendix 3: Operations Income Indicating Government Subsidy and Non-Government Revenue

Notes: **AGNSW** - (a) For period 11/7/80 - 30/6/81. (b) Includes bequest funds $894,472 and $1 million from NSW Govt. to Art Foundation. (c) Includes capital works endowment $12 million. (d) Includes capital works endowment $9.2m. (e) Includes capital works endowment $1.2 m (f) Includes capital works endowment $826,000 (g) Change in accounting policies now includes non-cash assets. **NGA** - (h) Change in accounting practices

Appendix 3: Operations Income Indicating Government Subsidy and Non-Government Revenue (Contd.)

Year	NATIONAL GALLERY OF VICTORIA						QUEENSLAND ART GALLERY					
$ '000	Acquisitn	% Acq	Non-govt Revenue	Governmt Grant.	Total Operatn	% Govt.	Acquisitn	% Acq.	Non-govt. Revenue	Governmt Grant.	Total Operatn.	% Govt.
1979-80			n/a									
1980-81			n/a									
1981-82			n/a									
1982-83			3,148	4,509	7,657	59%						
1983-84			2,565	4,885	7,450	66%						
1984-85			2,841	4,656	7,497	62%	392	36%	177	917	1,094	84%
1985-86			3,759	5,053	8,812	57%	273	25%	177	930	1,107	84%
1986-87			4,885	5,231	10,116	52%	297	16%	869	1,031	1,900	54%
1987-88			5,421	5,486	10,907	50%	821	36%	1,082	1,191	2,273	52%
1988-89			3,129	6,701	9,830	68%	242		1,614	1,098	2,712	40%
1989-90			4,275	6,451	10,726	60%	2,548 (i)	83%	1,613	1,125	2,738	41%
1990-91			6,207	6,450	12,657	51%	317	15%	1,147	1,019	2,166	47%
1991-92			6,044	6,613	12,657	52%	1,192	41%	1,563	1,356 (j)	2,919	46%
1992-93			8,605	6,595	15,200	43%	661	11%	2,308	3,677 (k)	5,985	61%
1993-94			8,158	6,503	14,661	44%	901	16%	1,767	3,759	5,526	68%
1994-95			6,269	7,177	13,446	53%	76	0.7%	1,859	8,326 (f)	10,185	82%
1995-96			9,385	8,322	17,707	47%	34	0.3%	1,227	8,943 (g)	10,170	88%

Notes: **QAG** - (i) includes special allocation of $1.9m for acquisitions. (j) Government also provided $2m for property expenses - not shown (k) Changes in Government accounting standards. (f) and (g) Government grant includes salaries.
Shaded areas indicate figures unavailable.

Australian Labor Party and Liberal Coalition Arts Policies 1986 - 1995 Compared

Year	Australian Labor Party	Liberal and National Party
1982	Principles: Vital factor in social development and maintenance of national culture; participation; access; education; co-operation between governments; accountability for expenditure. Strategies: enlarge Australia Council; encourage diversity of arts activities; develop arts education; improve training and working conditions for arts workers; Film: seven-part strategy to support and encourage growth (Length of policy statement - 3 pages)	
1984	Principles: vital factor in social development and maintenance of national culture; participation; access; education; participation of levels of government to provide facilities and access to them; "recognition of the value of the arts as an industry contributing to the Australian economy." Strategies: Promote access and participation in the arts to facilitate community self-development; access to facilities; **support national programme for museums and collections through a national museums authority (s B10); construct Museum of Australia;** maintain Australia Council; film and TV - (s D); Support development of artists - adopt 1980 UNESCO Recommendations on the Status of Artis; remuneration and training; droite de suite. (Length of policy statement 4 pages).	
1986 ALP **1987 Liberal National**	Principles: rights to participate in and access to creative experience; Gov. responsibility to encourage Australian cultural development; excellence in creative endeavour central to arts development; arts industry a source of employment; arts promote Australian identity; rights of artists; recognise cultural diversity; **co-operation and co-ordination between all levels of government (s B15)** Strategies: Maintain Australia Council; support for National institutions e.g. National Gallery, Museum of Australia and **a national museums authority charged with the conservation, preservation and presentation of the nation's heritage (s C22 and s D41).;** Review Copyright Act and droite de suite; remove taxation anomalies affecting artists; promote the use of electronic media to record and transmit creative	Vision: accessibility, tradition and innovation, participation Emphasis on the individual The economic impact of the arts; integral to tourism, trade, foreign policies Encouragement of private sector support Restructure Australia Council to improve accountability and reduce costs Effective financial support for heritage and museums (Released 26.6.87) Recognition of impacts of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultural diversity.

	work for use in arts education; (Length of policy - 11 pages)	
1988-89 **1990 Election Year**	Vision: Opportunity for artistic expression fundamental human right; arts integral to develop national identity; arts industry of major economic importance; arts development a shared responsibility between all levels of government; remove discriminatory barriers to participation; widen access; secure rights of arts workers; **encourage pursuit and attainment of excellence;** recognise cultural diversity; promote Australian culture abroad. Strategies: Maintain Australia Council**; Support national co-ordination in the preservation, conservation and presentation of the nation's heritage found in museums and collections (s. D20);** Remove taxation anomalies affecting artists; community access to the arts through partnerships with all levels of government; **ensure that major organisations funded by commonwealth contribute to Australia's cultural life (including annual touring) and make every effort to be self-supporting especially through diversifying their areas of financials upport (s. I52d); encourage private sector support for the arts.** (Length of policy - 7 pages)	Vision: "The excitement of arts"; excellence, innovation, access The Arts Industry - worth $3.1 billion p.a. Private - Public Sector Mix: potential for growth (models e.g. ABSA); taxation reform inc. provisions for artists' gifts Direct Ministerial control and establishment of a Dept. for the Arts Abolition of Australia Council Major Arts Organisations: Triennial funding; Support for national institutions; Museum of Australia - including ATSI Gallery five year commitment; NGA $1m approval for building development; ATSI art and culture; dance; design; youth; Privatisation of Film Australia Copyright protection inc. droite de suite for artists National Charter of Arts Responsibilities to define arts responsibilities of each level of Government. Taxation - to encourage private sector support and reduce anomalies for artists. Support for TIA. (Released 17 September 1988)
1991	Vision: As above Strategies: As above. *Plus* - develop and publish a national arts strategy, consistent with labor's social justice strategy (s. C14) (Length of policy - 7 pages)	
1993		*"A Vision for the Arts in Australia - Fightback Australia"* Vision: excellence, creativity, innovation, relevance and access Arts funding - improved tax system greater private sector involvement Australia Council restructured to concentrate on national not regional; triennial funding for major national organisations. Maintain funding for Commonwealth museums; encourage entrepreneurial activity; provide buffer for Govt. 'claw-back arrangements'. Support for Museum of australia but project postponed, opening 2001 Copyright and moral rights Greater co-ordination of art education and training

		(Hewson/Baume - Released 3 March 1993)
1994	Vision: As Above. *Plus* - (s A3) "recognition that legal framework - copyright and moral rights - needed to protect artists"; (s A5) "arts should receive more private patronage than it has been customary to receive"; (s B11) recognition that the diversity of ATSI culture as indispensable to the enrichment of national life; (s B16) safeguarding cultural rights of all Australians; Strategies: As for 1991 Plus Establish Vi$copy; protect artists in developing GATT legislation; Better co-ordinate and direct international cultural activities with emphasis on Asia-Pacific region; **(s H - cultural Heritage s H67, 68, 70)** **Develop and implement nationals trategies for collecting, organising, preserving and communicating material of significance to the people of Australia;** Proceed with National Museum of Australia as a collaboration between ATSI community, Commonwealth, ACT government and private sector.	*"The Cultural Frontier"* Vision: Access and participation; new technologies; cultural diversity; pivotal role in society Funding: 'arm's length' principle; Australia Council as primary administrator; remove duplication; define responsibilities Access and new technologies; national heritage network; access for all Culture as industry: employment, economic return c.$13 billion Cultural tourism and promotion of festivals Private sector partnerships (Released October 1994, Howard/Alston)
1996		*"For Art's Sale A Fair Go! For all of us"* Vision and strategies: Greater co-ordination and co-operation between governments ($4.5m) Arts funding: maintain levels of support, Australia Council; Access - Regional Arts Fund $7.5m; National cultural Network $10m + $11.4m for libraries to connect to NCN; touring Access Programmes e.g. visions of Australia and Playing Australia - $3m Emerging Artists' Programme $3m and abolish Creative Fellowships 'the Keatings' Equity of arts funding Australia-wide Indigenous Culture: ensure adequate funding; policy development with ATSIC; Construct Gallery of Aboriginal Australia Copyright (Released September 1994)

Year	Government Initiatives	Museum Initatives
1972	The Preservation of Australia's Aboriginal Heritage: report of National Seminar on Aboriginal Antiquities in Australia	
1973	White Australia Policy abandoned Grasby paper, A Multicultural Society for the Future	
1975	Piggott Report, Museums in Australia	Code of ethics for Art, History and Science Museum (AMAA, MAA/CAMA). National Gallery (of Australia) Act – revised 1993
1976	National Women's Advisory Council	Australia National Gallery Acquitions Policy
1977	Australia as a Multicultural Society – Commonwealth Policy Paper	
1978		Seminar Preserving Indigenous Cultures: A New Role for Museums
1980	Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs established	Murdoch Court for Contemporary Art opens National gallery of Victoria
1981	Report of the Working Party on the Protection of Aboriginal Folklore (Dept Home Affairs & Environment) Museum Policy & Development in South Australia (Edwards Report)	
1982	Office of the status of Women estab. In PM's Dept.	'New'Art Gallery of WA opens (Feb) 'New' Queensland Art gallery opens (June) Australian National gallery opens (October)
1982	Office of the Status of Women estab in PM's Dept.	
1984	Sex Discrimination Act	
1986	Affirmative Action (EEO for Women) Act. Patronage, Power and the Muse: Inquiry into Commonwealth Assistance to the arts (Macleay Report). Commonwealth Museums Review 1986-88	
1987	Committee of Enquiry Folklife: Our Living Heritage Report	

1988	National Agenda for Women Report on moral Rights (Copyright Law Review Committee)	CAMA establish Women's Group CAG Acq. Policy review
1989	National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia . . . Sharing Our Future (PM Dept & OMA, July). Enquiry into EO & Status of Women Report of the NSW Ministerial Task Force On Aboriginal Heritage & Culture What price Heritage? The Museums Review & the Measurement of Museum Performance (Dept of Finance). A Policy for the development of Museums & Historic Sites in NSW. The Aboriginal Arts & Craft Industry: Report of the Review Committee (Altman Report). Droite de Suite: The Art Resale Royalty & Its Implications for Australia (DASETT & Aust Copyright Council)	New Responsibilities: Documenting Multicultural Australia Conference (MAA) Today for Tomorrow: Contemporary Art in Art Museums & Public Galleries Conference (AMAA). Proposal for Heritage Collection Council (CAMA, May). Extending Parameters conference (Aust Council & QAG)
1990	What Value Heritage? A Perspective on the Museums Review (DASETT). Australia Aboriginal Affairs Council task Force/Return of ATSI Cultural Property to ATSI Ownership (ATSIC)	
1991	A Plan for Cultural Heritage Institutions to Reflect Australia's Cultural Diversity. Consultation with Aboriginal People About Aboriginal heritage: report to the Australian Heritage Commission(revised) Mapping Our Culture: A Policy for Victoria Queensland A state for the Arts report	Women's Section adopt resolutions for greater lobbying. AMAA Conference, Perth: Access

1992	Report Half Way to Equal released, museums mentioned first time. The Role of the Commonwealth in Australia's Cultural development – discussion paper (DASETT) Into the 21st century: Recommendations of the state Task Force for Museums Policy (WA) Report of the Regional Galleries Task Force (WA)	Outside the Gum Tree – Visual Arts in Multicultural Australia (NAVA) published. Arts for the a Multcultural Australia 1973-1991: An account of Australia Council policies (Blonski & Aust Cnl). Victorian Museum Survey Report (MAA & Arts Victoria). ANG renamed National Gallery of Australia (October)
1993	Heritage Collections in Australia: A Plan for a New Partnership (Cult. Ministers' Cnl – HCWG & CAMA)	Previous Possessions, New Obligations, Policies for Museum in Australia and Aboriginal & Torres strait Islander Peoples (CAMA). National Museum Conference Images of Women
1994	Creative National Commonwealth Cultural Policy. Arts 21: Victorian Government's Strategy for the arts into the 21st Century. Access to excellence: A Review of Issues Affecting Artists from non-English Speaking Backgrounds (OMA & PM's Dept). Future directions for Regional & Community Museums (NSW Ministry for the Arts).	National Gallery of Australia – Acquisitions Policy revised, published.
1995	Hidden Heritage: A development Plan for museums in Queensland 1995 – 2001 (QLD) National Conservation & Preservation Policy for Movable Cultural Heritage-(CMC/HCC)	
1997	To Sell Art, Know Your Market: A Survey of Visual Art and Fine Craft Buyers (Australia Council)	

TOTAL ACQUISITIONS 1980-1995 (A:totalacq.xls)

	AGNSW	NGA	NGV	QAG
Unknown	147	45	41	254
1980	162	526	547	
1981	143	183	325	20
1982	146	1801	289	8
1983	124	697	301	58
1984	99	688	147	53
1985	100	574	297	50
1986	57	599	371	49
1987	81	979	257	63
1988	588	1200	291	415
1989	263	1139	413	131
1990	149	909	252	190
1991	142	634	489	396
1992	110	990	336	183
1993	301	1043	149	376
1994	261	326	397	183
1995	35	532	268	172
1996	53		342	129
TOTAL	**2961**	**12865**	**5512**	**2730**
GRAND TOTAL				**24068**

NGA CONTEMPORARY AUSTRALIAN ACQUISITONS & TOTAL ACQUISTIONS 1980-1995

Fig. 4 – Chapter 2

YEAR	NO ACQ	CONT ACQ	% CONT.
1980-81	**5208**	**526**	**10**
1981-82	**1565**	**183**	**12**
1982-83	**4912**	**1801**	**37**
1983-84	**3618**	**697**	**19**
1984-85	**4432**	**688**	**15**
1985-86	**3084**	**574**	**19**
1986-87	**2164**	**599**	**28**
1987-88	**2857**	**979**	**34**
1988-89	**2449**	**1200**	**49**
1989-90	**3317**	**1139**	**34**
1990-91	**2432**	**909**	**37**
1991-92	**2195**	**634**	**29**
1992-93	**2188**	**990**	**47**
1993-94	**2590**	**1043**	**40**
1994-95	**1166**	**326**	**28**
1995-96	**1179**	**532**	**45**

QAG 1990-1991

CAA	Artist 1955 or later	Year of Birth 1954 or earlier	Total Artists	Artist's State of Origin: ATSI non-Qld	ATSI Qld	Qld not ASTI	Nati onal	Inter-national	Media						Expenditure
									Painting	Sculpture	Assemby	Install			
	6	25	31	7	3	4	17	0	23	3	4	1			31 $ 240,700 Av. $ 7,764.00ea
Aust. Art pre 1979	0	5	5	0	0	1	4	0	5	0	0	0			5 $ 226,000 Av. $ 45,200.00 ea
									Print	Print/folio	Poster	Drawing	Photo	Collage	
Print, drawing, Photography 75 post 1980, 39 pre 1979	29	84	78	1	0	48	30	35	3	4	20	13	35	5	$ 191,536
									Ceramic	Glass	Furn.	Jewelry	Textl.	ATSI	
Decorative Arts 78 post 1980, 8 pre 1979	27	59	66	19	27	16	21	3	38	5	2	16	3	22	$ 61,101
									Painting	Sculpt.	Assmbl.	Install			
1991/92 CAA	4	7	10	0	0	11	0	0	9	0	2	0			$ 319,777
Aust Art pre 1979	0	2	2	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0			$ 56,900
									Prints	Print/folio	Posters	Drawing	Phot.	Collage	
Prints, Drawings & photographs 48 post 1980, 15 pre 1979	31	32	43	0	0	9	30	24	32	1	11	4	15	0	$ 91,175
									Ceramics	Glass	Furn	Jewelry	Textl.	ATSI	
Dec Arts 14 1980 2 pre-1979	0	16	11	0	0	7	9	0	12	3	1	0	0	0	$ 14,205

1993-94 QAL

	DoB Artist			Sate of Origin					Media													Items				$	
	Post 1954	Pre 1954	Total	ATSI Qld	ATSI Non-Qld	Qld	Nat	Int	Assembly	Ceramic	Dr.	Furn.	Glass	Install	Jewell	Ptng	Photo	Print	Sculpt	Other	Total	Pre-1979	Post 1980	Gift	Purchased	Cont post 1980	
AA	0	31	31	0	0	28	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	4	25	0	1	-	31	31	0	3	28	98,301	
CAA	9	29	38	0	18	12	8	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	24	0	0	12	0	38	8	30	4	34	433,640	
DA	17	75	92	3	7	34	22	26	0	62	0	3	8	0	0	0	0	0	3	16	92	60	32	38	54	108,859	20,604
IA																										373,737	
PDP	24	160	184	3	11	38	75	57	3	0	28	0	0	2	0	2	55	94	0	0	184	45	139	46	138	427,056	49,396
1994 -1995																											
AA	0	21	21	0	0	9	6	6	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	12	6	2	0	0	21	21	0	6	15	577,558	
CAA	17	25	42	8	8	15	11	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	27	0	0	14	0	42	5	37	1	41	255,555	
DA	9	37	46	0	5	8	18	15	0	29	0	3	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	46	18	28	8	38	397,534	32,030
IA																										334,612	
PDP	67	137	204	1	5	51	69	78	0	0	13	0	0	2	0	4	37	132	0	16	204	78	126	74	130	267,520	25,083
																						266	**392**				
																						71/337	257/649				

RATE OF ACQUISITIONS 1980 – 1987 AND 1988-1995 COMPARED (a:Figure5.xls)

YEAR	AGNSW	NGA	NGV	QAG
1980	162	526	547	20
1981	143	183	325	8
1982	146	1801	289	58
1983	124	697	301	53
1984	99	688	147	50
1985	100	574	297	49
1986	57	599	371	63
1987	81	979	257	415
	912	**6047**	**2534**	**716**

YEAR	AGNSW	NGA	NGV	QAG
1988	588	1200	291	131
1989	263	1139	413	190
1990	149	909	252	396
1991	142	634	489	183
1992	110	990	336	376
1993	301	1043	149	183
1994	261	326	397	172
1995	88	532	610	129
	1902	**6773**	**2937**	**1760**

YEAR	AGNSW	NGA	NGV	QAG	
1980-87	912	6047	2534	716	
1988-95	1902	6773	2937	1760	
Unknown	147	45	41	254	
	2961	**12865**	**5512**	**2730**	**24068**

Percentage of works by media for individual collections

	Total Works	ATSI	Ceram .	Drawg	Video & Film	Glass	Installn	Multim	Paintg	Perfm.	Photog	Print	Sculpt	Metal	Textile
ANSW	2,783	76	n/a	317	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	275	n/a	1313	778	24	n/a	n/a
%		2.7%		11%					10%		47%	28%	0.8%		
NGA	12,790	1,396	237	1,004	51	15	5	73	563	n/a	2,014	6,852	170	158	252
%		11%	2%	8%	0.4%	0.11%	0.03%	0.5%	4%		16%	54%	1%	1%	2%
NGV	5,116	1,124	186	225	n/a	29	4	48	537	3	1,591	848	106	202	213
%		22%	4%	4%		0.5%	0.07%	1%	10%	0.05%	31%	17%	2%	4%	4%
QAG	2,520	40	167	134	n/a	101	5	81	306	7	554	986	71	32	36
%		2%	7%	5%		4%	0.1%	3%	12%	0.2%	22%	39%	3%	1%	1%

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Percentage of works by media for all collections

	ATSI	Ceram.	Drawg	Video & Film	Glass	Installn	Multim	Paintg	Perfm.	Photog	Print	Sculpt	Metal	Textile
ALL WORK	2,636	590	1,680	51	145	14	202	1,681	10	5,472	9,464	371	392	501
ANSW	76	n/a	317	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	275	n/a	1,313	778	24	n/a	n/a
%	2%		19%					16%		24%	8%	6%		
NGA	1,396	237	1,004	51	15	5	73	563	n/a	2,014	6,852	170	158	252
%	53%	40%	60%	100%	10%	36%	36%	33%		37%	72%	46%	40%	50%
NGV	1,124	186	225	n/a	29	4	48	537	3	1,591	848	106	202	213
%	43%	31%	13%		20%	28%	24%	32%	30%	29%	9%	29%	52%	43%
QAG	40	167	134	n/a	101	5	81	306	7	554	986	71	32	36
%	2%	28%	8%		70%	36%	40%	18%	70%	10%	10%	19%	8%	7%

NATIONAL TRENDS (Media)

ATSI

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1999	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	Total	Total	Average
AGNSW	0	0	0	1	9	1	1	1	1	13	6	2	0	10	14	7	**1**	**76**	
NGA	18	12	8	96	59	66	106	90	94	298	178	83	121	60	66	41	**1396**		
NGV	21	0	0	0	2	10	39	33	51	156	119	249	124	11	215	96	**1126**		
QAG	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	30	0	0	0	6	1	**1**	**40**	
TOTAL	**39**	**12**	**8**	**97**	**70**	**87**	**146**	**126**	**158**	**460**	**329**	**332**	**255**	**91**	**289**	**139**		**2638**	

CERAMICS

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1999	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	Total	Total	Average
AGNSW	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A			
NGA	17	30	21	42	16	20	8	6	18	12	14	14	0	2	3	14	**237**		**15**
NGV	8	20	22	4	3	22	63	8	5	5	1	4	2	0	7	12	**186**		**12**
QAG	3	1	7	0	5	0	14	4	4	2	65	12	12	11	21	6	**167**		**10**
TOTAL	**28**	**51**	**50**	**46**	**24**	**42**	**85**	**18**	**27**	**19**	**80**	**30**	**14**	**13**	**31**	**32**		**590**	**12**

DRAWING

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1999	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	Total	Total	Average
AGNSW	6	3	9	2	12	6	8	6	31	16	10	18	21	73	96	0	**317**		
NGA	106	53	102	30	30	47	82	52	156	65	45	46	46	67	79	16	**28**	**1004**	
NGV	2	7	34	3	5	58	24	14	17	9	10	2	10	9	2	19	**225**		
QAG	6	1	2	12	23	2	1	6	6	14	13	21	2	16	2	7	**134**		
TOTAL	**120**	**64**	**147**	**47**	**70**	**113**	**115**	**78**	**210**	**104**	**78**	**87**	**100**	**177**	**116**	**54**		**1680**	

FILM AND VIDEO

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1999	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	Total	Total	Average
AGNSW	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**		
NGA	6	1	15	2	5	2	3	12	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	**51**		
NGV	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**		
QAG	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**		
TOTAL	**6**	**1**	**15**	**2**	**5**	**2**	**3**	**12**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**		**15**	

GLASS AND SILVER/METAL AND TEXTILES

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1999	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	Total	Total	Average
AGNSW	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A			
NGA	32	33	20	66	22	53	21	17	44	20	23	14	13	13	6	28	**425**		
NGV	0	5	2	4	2	3	4	2	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	**29**		
QAG	3	1	6	19	6	0	0	51	4	4	22	4	11	22	12	4	**169**		
TOTAL	**35**	**39**	**28**	**89**	**30**	**56**	**25**	**70**	**52**	**24**	**45**	**18**	**25**	**35**	**18**	**34**		**623**	

PAINTING

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1999	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	Total	Total	Average
AGNSW	31	23	19	20	17	20	12	8	16	10	14	27	21	14	19	4	**275**		
NGA	30	10	102	92	19	22	16	11	164	24	14	9	23	14	10	3	**563**		
NGV	54	32	38	27	29	41	14	42	24	30	20	53	44	24	44	21	**537**		
QAG	5	2	3	2	2	16	13	10	17	28	63	17	30	31	28	39	**306**		
TOTAL	**120**	**67**	**162**	**141**	**67**	**99**	**55**	**71**	**221**	**92**	**111**	**106**	**118**	**83**	**101**	**67**		**1681**	

PHOTOGRAPHS

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1999	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	Total	Total	Average
AGNSW	88	87	77	25	41	47	14	51	451	89	49	36	24	93	81	60	**1313**		
NGA	87	14	728	82	50	76	155	98	113	155	33	48	162	61	85	67	**2014**		
NGV	305	209	128	230	51	71	114	41	88	67	18	126	46	52	19	26	**1591**		
QAG	0	1	6	14	3	3	7	351	7	13	24	24	33	22	31	15	**554**		
TOTAL	**480**	**311**	**939**	**351**	**145**	**197**	**290**	**541**	**659**	**324**	**124**	**234**	**265**	**228**	**216**	**168**		**5472**	

PRINTS

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1999	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	Total	Total	Average
AGNSW	34	25	34	75	16	11	21	8	75	141	70	54	29	107	55	23	**778**		
NGA	198	26	733	271	475	285	206	686	569	550	595	409	595	799	121	334	**6852**		
NGV	106	21	21	7	18	41	28	64	66	110	73	13	91	19	97	73	**848**		
QAG	0	1	30	3	6	17	28	30	88	119	145	82	269	62	61	45	**986**		
TOTAL	**338**	**73**	**818**	**356**	**515**	**354**	**283**	**788**	**798**	**920**	**883**	**558**	**984**	**987**	**334**	**475**		**9464**	

SCULPTURE

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1999	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	Total	Total	Average
AGNSW	1	4	1	1	0	5	1	2	2	1	0	3	3	0	0	0	**24**		
NGA	8	2	40	15	7	2	2	3	26	12	4	9	6	12	9	13	**170**		
NGV	9	7	6	6	8	7	11	9	7	6	5	7	6	7	4	1	**106**		
QAG	2	1	4	2	4	6	0	4	2	2	8	10	6	7	7	6	**71**		
TOTAL	**20**	**14**	**51**	**24**	**19**	**20**	**14**	**18**	**37**	**21**	**17**	**29**	**21**	**26**	**20**	**20**		**371**	

FREQUENCY OF ACQUISITON FOUR OR MORE TIMES 1980-1995

Artists' ID	Surname	First Name	Date of Birth	Frequency of Acquisition
12081	Zoates	Toby	0	4
13176	Gibb	Jillian	0	4
14251	Ford	Paul	0	4
11761	Dobell	William	1899	4
13345	Burke	Frances	1908	4
12032	Sivers	Wolfgang	1913	4
11807	Tuckeri	Albert	1914	4
13799	Friend	Donald	1915	4
12597	Marralwangi	Peter	1916	4
13010	Tjaruru	Watuma	1920	4
13764	Bergner	Yosi	1920	4
13096	Wilson	Laurie	1920	4
13948	Wienholt	Anne	1920	4
11850	Smart	Jeffrey	1921	4
14603	Maymuru	Narritijin	1922	4
13670	Kala Kala	Jack	1925	4
14015	Kubarkku	Mick	1926	4
11696	Moon	Milton	1926	4
11748	Mcconnell	Carl	1926	4
12009	Bopirri	Ngamyai	1927	4
11557	Zimmer	Klaus	1928	4
13671	Kantilla	Kitty	1928	4
12435	Gazzard	Marea	1928	4
11760	Mora	Mirka	1928	4
11806	Juniper	Robert	1929	4
13766	Bird Petyarre	Ada	1930	4
13909	Rose	William	1930	4
14103	Apuatimi	Declan	1931	4
11523	Devlin	Stuart	1933	4
11758	Sibley	Andrew	1934	4
12467	Mansfield	Janet	1934	4
12952	Swen	Hiroe	1935	4
13548	Gumana	Gawirrin	1935	4
13071	West	Margaret	1936	4
13380	Clifford	James	1936	4
14493	Wanambi	Durndiwuy	1936	4
14630	Wululu	Jimmy	1936	4
14509	Nyinawangal	Brian	1937	4
12969	Thancoupie		1937	4
12670	Riley	Ginger	1937	4
11774	Staunton	Madonna	1938	4
13824	Haynes	George	1938	4
13927	Leura Tjapa	Tim	1939	4
14673	Hayward	Bevan	1939	4
12298	Stannage	Miriam	1939	4

Artists' ID	Surname	First Name	Date of Birth	Frequency of Acquisition
12061	Hjorth	Noela	1940	4
12636	Miller	Max	1940	4
11535	Watt	Alan	1941	4
11796	Boynes	Robert	1942	4
12995	Tjampitjinp	Ronnie	1942	4
13923	Stuart	Guy	1942	4
14201	Yaxley	Bill	1943	4
13846	Kingston	Peter	1943	4
11540	Taylor	Ray	1944	4
11649	Jenuarrie		1944	4
14697	Campbell	Robert	1944	4
13526	Gollings	John	1944	4
12481	Hansen	Ragnar	1945	4
12566	Majzner	Victor	1945	4
14859	Tjampijnp	Maxie	1945	4
13237	Leunig	Michael	1945	4
11799	Mitelman	Allan	1946	4
12741	Neeson	John	1946	4
13396	Cornish	Christine	1946	4
13230	Geier	Helen	1946	4
13378	Clayden	James	1947	4
14205	Durrant	Ivan	1947	4
14604	Laurence	Janet	1947	4
12034	Burns	Tim	1947	4
11803	Hutner	Robert	1947	4
11885	Cripps	Peter	1948	4
13739	Lobb	Ian	1948	4
12468	Hosking	Marian	1948	4
12401	Thompson	Mark	1949	4
13542	Holleley	Douglas	1949	4
11919	Valamanesch	Hossein	1949	4
12523	Manning	Sony	1949	4
14126	Cook	Patrick	1949	4
12158	Fuller	Helen	1949	4
13963	Gurvich	Rafael	1949	4
12203	Harris	Jeffrey	1949	4
13156	Ashton	Robert	1950	4
13460	Eaton	Janenne	1950	4
11846	Bezor	Annette	1950	4
12651	Moncrieff	Greg	1950	4
13172	Dent	John	1951	4

Artists' ID	Surname	First Name	Date of Birth	Frequency of Acquisition
11534	Mount	Nick	1952	4
13321	Boston	Paul	1952	4
13325	Bramley-Moore	Mostyn	1952	4
11857	Dyson	Chris	1952	4
13563	Handfield	Tim	1952	4
12748	Ngamanda	Terry	1952	4
12404	Rish	Adam	1953	4
12213	Kleem	Geoff	1953	4
14465	Freeman	Warwick	1953	4
12285	De Favero	Dennis	1953	4
12507	Kemp	Bronwyn	1953	4
13787	Doggett-Williams	Philip	1953	4
15416	Milojevic	Milan	1953	4
11922	Clark	Tony	1954	4
12189	Shiels	Julie	1954	4
12327	Walker	Deborah	1954	4
11675	Daly	Greg	1954	4
12159	Redgate	Jacky	1955	4
12212	Pickett	Bryon	1955	4
11559	Hirst	Brian	1956	4
11835	Young	John	1956	4
12558	Macleod	Euan	1956	4
13391	Cooley	Peter	1956	4
12184	Zahalka	Anne	1957	4
12979	Throsby	Jonathan	1957	4
11693	Halpern	Deborah	1957	4
12314	King-Smith	Lea	1957	4
11658	Romeo	Giuseppe	1958	4
14838	Rankine	Pie	1960	4
14806	Taylor	Ben	1960	4
11912	Carchesio	Eugene	1960	4
15166	Riley	Michael	1960	4
14522	Ayres	Tony	1961	4
12168	Stannard	Chris	1961	4
13601	Howson	Mark	1961	4
12886	Ryrie	John	1961	4
12201	Mantzaris	Diane	1962	4
13643	Johnstone	Peter	1962	4
13567	Harper	Melinda	1965	4
11607	Tiwi Designs		1969	4
12347	Nona	Dennis	1973	4
14456	Negalo Inter		1980	4
14393	Jillposters		1983	4
13692	Kngwarreye		1910	5
13805	Gilliland	Hector	1911	5

Artists' ID	Surname	First Name	Date of Birth	Frequency of Acquisition
11681	Pate	Klytie	1912	5
13618	Jaminji	Paddy	1912	5
12085	Macqueen	Mary	1912	5
12621	Maymuru	Narritijin	1916	5
13749	Lynn	Elwyn	1917	5
12218	Nolan	Signey	1917	5
11790	Daws	Lawrence	1927	5
11778	Grounds	Marr	1930	5
13501	Ganambar	Larrtjanga	1932	5
12059	Williams	John	1933	5
12260	Ball	Sydney	1933	5
11823	Shepherds	Gordon	1934	5
13908	Rose	David	1936	5
12074	Wicks	Arthur	1937	5
13642	Johnson	Michael	1938	5
13938	Wallace-Crabbe	Robin	1938	5
14489	Fordham	Paddy	1941	5
11573	Hawkes	Gay	1942	5
13169	Coventry	Virgina	1942	5
12458	Peascod	Alan	1943	5
12244	Marshall	Jennifer	1944	5
12761	Njiminjuma	Jimmy	1945	5
13600	Howlett	Victoria	1945	5
11864	Clutterbuck	Jock	1945	5
12548	Mcintyre	Arthur	1945	5
11844	Arndoutopolous	Andrew	1945	5
14470	Petyarre	Gloria	1945	5
13641	Johnson	Merryle	1945	5
14131	Bulun Bulu	Johnny	1946	5
11772	Rankin	David	1946	5
12103	Page	Charles	1946	5
13523	Godden	Christine	1947	5
13402	Croft	Christophe	1947	5
13175	Forster	Hendrik	1947	5
13420	Delacour	John	1948	5
12048	Breinger	Warren	1948	5
12023	Gittoes	George	1949	5
13234	Jerrems	Carol	1949	5
12302	Farrell	Rose	1949	5
12402	Tune	Lyn	1949	5
12083	Lyssiotis	Peter	1949	5
13078	Wickham	Stephen	1950	5
12194	Hintonn Bateup	Alice	1950	5
12749	Nganjmirra	Robin	1951	5
11694	Orchard	Jenny	1951	5

Artsists' ID	Surname	First Name	Date of Birth	Frequency of Acquisition
13565	Hare	Graeme	1952	5
13703	Kuhnen	Johannes	1952	5
11960	Leslie	Lawrence	1952	5
12053	Arbuz	Mark	1953	5
11839	Hodges	Christopher	1954	5
11859	Lee	Lindy	1954	5
11563	Roberts	Neil	1954	5
12307	Stephenson	David	1955	5
12089	Peebles	Graeme	1955	5
12173	Waller	Ruth	1955	5
12228	Macdonald	Fiona	1956	5
12278	Mckenna	Noel	1956	5
11825	Armstrong	Bruce	1957	5
12686	Murray	Jan	1957	5
12132	Mcdonald	Robyn	1958	5
11843	Hollie		1958	5
12684	Murphy	Fiona	1958	5
12105	Finch	Lyn	1959	5
12246	Moffatt	Tracey	1960	5
11664	Jubelin	Narelle	1960	5
11880	Jones	Tim	1962	5
13808	Graphix	Redbakc	1981	5
12539	Hinder	Frank	1906	6
12029	Dupain	Max	1911	6
12027	Counihan	Noel	1913	6
14330	Barrdjary	Bobby	1915	6
12576	Mandarrk	Wally	1915	6
14351	Kame Kngwarreye	Emily	1916	6
12510	King	Inge	1918	6
11521	Rushforth	Peter	1920	6
12068	Coburn	John	1925	6
12652	Moore	David	1927	6
12265	Sellbach	Udo	1927	6
14357	Wunuwun	Jack	1930	6
12963	Taylor	Michael	1933	6
11614	Hanssen Piggot	Gwyn	1935	6
12147	Wight	Normana	1936	6
11769	Owen	Robert	1937	6
12240	Rooney	Robert	1937	6
11883	Wolseley	John	1938	6
12423	Dunlop	Brian	1938	6
11874	Brown	Mike	1938	6
14370	Mortensen	Kevin	1939	6
11780	Sansom	Gareth	1939	6
12231	Pike	Jimmy	1940	6

Artists' ID	Surname	First Name	Date of Birth	Frequency of Acquisition
13733	Lincoln	Wesley	1941	6
14312	Stacey	Sandra	1941	6
11688	Taylor	Jorg	1942	6
12328	Schmeisser	Jeffrey	1942	6
12104	Makin	Pamela	1943	6
13814	Griffith	Richard	1943	6
12224	Dunn	Denise	1944	6
11788	Green	Mark	1946	6
13186	Johnson	Salvatore	1946	6
12259	Zofrea	Robin	1946	6
14036	White	David	1947	6
11855	Wilson	Frank	1947	6
11791	Littler	Lin	1948	6
12011	Onus	Daniel	1948	6
12122	Moynihan	Joel	1948	6
11921	Elenberg	Jonas	1948	6
13157	Balsaitis	Fraser	1949	6
13475	Fair	Ray	1949	6
11795	Beattie	Leonard	1949	6
11813	Brown	Tim	1949	6
12217	Storrier	Vicki	1949	6
12170	Varvaresso	Anne	1949	6
12033	Ferran	Max	1949	6
12067	PaMinchamm	Jeff	1950	6
11626	Langley	Warren	1950	6
11550	Fransella	Graham	1950	6
12319	Stewart	Jeff	1950	6
12484	Ganim	Rae	1951	6
13503	Arkely	Howard	1951	6
11888	Clutterbuck	Bob	1951	6
12097	Fieldsend	Jan	1951	6
12077	Keeling	David	1951	6
13676	José	Ellen	1951	6
13673	Little	Colin	1952	6
12033	Mawurndju	John	1952	6
12017	Furlonger	Joe	1952	6
11660	Robinson	Sally	1952	6
13201	Cohn	Susan	1952	6
12527	Tuingutalur	Bede	1952	6
14503	Cullen	Gregor	1952	6
13812	Gower	Elizabeth	1952	6
11829	Hill	Andrew	1952	6
12186	Walkling	Les	1953	6
13049	Gee	Angela	1953	6
12195	Norrie	Susan	1953	6

Artists' ID	Surname	First Name	Date of Birth	Frequency of Acquisition
11852	Bell	Richard	1953	6
11616	Morrow	David	1955	6
12199	Lane	Leonie	1955	6
12087	Burchill	Janet	1955	6
11811	Gerber	Matthys	1956	6
12334	Wright	Helen	1956	6
12267	Harris	Brent	1956	6
12249	Meeks	Aron Rayne	1957	6
12192	Russell	Colin	1958	6
11632	Bancroft	Bronwyn	1958	6
12822	Piggott	Rosslynd	1958	6
12563	Maguire	Tim	1958	6
11907	Bush	Stephen	1958	6
12153	Gibson	Jeff	1958	6
12814	Persson	Stieg	1959	6
13029	Uhlmann	Paul	1962	6
12240	Foley	Fiona	1964	6
14072	Earthworks	Poster Coll	1971	6
14050	Flamingo	Sydney	1973	6
14411	Various			7
13827	Herman	Sali	1898	7
12913	Shmith	Athol	1914	7
13754	Allen	Joyce	1916	7
11871	Cassab	Judy	1920	7
12587	Marawili	Wakuthi	1921	7
12024	Pugh	Clifton	1924	7
12399	Shannon	Michael	1927	7
13313	Blakebrough	Les	1930	7
12268	Connor	Kevin	1932	7
11787	Aspden	David	1935	7
13076	Whiteley	Brett	1939	7
11842	Binns	Vivienne	1940	7
12102	Ford	Sue	1943	7
14005	Jenys	Bob	1944	7
12045	Newmarch	Ann	1945	7
11818	Part	John	1947	7
12161	Rhodes	Jon	1948	7
12238	Lohse	Kate	1949	7
12775	Baines	Robert	1949	7
14215	Marsen	David	1950	7
11884	Nixon	John	1951	7
11773	Tipping	Richard	1952	7
12144	Rubin	Victor	1953	7
12183	Morgan	Sally	1955	7
12478	Makigawa	Carlier	1955	7

Artists' ID	Surname	First Name	Date of Birth	Frequency of Acquisition
12128	L'estrange	Sally	1953	7
11865	Bennett	Gordon	1955	7
12150	Johnstone	Ruth	1955	7
11961	Casey	Karen	1956	7
11837	Larwill	David	1956	7
11826	Kozic	Maria	1957	7
12230	Alder	Alison	1958	7
13051	Walsh	Peter	1958	7
12191	Church	Julia	1959	7
11995	Watson	Judy	1959	7
13278	Banggala	England	1925	8
12003	Malangi	David	1927	8
11891	Unsworth	Ken	1931	8
13415	Dawson	Janet	1935	8
11670	Robinson	William	1936	8
11553	Walker	Murray	1937	8
11867	Blanchflower	Brian	1939	8
13587	Herel	Peter	1943	8
11599	Risley	Tom	1947	8
12040	Howard	Ian	1947	8
13256	Amor	Rick	1948	8
13236	Lethbridge	John	1948	8
14338	Searle	Bruce	1949	8
11932	Nickolls	Trevor	1949	8
13228	Jackson	Linda	1950	8
11541	Anderson	Bruce	1950	8
12065	Mackay	Jan	1950	8
11895	Danko	Aleks	1950	8
11836	Fairskye	Merilyn	1950	8
11679	Black	Sandra	1950	8
12106	Latimer	Bruce	1951	8
12078	Young	Ray	1951	8
12252	Stacey	Robyn	1952	8
12607	Martin	Mandy	1952	8
12245	Twigg	Tony	1953	8
12167	Marika	Banduk	1954	8
12129	Debenham	Pam	1955	8
11691	Potter	David	1955	8
11828	Ellis	Peter	1956	8
12092	Mcburnie	Ron	1957	8
13967	Frank	Dale	1958	8
13215	Unknown	Artist	0	8
11764	Williams	Fred	1927	9
11739	Levy	Col	1933	9
12219	Thomson	Ann	1933	9

Artists' ID	Surname	First Name	Date of Birth	Frequency of Acquisition
12338	Gudthayku	Philip	1935	9
11784	Macpherson	Robert	1937	9
12216	Lanceley	Colin	1938	9
13451	Dumbrell	Lesley	1941	9
13738	Leti	Bruno	1941	9
11817	Johnson	Tim	1947	9
12067	Worstead	Paula	1950	9
13061	Warburton	Toni	1951	9
11889	Watson	Jenny	1951	9
12236	Lowe	Geoff	1952	9
12331	Mcdiarmid	David	1952	9
13226	Eager	Helen	1952	9
12225	Hall	Fiona	1953	9
11759	Kemp	Roger	1908	10
11866	Gascoigne	Rosalie	1917	10
11820	Thomas	Rover	1926	10
12125	Leach-Jone	Alun	1937	10
11898	Watkins	Dick	1937	10
13182	Hickey	Dale	1937	10
12112	Cress	Fred	1938	10
11756	Baldessin	George	1939	10
11779	Firth-Smith	John	1943	10
12073	Maddison	Ruth	1945	10
12071	Ely	Bonita	1946	10
11678	Killick	Stephen	1947	10
12449	Tully	Peter	1947	10
11804	Allen	Davida	1951	10
12042	Mcmahon	Marie	1953	10
11603	Benwell	Stephen	1953	10
12062	Nedelkopolous	Nicholas	1955	10
14037	Various		0	11
12424	Rees	Lloyd	1895	11
12537	Whisson	Ken	1927	11
12363	Hanrahan	Barbara	1939	11
12420	Booth	Peter	1940	11
12100	Sharp	Martin	1942	11
11771	Tillers	Imants	1950	11
18388	Tyndall	Peter	1951	11
12036	Mackinolty	Chips	1954	11
11789	Brack	John	1920	11
12075	Clippel	Robert	1929	12
12046	Larter	Richard	1943	12
12038	Jacks	Robert	1944	12
12078	Allan	Micky	1945	12
11873	Parr	Mike	1950	12

Artists' ID	Surname	First Name	Date of Birth	Frequency of Acquisition
12116	Arnold	Ray	1952	12
12037	Callaghan	Michael	1928	12
11527	Olsen	John	1934	13
12322	Milpurrurru	George	1936	13
13218	Christmann	Gunter	1946	13
11801	Davila	Juan	1953	13
12066	Robertson	Toni	1955	13
12091	Henson	Bill	1956	13
11830	Cattapna	Jon	1915	13
12063	Gleeson	James	1920	14
11716	Boyd	Arthur	1939	14
11827	Senbergs	Jan	1942	14
11879	Coleing	Tony	1943	14
11798	Partos	Paul	1934	14
11985	Maddock	Bea	1934	16
11751	Unknown		0	17

Taxation Incentives for the Arts

Table 1: Art Gallery of New South Wales
Donations of Works under the Tax Incentives for the Arts Scheme 1987/88 - 1994/95

Year	Works Pre 1970		Works Post 1970		Unknown		Total	
	No.	$ Value	No.	$ Value	No.	$ Value	No.	$ Value
1988	9	155,082	5	36,425	7	266,027	21	457,534
1989	0	0	0	0	11	138,242	11	138,242
1990	3	60,650	3	37,325	3	155,678	9	253,653
1991	16	586,412	15	34,825	8	89,704	39	710,941
1992	40	123,125	2	41,750	0	0	42	164,875
1993	151	3,148,073	2	5,500	0	0	153	3,153,573
1994	17	5,159,906	83	54,950	1	10,100	101	5,224,956
1995	37	938,356	202	313,340	0	0	239	1,251,696
Total	**273**	**10,171,604**	**312**	**524,115**	**30**	**659,751**	**615**	**11,355,470**

Table 2: National Gallery of Australia
Donations of Works under the Tax Incentives for the Arts Scheme 1987/88 - 1994/95

Year	Works Pre 1970		Works Post 1970		Unknown		Total	
	No.	$ Value	No.	$ Value	No.	$ Value	No.	$ Value
1987	77	443,865	15	2,983	21	400,894	113	847,742
1988	1	39,775	0	0	14	667,134	15	706,909
1989	14	659,631	12	58,750	72	287,510	98	1,005891
1990	182	79,734	0	0	8	367,079	190	446,813
1991	216	1,089,951	107	167,785	36	22,500	359	1,280,236
1992	227	1,214,055	37	52,080	0	0	264	1,266,135
1993	20	526,763	4	63,038	5	2,079,660	29	2,669,461
1994	25	1,067,575	5	167,142	0	0	30	1,234,717
1995	11	183,209	1	1,475	0	0	12	184,684
Total	**773**	**5,304,558**	**181**	**513,253**	**156**	**3,824,777**	**1,110**	**9,642,588**

Table 3: National Gallery of Victoria
Donations of Works under the Tax Incentives for the Arts Scheme 1987/88 - 1994/95

Year	Works Pre 1970		Works Post 1970		Unknown		Total	
	No.	$ Value	No.	$ Value	No.	$ Value	No.	$ Value
1987	142	508,595	11	1,820	17	69,020	170	578,435
1988	2	2,800	1	2,100	24	407,357	27	412,257
1989	0	0	0	0	12	1,620,130	12	1,620,130
1990	30	597,324	4	12,855	2	6,300	36	616,479
1991	12	77,455	2	4,850	20	202,459	34	284,764
1992	114	326,056	15	49,650	0	0	129	375,706
1993	152	2,459,243	36	361,775	0	0	188	2,821,018
1994	99	729,191	7	157,275	7	65,525	113	951,991
1995	57	747,509	44	78,315	12	9,375	113	835,199
Total	**608**	**5,448,173**	**120**	**668,640**	**94**	**2,380,166**	**822**	**8,496,979**

Table 4: Queensland Art Gallery
Donations of Works under the Tax Incentives for the Arts Scheme 1987/88 - 1994/95

Year	Works Pre 1970		Works Post 1970		Unknown		Total	
	No.	$ Value	No.	$ Value	No.	$ Value	No.	$ Value
1987	23	284,925	32	21,125	4	37,725	59	343,775
1988	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1989	0	0	0	0	7	135,750	7	135,750
1990	0	0	0	0	8	69,650	8	69,650
1991	27	179,387	1	15,000	3	13,142	31	207,529
1992	5	35,367	0	0	0	0	5	35,367
1993	10	34,817	13	12,875	0	0	23	47,692
1994	71	102,786	2	15,ooo	4	43,800	77	161,586
1995	11	98,007	4	87,800	2	35,915	17	221,722
Total	**147**	**735,289**	**52**	**151,800**	**28**	**335,982**	**227**	**1,223,071**

Number of Works by Medium by Institution by Gender 1980-1995

Institution	Medium	Males	Female	Unknown				
AGNSW		9	2		11	82%	18%	0%
AGNSW	Aboriginal	51	25		76	67%	33%	0%
AGMSW	Ceramics	2			2	100%	0%	0%
AGMSW	Drawing	278	38	1	317	88%	12%	0%
AGMSW	Multimedia	4	14		18	22%	78%	0%
AGMSW	Painting	231	44		275	84%	16%	0%
AGMSW	Photograph	961	352		1313	73%	27%	0%
AGMSW	Print	617	146	15	778	79%	19%	2%
AGMSW	Sculpture	16	8		24	67%	33%	0%
		2169	**629**	**16**	**2814**	**77%**	**22%**	**1%**
		9	4		13	69%	31%	0%
NGA	Aboriginal	888	460	37	1385	64%	33%	3%
NGA	Ceramics	127	80	30	237	54%	34%	13%
NGA	Drawing	790	211	3	1004	79%	21%	0%
NGA	Film/Video	35	11	5	51	69%	22%	10%
NGA	Glass	14	1		15	93%	7%	0%
NGA	Instilation	4	1		5	80%	20%	0%
NGA	Misc	19	2	2	23	83%	9%	9%
NGA	Multimedia	42	18		60	70%	30%	0%
NGA	Painting	444	113	6	563	79%	20%	1%
NGA	Photograph	1386	610	19	2014	69%	30%	1%
NGA	Print	3554	2326	979	6859	52%	34%	14%
NGA	Sculpture	119	42	9	170	70%	25%	5%
NGA	Silver/Metal	84	71	3	158	53%	45%	2%
NGA	Textile	42	118	92	252	17%	47%	37%
		7557	**4068**	**1184**	**12809**	**59%**	**32%**	**9%**
NGV	Aboriginal	721	416	31	1168	62%	36%	3%
NGV	Ceramics	117	70		187	63%	37%	0%
NGV	Drawing	220	64		284	77%	23%	0%
NGV	Glass	26	4		30	87%	13%	0%
NGV	Instilation	4	1		5	80%	20%	0%
NGV	Multimedia	25	32		57	44%	56%	0%
NGV	Painting	429	129	2	560	77%	23%	0%
NGV	Performance	2	1		3	67%	33%	0%
NGV	Photograph	1031	701	25	1757	59%	40%	1%
NGV	Print	680	190	6	876	78%	22%	1%
NGV	Sculpture	93	13		106	88%	12%	0%
NGV	Silver/Metal	144	58		202	71%	29%	0%
NGV	Textile	83	133	10	226	37%	59%	4%
NGV	Unknown		1		1	0%	100%	0%
		3575	1813	74	5462	65%	33%	1%
QAG	Aboriginal	30	7	3	40	75%	18%	8%
NGV	Ceramics	100	60	7	167	60%	36%	4%
NGV	Drawing	84	50		134	63%	37%	0%
NGV	Glass	42	13	1	56	75%	23%	2%
NGV	Instilation	5	1		6	83%	17%	0%
NGV	Multimedia	45	36		81	56%	44%	0%
NGV	Painting	230	76		306	75%	25%	0%
NGV	Performance	6	1		7	86%	14%	0%
NGV	Photograph	419	133	2	554	76%	24%	0%
NGV	Print	548	340	98	986	56%	34%	10%
NGV	Sculpture	59	11	1	71	83%	15%	1%
NGV	Silver/Metal	12	20		32	38%	63%	0%
NGV	Textile	1	25	10	36	3%	69%	28%
		1581	**773**	**122**	**2476**	**64%**	**31%**	**5%**
TOTAL							**23,561**	**(98%)**
Not Identified							**507**	**(2%)**
Total Works							**24,068**	

Number of Unique Artists by Gender by Medium by Institution 1980-1995

Institution	Medium	Male	Female	Unknown	Total	Male%	Female%	Unknown%
AGNSW	Unknown	4	2		6	67%	33%	0%
AGNSW	Aboriginal	33	21		54	61%	39%	0%
AGNSW	Ceramic	2			2	100%	0%	0%
AGNSW	Drawing	80	18	1	99	81%	18%	1%
AGNSW	Multimedia	4	8		12	33%	67%	0%
AGNSW	Painting	168	34		202	83%	17%	0%
AGNSW	Photography	141	62		203	69%	31%	0%
AGNSW	Print	135	74	8	217	62%	34%	4%
AGNSW	Sculpture	14	8		22	64%	36%	0%
	Total	**581**	**227**	**9**	**817**	**71%**	**28%**	**1%**

Institution	Medium	Male	Female	Unknown	Total	Male%	Female%	Unknown%
NGA	Unknown	7	3		10	70%	30%	0%
NGA	Aboriginal	422	263	22	707	60%	37%	3%
NGA	Ceramic	72	52	3	127	57%	41%	2%
NGA	Drawing	244	85	3	332	73%	26%	1%
NGA	Film/Video	26	10	5	41	63%	24%	12%
NGA	Glass	9	1		10	90%	10%	0%
NGA	Installation	3	1		4	75%	25%	0%
NGA	Misc	9	2	2	13	69%	15%	15%
NGA	Multimedia	23	8		31	74%	26%	0%
NGA	Painting	238	80	5	323	74%	25%	2%
NGA	Photography	230	143	7	380	61%	38%	2%
NGA	Print	811	473	172	1456	56%	32%	12%
NGA	Sculpture	74	31	5	110	67%	28%	5%
NGA	Silver/Metal	49	34	2	85	58%	40%	2%
NGA	Textile	27	64	31	122	22%	52%	25%
	Total	**2244**	**1250**	**257**	**3751**	**60%**	**33%**	**7%**

Institution	Medium	Male	Female	Unknown	Total	Male%	Female%	Unknown%
NGV	Aboriginal	396	201	9	606	65%	33%	1%
NGV	Ceramic	92	41		133	69%	31%	0%
NGV	Drawing	80	33		113	71%	29%	0%
NGV	Glass	20	4		24	83%	17%	0%
NGV	Installation	4	1		5	80%	20%	0%
NGV	Multimedia	18	25		43	42%	58%	0%
NGV	Painting	312	106	1	419	74%	25%	0%
NGV	Performance	2	1		3	67%	33%	0%
NGV	Photography	112	75	1	188	60%	40%	1%
NGV	Print	150	80	4	234	64%	34%	2%
NGV	Sculpture	81	12		93	87%	13%	0%
NGV	Silver/Metal	32	30		62	52%	48%	0%
NGV	Textile	26	39	3	68	38%	57%	4%
NGV	Unknown		1		1	0%	100%	0%
	Total	**1325**	**649**	**18**	**1992**	**67%**	**33%**	**1%**

Institution	Medium	Male	Female	Unknown	Total	Male%	Female%	Unknown%
QAG	Aboriginal	27	5	2	34	79%	15%	6%
QAG	Ceramic	56	49	4	109	51%	45%	4%
QAG	Drawing	55	23		78	71%	29%	0%
QAG	Glass	38	13	1	52	73%	25%	2%
QAG	Installation	5	1		6	83%	17%	0%
QAG	Multimedia	32	21		53	60%	40%	0%
QAG	Painting	181	65		246	74%	26%	0%
QAG	Performance	3	1		4	75%	25%	0%
QAG	Photography	62	40	2	104	60%	38%	2%
QAG	Print	206	158	9	373	55%	42%	2%
QAG	Sculpture	52	11	1	64	81%	17%	2%
QAG	Silver/Metal	8	4		12	67%	33%	0%
QAG	Textile	1	18	5	24	4%	75%	21%
	Total	**726**	**409**	**24**	**1159**	**63%**	**35%**	**2%**

Bibliographic Note
The material has been organised as follows:

1. Published Material - with separate categories for Legislation; Newspaper and Magazine Articles; material published by the Australia Council; Arts Queensland; Arts Victoria; the NSW Ministry for the Arts; Art Museum Publications including Annual Reports and Policy Papers; Books and Journals; Material published by political parties (Australian Labor Party; Liberal Party of Australia / National Party).

2. Unpublished Material - including Theses and Conference Papers; Archives - National Gallery of Australia; National Gallery of Victoria; Queensland Art Gallery; Correspondence and Interviews.

All sources appear in alphabetical order and in descending chronological sequence i.e. 1999 precedes 1998.

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