Constructing Identity: Collecting Oceanic Art/Artefacts in New Zealand

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Abstract

This study is concerned with the collection of historic and contemporary Oceanic art forms by private collectors in New Zealand. Exploration into a recent increase in both market promotion and private collectors incorporating Oceanic art forms into their contemporary fine art collections is analysed in this research. The study sits within a body of international research into motivations behind collector behaviour and the relationship between art and artefact, yet also exists within the specific local context of New Zealand as a post colonial settler society.

The objective of the study is to use qualitative methodology to interview a small sample of five case study collectors. These collectors can be positioned in an art/artefact continuum. One dealer, identified by three of the case study collectors, was interviewed to examine the complex relationship between dealer and private collectors of Oceanic art. Two aspects are explored; the recent growth of Oceanic art forms in private contemporary New Zealand fine art collections and the increasing market promotion of cultural artefacts as fine art works.

The study concludes that there has been an increasing interest by collectors of contemporary New Zealand fine art to incorporate Oceanic historic and contemporary art forms into their fine art collections. The study also identified the emergence of a new type of dealer who operates in an urban context to promote both historic and contemporary Oceanic art forms within a fine art gallery environment. The dealer articulates a 'narrative of identity' symptomatic of settler primitivism since colonial settlement in New Zealand. She uses Oceanic art within the context of a fine art collection not only to facilitate the collectors' examination of individual identity but also to negotiate a sense of place within a dynamic post-colonial multicultural environment.

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Chapter One

Introduction

The history of collecting Oceanic art reaches back to the beginning of European exploration of the South Pacific in the eighteenth century. European explorers collected the material culture of the people they 'discovered' and returned these 'artificial curiosities' to Europe. These 'artificial curiosities' entered both private and public collections. Successive waves of explorers, traders, missionaries and travellers continued to collect Oceanic art throughout the nineteenth century and return it to Europe. By the latter part of the nineteenth century these collections, both private and public, were conceived within a Darwinian framework. The material culture of Oceanic peoples was valued, not for its art work, but for its ability to inform and support a hierarchical scale of progress and advancement which differentiated the 'primitive' and 'civilised' peoples of the world. The indigenous peoples of these newly discovered lands were thought to have provided examples of the earlier stages of cultural development that European cultures were supposed to have passed through before attaining their present state. These ideas were also influential in the European colonies in the South Pacific in the nineteenth century. Julius von Haast, for example, exhibited the Māori collection at the Canterbury Museum in the 1870's in association with European archaeological artefacts with this very purpose in mind (Cameron 2000).

Private collectors and public museums in New Zealand continued to collect the artefacts of ngā iwi Māori and other Pacific peoples within an essentially anthropological framework. They were concerned with creating systematic collections representing the material culture of these peoples before contact with Europeans had contaminated their traditional mode of production. These collectors of 'authentic' indigenous artefacts tended to confine their collections to the historical material and were generally not interested in collecting the contemporary art of the Pacific Islands or Pacific Island artists in New Zealand.

This thesis sets out to achieve the following objectives:

- To propose a continuum of Oceanic artefact and Oceanic art collector types ranging from Oceanic artefact to Oceanic art collectors,
- To interview a range of Oceanic artefact and art collectors and document their collecting practice,
- To examine the relationship between Oceanic art dealers and Oceanic art collectors by interviewing one such dealer who was identified by three of the collectors interviewed, and
- To examine the relationship between collecting Oceanic art and negotiating identity in the post-colonial context.

This project arose from an interest in both contemporary and historic Oceanic art forms and their recent promotion within the New Zealand art marketplace. It was intended to explore whether this phenomenon had resulted from the influence of established practice in Northern Hemisphere art markets where private collectors of art have incorporated indigenous material into their modernist art collections since the early twentieth century (Clifford 1988: 199). This, in turn, led me to look at how the New Zealand art market for Oceanic material had transformed in such a way that appealed to collectors of art who increasingly collected and incorporated this material into their New Zealand art collections. This distinct change in status from cultural artefact to art encouraged me to explore these changing collecting strategies and to examine whether local context played a part in this shift in focus. As this project evolved it increasingly focused on an exploration of collecting Oceanic art strategy as a way of engaging with a growing sense of 'Pacific' identity.

Though there is increasing interest and research into nineteenth century collecting in New Zealand (King 1981; Galbreath 1989), little systematic research has been undertaken on private collecting in New Zealand in the last quarter of the twentieth century. This thesis makes an exploratory contribution to understanding one type of collecting in this period.

In order to explore the diversity of collecting practice of people who collect Oceanic art it was necessary to identify the range of collector types. Having read the literature relating to the collecting of indigenous peoples' material culture it became apparent that these collectors range from those whose focus is essentially on collecting indigenous artefacts to those who collect the whole range of indigenous Pacific art from the historical to the contemporary.

Five collectors have been interviewed. These collectors represent a continuum from artefact collector to art collector. As one moves from left to right in the continuum, from the artefact pole to art pole, collecting criterion become increasingly driven by aesthetics and less concerned with cultural context and artefact typologies. The collectors interviewed for this project range from a missionary who collected in the field, and a traditional systematic typological artefact collector, to a couple who draw from both poles of the continuum though their collection is essentially an art collection, to two collectors whose primary collecting criterion are aesthetic, though their motivation for collecting is fundamentally different.

The addition to this study of a prominent dealer in the Auckland art market resulted from her engagement with three of the collectors interviewed. This addition was significant as it assisted me in revealing the role of the dealer and her influence on a range of collectors, particularly collectors who are early in their collecting life cycle.

It also provided me with a dealer perspective where promotion of merchandise, gallery context and client focus were part of a clear strategic approach to influence the complex and dynamic art market. This study develops an argument that collectors have a range of types of relationships with dealers and documents how influential a dealer can be to shaping collecting practice.

Data gathered from each interview with collectors indicates that there are complex local factors that have influenced collecting motivation in New Zealand. This insight arose from a detailed analysis of the collecting practice documented in the interviews, the motivations

of the collectors and the role of the dealer in this process. This study has identified that local factors are significant to collector behaviour. Cultural context is pivotal to understanding current New Zealand collecting behaviour where cultural art forms are collected and classified to construct new narratives of identity within a dynamic and changing political and cultural environment.

Collecting, is at least partly, about creating and maintaining an identity. This study argues that the emergence of this new type of art collection in New Zealand has to do with the desire by a range of collectors to use the inclusion of indigenous Oceanic art in combination with other New Zealand art. This is one way of engaging with the issue of their identity and in so doing, exploring their place in a rapidly evolving post-colonial South Pacific nation. This research would suggest this type of collecting practice might be most closely associated with tertiary educated and financially able New Zealanders.

The structure of this thesis follows the research process: literature review, research methods, collector interviews, market review and dealer interview and analysis.

Chapter Two is divided into five sections and provides a review of the literature relating to the historic movement, collection and interpretation of non-western material culture in the western art markets.

The first section: History of the Primitive, examines the historic transition of objects as they move between the two distinct but corresponding paths within the western value system: as ethnographic artefact and art object. This section will explore the shifting values that objects hold within the art-culture system as boundaries being increasingly indistinct

The second section: The Nature of Collecting, examines relevant literature concerning aspects of collecting behaviour: the primary motivations behind why people collect cultural material and use this material to define themselves and express individuality. This section provides a broad basis to examine diverse collecting behaviour in New Zealand and to identify local divergent patterns.

The third section: The Politics of Collecting, examines collecting as a political process, where value and meaning of cultural material changes and transmutes according to shifting social systems.

The fourth section: 'The Tribal Art Market', reviews international market trends over the last century. This section explores the constituent parts of the market that contribute to and create new forms of value in non-western material culture.

The last section: 'Post-Modern Settler Societies: New Zealand Perspectives' examines the New Zealand context. This section examines the specific social, political and cultural factors that influence and motivate the collecting market to create new and diverse forms of value.

Chapter Three: Research Methods, outlines the research methods employed in this study. Practical and ethical issues are reviewed.

Chapter Four: The Collectors, provides a detailed account of each of the five collectors interviewed for this study. Direct quotations from each interview are used to convey the personal beliefs and assumptions that motivate each collector in his/her collecting practice. Each collector's biographical background, processes of selection, acquisition, sense of value and display methods are investigated.

Chapter Five: The Art Market Place: A Case Study is divided into two parts.

The first section: The Art Market Place, reviews developments in the New Zealand tribal art market over the last two decades. The two metropolitan markets of Auckland and Wellington are the primary focus in this study. Private galleries, private dealers, retail outlets, internet sites and public institutions which promote and market Oceanic art forms are documented in order to provide an overview of the range of participants in the Oceanic art market.

The second section: Dealer A, provides an analysis of a private gallery owner who deals in Oceanic art. This section examines the different relationships that she has developed with the three collectors included in this study and explores the complex and sensitive nature of client-dealer relationships.

Another aspect to this section is to glimpse the dealer's primary motivation behind promoting Oceanic art forms, her unique and strategic promotion of these, her client focus and proposed direction within the New Zealand and international art market.

Chapter Six: Constructing Identity, provides a cross-case analysis of both collector and market sources to discuss contemporary private collecting of Oceanic art forms in New Zealand. These are analysed using a local vantage point where political, cultural and social factors are examined to investigate the influence of local context. Commercial and academic sectors are also examined to identify if local interpretation and promotion has influenced increased collecting activity in the art sector. This chapter examines the complex, dynamic and shifting nature of the art market and private collecting particularly in so far as they relate to post-colonial politics in New Zealand.

Emerging from this research are four propositions:

- In the last quarter if the twentieth century, it has become increasingly acceptable for collectors of contemporary fine art in New Zealand to include a range of historic Oceanic art in their collections.
- A new type of dealer has emerged in the metropolitan centers who trade in both historic and contemporary Oceanic art in a fine art gallery context.
- The inclusive nature of this type of collecting suggests the art collections are being used to engage with issues of personal identity, particularly issues of Pacific and New Zealand citizenship in the post-colonial multicultural context metropolitan cities.
- This new type of collecting is yet another form of appropriation of historic Oceanic art into the western art framework that has little to do with historic context or with the realities of Oceanic contemporary cultures.

While these propositions are explored within this study they also point to the potential for further research in this area.

Chapter Two

Understanding Collecting

Introduction

Non-western objects have been collected and valued by western cultures for centuries; detached, analysed, defined and classified according to the established value systems of the collecting society. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett views them not as objects but rather as ethnographic fragments "informed by the poetics of detachment". This detachment is characterised not just by a "physical act but by the detached attitude by which this fragment is appreciated" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998: 18).

This chapter provides an overview of the phenomenon of western collecting: its historical background, the collecting processes of and the interpretation of collected material and the market place that facilitates this collecting practice.

The first section of this chapter traces the historical movement of these objects as they have been classified and defined by two distinct yet ultimately similar paths of collection within a western value system: as ethnographic artefact and art object. This section will explore the changing dynamics of this art–culture system where the boundaries between these two distinct forms of value are increasingly overlapping.

The second section will review relevant literature dealing with the nature of collecting: the motivations behind why people collect cultural material as art and/or artefact and how this material is used to express individuality and identity within a changing society.

The third section will examine the New Zealand context, highlighting it as a modern settler society.

The fourth section will examine collecting as a political process where the value of collected material changes and transforms in fluctuating and complex social systems.

The last section will review the market network within which these collectors operate: its development, constituent parts and the changing forms of value attributed to art and artefacts within this market system.

History of the Primitive

This historical overview explores the two distinct yet closely related forms of western classification for non-western art: art and artefact. Both are different manifestations of the same thing: the appropriation and representation of non-western indigenous art within a western art framework. This overview provides an understanding of the two distinct yet related ways in which all the collectors in this study conceive their Oceanic collections. Illustrating the difference in focus for each collector will aid in identifying the movement from a primarily provenance and contextual value of an Oceanic artefact collection to the formal and aesthetic qualities of an Oceanic art collection.

Primitive Culture

Non-western artefacts were introduced into western circulation as 'artificial curiosities' (Kaeppler 1978: 15) where they were displayed in 'cabinets of curiosities' (Clifford 1988: 227) as exotic objects to compare and contrast with European fine art, natural history curiosities and scientific instruments. They were assigned to the margins, meaningless until able to be categorised by the society that collected them, where "their rarity and strangeness were prized"(Clifford 1988: 27) and were identified as singularities, chance formations, characterised by the "small, the misshapen and the miraculous and the historically unique" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998: 25). These early private collections of curiosities were the predecessors of modern western museums (Ames 1985: 2, Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 171, Stocking 1985: 6).

By the early nineteenth century, the ethnographic object was valued with a "more serious concern for taxonomy and for the elaboration of a complete series" (Clifford 1988: 227). Artefacts were exhibited within the public context of trade fairs and natural history museums where primitive material culture functioned to inform, contrast and elevate objects produced by civilised western technology and progress. Artefacts were located in western concepts of invented linear and geological time, which could illustrate prevalent and accepted social Darwinian notions of progress (Errington 1998: 5) and served to represent and classify within the 'taxonomies of the normal' (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998: 25). They ceased to be primarily representative of an exotic curiosity and could now testify to the "earlier stage of human culture, a common past confirming Europe's triumphant present" (Clifford 1988: 28).

With Franz Boas and the consolidation of twentieth century anthropology, artefacts were displayed as 'witnesses' to changing cultures where authenticity was qualified by the contextual information provided (Clifford 1988: 265). Artefacts were exhibited in "authentic contexts", where they could be arranged in either "modified evolutionary series" or "synchronous ethnographic presents", both serving to reinforce the notion of rescue and salvage by ethnographers and collectors of 'authentic' cultural material (Clifford 1988: 228). Museums displayed the material culture of non-western cultures within western definitions of social reality. Non-western artefacts were presented as "simple lesson aids" in the traditional format of dioramas or tableaux to demonstrate and support these accepted western paradigms of thought (Ames 1992: 23).

An analysis of the transition of ethnographic material from private collectors to public museums is provided by Ames (1992: 22). Interpretation of ethnographic artefacts within the public museum was consistent with the established knowledge and values of the 'educated classes'. On the one hand the public institution could be seen to be affirming and promoting dominant values (western) and on the other subordinating and rejecting alternative values (non-western). Ames (1992: 89) observed that within the last quarter of the 20th century, museums have witnessed a process of 'democratisation'. This occurred in reaction to changing and widening definitions of the 'public'. Emphasis is increasingly

being placed on the encouragement of western museums to expand and broaden audiences in relation to age, race and gender. Traditional curatorial practice has been rooted in prevalent European interpretative notions of origins, meanings and value of objects. In response, changes in museum methods of interpretation and organisational structures have occurred

Recently, museums have been changing to confront these social, political, ethical and cultural issues of representation in co-operation with the indigenous groups represented. Indigenous peoples are demanding participation in the policy development, research policies, interpretation, exhibition and management of their cultural property. This has impacted significantly on current museum practices. Perhaps the most interesting result is the continuous debate over the post-modern notion that there are no single overriding historical truths (Henderson and Kaeppler 1996: 21).

James Clifford (1998: 188-219) sees these modern museums as "contact zones" where ongoing political, historical and moral relationships can be negotiated; he sees reciprocity as a key approach for contemporary museums, where public scrutiny of museum interpretation has highlighted the need to include dispossessed and marginalised voices. There has been a transformation of the museum from "reliquary to forum, forcing institutions to reassess their custodial role and re-negotiate the manner of negotiation" (Henderson and Kaeppler 1996: 21). These changes in the introduction and value placed on indigenous art have contributed to the changing perceptions of indigenous art amongst art collectors in western societies.

Primitive Art

Twentieth century modernism facilitated the invention of 'Modernist Primitivism'. Ethnographic artefacts were 'discovered' and elevated into mainstream art through the avant-garde in the early part of last century where they were valued for their formal and aesthetic qualities (Clifford 1988: 199). Non-western material culture was validated institutionally and internationally by the opening of the Museum of Primitive Art in New York in 1957 and the many exhibitions, catalogues and academic publications that

followed. Non-western material culture was thus incorporated into the mainstream art discourse.

As Errington (1998: 1) notes, primitive art was 'discovered' by European artists. Ethnographic artefacts introduced into the 'high art' domain were de-contextualised and analysed within western fine art paradigms. Non-western material culture in the twentieth century was both cultural 'witness' and aesthetic masterpiece (Clifford 1988: 265).

The current transitional nature of art/artefact reveals its ambiguous nature within the values and meanings of both the disciplines of art history and anthropology. Anthropology's concern for ethnographic context as a tool to understand cultural meaning is challenged by the unmediated experience of the avant-garde. The aesthetic art doctrine is criticised for its appropriation, detachment and concern for the 'exotic'. The challenging art/ historical/ anthropological discourses regarding non-western material culture reveal the fluid and transient nature between the boundaries. As Clifford (1988: 203) has observed, there are signs of 'interpenetration' between fine art and anthropology museums with changing modes of display and collection development. The Te Maori exhibition in the 1980's was an example of such interpenetration. Art museum exhibition styles were subsequently adopted by a number of New Zealand museums, while a number of art museums held exhibitions incorporating both historical and contemporary art.

The Nature of Collecting

According to Belk (1994: 317), one in three Americans collects something. Belk (1994), Pearce (1994), Kremer (1992) and Stewart (1994) are among the many scholars who have investigated private collecting as a common mode of consumption in contemporary society. Aspects of the collecting process are considered in this section, thus establishing broad patterns of collecting behaviour. This analysis provides a basic framework for the examination of the collecting behaviour of the collectors interviewed in this study.

Clifford (1988: 218) considers that it is a universal instinct for an individual or group to assemble and gather the 'material world' around them and to subsequently use these collected objects to demarcate themselves from that of the 'Other'[1]. These collections represent forms of classification that "embody hierarchies of value, exclusions,[and] rule governed territories of the self" (Clifford 1988: 218). He also observes that the motivation to assemble possessions is to ultimately represent identity. He makes a comparison with Melanesian "big men" and their accumulation of and eventual redistribution of possessions to stand in stark contrast with the western habit of collecting as a "strategy for the deployment of the possessive self, culture, and authenticity". He uses the example of a child's collection to further reinforce these concepts, where the child's careful assemblage and desire to select, order and classify and create a collection is "an exercise in how to make the world one's own" (Clifford 1988: 218).

The Collection

A collection, by definition, is made up of separate parts and diverse objects that have been selected to construct a unified and single entity. Upon entering a collection, an object is recontextualised and its essential value is reclassified to be part of the collector's value system.

Stewart (1994: 254) further reinforces this notion of assemblage and order, characterising it as a removal from context and purposeful reclassification within an 'abstract whole', which replaces and overrides the object's original meaning. This need to reclassify and re-categorise by the action of displacement into a 'collection' results, in her view, in redefined meanings and values where the object's existence and meaning is then dependent upon being part of a 'collection'. An imposed order therefore overrides individual specific histories.

Pearce (1994: 195) who sees the process of collecting as a means for the individual to establish his/her individual or cultural identity also discusses this notion. She observes that

[1] The concept of the 'Other' refers in this instance to non-western cultures that are distinct from Western culture. To regard people as 'Others' is to see them as objects rather than as subjects driven by psychological needs and desires similar to the viewers.

"collections in their acquisition, valuation and organisation are an important part of our effort to construct the world".

Clifford (1988: 221) describes western collecting as an examination of the self, culture and authenticity, where what is chosen, preserved and exchanged in society historically provides a scale of value and meaning to objects within a "system of symbols and values". He considers that the 'collection' represents a "channelling of obsession" (Clifford 1988: 218), where an insatiable need to acquire and possess is transformed into a meaningful 'rule governed' exercise, whereby the collector learns to classify, select and organise in order to construct 'good' and 'meaningful' collections (Clifford 1988: 260). He makes further reference to the good collector who he refers to as "tasteful and reflective" and whose "rule governed" collection represents a "proper relation with objects". In this context, fixation and obsession are negatively observed as deviant modes of behaviour (Clifford 1988: 219). Danet and Katriel (1994: 224) also reinforce this notion that a collector must practice appropriate behaviour and follow correct procedures to construct a 'good' collection

Identity

A collection may serve as a metaphor for the collector's individual sense of identity. The collector recognises each separate object's functional or symbolic properties but by the very process of selection and transferral into the collection, invests them with further value and meaning. These values may become closely associated with the collector, may serve to promote qualities of the collector him/herself or alternatively promote qualities that the collector may wish to have. All collectors in this study have invested significant personal value and meaning into their different collections. To some collectors, these values are articulated through the attributes and qualities that their collection manifests.

Belk (1994: 321) considers that the collection represents the 'extended self'. The collection is both a tangible and visible manifestation of a collector's taste and judgement. This self-definition is then evident in the collection accounting for the many self-enhancing motives given to a collector such as power, knowledge, nostalgia, and control. He believes these

collections can also express fantasies of the self, which can also indicate self-doubt. He uses an example of a 6 year old girl who entered beauty contests and collected pins from other pageants to make her feel pretty and more confident to enter and participate (Belk1994: 322).

Dubin (1998: 75) believes that the attributes of the collection became associated with the collector. She gives the example of the collector of Native American art, where the collector sees himself as unique, environmentally or politically correct and earthy. She believes that collecting is essentially about "transference of attributes, not cross-cultural communication". Dubin (1998: 61) argues that this is a way that a collector uses collections of art, art world values and personal experience, to mediate their cultural preconceptions. She believes that the distance between the collector and their cultural objects is equivalent to the distance between people from different socio-economic classes and cultures.

Ownership

The collector has control over the development and selection of objects within his or her collections. This act of possession may transcend any issues of spiritual ownership that may be relevant to the object's cultural origin. The collector may create a narrative where fate is central to their acquiring a specific object or they may choose to emphasise their own extensive knowledge and respect for this object. Both scenarios giving priority to the collector's deserved ownership. All collectors in this study have assembled collections where all or components of these are of different cultural origin to their own. Each has assembled and organised these objects to create narratives specific to their own lives, experiences and world-view. Clifford (1998: 220) reinforces this notion as he believes that the reality of the collection as an entity and its 'coherent order' overrides specific histories of the object's history and appropriation.

Kremer's (1992: 139) research suggests that collectors do not believe that they just find or seek objects. She notes that collectors talk about destiny or fate being responsible for an object coming to them, thus creating a narrative of acquisition that places the "collector as

a key player in the social and economic drama of that particular object". She notes that the collector not only possesses skills and strategies for finding their objects, they often seem to know 'intuitively' where they are, suggesting fate or destiny as instrumental in the objects entering their collections.

Value

Collectors do not often express the value of their collections in monetary terms. They do not perceive their collections to be commodities and do not appear to be interested in disposal of their collection(s) for monetary gain. This may be directly related to the symbolic value that collectors invest in each component of their collection. They will often emphasise the need to preserve their collections for future generations. In order to achieve their outcome, the collector may consider gifting the collection to a museum or gallery. If the collection remains as an entity then the collector's identity remains. Each collector in this study shows diverse ways of expressing value in their collections. Financial investment does not appear to be a prime motivator of value for the collectors interviewed in this study.

Kremer (1992: 166) believes that the collector's notion of value is not expressed in an immediate commodity value of the collection's separate components or what these might be in the future, but is expressed in the value of a collection as a symbolic entity. This has resulted, she believes, in little interest in the investment value of collections. Belk (1994: 320) considers that a "sacred conversion" occurs when an object enters a collection. Through the act of assimilation, a worthless object can be transformed into the world of the collection. In the collector's mind the original commodity value is replaced by the symbolic value given to the object as part of the collection.

Collecting Network

For some collectors social interaction with other collectors is an important element of the collecting process. These collectors often value the wider social interaction that these networks bring by being involved in clubs and groups of like minded individuals who share their tastes and values. Other collectors express no interest in belonging to wider

collecting networks. They may see their collection as unique, unconventional and possibly unrecognised. They may feel, as a result, that the value of their collection is diminished by the existence of other collections of a similar type. Each collector in this study participates in extensive social networks that may or may not be specifically collector oriented. What is significant is that mutual support and acknowledgement may come from particular collecting, academic, market or intimate social networks, or a combination of these.

Some collectors belong to organised groups to support and acknowledge their mutual identity not only by trading with other collectors in the group but also delight in showing each other new acquisitions. Belk (1994: 322) suggests that collectors try to find knowledgeable people who can express envy and/or appreciation about each other's collection items and therefore participate in a highly exclusive network.

Kremer (1992: 145) makes a distinction between the social collector who collects as part of a larger network and the idiosyncratic collector who sets out to collect something no one else has. She suggests that this latter group collect as a statement of their innovative and individual character.

In Dubin's study (1998: 50) of collectors of Native American art, she discusses the collectors and the extended network of artists, dealers, museum curators and auction house staff who constitute the Native American art market. These people with whom collectors interact, create "an imagined community" without ethnic or geographical boundaries but are bound by a common interest in a group of objects "whose common quality is their putative association with race".

Display

The display of collections within the private collector's domestic or work environment can be a very creative process, allowing for very personal and distinctive narratives to be developed within these spaces. The collector, by his or her organisation and assemblage of the separate elements of their collections, can make comparisons where affinities and disparities can be highlighted for individual consideration, social debate and discussion.

Careful placement of these collections within the (home) environment can reinforce and strengthen perceived symbolic values strongly identified with the collector's own self and sense of reality. Collected materials may be integrated with family treasures, drawing the collection closer to the essential identity of the collector. Each collector in this study used the display and arrangement of their collections, within their domestic environment to create personal narratives and meaning. The degree and manner of these curatorial exercises indicated the symbolic values that each collector wanted to create.

Kremer (1992: 157) suggests the collector's preoccupation with display to be a curatorial exercise, allowing for "comparison, reflection and discussion". The display is closely associated with the domain of the collector because it is attached in some physical way with their surroundings, through shelves, cabinets and specially constructed furniture. She concludes that through display, collections are presented as a personal possession identified with the self.

Pearce (1995: 271) considers that collected material defines a domestic environment. These collections, together with furnishings and other social arrangements characterise European domestic life. The imposed social order shapes our notions of appropriate decor and activity and places objects in "significant spatial relationships". The arrangement of collections create a self contained and internal world and in themselves represent a series of 'microcosms' which eventually become the macrocosm of the environment that "humans aspire to divide and rule".

Care

Many collectors exhibit a strong sense of commitment to their collections' physical and spiritual care. Their commitment is often expressed in their own increasing knowledge about the objects that they collect. Time spent on curatorial activities such as physical maintenance, documentation and research will often indicate a collectors' perceived degree of responsibility for the care of their collections. The collector's in this study revealed that all participated in physical maintenance of their collections, but demonstrated this in different ways. This enables an exploration of each collector's notion of 'appropriate care and commitment to the upkeep of their collections.

Danet and Katriel (1994: 225) believe that there is a 'level' of appropriate activity and care that is required in the collectors mind to cultivate a collection and be considered a collector. Pearce (1995: 237) believes that the routine of care and maintenance gives structure to collectors' life and leisure time and marks the distinction between work and leisure. In this way the collecting habit provides a framework for the collector's daily living.

Knowledge

Knowledge is often developed by acquiring support materials such as books, magazines and newspaper articles that serve to enhance and authenticate the object categories that they collect. Information from these materials can be used by the collector to become more selective or expansive in his or her collecting goals. The knowledge acquired throughout their collecting practice can be seen as directly associated with developing a sense of taste and connoisseurship. Many collectors believe that this acquired knowledge is an essential component of the collecting process. Such expertise takes time to acquire and needs to be reinforced by the recognition of other experts. The type of expertise required depends on the type of collection being created. Knowledge and expertise was significant to all the collectors in this study and was expressed in varying ways. A distinct interest by artefact based collectors for connoisseurship and discrimination in cultural and technological matters was marked in comparison to the innovative and evolving collecting taste of the essentially art based collectors.

Kremer (1992: 151) believes that the development of expert and specialised knowledge is a by-product of the collecting process and allows the collector to "live in the world" of the collected object. Developing an intimate knowledge of the topic area creates an intimacy between the object and the collector and "promotes a sense of ownership or exclusiveness in regard to the category".

This gathering of expert knowledge along with the development of a collection suggests to Kremer (1992: 159) that there is a selective and discriminatory aspect to the developing collection. This is expressed through the process of collecting, developing a notion of connoisseurship and discrimination, thus giving the collector the ability to make

increasingly discerning decisions which create collections of greater distinction in quantity, quality or type.

Dubin's (1998: 66) believes that collecting is a rule governed activity where the level of engagement in a collecting activity signifies hierarchy and rank within a collecting fraternity. This is recognised as "knowledge of the subject and experience in the market". This greater level of engagement can as a consequence create greater rank among collectors. Knowledge gained in this 'rule based' strategy of collecting "creates boundaries of inclusion and exclusion" for the collector where accessibility to resources and market information is limited to protect and maintain the distribution of goods (Morphy 2000: 134).

Disposal

Many collectors demonstrate a strong sense of responsibility to save their collections from neglect and in turn, preserve them for future generations of their own family or society at large. By their advocacy, collectors have often saved many of the objects in their collections from physical and intellectual neglect. Collectors often express little concern for economic gain from the eventual sale of these collections. This may result from their concern for their preservation and the heritage value that the collector places upon the collections themselves. All collectors in this study were concerned with the eventual disbursal of their collections. There was a marked interest by the majority of the collections interviewed to retain each collection as an entity for benefit and public recognition.

Pearce (1994: 250) suggests the sense of identity that the collector has with his/her collection creates a desire to keep the entire collection together and prevent sale or dispersal of all or part of it after their death. She views this contemplation of eventual separation as a contemplation of one's own approaching death and sees this eventual separation from beloved possessions as a "rite of passage".

Belk (1994: 323) echoes this perspective as he considers the collection to be an extension of the collector and therefore considers that keeping the collection intact may be a way to gain immortality. He also perceives that through assimilation into the collection, the

collected object gains 'sacred status', and that revealing a fear of dispersal reveals a fear of profanity at the hands of someone else who may fail to care for and appreciate it appropriately. Belk believes that inheritance is one way the collector can resolve this fear.

Acquisition

How the collector acquires collection items is significant. Collectors actively seek out and select their collections and develop strategies to secure and acquire objects. These strategies characterise the active process of collecting with qualities such as cunning, shrewdness and connoisseurship. The object, depending on its rarity, may appear to resist collection and this rarity in turn may create a more dynamic and goal orientated selection process. The selection process is integral to the object's overall narrative in that it demonstrates the collector's knowledge of the item's value where this may have been overlooked previously. This may give meaning and value to the collections themselves.
All collectors in this study actively engaged with different sectors of the market to acquire their collection. These sources varied significantly in each case and the analysis outlines the strategy and goals of each collector.

The manner of acquisition is an important factor to Pearce (1995: 235). She notes that collections must have been acquired over an extended period, 'instant' collections are considered dishonest, insincere and not 'true' collections. The only exception to this time factor is inheritance or the purchase of all or part of other collections to add to ones own accumulating collection. This spasmodic enterprise gradually creates a collection, which increases with time, in size, scope and momentum. Such a collection is a product of the collector's life span, giving form and content to the collection as time passes. Collections may be seen to go through phases from initiation, to maturity and finally a static period may precede the death of the collector.

Pearce (1995: 183) uses the 'hunt' metaphor as a way of promoting attributes in the collector such as "cunning, stealth, patience, prowess, competition and ultimate success with the acquisition carried home in triumph" (1995: 183). This promotes and supports the collector's self image and social standing. She believes this analogy of hunting is

particularly close to the European psyche, highlighting the notion of dominance and control which collecting brings into play.

Prestige

Many collectors gain prestige for collecting within their intimate social circle or in the wider social network. Pearce (1995: 232) considers that collecting as an activity, impresses contemporaries, elicits admiration and immortalises the collector. In this way the collection represents a monument. She believes 'prestige' to be one of the principle collecting motives; to derive some 'prestige from being considered a 'collector' even if the collections have a deliberate 'perversity' to them. She notes that some collectors, deliberately emphasise the 'fine art' aspect of their collection, as a way of accruing greater prestige since 'fine arts' are thought to represent intrinsic value, importance and prestige. The collectors in this study have each developed different types of collections. All gain different types of prestige, public and private, from their collecting activity. It is significant , however, that collectors C, D and E all primarily collect fine art.

Where collectors are given a small proportion of their collections, Kremer (1992: 135) perceives that the gifted object may have diminished value within the collections. This is due to its exclusion from the collector's selection process and as a result, the collector's control. Alternately, she notes, the gifted object may reflect the collector's popularity and thus signify or enhance his/her prestige.

The Politics of Collecting

In order to understand how the politics of collecting relates to this study it is important to describe how the West defines itself in relation to non-western cultures, the so-called 'Other'. It is also important to address western perceptions of the 'Other', especially the systems of value and authenticity employed by art historians and anthropologists.

Pearce explores the notion of the 'Other' as being both a state of mind and a concrete cultural form in the world. She argues that all human communities recognise themselves in

relation to the cultural 'Other' but argues that the European cultural tradition has characteristically constructed a distinct cultural relationship with the 'Other'. She refers to the European relationship with the Americas, Africa and the Pacific as an example of this cultural distinction (Pearce 1995: 308). She considers that the European construction of the 'Other' is represented in two ways: the personal relationship of the individual within European culture and the more expansive relationship between European and 'exotic' non-western cultures, the 'Other'.

Individual Other

The individual notion of 'Other' is primarily a means of identifying insiders and outsiders, or constructing notions of what is normal and abnormal within and beyond ones experience of the world. Pearce (1995: 316) considers the body as representing an internal world where "our bodies are metaphoric to the larger body of the universe".. In this way the European internal structure defines the external within itself. It is through collecting that the individual can create hierarchies of similar and different or self and other. It is through this relationship that we constitute what is considered 'proper' or 'improper' collecting Pearce uses the example of an attraction to collecting the bizarre and unwholesome as based in the desire to define what is normal in our lives.

External Other

Similarly, Pearce (1995: 330) charts the distinction between the individual and the 'exotic' or non-European cultures, where objects from these cultures have been collected not only to support and maintain European perspectives of themselves in relation to the 'Other' but also to "underpin the European distinctions of quality and value".

Pearce (1995: 330) believes that the social value placed upon a particular group of objects depends on the unique cosmological view held by 'ourselves'. These western objects operate in a matrix constructed by levels of value and time, which are underpinned by objects of the 'Other'. This mode of creating value connects with our intellectual, aesthetic and historical appreciation and has a complex relationship to the market exchange of goods. In this way financial values follow our cultural values.

Clifford (1988: 220) suggests that objects from the 'Other' are removed from their context and infused with meanings and values, and given specific notions of authenticity by different 'taste cultures' where material culture of the 'Other' has been used to support, underpin and reflect a European notion of 'authentic' value.

Authenticity

The western notion of 'authenticity' is one that describes 'primitive cultures' as traditional, without innovation and distinct from western influences. Pearce (1994: 263) believes that authenticity has come to mean artefacts that are handmade, rare and fulfil the romantic desire for items made prior to or in the earliest phase of European contact.

To illustrate this Clifford (1988: 224) has developed an art-culture matrix, which aids in mapping the circulation of objects between the four zones created by the two axes: art/artefact and authentic/inauthentic. This matrix documents the relative value of different types of objects in the western art framework. Clifford stresses that within this art/culture system, positions and values assigned to collectable art/artefacts will continue to change. Objects in this system can be located in one of these zones or 'in traffic' between two zones. Different 'taste groups' may locate the same object type see them in different quadrants.

In much the same way Pearce (1995: 351), extending on the work of Clifford, has constructed a matrix from the axes of authentic: spurious and masterpiece: artefact that self divide to create quadrants containing collections of objects. These illustrate the construction of value in European culture. In this way, Pearce has illustrated the selection behaviour that people may use to create and narrate meaning and value.

Clifford (1988: 220) views the notion of 'authenticity' as a cultural value embedded in a consumer's 'taste culture'. He observes this notion of 'authenticity' not as a unified concept but one that changes from 'taste culture' to 'taste culture', becoming more restrictive and exclusive, in the higher levels of the socio-economic ladder. He uses the example of tribal objects and their movement within the value matrix to illustrate the ease

with which objects may move in both directions. He tracks the movement of tribal objects between the 'culture' and 'fine art' zones where either 'contextualist' or 'formalist' protocols are used to create distinction between each zone. The mobility between these zones, that separate authentic from inauthentic, good from bad, us and 'Other', illustrates an imposed system of classification, value and taste, where these distinctions eventually reveal more about the values of the collector than the object's context. In this case, the original context of the objects do not assign value or authenticity to the collected object. This is revealed in the process of collection and the qualities associated with the object in both individual and collective memory (Phillips and Steiner 1995: 19).

The matrix classifies objects and assigns them relative value. It helps to identify the promotion or demotion of an object's worth within the system. It aids in understanding western notions of 'authenticity' where the flexible value system results in movement of non-western objects as both art or artefact. Non-western art forms have traditionally fitted into two dominant categories: aesthetic works of art and scientific cultural artefacts (Pearce 1995: 351).

Art or Culture

This encounter between non-western objects and the western art-culture system has witnessed enduring theoretical work between art theory scholars and anthropologists. This growth of scholarship has been closely interrelated, both disciplines exchanging concepts of 'primitive' and "exchanging standard typologies of media and genre" (Phillips and Steiner 1995: 6). Both disciplines transpose their highly selective systems of value and reinforce hierarchies of gender and class. Equally, these disciplines foster the illusion that their concepts are universal and inclusive in their elevation of non-western objects into the domains of art and artefact classification.

This system of art classification has been characterised by an emphasis on the artist as autonomous creator, where western hierarchies of genre, media and production rarely included objects created within non-western communities. As a result, western art classification of non-western art forms has often ignored "the indigenous systems of value and meaning attached to objects" (Phillips and Steiner 1995: 7).

Anthropological classification of material culture was firmly based on notions of human progress where art provided an ultimate measure of human achievement and as a result constituted a 'litmus test' of the level of civilisation achieved by specific cultural groups. In addition macro categories of fine and applied arts were used to categorise art forms (Phillips and Steiner 1995: 8).

Modernism

The engagement of the western art world with non-western art in the twentieth century was through the Modernist art movement. It was marked by its engagement with non-western art forms where this exchange was celebrated as a cross cultural discovery. In this early encounter modernist artists such as Picasso, Giacometti, Miro and Brancusi recognised and promoted 'primitive' objects as 'art'. They collected, imitated and used these non-western art forms in their own work (Clifford 1988: 190).

A major exhibition held at the Museum of Modern Art (MOMA), "Primitivism in the 20th Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern", in 1984, recalled this original encounter. Clifford (1988: 190) critiques this exhibition, particularly the use of word 'affinity' in the title of the exhibition. He considers that this word alludes to a kinship term, a relationship where a "common quality or essence joining the tribal to the modern" suggests that a "family of art is brought together, global, diverse, richly inventive, and miraculously unified".

The exhibition provided a strongly focused, didactic and historical story where the juxtaposition between western artists' work and non-western art forms was central to creating affinities and similarities. Clifford considers that modernism in this exhibition was "presented as a search for 'informing principles' that transcend culture, politics and history" where "tribal is modern and the modern more richly, more diversely human" (1988: 191). This affinity establishes universalist qualities of modernist consciousness that allow an engagement with 'Others' and enables an ability to question boundaries (Clifford 1988: 193, Ames 1992: 72).

MOMA's sample of non-western art forms ranging the diverse geographical and cultural expanse of Oceania, Africa, North America and the Arctic and its selective choice of stylised and abstracted 'primitive' art forms served to further demonstrate the related universalist qualities between the 'tribal' and the modern. The formal qualities demonstrated in this exhibition linking the modern with the primitive were conceptual and abstract. Further shared traits such as "magic", "ritualism", "environmentalism" and use of "natural" materials were noted by Clifford (1988: 192) to be used repetitively in the exhibition and its catalogue. The term, 'affinities' alluded to in the MOMA exhibition was made on modernist terms where modernist "pioneers" are shown to further reclassify and promote formerly ethnographic specimens into the status of high art, "in the process discovering new dimensions of their [our] creative potential" (Clifford 1988: 195).

MOMA's exhibition celebrated the expansive spirit of modernism but excluded "third world modernisms" (Clifford 1988: 95). Non-western art forms fitting into modernist western fine art categories of sculpture and painting were exhibited while textiles, basketry and beadwork, the stylistically naturalistic and 'hybrid' art forms, were excluded. This resulted in the further reinforcement of an already institutionalised system of aesthetic value promoted in both fine art and anthropological disciplines (Phillips and Steiner 1995: 8).

Clifford alludes to another side of this 'intercultural encounter' of modernism and tribal art where 'discovery' is in fact reclassification, which reflects a relationship not simply imperialist, but also where colonialist and evolutionist assumptions of race, gender and power are implied. Modernist Primitivism in its humanist sympathies and interest in a diverse cultural aesthetic is closely associated to a strong tribal art market and institutionalised western definitions of artistic and cultural authenticity.

Errington (1998: 149) indicates that a further offshoot of modernist primitivism has pervaded the industrialised, secular and modern world of today. She calls this variant 'New Age Primitivism' where an appetite for the imagined 'Other' and its harmonious primitive

world has fed a highly commercialised demand to possess a generalised primitive rather than for a particular form of ethnicity.

This later strain of primitivism is characterised by a commercialised appetite for the 'pure' indigenous aesthetic and the romantic notion that indigenous art represents a mystical and spiritual dimension. She refers to the current popularity of 'Santa Fe style' in North America where the 'authentic' look can be made by anyone, anywhere, from a variety of materials and concludes that this increasing interest has witnessed a growth in advertisements, magazines and products alluding to an 'authentic primitive look'. Phillips and Steiner (1995: 16) also discuss the wider public interest in 'ethnic' and 'tourist arts', whose legitimacy was previously recognised by Graburn (1976). These forms of art have recently inspired increasing publications and products promoting the use of 'natural' objects in modern home and interior design "perpetuating many of the myths of authenticity and primitivist nostalgia that flourished during the Victorian era" (Phillips and Steiner 1995: 16). These myths of primitivist nostalgia have further confirmed the connection between all ethnic worlds who share a "fraternity of otherness" amongst themselves but "uniformly foreign" to the western mind. The irony and contradiction between the academic desire for a culturally 'pure' and 'authentic' other is contrasted by the popular celebration of the hybridity of 'ethnic' cultures (Phillips and Steiner 1995: 18).

Dubin (1998: 60) remarks that this continued interest in things 'primitive' may indicate that collectors' wish to display their 'liberal politics' or 'radical chic' and that the very act of collecting, in this case, Native American art, by non-Native American collectors, saves them (collectors) "not only from their wealth, but also from their race, their connection to colonialism, and their participation in the systems of capitalism and modernity". Dubin considers that these issues of guilt regarding wealth are generally restricted to the middle and upper classes while 'imperialist nostalgia' for the 'Indian' experience' cut across all ethnic and socio-economic boundaries. She believes that this desire is a form of cultural primitivism. It valorises products from primitive cultures and is therefore a form of cultural relativism, or its current expression, 'multiculturalism'. She believes that non-Indians' experience of things 'Indian' through their act of collecting Indian material culture, allows

for "learning and unlearning cultural stereotypes as they encounter information that confirms or dispels their pre-conceived notions". She considers that the distance between their collections and their cultural objects will generally reveal the "real distance between people from different socio-economic classes and cultures" (1998: 60).

According to Errington (1998: 147), indigenous producers participate in this primitivist schema by producing art forms that use of 'primitive' visual references. She notes that there are four ways in which to invoke the 'primitive' in art forms: depiction of traditional village life; transposing ephemeral and ritual media into durable forms for sale; using traditional designs on new media; reference to the natural, primordial, pure and mythical; and linking these to ethnic origin.

Thomas (1999: 16) believes that Indigenous cultures may also choose to reinforce traditional perspectives in their art. He calls this indigenous response 'auto primitivism'. He believes that both western collectors and indigenous producers affirm each other in an ongoing market of demand and response. This is demonstrated by Steiner's (1995: 164) discussion about African traders' adaptation to perceived western taste to increase the likelihood of a sale. He argues that the trader has little control over supply. While supply is dependent on availability, demand is largely dependent on exposure in western publications, museum exhibitions, auction records and the tourist industry. The trader must then manipulate the perception of the objects that he has, to meet the tastes and demand of the western buyer. Steiner terms this as the "art of the trade".

Post-modern reassessment of modernist interest in tribal art has drawn links between imperialism, high culture and colonisation. This has allowed issues such as appropriation, tribal stereotype reinforcement, and exotic notions of the 'Other' to be re-examined in the post-war period. Recent positivist criticism has highlighted that this 'cross-cultural' relationship has in fact been a two-way relationship emphasising tribal art's dynamic, innovative forms in both traditional and contemporary media. This has witnessed the assertion of indigenous identity through the linking of present with past. A phenomenon which marks the continuation of tradition as well as innovation, which not only serves to

emphasise the retention of traditional ways as well as the adaptation and innovation in the face of change. Developments in the non-western contemporary visual arts show experimentation with new media that may not derive from tradition and a movement of many indigenous visual artists into the western art mainstream.

Art is seen as an important signifier of cultural identity for indigenous populations who have sought to control the production of artworks, thereby ensuring the cultural authenticity of the work. Errington (1998: 144) has observed that in recent decades Native American and Canadian First Peoples have sought to control the production of their art. Their primary concern is to control "the construction of their cultural identities rather than have them controlled by others".

With post-modernist challenges made to the western hegemony, cultural institutions are frequently being perceived as locations for mounting challenges about cultural, political and moral issues. Public pressure on museums and art galleries has instigated major changes in the representation of indigenous cultures. These changes have been contentious, as they are challenging traditional notions of authenticity (Stevenson 1999: 64-9).

Barker (1999: 150) considers resistance to contemporary non-western art to be still evident among the academic and museum fraternity. She believes that this resistance is characterised by museums' portrayal of a timeless tribal tradition. Contemporary indigenous art has seldom been included in museum exhibitions until the last decade of the twentieth century. Ames (1992: 73) has also noted museum resistance to innovation and evolving indigenous art forms. He considers that academics have perceived innovation to be a deviation from scholastically defined traditional standards and that this has resulted in 'important art galleries' hesitating to collect what they have considered to be 'inappropriate' art forms.

There has also been resistance amongst anthropology curators to the collecting of indigenous material primarily for aesthetic reasons. This resistance is based on a belief that removing indigenous material from its originating context compromises its cultural value

within a western art perspective. Morphy (2000: 138) has termed this 'art by metamorphosis'. He notes that the generalised concept of 'African' or 'Aboriginal' art is a 'western construct'. The market can only cope with such broad understandings of indigenous art, rather than a comprehension of the specific art traditions or contemporary production of particular peoples within Africa or Australia. (Morphy 2000: 140). McLoughlin (1999: 230) however suggests that contemporary and traditional indigenous art can and does explore formal questions that modernism entails.

The Tribal Art Market

This section assesses the increasing interest of the art market in indigenous art and the extent to which this increasing demand is influenced by the different constituents parts of the market system. These intricate symbiotic relations between the different constituents of the tribal art market are highlighted by Satov's (1997) study of auction houses, museums and curators. In this study, he highlights the changing roles that curators, auction houses and museums take to support and distance themselves from one another, in order to support and enhance the marketing of ethnographic art/artefacts. He surmises that these various constituents in the market have until recently supported traditional notions of authenticity outlined earlier in this chapter. Museum anthropologists and academics have resisted the commodification of the art/artefact market and the resultant "spoilation" of the non-western cultures (Satov 1997: 238).

Increasing market popularity and rising prices of indigenous art have contributed to the reduction of museum purchasing power. Institutions have responded to this by expanding their definitions of authenticity to include a wider range of collectibles such as tourist, recycled and contemporary art. Greater collector activity in these areas has been legitimised by this academic revision (Satov 1997: 238).

There has, for example, been increased interest and market recognition of Native American art (Dubin 1998: 61) and Australian Aboriginal art (Johnson 1990: 39). Strong markets have been developing for both contemporary and historic art objects in both countries. Dubin illustrates that this increased demand for American Indian art has been attributed to

a combination of factors, these include an increased appreciation of the aesthetic qualities of Native American art and a consequent increase in prices. This development has been concurrent with a Native American cultural renaissance and an increasingly pluralistic society. This increased interest has also occurred at a time of greater debate and discussion in both academic and popular audiences (Dubin 1998: 61).

There has been continued resistance to the inclusion of indigenous art in the general category of 'fine art'. Morphy views this resistance as resulting from a reluctance to disrupt the delicately balanced system of western artists, dealers, critics and collectors. He observes that the marketing of indigenous culture as art has been seen, historically, as a 'moral act'. However, he views the promotion of Aboriginal art as a value-creating process that "involves both the creation of new kinds of values in objects and the increase of their value in terms of exchange" and considers this developing appreciation as a consequence of the greater exposure to international markets (Morphy 2000: 129). Morphy notes that western art is in its own process of ' metamorphosis' with tension and movement between art and craft categories. The process of change can involve artist, dealer, collector or critic who may actively pursue a change in status and inclusion into the art category. Non western art can gain entry by this very process. As a consequence, movement can then result in change of meaning and value and by its very inclusion challenge the definition of 'art'. He considers that in many cases entry into the western art category has been complicated by the qualifier 'native', 'ethnic' and 'third world' titles. According to Morphy (2000: 138) this resistance has to date been based on the following:

- Indigenous art is not produced for aesthetic contemplation but for ritual or functional purposes and therefore should be located in an ethnographic museum.
- Indigenous art is currently only within an indigenous framework. Its value is bound in its indigenous context.

These concerns have also been expressed by McLoughlin, who has noted that similar tension exists with the inclusion of contemporary native art into Canadian galleries. There has been a tendency in these galleries to ostracise indigenous artists who create works of

art that explore many of Modernism's formal issues. These artists do not reject the 'ethnic tag' and create works distinct from their ethnic identity. In these cases "Modernism simply cannot 'fit' these works within its defining parameters" (McLoughlin 1999: 230). There has been no single definition or location for 'native art' to date and responses have been situated all along the spectrum from ethnographic to aesthetic. Some critics argue that it is not an art category but representative of a socio-political dynamic and a vehicle to assert cultural identity and provide the ability to reinterpret history (McLoughlin 1999: 230). There is no single representational strategy or interpretation of 'Native art', rather it will be expressed in the "continued growth of alternative sites both for art and history and in ongoing discussion across those locations" (1999: 231).

The art market differs from the conventional commodity driven market in several important characteristics. In the conventional exchange system, supply, demand and quality influence price. By comparison, in the art system there is always limited supply and quality is often of little importance in relation to the name of the artist. Hence demand emerges as a crucial factor in the art market. Generally speaking, higher demand and therefore high prices follow the exhibition of works in public museums and art galleries. In the art world the exchange value of an artwork can be calculated by the frequency that the artist is exhibited in public institutions (Barker 1999: 114).

Barker's research documented unexpected developments in the display of contemporary art in New York. She noted that small alternative 'artist oriented' venues had developed in the early 1980's to display installation, video and new media works. Barker observed that this system created a tension for the artist in two ways: by limiting the power of the market system but still needing to sell their works to finance future projects. Small commercial galleries followed this trend by relocating from uptown to downtown SoHo and changing their aesthetic to share the minimal aesthetic of the artist warehouse. A new dynamic developed between gallery spaces, clubs and bars. Performance art and music shifted between each venue increasingly excluding the public art gallery/museum. It is through this dynamic that independent galleries have influenced major galleries and museums and therefore altered market values (Barker 1999: 122).

Barker shows us that within the culture of exhibitions, the interrelated parts of the contemporary art world provide a system within which different kinds of value are expressed. Her research indicates that the relationship of new art and new exhibitions each change the other (Barker 1999: 125). This research provides an insight into the way in which a new type of dealer in Oceanic art in the New Zealand art market can be influential in the development of collector interest in both historic and contemporary Oceanic art.

Exhibitions in major art museums have been credited by art critics with creating new critical audiences. However, it is shown in Barker's research that through independent sources that loop between the museums, international exhibitions and commercial galleries, artists' initiatives can influence market values. The increasing variety of venues for the exhibition of art in society will position the 'exhibition' as central focus for selection and evaluation in the delicately structured system of authentication of art in society. Barker postulates that the increasing numbers and range of exhibitions in both public and private sectors contribute to providing a system for which different kinds of 'value' are expressed. (Barker 1999: 125).

Post Modern Settler Societies: New Zealand Perspectives

This section briefly outlines the specific cultural, political and economic characteristics of New Zealand as a settler society. It will contribute to an understanding of the way that private collectors of historic and contemporary Oceanic art respond to the local context as a way of establishing their place within a dynamic and changing political environment.

Thomas has characterised the interplay and exchange between indigenous cultures and colonial art in 'settler' societies (New Zealand, Australia, Canada) as one of engagement where continual challenges to cultural, political and economic dominance result in evolving notions of ethnicity of both indigenous and non-indigenous peoples (Thomas 1999: 277).

Thomas's 'cross cultural art history' of 'settler' societies is a response to 'globalisation'. He argues that "art today is defined by the links between all parts of the world" (Thomas 1999: 8). Thomas directs his study not from a European perspective but from a local vantage point, taking account of local political, cultural and economic dynamics and their effect on emerging notions of identity. He asserts that cultures and cultural relations are shaped by local factors and dismisses the globalist notion that "colonial inequalities and asymmetrical relations between countries and continents are somehow dissolved through cosmopolitanism" (Thomas 1999: 8).

In Thomas's work on New Zealand art history, he traces colonial discourses from early colonial nationalism through to new age settler primitivism. His studies document the use of cultural and natural history symbols by both settler and indigenous communities.
Indigenous motif was conspicuous in settler art in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries well before the modernist movement's 'discovery' of primitive art forms. Use of indigenous motifs such as kowhaiwhai patterns and the koru symbol was widespread and popular. This use of 'native' material represented a widely visible and public phenomenon in popular design including fashion, currency and architecture, in settler societies such as New Zealand, Australia and Canada. An emerging preoccupation with national identity shaped representations from initial settlement. From the eighteen-nineties local design turned increasingly to the local and distinctive, using natural environment or indigenous motif so that colonial culture could redefine itself as 'native' and create national emblems.

Peterson (2000: 57) reiterates this point. She notes that the popular use, at the turn of the century, of Māori motif in New Zealand architecture and furniture was not only a move towards creating a home environment based on the European Arts and Craft movement but also something to be distinctly New Zealand in character. This use of motif reflected a notable rise in New Zealand nationalism and represented an effort to legitimise settler society as an indigenous community.

This form of settler primitivism remained distinct from international primitivism in the way that it not only sought inspiration from tribal art to invigorate modernist art, but also

affirmed its local relationship not with a generic indigenous 'primitive' culture but with a particular one. In the case of New Zealand, the source of inspiration was Māori, as New Zealand looked not just to the modern cosmopolitan world but to its own manifestation of nationalism (Thomas 1999: 13).

This interest in the local indigenous motif emerged not from a western concern for incorporation and assimilation but from a need to localise and familiarise indigenous motifs and art styles and was essentially seen as a way to forge and create a national narrative. In New Zealand this was authored 'almost' exclusively by European New Zealanders. Thomas (1999: 109) describes this uneasy relationship as one that reinforces a narrative of succession where a colonial relationship situates indigenous Māori in the past and settlers as new, progressive and very much in the future. Settler society is characterised by an essentially dynamic relationship between settler and indigenous community. Conflict is not resolved in this relationship which is characterised by its dynamic and shifting political nature.

Cultural property is therefore significant to both its indigenous community and settler nationalists in characteristically different and possibly divergent directions. This dynamic relationship is demonstrated in the debate relating to the Headlands exhibition in New Zealand in 1983 over the use of indigenous motif in Gordon Walters and Theo Schoon's works. In the 1950's these works were seen as cross cultural exchange but in 1983 they were interpreted as appropriation and an expression of residual colonialism (Thomas 1999: 147).

Thomas (1999: 16) is also interested in the response from indigenous and migrant communities that have subverted and sometimes supported both hybrid and purist images of themselves for political and cultural purposes. He calls this indigenous response 'auto primitivism'. Clifford (1988: 209) uses the Te Maori exhibition as an example to illustrate this phenomenon. Māori, he suggests allowed the loan of their artefacts and actively participated in the ceremonies to enhance their own international prestige and thus contribute to an increasing Māori cultural resurgence in New Zealand society.

Mason (2001: 22) notes that as early as the 1830's Māori were responding to new styles, tools and materials introduced through European contact. A proliferation of tourist materials in the form of plaques, replicas and tourist items were at this time produced for sale, witnessing the initiation of European patronage of Māori art. The construction of "woven samplers and carved panels depicting local histories and narratives took on the real currency and a new cultural trade and exchange". This newly acquired knowledge was used to explore the many dimensions of customary art and led the way for new generations to explore the future for Māori art, which has been characterised by adaptation and change.

The many avenues of exchange in New Zealand between Pakeha, Māori and Pacific Island cultures that Thomas describes are evident in the strong body of contemporary political writing dealing with cultural politics in post-colonial New Zealand. One such study by Fleras and Spoonley (1999: 80) identifies the early 1970s as a period when a singular sense of national identity began to be undermined. This occurred at a time of economic crises, socio-political upheaval and Māori cultural revival:

> "...consensus coincided with the Māori political renaissance. The effect was to de-stabilise the existing dominant conceptions of national identity and its significance, and create a space for the renegotiation of what ethnic identity might mean, what rights were associated with such identities, and what might be required at both local and national levels in terms of new structure and policies. That process is far from complete, and probably never will be, but it has irrevocably altered the ways that inhabitants of Aotearoa view issues of ethnic identity" (1999: 103-4).

In response to these changes the singular national identity was irrevocably altered. Colonial structures and ideas were challenged and seen as inappropriate in the bicultural future. Biculturalism acknowledged the need for social and political reform at national and local level within the framework of a bicultural/bi-national Aotearoa. Fleras and Spoonley believe that this model of reform creates a highly political conception of identity, one that is closely related to debates over ethnicity and indigeneity (Fleras and Spoonley 1999: 106).

Between the 1950's and 1990's the migration of significant numbers of Pacific Islanders to New Zealand set in motion change in the ethnic composition of New Zealand metropolitan centers. Belich (2001: 533) estimates the population of Pacific Islanders in New Zealand in 1976 as over 60,000. By 1996, this figure had reached over 200,000, constituting 6 percent of the New Zealand population, and 13 percent of the population of urban Auckland.

These New Zealand born Pacific Island generations have produced new forms of cultural expression and new attachments have emerged, making their cultural presence in New Zealand very distinctive. New cultural entities are characterised by their forms of expression which "mark an important development of the 'new ethnicities' of New Zealand based Tagata Pasifika" (Fleras and Spoonley 1999: 213).

This abrupt demographic change and Pacific Island cultural presence in New Zealand further questioned the assumption that the state was built around notions of national unity. Their arrival coincided with the urban migration of Māori during and after World War Two. The combined effects of the resurgence of tangata whenua and the emergence of tagata pasifika further challenged majority culture notions of national identity and ethnicity, emphasising the need for a new political framework that recognised the place of tangata whenua and the increasingly multicultural composition of the population. There has been considerable activity in the visual arts scene that would testify to the many perspectives and ongoing debates regarding evolving notions of ethnicity in New Zealand.

The migration of Māori to the cities in the 1950's initiated significant changes in New Zealand society. By the 1960's a renaissance of Māori culture was evident, particularly within urban Māori communities. The Te Maori exhibition, raised the profile of Māori art in New Zealand and overseas. Te Maori reasserted Māori culture as a living culture and challenges Pakeha to recognise this. Although Thomas considered Te Maori to have all the hallmarks of a 'primitive art' exhibition, he believes that Māori 'repossessed' it as an exhibition of living, not prehistoric people. Te Maori "was to claim the space of the museum. Not only the protocols around openings, but gallery management structure and curatorial practices were to be redefined" (Thomas 1999: 195).

Te Maori was however later criticised (Thomas 1999: 194) for its reinforcement of the conventional notion of 'authentic' tribal art because of the exclusion of contemporary Māori art and for its neglect of women's art. Thomas (1999: 193) notes that although the appeal of Te Maori to the New Zealand public was no doubt its romantic and 'primitive' nature, it did provide a receptive New Zealand climate and subsequently raise the profile and appreciation of Māori cultural art forms. A new generation of Māori artists emerged who experimented with new materials, ideas and expressions to confront Māori and Pakeha conventions in the contemporary art scene (Mason 2001: 26). Mason refers to the late 1980's as the 'young guns generation'. She considers this a period when contemporary Māori art was characterised by artists who, as 'casualties' of the urban drift generation, embraced their "de-tribalisation as positive attributes" (2001: 27). With the resurgence of the Māori language, traditional knowledge was incorporated into experimental Māori art forms, new media and visual art language. Mason considers that the emergence of contemporary Māori art "set the scene for the sophisticated but ever present tension between Māori and Pakeha" (2001: 28).

The new millennium has witnessed the emergence of a new group of contemporary Māori artists for whom identity politics provides a primary subject (2001: 29). This generation of artists such as Ngataihararu Taepa, Saffronn Te Ratana and Gina Matchitt are known for their use of new technologies to examine cultural identities that are being "constantly renewed and recreated" (Saines 2001: 6). Their art has been displayed in a number of contemporary art exhibitions including 'Techno Māori' at the Wellington City gallery (2001) and 'Purangiaho' at Auckland Art Gallery (2001).

The significant growth in contemporary Pacific art is noted to have proliferated in the late 1980's and has been said to have emerged on the back of the Māori contemporary art movement (Thomas 1999: 261). Fatu Feu'u and Michael Tuffery are noted as the early proponents of a characteristically 'pan-Pacific' style in which colours, motifs and designs have created a "national narrative for New Zealand's Polynesians" (Thomas 1999: 263). Thomas notes contemporary Pacific art has followed the Māori model where art has

provided a vehicle for collective cultural affirmation. Pacific art, however, has been perceived to be less overtly political and Thomas believes that this is due to New Zealand's unique cultural politics where Māori are defined as a colonised indigenous people distinct from Pacific peoples who are defined as migrant populations. These relationships have been expressed through New Zealand's bicultural framework where Māori and Pakeha are provided parity under the national constitution. Further entitlements for other migrant groups, such as Pacific Island peoples, follow on the equitable relationship of the Treaty partners.

A new generation of Pacific island contemporary artists have emerged in the late 1990's who are exploring new themes and social issues about their urban New Zealand/Polynesian home and local and island based histories. These new generations of Pacific artists are increasingly examining their urban New Zealand experience. This represents a change from previous generations where interest was in island iconographies, images and stories. This shift in focus from collective cultural affirmation to one of conflict and search for identity has met with some resistance from private collectors and academics who have become accustomed to visual styles, narratives and representations of the earlier generations (Mallon 2001: 71).

Most current and prolific activity with both contemporary Māori and Pacific art to date has occurred in artist operated spaces, small galleries and co-operative trans-Tasman exhibitions and installations. Shows like 'Beyond the Pale' (Telstra Adelaide Festival 2000), 'Savage Island Hiapo' (Djamu Gallery, Sydney 1999), 'From Appropriation to Appreciation' (Telstra Adelaide Festival 2000) reinforce the notion of using the gallery space as political/cultural forum. This supports Barker's (1999: 125) notions that artists and smaller gallery operators can and do influence major institutions and eventually the market value. Thomas notes that the continued trans-Tasman (Māori, Pacific Island and Aboriginal art) exhibitions are expressions of a shared historical predicament. Artists are exploring their own 'representation' and shared affinities as indigenous peoples in settler societies (Thomas 1999: 277).

Thomas explores the essential difference between contemporary Māori and Pacific art and uses the comparison of Ani O'Neill and Jacqueline Fraser's work to explain these different perspectives. O'Neill's 'Tangaroa dolls' subvert tradition and tourist voyeurism with an ironic humour, while Fraser's 'He Tohu' dignifies ancestral values while making careful feminist observations. He considers that indigenous populations, represented here by Fraser's art, are compelled to reinforce the quality of the culture that defines them.

Margaret Jolly's (2001: 448) review of the new galleries at Te Papa reinforces this perspective where she makes significant juxtapositions in exhibit style and texture of Māori, European and Pacific galleries. In her critique, she clearly perceives these exhibits as expressing a "creative narrative of connection between the first people of the place, the Māori, the white settlers or Pakeha, and later migrants from the Pacific" where a "politics of precedence" dominates the interpretation of exhibits in Te Papa. She notes that the Māori exhibits, both contemporary and traditional "evince a deep spirituality and invite quiet contemplation in the viewer" (2001: 445). She observes that the Pacific gallery with "the celebration of modernity and of the groovy islander style is dramatically at variance with the serious, spiritual tone of the Māori halls" (2001: 448). The relationship between Māori and Pacific exhibitions has, she believes, been interpreted to have "suppressed these connections in favour of a bicultural focus, on the Māori-Pakeha relationship" (2001: 448). Jolly further describes the exhibits devoted to European heritage that "display a mock imperial pomp and an attitude to the past that lurches between guilt and laughter" and characterises this as a settler state of unease (2001: 446).

The spiritual and contemplative nature of contemporary Māori art is not only a response to cultural connection to land and ancestral values but may in its translation into the non-indigenous milieu, be further transformed into stereotype. A culture with strong spiritual connection to land may be perceived as 'mystical' and 'cosmic'. Thomas argues that this is a case of 'auto primitivism' and 'new age settler primitivism' affirming each other (Thomas 1999: 16).

As Pakeha New Zealanders reassess their cultural identity, in light of emerging Māori and Pacific Island identity politics, some have drawn on ancient European traditions that are thought to have had similar characteristics to the indigenous cultures with which they now coexist. This appropriation of the spiritual and mystical power of ancient cultures is referred to as 'new age settler primitivism' (Thomas 1999: 16) because it seeks to find the 'primitive' qualities associated with indigenous cultures in the earlier periods of their own cultural heritage (Thomas 1999: 279).

An example of this use of complementary ancestry is demonstrated by the New Zealand artist Owen Mapp's remarks about finding a "complementary whakapapa in his Viking ancestry" (Murray 2001: 5).

Belich (2001: 347) notes that there has been a significant interest by European New Zealanders in recalling their own 'Pakeha folkways' located nostalgically in the 'classic period of Pakeha culture', the 1920's-60's, and exemplified by the 'Quarter-acre Section, Half-gallon, Pavlova Paradise'. He considers that this folk culture is shared between Britain, Australia, American and Māori culture. This gives Pakeha culture a unique and a shared dimension.

Michael King (1991: 19) examines European New Zealanders' evolving 'sense of place' and unique culture as a response to their connection with Māori culture, where "Pakeha-ness embraces some experience of Māori history, habits, values and expectations" (1991: 19). He believes that an increasing confidence in the once maligned term 'Pakeha' is an expression of this unique relationship of place and cultural relationship. "Pakeha culture is no longer imported. It is a second indigenous culture" (1991: 19).

Belich (2001: 543) suggests that a residual rejection by European New Zealanders of the term 'Pakeha', as in the phrase 'We're all New Zealanders', also rejects other ethnic groups and multiple identities within New Zealand. This insistence in homogeneity represents an unease with ethnic pluralism and a residue of 'recolonial' ideology. The dynamic discussed by Belich relates to the world-wide notion of globalism, which expresses a partial engagement with cultures everywhere, defining settlers as hybrids. In this phenomenon,

differences are reduced between cultures and in this action, indigenous peoples are displaced.

The increasingly popular notion of a 'New Zealand Pacific' culture is an exciting prospect, but such an identity, beyond an artistic and cultural one, may be problematic for many European New Zealanders. There has been little social and political structural change to reflect this interest. These interests persist however, in the recent proliferation of terms such as: 'Pacific twist' and 'Pacific style' where they are used to describe a dynamic artistic response to environment and diverse cultural perspectives within New Zealand in the fields of art, architecture and design (Belich 2001: 534).

In conclusion, post-colonialism in the twenty-first century has challenged the dominant political structure and de-stabilised majority Pakeha conceptions of a singular national identity. In response, there is space for re-negotiation for what identity might mean, not only to its inhabitants represented by its bi-national structure but to an increasingly multicultural society.

Significant debate about what Pakeha identity means in a post-colonial society has prompted exploration of new political, social and cultural relationships. New Zealand's dynamic political, social and cultural changes provide uneasy territory for majority notions of identity, characterised by an uncomfortable search about what being a Pakeha, a New Zealander and a European means in post-colonial New Zealand.

Conclusion

This chapter review of international perspectives into the collecting of cultural material has provided valuable context to subsequent chapters for the analysis and examination of New Zealand collecting. Themes reviewed in this chapter will be followed up in the ensuing chapters. The nature of collecting behaviour and practice and the shifting status of non-western art forms within the art/artefact value system will provide the basis for discussion and analysis in Chapter Four. The role of the international tribal arts market will give

context and comparison for the review of market constituents of the local Market in Chapter Five. The discussion of New Zealand as a post colonial settler society will provide the context through which the collectors in this study are analysed in Chapter Six.

Chapter Three

Research Methods

This chapter reviews the development of the research project, the reason for adopting a qualitative methodology, the selection of research participants, interview methodology, ethical issues and methodological limitations.

Research Focus

My original intention of this research project was to research collectors of objects that could be defined as authentic/historic artefacts from Pacific Island cultures. After consideration, this narrowly defined project proved inadequate as it did not take into account the complexity of contemporary collections that include both historic and contemporary art produced by Māori and other Pacific Island cultures. By including collectors of contemporary Oceanic art in the sample it is possible to explore and reveal their evolving sense of identity as New Zealanders within the wider Pacific.

In this research a clear differentiation is made between historic and contemporary art/artefacts of Oceanic origin in order to evaluate the evolving and merging categories used by each participant. Oceania is defined in this study to include the Islands of the central and South Pacific, including Melanesia. Micronesia, Polynesia and Australia.

Two sectors of the Oceanic art-making continuum have therefore been defined using the terms 'contemporary Oceanic art forms' and 'historic Oceanic artefacts'. The term 'historic Oceanic artefact' defines a historic cultural object; where its primary value lies in the contextual and cultural information that it conveys. The 'contemporary Oceanic art form' is a modern artwork by an artist of Oceanic origin; where formal aesthetic qualities and cultural perspective provide primary value.

Initially my intention was to exclude Māori artefacts from the discussion. This was because I had initially assumed that the collecting of Māori artefacts had specific socio-political issues associated with it. Sale restrictions and collector registration resulting from the 1975 Antiquities Act in tandem with recently publicised controversies involving Māori protests at auction sales was assumed to have a severe effect on the collecting of Māori artefacts within New Zealand. I had assumed that the minimal restrictions placed on Pacific artefacts would be reflected in increased interest in these artefacts in the New Zealand market.

The type of collection was, however, redefined in the early stage of the project to include Māori artefacts within Oceanic collections. During two initial interviews it became apparent that Māori and Oceanic artefacts could not be easily separated from one another and were often referred to in the same instance. The participants did not always differentiate between these cultural groups, as I had expected, and this now resulted in the inclusion of both the Māori and Pacific elements in these collections in the study. This inclusion enabled the investigation of different definitions and attitudes to Māori and Oceanic artefacts.

Collectors who identified themselves as being of Māori and Pacific descent were excluded from the study, as I felt that they represented distinct groups who might exhibit different motivations for collecting, acquiring and preserving their own cultural artefacts. The research was focused on European/Pakeha collectors living within New Zealand and collecting Oceanic material from national and international markets, who are using these collections as part of their attempt to negotiate and explore their own New Zealand and Pacific identity.

Qualitative Approach

Because of the lack of any previous academic study of this nature in New Zealand, the study was very much an exploratory exercise examining New Zealand collectors of Oceanic art forms and artefacts. An inductive approach (Davidson and Tolich, 1999: 116)

using qualitative research was chosen as the most appropriate method of generating ideas, categories and queries where little primary information existed.

Qualitative methods would enable examination of each individual case study in depth, allow for comparative analysis, identify overall trends but also highlight the diversity and complexity within and across the participants interviewed. The main advantage in using qualitative methodology is the opportunity to contextualise and describe each collector on his or her own terms. The use of direct quotations, open ended narrative and behavioural observation can provide rich description and help understand each collector's very personal world-view, through their own distinctive collecting habits.

This single evaluation study using qualitative method is limited in that it does not have quantitative statistical data to verify its results and provide findings for larger populations (Diamond, 1999: 23). Ideally, the two methods are used in tandem, however, in view of this study's exploratory nature the qualitative approach provides a starting point for further evaluative studies which could explore more generalised patterns of behaviour (Davidson and Tolich, 1999: 116). Particular emphasis has been given to providing an extended account of each collector's collecting practice. While it is recognised that this is always a significant degree of interpretation in the way such material is presented the author has been conscious of the need to allow the participants 'voice' to be clearly presented.

Initial Scoping Exercise

To identify potential case study collectors and familiarise myself with the current market movements in New Zealand, I spent a two-week period in June 1999 scoping the research project. During this period, informal interviews with art/ethnological/auction house and antique dealers were conducted. These interviews were not taped but detailed notes were taken. Issues such as primary areas of interest, any noticeable changes in each market and specific customer characteristics were discussed. Through each market sector's description of collectors and their perceptions of market trends, idiosyncratic or generalised collecting characteristics associated with each segment could be identified.

I also interviewed art gallery and museum curators in this way about recent developments in institutional collecting and exhibiting of Oceanic material. It was important to establish if patterns were developing among the major institutions.

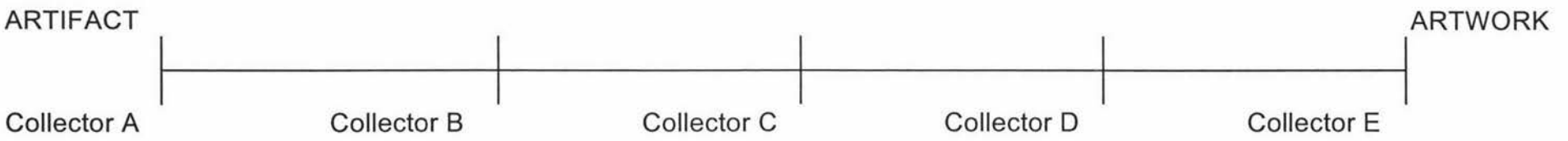
Interviews were conducted in the Wellington and Auckland regions. This was done to develop a broad understanding of the nature of the Oceanic artefact market from both commercial and museum perspectives to see if there were any regional differences that may have resulted from availability in the commercial sector and access from museum and art gallery exhibitions. I assumed that the substantial Pacific populations in Auckland might have influenced and encouraged collecting habits through availability of and familiarity with Pacific art forms. The findings of this scoping exercise are repeated in Chapter Five.

Research Participants

A sample of five collectors of Oceanic art/artefacts was identified through discussions with a wide range of informants during the initial scoping exercise. There appeared to be only limited knowledge within the museum and commercial community about private collectors of Oceanic art/artefacts. There was also little social contact amongst Oceanic collectors so that chain sampling, where one participant refers you to another (Diamond 1999: 37) could not be fully utilised. This was an unexpected outcome as it had been assumed that network of collectors would be operating. As a result, case study collectors who not only collected Oceanic art and artefacts but also represented a range of collecting strategies were difficult to identify. The sample of five was identified following discussions with separate and unrelated informants.

The five collectors represent different types of Oceanic collectors who can, for the purposes of comparative analysis, be represented along a continuum (figure 1). All the left

Figure 1: Artifact/Artwork Schema - Collector Position



hand end of the continuum are those collectors whose interest is in collecting 'artefacts'. As one moves more progressively to the right along the continuum, the collectors interest is increasingly in collecting art according to aesthetics criteria. This concept of a collecting continuum is explored further in Chapter Six: Constructing Identity.

The selected participants represented as diverse a range as possible in the scoping exercise, of ages, gender, socio-economic status and geographical location. Collectors were selected whose collections included a range of contemporary and historic Oceanic art forms. Collections representing both a major art focus and a major artefact focus were selected. This would allow for exploration of any differing modes of collecting practice between these two different types of collections as well as identifying the primary motivations of the collectors who viewed themselves as having a primarily art or artefact collection. In this way I could explore the different emphasis placed on aesthetic, investment and contextual motivations in the negotiated territory between these two zones of collection.

The first two interviews with collectors D and C demonstrated a diversity in collecting practice and aided in shaping the projects developing scope and focus. During these two interviews it became obvious that art/artefact/historic collections were closely related in thematic, cultural and historical ways and could not be exclusively surveyed. Both participants collected in all areas of art, cultural artefact and craft/domestic groups. The relationships between these areas of collection provided keys to understanding motivation, display and care of collections. During the interviews, Collectors C, D, and E, made frequent reference to the same dealer gallery. In order to explore this linkage further it was decided to include this dealer as a case study. This additional case study provided rich information about the relationships between the collectors and the dealer, highlighting the complex and delicate dynamics between these two sectors of the market system.

Informed Consent

All subjects were sent a formal letter containing a general description of the research project. The research supervisors were identified and my current employment was indicated. It was stressed that this study was independent of The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa to eliminate any potential issues of conflict of interest.

The subjects were informed that the study would observe the protocols established for oral history interviews by Te Papa. These are based on the code of conduct of the National Oral History Association of New Zealand. It was stressed that their confidentiality with regard to subject records, their use, storage and publication would be maintained. They were also informed that they could withdraw from the study at any time. They were notified that a formal consent form would be sent to them to sign. This form provided for the right of each participant to specify any conditions they deemed necessary with regard to their transcription records. A contact phone number and address was enclosed in this letter for their reference. The research supervisors' contact details were also enclosed in case the participant required information or verification of any sort.

A brief outline of the topics to be covered in the interview was given. Duration, time and location for the interview were also specified. This letter was followed by a phone call during which all details in the letter were confirmed and detailed further where necessary. All subjects agreed to participate and dates and locations were confirmed.

Participants were informed by letter that taped interviews would be fully transcribed and a transcript would be sent back to the interviewee for punctuation, spelling, place/name and any other corrections or clarifications considered necessary. They were also informed that the original tapes would be returned to them at the completion of the study.

Questions

Questions were carefully formulated to cover specific collecting activities and motivation. Of particular assistance in the development of the questions used in the research project were the formats developed by Susan Pearce (1998: 194-197) for 'The Contemporary Collecting Project' undertaken by the Department of Museum Studies, University of Leicester, in England and by the Canadian researcher Roberta Kremer (1992). Questions covered areas such as selection, classification, documentation and disposal of collections. Interviews aimed to provide insights into the collectors' motivation, projection of self and political/national awareness and the way that these were transfused into their collecting practice.

All interviewees were asked the same questions. Consistency of questioning would facilitate comparative analysis of data, while the flexibility which is characteristic of open-ended interviewing techniques allowed for any unusual responses that might occur. Any innovative responses suggesting further areas of interest could be incorporated into later interviews.

Re-evaluation, after the first two interviews led the future refinement of the questions. Some valuable information was not collected in these earlier interviews Where this occurred, information was later sought from the earlier interviewees by letter or phone conversation. The interview with the dealer covered similar areas but was adapted to allow for exploration of issues such as focus of the gallery, client characteristics and market development.

Interviews

Interviews were intended to take 1-½ hours on average, and to be recorded in each subject's home or business environment, amongst their collections. In this way, collection items could be utilised as prompts during the interviewing process. An initial period of fifteen minutes was allowed for biographical questions. This was intended to establish a

rapport between subject and interviewer and also to indicate any relevant family history that might have contributed to current collecting habits.

All six interviews took place during a ten-month period between September 1999 and June 2000. One interview involved a couple; the others involved one participant and the interviewer. All but one of the interviews were conducted in the participants' home or business environments, where their collections were located. The remaining interview was conducted at The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa in Wellington.

All interviews were based on a schedule of open-ended questions (see appendix), however these were applied flexibly to allow for responses to trigger related areas of interest and enable a natural flow to the interview. The need to retain rapport in the interview and the need for the participant to develop their thoughts contributed to varying lengths of each interview. The length of interviews ranged from one hour to two and a half hours.

As a group, the collectors interviewed showed considerable eagerness to talk about their collections. They were all very generous with their time and generous in their consent to be interviewed in their home environments. All participants who were interviewed amongst their collections and used their artworks as prompts during the interview and spent time prior to each interview highlighting the breadth of these collections and their display rationale. One collector declined consent to be photographed in the home environment because of issues of privacy. The photographs taken of the collections on display in the participants' homes' have provided a useful resource for discussing the contents of collection and mode of display in the domestic environment.

Some interviews were more personal and intimate in character, revealing complex emotional responses, while other interviews revealed a more considered and analytical approach to collecting. In the case study involving a couple, both were articulate, retained individual points of view and generally encouraged further in-depth discussion without inhibiting each other's perspective.

All interviews were taped on a Sony TCM5000EV tape recorder with double lapel microphones. Interviews were recorded on sixty-minute tapes. These were transferred onto CD disc for archival purposes and then fully transcribed from tape to computer text. All transcripts use direct quotations.

Collation and Analysis of Data

A short field log was also written immediately after each interview summarising the interview, including notes concerning artworks referred to during the interview, general layout of collections within the home environment and notes outlining how the interview progressed.

Information derived from interviews, documentation supplied by participants, the scoping exercises and the literature review provided the data for analysis. Both individual and cross case analysis has been performed.

Transcripts of the six interviews were transferred to computer text. Information was then amalgamated under key topics identified for analysis. This information was synthesised and arranged into a matrix. Cross-case analysis of the participants enabled the identification of similarities and differences. During the writing up phase, categories were amalgamated, and even discarded, as the cross case analysis progressed.

An important strategy during the collection and analysis of data has been the ability to incorporate flexibility in the ongoing study. As themes and categories revealed themselves during analysis of initial data, the open-ended format allowed later questioning by phone to pursue further intuitive leads.

Collectors are referred to as Collector A to E and the dealer as Dealer A. This form of identification has the disadvantage of not personalising the participant in the text but is necessary to retain participant anonymity.

Some interview material and personal documentation was omitted through self-censorship. Collectors A, B, C and D revised the transcripts of their interviews for spelling, place-names and punctuation.

Limitations of the Research

Qualitative research of this type has a number of shortcomings. First it is important to note that this is an exploratory research project, though it does benefit from recent developments in international research into private collecting. The lack of previous New Zealand research means there is little local comparative data.

The limitations of qualitative data in this case have been far outweighed by the wealth of information gathered during interviews. Participant willingness to express individual perspectives has conveyed some of the complexities and contradictions that in-depth interviews ideally reveal. In this study these differences are an important part of understanding each individual collector's response to their own collections and the society in which they live.

The use of a small sample of five collectors, with younger age groups and lower income brackets not represented, means that significant categories of collectors may remain to be studied in relation to the collecting of historical and contemporary Oceanic art. Participants representing these demographics were not identified during the initial scoping exercise suggesting that this may be an accurate reflection of lack of collecting activity in this area.

In spite of the limitations of this qualitative approach, this exploratory research method has enabled a deeper understanding of the complex and rich world of the collector. The private and intimate world of the collector has often been concealed in a sentimental and obsessive stereotype, reducing the complexities of collecting to rather simplistic emotional or economic characteristics. The following chapter reveals that the five collectors in this study are highly individualised and systematic collectors.

Chapter Four

The Collectors

This chapter provides a detailed account of the interview with each of the five collectors that form the basis of this research. A basic set of themes have emerged in this study, including: the nature of collections, collector biography, collecting strategy, display, and disposition of collections. The collectors in this study will be referred to as Collector A, B, C etc....to ensure that confidentiality is maintained. A chart (figure 2) outlining the collecting characteristics of each case study collector has been provided at the end of this chapter.

All research participants (i.e.: collectors interviewed in this project) are middle aged, with the exception of Collector A who is elderly. All are of European ethnicity and their families have been living in New Zealand at least three or more generations. All participants have tertiary qualifications. Collectors A, C and D have qualifications in disciplines that relate to their collection categories: Anthropology, Māori Studies and History. Collectors A, B and E are male and Collector D is female. Collector C is a married couple. None of the collectors had major collectors in earlier generations of their own families. However Collectors B and D did highlight their previous involvement in the arts and this association and linkage may have influenced their familiarity with this discipline.

All the collectors interviewed collect Oceanic art and/or artefacts. It became apparent that the Oceanic component varied in priority within the narrative of each collection from either providing the main focus of a collection or serving to complement and support other major object types. The definition of Oceanic in this study encompassed both older and contemporary artworks made by producers from or identifying with a Pacific Island culture.

Extensive excerpts from transcripts of the interviews are included in this chapter so that the

individual voice of each participant could be expressed. Page numbers included with quotes refer to the interview transcripts held by the author.

Collector A

Collector A is an elderly male Pakeha living in Auckland. He trained as an engineer and undertook an engineering apprenticeship with the New Zealand Dairy Company, later serving time in the Army, Navy and Fleet Air Arm. After returning from the Second World War, he embarked on theology training with the Methodist Church, in order to fulfil a lifelong ambition to undertake missionary work. Alongside his theology training he studied Anthropology for one year at Auckland Museum. He was stationed by the Methodist Church on Buka, in the Bougainville District, Solomon Islands, in 1949. He returned to New Zealand in 1963, where he continued his work in rural New Zealand missions. He is now retired from mission work.

He comments about the cultural impact of his mission, his influence on and his strong affiliation with, the indigenous community on Buka. He makes further comparisons with previous missionaries working in this area, making even stronger connections by this comparison:

> " You see things were changing right from the very first missionaries that were there, we were not the first missionaries there. In 1922, the first missionary, Reverend A H Cropp went to Buka. How much work he did in the culture line, I don't know, but very few people spoke of him being a link with the people. Similarly, not many people spoke of the Reverend C T J Luxton ...when he went home he was known for his carpentry skills. When we went back in 1984, we were interested in the fact that our students during our time were telling their young people what we had done in strengthening their culture and what we taught them" (p. (41).

Collector A is distinguished by his focused collecting habits. He collected artefacts that he defined as no longer in use or those that he valued for their aesthetic quality. His collection of approximately 317 artefacts is made up primarily of spears, bows, arrows, stone implements and adornments. His selection of artefacts was collected 'in situ' was on the basis of observed indigenous function and use of these items within the changing society

and culture of Buka. His primary motivation for collecting was specifically based on the artefacts' ability to represent "evidence of their abilities and in the technical field especially" (p.17).

The artefacts were collected during the 14 years of his mission placement in the Bougainville district, over a period of fourteen years. On later visits to the area, he was given a number of artefacts, however these were specifically not included in the collection. He makes a clear distinction between these and his initial collection, emphasising his concept of a collection as a distinct entity:

> "I didn't collect with the idea that it was a collection that I could sell or that could make anything out of or anything like that at all. I collected because I like the idea of what a thing was...its intrinsic value...as part of the culture" (p.37).

These artefacts were collected within strict geographical boundaries. Just how strict his boundaries were, are emphasised in the following remarks: "I collected within my own circuit. That is, could draw the line from Torokina Bay to the central highlands right through the Crown Prince to a village called Umum..." (p.27).

He appears comfortable and at ease with the title of 'collector': "I collected things because I suppose I'm a collector" (p.21). In the same instance he referred proudly to the stamp collections he has collected since the age of eight. When asked about further collections he notes: "I still keep on collecting knowledge" (p.21). This comment establishes the strong connection that he makes between physical collections and their educational value.

The search for aesthetic quality seems to be a secondary motivation in the selection of these artefacts. He notes that design elements were only considered in relation to the selection of arrows. He makes a distinction between these and undecorated functional items such as axes, which were selected on the basis of use within a changing social and economic context. The distinction is revealed in his remarks: "the bows and arrows were a different thing. I was interested in the arrows from a point of view of the artwork" (p.14).

Collector A's interest in relevant ethnographic information did not conform with conventional western notions of artefact value, where rarity and uniqueness are pivotal. Cultural information provided a context for objects collected 'in situ'. While collecting he made brief notes on each of his artefacts, detailing location, function and materials. He also took slide photographs of these items 'in use' to provide supporting contextual information. He did confide, however, that a large amount of the information remains committed to memory.

Collector A appeared uninterested in the changing investment values of his artefacts in his collection and considered their value to be bound up with cultural information, his view is that artefacts:

> "primarily represent evidence of a changing way of life within a ten-year period. ...there were many of the arts and crafts that were dying out...the craftsmen had died and had died without handing on much of the skill " (p.19).

Collector A did remark on his collection's financial value but this was expressed in Buka currency. This serves to demonstrate its perceived cultural value as opposed to its financial value within the western market system. When describing the value of Buka bride money, he explained this in terms of Buka currency; "it's worth about four hundred dollars in their money, about four hundred kina" (p.10). He is aware that a financially driven market exists and demonstrates his dislike for this and its potential effects on artefact production and authenticity.

" I believe that while there'll never be a resurgence of the use of these artefacts, there are people who have not enough scruples to go and copy things and make them look as if they are authentic and I wouldn't like to see that happen" (p. 33).

This perspective on the integrity of his collections has impacted on the physical maintenance of his collection. He will not physically interfere with the artefacts in his collection due to his perceived lack of expert knowledge and lack of original materials to undertake treatment of this kind. He appears completely familiar with academic notions of

authenticity with regard to his collection's original and authentic parts, evident in the following remarks; " I have never attempted to repair anything that's got damaged, for example the bow that I broke, I could have easily taken that out but I couldn't have repaired, I knew that" (p.3).

Further comments regarding artefact construction and materials used continue to emphasise his sensitivity to the notion of using original material; "First of all it's on the standing end of the bow, secondly the breadfruit string that it's made out of, I'd have to go back there to get another one" (p.48).

He has maintained strong contact with many of the people from his Buka mission. He remarked that he and his wife consolidated firm associations with many people from Buka and describes a somewhat familial relationship. He suggests that his social perspectives on western society have often been from the peripheral viewpoint and considers himself to be akin to or closely aligned with Māori and Pacific peoples:

> "Māori people in Taranaki, the Māori people in Northland were inclined to look at us as being more at home with them than we were with Pakeha...I think we have an appreciation of Māori culture which is not necessarily a European way of looking at things"(p.3).

The only acquaintance with collectors within his social circle was a somewhat distant relationship with A H Voyce (another missionary collector); otherwise he has no familiarity with the western market system in the way of dealers, retail outlets and/or art/museum institutional staff. Reaction to his collections by visiting friends is one of acceptance because the majority of these people are like-minded missionary folk:

> "A lot of our friends were missionary minded, if you get what I mean. There were some of them who have served as missionaries, some of them in the Solomons and in other places. Whenever we had people from overseas visiting us they were always interested in what was there but it's like today, you know, you can see things and you can talk about them for ages...because it's part of life" (p. 43)

Collector A had previously displayed his collections throughout the home environment, however space was now limited and only allowed a few select small objects to be placed in each room. Wall spaces were now decorated with photographs of Buka and personal mementoes. Space constraints had prompted him to contemplate donating his collection to a public institution. He reflected on past displays within his mission home

> " Most of the places we lived in had at least four bedrooms and there was room to display things...I had a lot of artefacts made up...they were hung up and you could see them. Arrows and bows, all sorts of things...it's only since we came into this accommodation where we haven't had the room" (p. 42).

He has manufactured his own mount systems. He describes one of his mounting configurations for the spears and arrows in his collection and demonstrates an interest in the decorative arrangement and display of these in the following remarks: "I had spears and bows, bows and arrows, I had them in a display like a fan...I had them wired together with copper wire in order to keep them permanently displayed" (p.42).

Collector A acknowledged he became known amongst the indigenous community as a 'collector', and as a result, artefacts such as stone axes were presented in plentiful supply. 'Reward money' was given in exchange for these and Collector A perceived this as a manifestation of local lore where exchange within traditional local Buka society would represent giving something of more value back to reciprocate. In this case, a bible or specific utensil would be given in exchange. This clearly represented an exchange system outside of a western monetary market system. Asked whether he would consider selling, he explained he would give this collection away as; " This is part of our (Buka) culture which I've absorbed" (p.33). This served to reinforce his familiarity and ease with the Buka cultural exchange system.

Collector A's altruistic perspective is strongly reflected in his belief that his collections are primarily educative, even instructive to future New Zealand and Pacific Island generations

about the "cultures of the Pacific and this is one way of showing what we have learned and understood" (p. 12).

Collector B

Collector B is a male Pakeha of middle age, middle income who lives in Dunedin. His career has been in public radio and television in New Zealand.

His collection consists of early to late 19th Century Oceanic artefacts. He inherited a small collection of 19th Century Fijian, Tongan, Vanuatu and New Ireland artefacts from a larger family collection when he was in his early twenties. He comments that he has actively collected in this area since his school days. He has acquired this collection from antique shops, fairs, markets and auction houses. He calculates that up to 15% of the collection has been given to him by friends or members of the public. Māori artefacts are not included in his collection. Small numbers of African, Asian and North American artefacts are however incorporated into his major artefact collection. He has actively sold artefacts on the national and, to an increasing degree, the international market. His Oceanic collection mainly consists of adzes, spatulas, clubs, spears and bowls. He also has a small collection of paintings and sculpture by friends or family, including a number of landscapes.

He estimates that his complete Oceanic collection is currently made up of sixty to seventy pieces but has no current documentation to verify this. This self confessed lack of current documentation is a direct result of a major relocation of home and family, in the last year.

Collector B's collection is distinctly artefact based with an emphasis on good 'quality', with a strong preference for items of the 19th and early 20th century. When asked about acquiring collections from contemporary producers in the field, he commented "I'm not going to find the Fiji of the nineteenth century when I get there...I'm going to see culture that's mostly adapted, mostly turned on for tourists like me" (p. 11).

He confidently accepts, even enjoys the status of 'collector' explaining "I've collected

Pacific artefacts since I was at school" (p.2). The quality of his collection is reflected in his own ability to recognise a developed and knowledgeable taste: "I reckon as some collectors do, that I developed a good eye" (p.6).

He is aware that his acquired knowledge of Oceanic artefacts has enhanced his ability to authenticate potential collection purchases, he discussed the prospect of buying African artefacts and the inherent difficulties involved in this:

> "I suppose if I was a European I'd probably collect African artefacts...They were there and fascinated me so I extended that. I must say, I looked through the antique shops in Nice and Cannes and Antibes, just a few months ago. I saw several African artefacts there, but I didn't see any interest in them because I don't know enough and there is a hell of a lot of stuff that's faked and cleverly aged" (p. 12).

He seems acutely aware that the collection by its very nature is closely associated with his own values and possibly serves to promote qualities that he himself may wish to have, "if you collect something a bit unusual it makes perhaps by association you become more interesting and unusual" (p.12).

Collector B stresses that beauty and visual qualities are among his more important selection criteria. He enjoys their physical qualities: "I can't claim any real connection. I just claim that I enjoy having them and I like them. Aesthetically they please me, I like to handle them too..." (p. 16).

He does not collect Māori artefacts as he considers their ornate and intricate designs aesthetically unappealing to him:

> "Māori carving has never intrigued me as much as the other (Pacific artefacts), sometimes it's a little ornate for me, overly decorated for me and it doesn't do anything to inspire me. I like simple patu, things like that, elegant simple shapes. But others I find too...perhaps it oppresses me a bit much. I'm really not interested in it" (p. 10).

When further questioned about this lack of interest, he initially contemplated the possibility of preferring innovative and different paths of collecting rather than conventional areas: "maybe I've seen too much in museums, maybe I'll be a bit different"(p.10). He later indicated that Māori items have a controversial element that may have contributed to his lack of interest in this area: "Then of course it became a bit more controversial. I guess I wasn't trying to avoid any controversy, it's just what I like" (p.10).

He does, however, rate ingenuity of manufacture and design to be of equal value in his selection. Construction, materials, location, function were all discussed in detail: " three Admiralty Island spears...lots of fine carving and flying fox fur and bound...sennit binding onto a bamboo shaft..." (p. 3). He emphasised on several occasions the importance of a bygone culture and considers that his collections represent a different era, an uncontaminated past culture. All that currently remained in the Pacific was "nothing ... except our own culture, tin sheds, corrugated iron roofs, plastic buckets, T-shirts"(p.11).

Collector B appears to be familiar with the notion of 'authenticity'. He comments that his collections are clearly within a time frame where the: "cut off point would be the latter part of the nineteenth century" (p.11). When asked about his interest in contemporary works of Pacific origin he comments: "I'm more interested in a different era" (p.10). He appears to have a focused and disciplined strategy when considering extending his collecting into the contemporary arena. When asked about his preference for historic Pacific artefacts, he stated:

> "Yes, more than contemporary Pacific art, although I was very tempted for a while to buy works by Tuffery...and I really like what he was doing ... I couldn't spread myself too thinly in all these things" (p. 10).

The need to progressively refine and focus his collection strategy was expressed in later comments:

> "There's no such thing as a complete collection to me. The only thing as I said before, if I could satisfy myself with say five or ten objects, they would have to be real quality, that

> would do. I'm not a person who needs to have millions of the damn things. I just seem to have acquired a lot of stuff ...I would be happy to, if I could come up with maybe ten very good pieces" (p.17).

Collector B essentially sees his collections as collateral. He expresses enjoyment at elevated prices and has recently sold items from his collections to international dealers. He remarks that ideally he should sell specific collections to fund further purchases and further refine the quality in his collection:

> "Then if I was wise I would put the proceeds from any culling into a separate account and use that to buy something, because there will come a time when they turn up, when the good pieces do, they do come I'm sure...I imagine the clever and the visionary amongst collectors do all this sort of thing, particularly if they're just middle income people. (p. 18).

When questioned about further culling his collection as a strategy to refine artefacts within it, he responds that he is now effectively priced out of the market because of escalating prices:

> "I'd like to, but I won't and I haven't done it so far. I've often sold to buy but I think we've reached a stalemate with this collection. I don't think I can go much further, cause I simply can't afford to buy the really good pieces" (p.18).

He has always kept to a disciplined strategy with his collections and not allowed collecting to become an uncontrollable obsession: "obsessions I don't like, cause all else gets swept aside as you try and accommodate this obsession" (p.18). Keeping to this disciplined rationale, he takes pride in observing an acceptable price range when collecting: "We've never really spent big money. I've never spent, paid more than eleven hundred dollars for anything" (p.18).

Collector B maintains that he has no collectors amongst his immediate social circle. He commented that when he initiated his collection; "I was virtually alone as a collector of

artefacts..."(p.14). He does not highlight artists or people from originating cultures as his close friends or acquaintances. He has however mentioned building sociable networks with some dealers, collectors and museum staff in his past: "if there was something of particular interest they wouldn't bid against me and I'd do the same for them, it was just on a rotational basis" (p. 14).

When asked about his more intimate social circles and how they responded to his collections he commented on their mixture of admiration and puzzled reactions to the unconventional collections:

> "in fact I had a museum room built and people would have to go in and see...the stuff was all over the walls and they quite liked it. They just thought it was the (Collector B's) curious people collecting odd bits of grubby old wood" (p. 9).

Collector B displays his collections in both the public and private spaces of his home. He is currently in the midst of adapting these spaces to allow for improved presentation of the collection. His comments indicate the effort involved in realising the long-term vision of properly displaying all of his collections within his home:

> "All over the place. I've got stuff upstairs and there are bits in here (living room). See this room wasn't designed, and there were windows and all sorts of things through here, which made this room unusable. Then I filled it all in and put in a fireplace, put some bookshelves in and there are things strewn about the bookshelves at the moment but they'll eventually, when I've done the garage and everything else, they'll be properly displayed" (p. 17).

He comments that he does not display collections by type but mixes them: "They'll go everywhere...this room is not designated the clubroom, the spear room, the bowl room and spatula room, the mask room" (p.17).

He admits that he likes the visual 'mix' that develops when displaying collections of different mediums and different cultural origins:

> "I like the look of them, a lot of them. I like a real mix. I mean, here we have on this table, a Mexican table with a Bolivian Chicha bowl, a New Zealand... that's a Māori figure cast by a friend of mine who's a bronze artist...a Chilean painter there, my son's early work there, an illustrator friend of mine there, a Richard Killeen there...a Marilyn Webb. I mean it might be just too eclectic perhaps...this is a Rajasthani rice chest, and a very old one" (p.5).

Certain themes have however developed out of each room's function and as a result certain collection types are avoided to maintain a desired ambience. For example: "In the bedroom, I've got a couple of Dayak masks but I won't put any Oceanic stuff in our bedroom...it's a theme, I think in that room" (p. 17).

Collector B arranges his collections in his home for decorative effect and takes great pride in his efforts to construct and design mount structures such as shelving units, niches, wire supports to display his collections to their best effect:

> "If you've got spears and things and when you're displaying them on a wall you often fan them out. If you've got a group of spears, groups of clubs, paddles, I like to mix them up" (p.17).

He is proud of these efforts and remarks:

> "I didn't think I could claim an aesthete's eye but, I'm not, when it comes to putting things up and displaying them, I'm not too bad when I get around to it" (p.17).

Collector B maintains his collections himself. He has on occasions added unoriginal parts or sections to improve tneir 'look'. He credits himself with good artistic and dexterous skills to enable him to undertake such work and acknowledges similar handiwork in the current dealer network. When asked about previous methods of repair, he answered: "[when] I've broken things, I've just glued as best I can" (p.15).

He appeared to be motivated to record and document, in notebook format, details of purchase and sale for each of his collections items. He confided that these records would serve in future to highlight price increases:

> I had a little folder in which I would write down the price, I would draw the artefact and photograph it. I had a few photographs but my photographs were very inept. I felt it was better if I drew them in a folio with price, origin, provenance where known etceteras" (p. 15).

He also sought out books and publications with relevant information pertaining to his collections so he could develop his knowledge and familiarity with them:

> " I started buying books and of course the books whet your appetite and you see in the books...you get to recognise certain artefacts ...so they rekindle an interest and you want to go after things like that and if it were possible to acquire them..." (p.16).

Collector B has sourced his collections for up to thirty-five years from auctions throughout New Zealand. He regularly receives auction catalogues and enjoys the environment of participating in the auction process. He also actively seeks artefacts from antique shops and keeps a keen eye on local fairs; always looking for the odd bargain in a discarded family collection. He explains the thrill of the bargain when describing a friend's recent find:

> "I mean this guy that I'm friendly with in Albuquerque, he was at an auction, not a Lions Club auction...what was it, just a 'bring and buy' in Plimmerton one day and that was only eighteen months ago and here was this thing. It was sold as a letter opener. It wasn't a wooden letter opener, it was a Massim spatula and not a bad one. Broken blade, but the rest of it was in...fifty cents if you please. Now that's a good find. It's fun. He came and can you imagine his delight and glee. He came thundering round and leapt out of his car, "look what I've found", so it's getting the bargains, it's part of it of course" (p.12).

Recently Collector B has been approached by international dealers in artefacts and has as a result of this, sold a large proportion of his collections to them. He has also recently used

the Internet to sell some of his collection. He indicated that prices on the international market are at a premium and despairs at the possibility of selling within the low New Zealand market:

> "I visited four in Santa Fe in the last few months, just over a day. I walked into them all, they had pieces of mine but I didn't tell them that. They'd bought them on the Internet and they were all nicely polished up and looking extremely good but they weren't good quality. They also had superb prices: twenty thousand US dollars for a Marquesan short club, things like that" (p. 6).

Buying and selling represent to Collector B an exciting and thrilling process and he displays an adept familiarity within the market system. When describing his sense of thrill and excitement with the market environment, he remarked:

> "I suppose part of me was wondering how much I can make on this when I turn it over if I ever do. There is that point "...hey I paid forty-six bucks, ten years later I sold it for a thousand'. You think what a clever chap you are, you've got an eye for these things" (p.8).

He understands that within his own locality he has become known as a collector and has, as a result of this public knowledge, been gifted items and or presented with collections to purchase. His local community has come to identify him with collecting, and actively participate in keeping vigil. He comments: "In my bailiwick, in Dunedin, I keep an eye out, they (community) know I'm here" (p. 11).

Collector B appears determined to ensure that when his children eventually inherit his collection they are able to maximise the financial return on any future sale. He responded to questions about the potential fate of his collections, emphasising that his concern was to broker a good financial solution for his family: "I want to be very careful that they sold them properly, sold them on the best possible market" (p.19).

Collectors C

Collectors C are a male and female Pakeha couple of middle age and middle income who live in Auckland. The male is a chartered accountant and the female was previously in the hospitality industry and is currently studying to complete a Māori Studies degree at Auckland University.

Early collections of both painting and sculpture artworks were initiated in 1986. Their collecting focus is primarily contemporary art. It is made up of a substantial body of artworks by Māori and Pacific Island artists such as Fred Graham, Fatu Feu'u and Richard Shortland-Cooper. A variety of mediums such as paintings, works on paper, glass, stone and metal are represented in this collection. These artworks have been acquired from a dealer or directly from the artists.

In 1986, they inherited a Papua New Guinean artefact collection from a relative. They had no previous knowledge of this collection. It consists of artefacts such as spears, arrows, fishhooks and lime containers and is maintained and displayed separately from the artworks collected by the couple.

From 1996 onwards, their interest in older artefacts has developed and purchases have been made to add to their collection. Initially these were acquired from dealer galleries, however, several recent acquisitions have been made at auction. All traditional artefacts collected at this stage are historical Oceanic artefacts including Tongan, Samoan and Hawaiian tapa, and a small wooden carving. They estimate their collection at the time of the interview to be 25 contemporary and historic Oceanic art-works.

It should be noted that collectors C have other collections of historic New Zealand and European books, furniture, Maling ceramics and contemporary New Zealand decorative art. They make personal, political, cultural and symbolic connections and linkages between their contemporary and historic Oceanic collections and these other collections.

Collectors C do not consider themselves to be collectors. Their notion of a collector is someone with great personal wealth: "connotations of money and fine art, you know...big expensive collections" (p.17).

When asked about the development of their collection, they define it as something that has developed and grown rather than having been strategically collected. They commented: "we've 'acquired' things rather than set out to establish a collection" (p. 2).
The expanding nature of their collection reflects a very personal response to their changing sense of place and identity: " It's an extension of our lives so it is important for us to have a relationship with them [artworks]" (p.11).

The inherited artefact collection from Papua New Guinea is kept distinct from their own collection in both documentation and display, indicating a strong need to differentiate between their inherited and acquired collections. This is evident in their comments:

> "We were looking at it [Michael's collection] as a 'museum' collection and that might have been because it came that way. Just instinct I suppose, that was what he put together as a collection and we saw it as Michael's collection, I think it was. It also helped us recognise that it was Michael's and, you know, in an abstract way, it labelled it as not ours" (p. 21).

They further remark that Michael's collection is labelled with 'MF' and marked with a registration number. In comparison, their own collections are not marked in any way. When asked to clarify the reason for this they remarked:

> "If we did that, [mark objects] then we would be saying what we have is a collection and we don't have [one]. We never had that attitude and that's the progression. If we set out marking that piece then we would have to admit to ourselves that we were collector" (p.22).

The inherited Papua New Guinean artefact collection is kept distinct within their home. However, they freely mingle all their own collections of Oceanic art and artefacts,

ceramics, furniture and books to emphasise the many family connections and linkages that these collections create in their home environment:

> "There are lots of family connections here that are worth nothing probably...but because they have connections they're given space. Down the hall there's another piece of tapa that we have beautifully framed that our daughter did ...and I can't say that's any less than the big Fijian tapa that's on the wall. I have to admit the Cook tapa, just because of its age and history has to be given precedence" (p. 14).

They have consciously developed and nurtured a 'Pacific connection' between all their collections. When discussing this broad pacific connection of their collection, they emphasise primarily New Zealand and Māori in this concept. In this way these collections create a New Zealand focus and express a very personal vision:

> "Our instincts were there [gesturing to pacific art] because it was from the Pacific broadly. I mean behind this the books [reference collections] that we bought would have had a focus on New Zealand- Māori artefacts" (p.6).

Collectors C are very conscious that they have been at the forefront of a fashionable move to acquire 'indigenous' artwork:

> "I think our interest in Māori and Polynesian artists is very broadly nostalgic. Certainly not saying "hey this is where New York is going to latch onto Pacific artists" which they do now. We didn't predict that that was going to happen and, therefore, went into it thinking this is going to be the area to be in. As I've said before, we were hanging Michael's Papua New Guinea bits on the wall before it became fashionable to have ethnic pieces" (p.26).

Their interest in cultural aspects of the collection are reflected in the values that they believe they express in their own lives and not just a suburban response to political correctness. A connection to place predicates their respect for Māori, as tangata whenua: "you had to recognise Māori within New Zealand...so I don't know where that put us

except that we have a sensitivity about these things" (p. 7). This strong desire to make personal connections with their own cultural environment is expressed through their collection: "always with a New Zealand connection for the most part" (p. 3)

Collectors C felt that 'strength' and, in some cases, the confrontational aspect of their work was paramount in the selection process. Aesthetic criteria did not seem to be as important. He remarked:

> "I suspect in fact the collection in that broad sense is probably not beautiful as people perceive it in the decorating sense at all. But there is a certain strength in everything ...and it's probably the strength of the pieces that appeals to us" (p. 15).

They seem to enjoy the provocative nature of their artworks and the effect it has on visitors, further emphasising the innovative approach that their selection of artwork represents within their close social circles:

> "I'm conscious of the Darcy Nicholas mask's appeal because it's slightly provocative to have hanging there. I do sometimes point it out to people and watch for their reaction. But that's my perverse way of getting some humour out of the work" (p.26).

They are knowledgeable about and sensitive to the issues of contemporary cultural politics with regard to owning indigenous materials not from their own cultural background and are aware of current political debates:

> "I've bristled during art history lectures when there have been discussions about collectors and maybe the morality of it and how things get removed and whether we have the right to have the tapa hanging on the wall...not guilt, but I've questioned that point of view" (p.28).

When discussing the acquisition of a historic tapa, they described an initial reticence to buy, but later justified this purchase. In their view, fate seems to have been central to their acquisition of specific artworks:

> "At the time we didn't buy it [traditional tapa], couldn't buy it, whatever, but twelve months later it was suddenly there...there were plenty of other things we could get, why do we want it...except twelve months later sitting in the back room it sits there because we're supposed to have it" (p.14).

Collectors C saw their collections as not necessarily representative of Pacific Island cultures but considered the artists represented in their collection to be essentially New Zealanders of Pacific Island origin, identifying these artworks with a New Zealand theme and focus and distancing them from the Pacific:

> "New Zealanders ...rather than seeing their work as Samoan...it didn't. It came from these people living just down the road here and what they're expressing in it is themselves rather than the island of Samoa as such" (p.17)

They initially acquired many contemporary artworks from Pacific Island artists who were living and working in New Zealand. They were acquiring these pieces when few Pakeha were aware of the work of contemporary Pacific Island artists in New Zealand.
They comment on these early days when much of this emerging art was exhibited in 'fringe' locations: " We were often the only white faces there, and definitely the only ones who turned up in a suit" (p. 9).

As they became more confident and familiar with their collection items and the market system, they began to acquire older Oceanic artefacts. When they are asked about the acquisition of a historic 'Cook' tapa, they express an awareness of its greater value, not only in financial terms but also in terms of its implied historic value and the intellectual/academic commitment involved in its acquisition. They appear to be aware of its significance by its association with both Captain James Cook, Pacific Island and European history and cultural practices.

> "taking the step and buying that, the Cook tapa, was sort of frightening cause it was making that distinction from just ... it was reasonably expensive, it was making a commitment I suppose, to extending our knowledge" (p. 14).

Collectors C tend to be aware of financial value of their collection but are clearly not motivated by the potential for gain. They claim their collections are not for financial investment: "There is no way we're going to sell it, all things being equal...but no it's not investment" (p.3).

They do however realise that value is increased with age and rarity and comment on their willingness to sell if a major institution was interested in acquiring one of the older collection items, because of the artefact's rarity and intrinsic value:

> "The Fijian tapa that now dates from the 1950's...when somebody representing Te Papa or whatever came along and said "this is important in the collection that we are trying to put together, fill the gaps, yeah we'd think about it" (p.3).

They are well aware of escalating market prices for artefacts and consider this to be a well-deserved recognition of objects that had previously been undervalued in the market. When discussing a historic tapa on sale at auction recently they comment: "Those, that Cordys [auction house] had were expensive. Which is wonderful. I think it's fabulous that they are being recognised" (p.20).

They do set themselves limits when purchasing their collections and admit that when considering a new collection artwork they are affected by purchase price:

> "I am conscious that I do look at art with an eye on the price tag. I am affected by what it costs, as to whether I'm going to like it or not. That's a slight overstatement. It's coming back and acquiring the thing. ...If its seventy- thousand dollar painting, I'll look at it and say that's a good Toss Woollaston but I don't actually in my mind go to the next stage and say it's one that I'm going to have...So there's a limit in that sense" (p.19).

They dislike the investment approach that many dealer galleries are increasingly taking when marketing their artworks. They call this a "money approach to art" (p.12). This has cemented their ties with Dealer A's gallery (see chapter five for account of Dealer A), as they believe she provides a sensitive and researched approach to selling artworks, with particular reference to the cultural needs of Oceanic historic and contemporary artworks. They make connections between her approach and their own to artworks:

> "That does link in to our feeling about things, the books that came with the home, the old photographs of the family and so on. They're not acquired just to decorate the place, I suppose, and that feeling that comes from, well I think it's there in the emerging artists as well, you know, the Pacific and Māori artists. Her work [Dealer A] kind of carries that kind of feel, where the big dealer galleries that are just putting stuff on the wall are just selling to a what I call the 'decorator market' more than with one [gallery] with some connection to it" (p.12).

Collectors C actively seek collection items from dealer galleries and to a lesser extent, antique and retail shops, auctions and cultural festivals. They have purchased their artworks equally from both artists and dealer galleries. They have maintained a close and trusting relationship with Dealer A for up to six years. They mentioned no close associations with other dealers. Collectors C described their relationship with Dealer A in these remarks:

> " We do have a favourite, we talked of (dealer A), which is really where this affinity is. We see her a lot because of that affinity, rather than she's our favourite dealer. I mean the two go hand in hand" (p.17).

Collectors C include Pacific and Māori (fine) artists such as Fatu Feu'u and Fred Graham within their wider social circle. Their associations with the Tautai Pacific Arts Trust have consolidated these friendships. They remark that these associations and resultant social perspectives have set them apart from their established social circles. There are no collectors amongst their closest friends, and their collections have on occasion caused confusion and consternation:

> "But our friends that we socialise with, like for instance the people, some of our eldest friends...they see it but they don't understand it, they have no real knowledge of it" (p. 25).

When asked how their friends react to their art collections, they laughingly responded "they think we're basically mad" (p.25). They have rejected continued pressures from close friends to leave the 'multi-ethnic' suburb of Mt Eden and have forgone the possibility of financial gain that would be derived from selling their Mt Eden villa and moving on to wealthier suburbs such as Remuera. They have remained in their Mt Eden villa for over twenty years now and they view this as closely linked to their strong commitment to place and a developing national culture within New Zealand:

> "It's a place where we feel quite comfortable at, an environment that we feel comfortable in...Everyone laughs when I say, you know, "are you going to move?"...that's Mt Eden, the sound of sanders and always someone digging up the house which they sell, and move on to Epsom, so they can get to Remuera. And I've said "I'm going to die here, I'm not moving from this house" you know, we love this house, we love this area and I'm not going nowhere and that is hard for a number of people to understand. It becomes easier. Many years ago when the children were quite young, I had the first of many attempts to learn Māori at night school and that caused more concern, debate, angst, leaving dinner parties, and so we've stopped seeing a lot of these people and those that have survived they have accepted that's a part of our life" (p.26)

Collectors C placed contemporary and historic Oceanic artworks throughout the public and private areas of their home and garden. In the following remarks they described the collections in their garden and illustrate the intimate affinities apparent between the artists, their artworks and the collectors that creates a complex and distinctive New Zealand vision:

> "Well some of the art flows out into the garden which again for those pieces has appealed, Brett Graham in the hall, something outside. There's a Barry Brickell pot that Fatu Feu'u

> worked with Barry on and Fatu did the decoration. So we like them outside for that reason" (p.23).

They appeared hesitant to rotate, as this would concede to their notion of 'collector' status which they described as:

> " that notion of having stuff in storage and then changing it and bringing it out, moves it into what I think of as a collection and it's back to that sort of debate with myself about why we're being viewed as collectors. Because were not doing that so therefore we're not collectors" (p.28).

Collectors C have enthusiastically collected books, magazine and newspaper articles and publications relevant to their collections to help in developing their knowledge about the artworks and artefacts that they collect: "We're more focused in collecting books probably and that is anything used or new books that came out on Māori or art in New Zealand"(p.17).

Their commitment to their collections is further demonstrated by the level of their documentation. They have catalogued all their collections and retain all information pertaining to purchase price, source, construction, artist, and exhibition reviews:

> " We have a file on acquiring stuff, all the prices and the tags and the sort of paper work and another file that we keep and has just been added to, anything to do with information on the artist or on the area of the rug or the construction and so on" (p.21).

They initially constructed their own mount systems for their collections, but have recently contracted a professional framer, introduced to them by Dealer A, to help hang and design mount systems for their collections:

> "Through [Dealer A], we were introduced to one of the Gow family, who is into framing. So we've got to know him...he's been in the house. He helped us work out how to hang the masi and he did the breastplate and made these acrylic things [mounts]" (p.20).

Collections of ceramics, furniture, books and family photographs are all displayed amongst their contemporary and historic Oceanic artworks. They have in the past been reluctant to spread the different collections into their childrens' rooms so as not to impose their own tastes on them:

> "I think we've actually sort of avoided imposing it on the kids in their own rooms...we've waited for them to say they didn't have any furniture in them" (p. 23).

They have acknowledged the responsibilities of caring for artworks:

> "We've become aware that if we have guardianship of these pieces then we need to make some effort to take care of them...but its also the value, giving them the value and respecting them" (p. 31).

Collectors C are aware of their lack of current knowledge regarding conservation issues and have sought advice from their major dealer whom they regard highly for her knowledge in these areas. They are strongly aware of spiritual care and have sought advice on these matters from Dealer A:

> "We did ask the question of [Dealer A], not any Pacific Island people, when we acquired the Fijian piece whether it was sort of OK to hang it up, display it so we sought it of her" (p. 29).

Connections are made by Collectors C with Dealer A's gallery and its display of artworks. Many of the display methods used in their home environment reflect the general style of the dealer gallery itself where a similar eclectic approach is taken to aesthetic and symbolic emphasis with the selection and display of art within the gallery environment:

> "I think if you compared her gallery with our place, which sounds slightly odd, it is a mix of things. Our sort of mix of New Zealand, they can be Māori artefacts...or pieces from Africa or whatever with that kind of ethnic feel to them. So that appeals" (p.11).

They describe what essentially attracts them when displaying diverse yet related artworks in their home environment:

> "we want to define what we think beauty is. It's probably that the pieces regardless of size must have strength. You know the small piece of Elizabeth McClure glass, that jet black, can just sit there with those ethnic pieces because, I think it just has so much strength in that small piece of glass. So it's that sort of approach" (p.15).

Collectors C, due to their active participation in the Tautai Pacific Arts Trust, have many friends who are practising Pacific Island artists (living and working in New Zealand). Many of their early acquisitions were as a result of this association where contemporary artworks were commissioned from or gifted by these artists themselves. As a consequence of their interest in Oceanic art, they started visiting dealer galleries. The main body of their Oceanic art collections have, as a result, been acquired through the Auckland dealer system. With a growing familiarity and confidence in the dealer system, they have recently started sourcing collections from Auckland auction houses. This corresponds quite strongly with their greater interest in and movement into the older Māori and Pacific artefacts market. They have indicated their familiarity with antique and tourist shops but have not indicated acquiring Oceanic collections from these. They commented that they visited the Pasifika Festival recently where they were impressed by the artworks for sale. They did not, however, buy because of their unfamiliarity with this market environment. Internet sites are of no interest to them. When describing their reaction to this market environment, they commented: "It was uncomfortable. It was a bit like buying at auction"(p.20).

For Collectors C, all their collections are a result of a personal vision. Their remarks demonstrate a conscious narrative placing themselves within a cultural, geographical, and political environment, a place to belong: "an extension of ourselves" (p. 27). The primary relationship of the collection is with themselves. They are not concerned whether their children retain these collection. They are, however, concerned that their children respect the family heirlooms (photos, books, ceramics) and retain these in their possession:

> "Because I suppose its personal, it's our things we've collected and things that we love and that mean something to us. If they don't like them then there's no point in them having them and there's other things they could gather that will mean something to them:"(p. 29).

Their collection is essentially a way of life, something that has grown and developed with their own sense of identity. Their need to enjoy and appreciate this collection for all its personal and emotional connections to themselves feeds a desire that in the future their children may do so:

> "The art I think is really personal and they, it's hard to tell at their age, you know, they're teenagers and they don't like anything that we like, but they may do...and it's becoming easier for them because they've got lots of friends who come in and are interested in it and think it's pretty neat. But I would prefer, unless they are able to live with it in a way that we are, that they sold it or gave it away so someone else could enjoy it rather than just sort of putting up with them because Mum and Dad, you know, had bought them" (p.30).

Collector D

Collector D is a Pakeha female, of middle age and high-income who lives in Auckland. She has a Masters Degree, was previously a University lecturer and is now actively involved in the arts. She started collecting in partnership with her husband approximately 30 years ago. The collection was originally conceived as a comprehensive selection of New Zealand fine art painting and sculpture by major New Zealand artists. The selection process developed with time to encompass major stylistic changes in the careers of a more focused group of fine artists. A change in family circumstances initiated a different approach to collecting for Collector D. She began to focus her collections within a minimalist and abstract aesthetic where the 2-dimensional forms dominate the selection process. Established artists such as Colin McCahon, Ralph Hotere and Milan Mrkusich are among artists represented in her collection. In accordance with these criteria, traditional and contemporary Oceanic artworks are selected to support and complement the abstract

aesthetic of this fine art collection. She confesses however to making historic and cultural connections between the cultural objects she collects and items in her fine art collections. Both Māori and Pacific artworks are actively collected, while Asian artworks are collected only in a minor way. She acquires from dealer galleries, auction houses nationally and internationally and by artist commission. She comments that the selection process is sporadic and dependent upon artefact availability and notes that she is developing a greater interest in more historic cultural collections.

Collector D did collect a small selection of ethnographic artworks early in her collecting. In this period she travelled extensively and acquired artworks for nostalgic interest and aesthetic reasons. These collections are retained and exhibited alongside her major art collection.

Collector D's collections are primarily art focused with an emphasis on contemporary New Zealand art. She has included a minor selection of European and American art that acts to complement the abstract themes governing her collection. She appears to make a distinction between her art and her Oceanic collections. Collector D perceives herself as a collector of art but not of ethnographic artefacts. She maintains that her strategy for collecting in each area is distinct: artworks are selected meticulously to emphasise trends in a particular artist's life, whereas Oceanic artworks are selected in a random and somewhat informal manner. When asked about her approach to collecting artefacts, she commented:

> "I never really formulated any policy in the way that I did for art. When I realised where my tastes lay, I set out with art to back buy and develop a complete collection…I've never set out consciously to do anything like that in terms of ethnographic art but when I see a really beautiful piece I tend to try and acquire it." (p.4).

She explains that she feels comfortable with the title of collector with regard to her art collection but not as a collector of ethnographic artefacts. She makes this definition with regard to collection size and purpose:

> "I mean I have some nice pieces [Oceanic] but I don't have enough to regard myself a collector. I mean 'collector 'is a term that's usually bestowed on you by other people so I don't know whether I would qualify...its not a term one actually gives to oneself " (p.6).

When questioned about her inclusion of ethnographic artefacts alongside the art collections she alludes to an existent northern European tradition of collecting:

> "The famous B Mueller collection which is actually a museum now like the Menil collection. Monique, who was a friend of mine and who has been here, she is a third generation of major collectors in Europe and she collects contemporary art and ethnographic pieces...well, they have a really serious, internationally serious ethnographic collection" (p.14).

She later notes that this tradition is unusual in New Zealand. "In New Zealand it's not a common thing to be quite so eclectic but it is not uncommon internationally" (p. 14).
Collector D explains that her taste in art has often been considered innovative with its minimal and abstract direction, an area previously undervalued in conventional art circles:

> "The sort of art I collect interestingly wasn't acceptable when I was doing a major part of the collection.... I was always interested in minimal art and people said "oh, abstraction's dead' and so on, and I would say "well, I don't care that's not why I am collecting it, I'm collecting it because I like it and always did" and now the funny thing is of course a lot of those abstract artists such as Gordon Walters and so on have now become much more popular and the prices have risen and they are back in favour. That was never the reason I collected it and a lot of really abstract art was always very unacceptable to people" (p.14).

Her abstract tastes have also directed her choice when selecting historic Oceanic artefacts for her collections, where the essential motivation is a specific aesthetic direction:

> "They weren't purchased on an ethnographic basis, they were purchased on an aesthetic basis. I've always been interested in tribal art that fits with my more minimal tastes. Which is why I have this beautiful Tongan neckrest, but I don't have a lot of Solomon Island pieces which are more elaborate and ornamented" (p. 3).

The most significant selection criteria for collector D has been the visual aesthetic: "I think the basis of my collecting in the end, the bottom line is aesthetic" (p.12). She has cited her interest in 20th century art as the impetus for collecting the Oceanic artefacts that she selects: "I tended towards the more minimal or towards the contemplative, certainly abstract...I wasn't terribly interested in the figurative art" (p.3)

Collector D described her selection process and collection of artefacts as characterised by a 'purely personal eye'. She further comments on her disinterest aesthetically in more ornate cultural artefacts:

> "I've never been the remotest bit interested in Southeast Asian art because it's highly ornate and busy, in Māori terms I've collected things like patu but not...taurapa, you know the stern posts of canoes or gable carvings...although it's great art" (p.3).

The priority given to visual form has excluded consideration of the object's sociological significance. Collector D does appear to be interested in knowledge about the culture of the producer and its relevance to the object. She makes strong cultural links to herself as a New Zealander and the special bond and respect that she has for Māori culture as a result of this:

> " I'm sensitive to the issue of ownership and I live within a country where there is strong Māori culture and so I accept the fact that this doesn't apply in my mind to contemporary pieces which are made and purchased in a commercial market, but the old pieces I'm aware really only being a guardian, kaitiaki. I never lose sight of that, unlike Pacific Island pieces. I guess if I had more contact with traditional Pacific Island cultures, I would feel the same. I'm open minded about that" (p. 6).

She elaborates on how she creates linkages between indigenous artworks and fine art pieces in her collection and how these connections have contributed to the ongoing development of this collection:

> "Collecting those artists and putting them into context. Gordon Walters is a very good example. Because I was interested in him I then started collecting a few Theo Schoon works...and to some extent of course being interested in Gordon one couldn't help but be interested in things like Māori rock art...one thing leads to another when you are collecting" (p.3).

Collector D had previously travelled and acquired some of her earliest artefacts directly from originating cultures. However, this form of collecting has apparently ceased and collections are now acquired through an active market system nationally and internationally.

She acknowledges a very active cultural continuum and adaptive art-making tradition by Pacific artists. This is clearly articulated in her remarks:

> "I think that everyone's art arises out of their culture and is connected to their culture and there is very strong body of contemporary Pacific Island artists..."(p.5).

It is interesting to note the evolving collecting practice of Collector D. Her collecting practice has developed recently in the area of historical Māori and Pacific artefacts. She notes that her 'quality' historic Oceanic collections have been acquired through the dealer and auction networks. When describing the value and meaning of one of these older artefacts, she comments: "Well for a start it means that these are genuinely old pieces made probably with stone tools, not metal...I think that's extremely interesting" (p.11).

During the interview with Collector D, it became apparent that investment and escalating financial value did not provide key motivation to acquire collections. She does not intend to sell all or part of her collections: "I presume you only invest if you want to make a profit. Since I never intend to sell anything. No, its investment value is of no interest to me at all" (p.15).

She is aware of her collections' commodity value, as she has assessed their comparative value on the national and international market:

> "I think in New Zealand terms, of really good quality artefacts, it is still relatively modestly priced and in particular, with Māori pieces, of course, because you can't export them. We are not of great interest to the international market...therefore prices here don't get international prices...I think you can still buy beautiful pieces relatively cheaply. I'll tell you an interesting thing. That Fijian necklace that I've just bought... I saw a very similar one at a dealer gallery in the United States about two months ago and the price was about three or four times what the price of that piece here was. So prices within New Zealand are still modest. There aren't a lot of major collectors (here), I don't think" (p. 8).

In fact, she has maintained that her collection will be eventually bequeathed to public institutions. "I will give most of it to institutions, almost all of it, unless I suddenly go bankrupt and have to sell something" (p.17).

Collector D does not count other collectors within her regular social circle. She does however include (fine) artists such as Ralph Hotere, Bill Culbert, Gretchen Albrecht and John Pule amongst her friends whom she socialises with at regular intervals. When asked about her acquaintance with people of originating cultures, she said she maintained contact with Māori 'artists' and Pacific 'painters' but welcomed further contact in more diverse ways. When referring to her social circle she comments:

> "I'm more associated with a network of artists actually and of course I know most of the art dealers but a lot of my closest friends and the people that I spend a lot of my time with are artists..." (p. 7).

She displays her collections in both the public and private living spaces in her home. No restrictions appeared to be placed on locations within the house: "I've got distinct storage areas, but in terms of display...I think you'll find Oceanic pieces scattered amongst contemporary art" (p.9).

All historic cultural art forms are rotated on a continual basis within the public and private living spaces to re-familiarise and juxtapose them with her works of contemporary art to

enable her to create aesthetic, cultural, symbolic, political and chronological linkages. She describes her display of a Tongan headrest:

> "I'll sit it [Tongan headrest] with different works. It happens to be sitting beside a German artist Fedele and a Rothko and it's got the same sensibility to my eye. Absolute simple purity. And I will equally easily sit it beside something else and give it a different dimension and possibly pick up on an ethnographic aspect. I sometimes sit something like that alongside say a Theo Schoon..." (p.12).

Professional display personnel are employed to fabricate mounts and hanging mechanisms. Perspex lifts, plinths and wire supports have been constructed to emphasise the aesthetic qualities of the art-works within her home environment. Oceanic objects are presented using these systems and are displayed in exactly the same manner as fine artworks.

Professional conservators are employed to provide advice and care for all her collections and high quality storage facilities have been constructed in discreet locations for collections not in circulation. She discusses these areas:

> "And the other ethnographic artefact pieces. They're sort of scattered around the house and like the fine art, they change. I've got some glass storage shelves, a specific storage area and I move things back and forth from there to out in the house"(p.9).

A registrar is also employed to catalogue all artworks in the collection and update relevant information such as purchase price and provenance details into a database:

> "Someone comes in once a week and catalogues everything. It's all on database and I get people to record the price, the origin, anything that I know about it. I also get people sometimes to go and research and find out a bit more about it. It's all catalogued" (p.10).

It is apparent from the above remarks concerning the care of her collections, that she makes no distinction in registration, conservation and display techniques between the Oceanic and fine artworks and takes pride in their high standard of care:

> "I am very conscious about making sure that they are well looked after and that they are sort of professionally handled and that when they go on loan they're properly looked after. I mean I would like to think I will hand them on in at least as good condition as I found them" (p.17).

Collector D highlighted her awareness of the distinction between physical and spiritual maintenance, enabling her to administer both to the best of her abilities. She remarked that on appropriate occasions a kaumatua was called in to perform karakia and she herself observed various restrictions in her daily routine such as limiting food and drink within the locality of Māori collections. When describing her sense of ownership, she outlined her notion of cultural custodianship:

> " I've been part of the decision [at a major museum] to basically alter our policy and say that we are merely kaitiaki of those collections and that we are open minded about the repatriation and I have the same open mindedness about it. I have in fact given back two pieces where Iwi identified particular pieces .... in terms of the indigenous collections. I would be equally happy if they went back to their, what I regard as real owners, rather than to an institution." (p. 18).

She has active files on her collections, in which all relevant information in the form of newspaper clippings, relevant articles and collection data is kept. She enthusiastically develops her library with relevant publications, with the intention of broadening her knowledge about current collections and developing further directions that her collections may take.

Collector D is engaged in varying degrees within the New Zealand market system. She receives regular catalogues from national and international auction houses. As a result of this she has actively acquired collections from auctions on a somewhat irregular basis. She seeks out particular collection items such as the sperm whale tooth necklace and will bid when they become available. Dealer galleries are also sources for her Oceanic collections and she has indicated that Dealer A's gallery contacts her when anything of interest is

available and /or is on exhibition. She makes a distinction here with Dealer A, as she is generally contacted by galleries about works of fine art:

> "[Dealer A] down at [her gallery] always very good at letting me know if she's got something particularly interesting. But I'm not really well known as a collector of Pacific artefacts. I mean I'm known as a collector of fine art and I get inundated by people letting me know what's available for sale in the art world, but not in this [Oceanic] area" (p.7).

No other sources such as Internet sites or retail outlets (such as antique or tourist shops) are noted as past or current sources that interest her. She has commissioned Māori and Pacific artists to construct contemporary items such as jewellery and clubs. It is interesting to note that Collector D stresses a concern for 'quality' with her artefacts. She is interested in provenance of artworks acquired and comments that a historical New Zealand or Pacific connection may prompt her to buy, as in the case of several of her Colenso artefacts. She comments:

> " I have always been interested in New Zealand history. I think it's actually quite moving... I like that historical connection very much" (p.11).

Her earlier Oceanic collections by contrast were collected while travelling in the Pacific. She mentions acquiring these collections directly from the producer, as in the case of the witchdoctor's bag. She mentions how she acquired the bag and her subsequent respect for cultural restrictions. She mentions how she keeps this and the other artefacts distinct from her art collections for aesthetic reasons:

> " an old witchdoctor up in the highlands of New Guinea. I was intrigued by his medicine bag around his neck. I asked him if he would ever contemplate selling it...a medicine bag is quite an elaborate object and he in particular told me never to look inside it, so I never have. But it doesn't fit within the aesthetic. However I have an odd little corner of witch-doctor type pieces" (p. 4).

She considers her strategy when acquiring Oceanic artwork in the dealer/auction market to be irregular and intermittent, as she does not actively seek to purchase these collections. She does however remark that she identifies works that she would like to acquire and waits for these to appear on the market:

> "It's been very scattershot. I go through little patches of buying things. I've just bought that beautiful sperm whale tooth necklace...again actually because I've always wanted one and I've been waiting for a nice piece to become available. I could go for a couple of years without buying any ethnographic pieces, and then in one year I could buy quite a number of pieces. It's very spasmodic" (p.5).

Collector D remarks that she may acquire more Māori and Oceanic artworks in the future for her collections but stresses that these will still be selected with an aesthetic eye:

> "It is really an aesthetic choice. I have a funny feeling that I may be heading into a period where I will tend to seek out some more Oceanic and Māori pieces. I go through swings and roundabouts and phases...they'll still be aesthetic...but there are areas I would very much like to collect, slowly, quietly, gradually. I don't know that I need to own a lot, but I do like to have the odd really beautiful piece" (p.15).

She notes that the future development of her collection is open-ended and may develop to embrace further connections in which to contextualise New Zealand art or to respond to new directions influencing New Zealand and its art making:

> "It's totally open-ended collection which is why my catalogues that I've done of my art collection have been thematic rather than chronological...it's a very open collection" (p.17).

Collector D has strong views when describing the likely future for her collections. She appears to be committed to gifting them to public institutions, as she sees herself "only as a guardian. You're not going to consume them, they have to be passed to somebody" (p.17).

Collector D has requested that this section be removed from circulation due to sensitive material contained within the quotations.

Conclusion

This chapter has revealed surprisingly rich and complex data involving the ways that such a small sample of collectors select, acquire, classify and display their Oceanic collections. These collecting activities will be examined in the next chapter in the context of the marketplace and will explore the range of ways that they engage with the market, highlighting their different motivations, strategies and outcomes in a continually evolving practice of self-definition.

Table 1: Collector Characteristics

Collector	Demographics Age/sex Occupation	Collection Type Oceanic	Other	Length of Collecting	Cycle	Motivation
A	Male 70's Engineer/Methodist Minister	Historic Oceanic Artifacts	Stamps	14 years	END	Cultural/Technical Aspects of objects From BUKA
B	Male 60's Radio&tv Broadcaster	Historic Oceanic Artifacts	Asian African	Since 1960's	Winding down	Connoisseurship Investment Thrill of the hunt
C	Male, 50's Accountant. Female 50's University Student	Historic Oceanic & Contemporary Oceanic Art	Ceramics Books Furniture	Since 1986	Peak	Sense of belonging N.Z Identity
D	Female 60s Arts Patron	Historic Oceanic Artifacts& Contemporary Oceanic Art	Contemp N.Z Art American Modernist Art	30 + years	Peak	N.Z Identity Promotion of Arts/Patronage
E	Male 60's Accountant	Historic Oceanic Artifacts& Contemporary Oceanic Art	N.Z & Australia Contemp Art	30 + years	Peak	N.Z Identity Development of a visual Language for N.Z /Australia

Chapter Five

The Art Market Place: A Case Study

This chapter is constructed in two parts. The first section provides a general overview of the art market and its participants in both Auckland and Wellington resulting from a scoping exercise in June 1999. The second section examines the relationship between Dealer A and three collectors studied in this research topic discussed include aesthetics, market trends, and relationships with clients.

The Market Players

The components involved in the contemporary and historic Oceanic art market include private dealers, public institutions, private galleries, auction houses and retail outlets. When examining these separate market components, a delicately balanced structure of relationships within a constantly changing environment is revealed. All these components are characterised by a reluctance to take responsibility for directly influencing the market and so appear passive to the wider control and evolving nature of the market. If a component of the market took direct responsibility for influencing the market this would identify these goods as commodities in a commercial network. This process would indicate intent and therefore result in the inauthentication of the market goods. It is for this reason that the constituent parts are forced to emphasise passivity in the market and maintain authenticity where the 'inherent' qualities of the market goods, themselves influence market value.

A number of participants influence the supply and demand of contemporary and historic Oceanic art (figure 2):

(1) Public institutions validate objects simply by exhibiting them. An institution can choose to respond to emerging influences from artworks available from shows in

private galleries, changing public tastes and political dynamics (Barker 1999: 113). Conversely, they can change collecting and exhibiting policies to commercially advantage themselves and as a result influence market value. In doing this they can access large pools of objects with lower commercial value and little public recognition. Public institutions continually find themselves unable to compete with the private sector of the market for objects with rising value which they themselves have validated and made attractive to the private sector through collecting and exhibiting them in the first place (Satov 1997: 238, Johnson 1990: 40)).

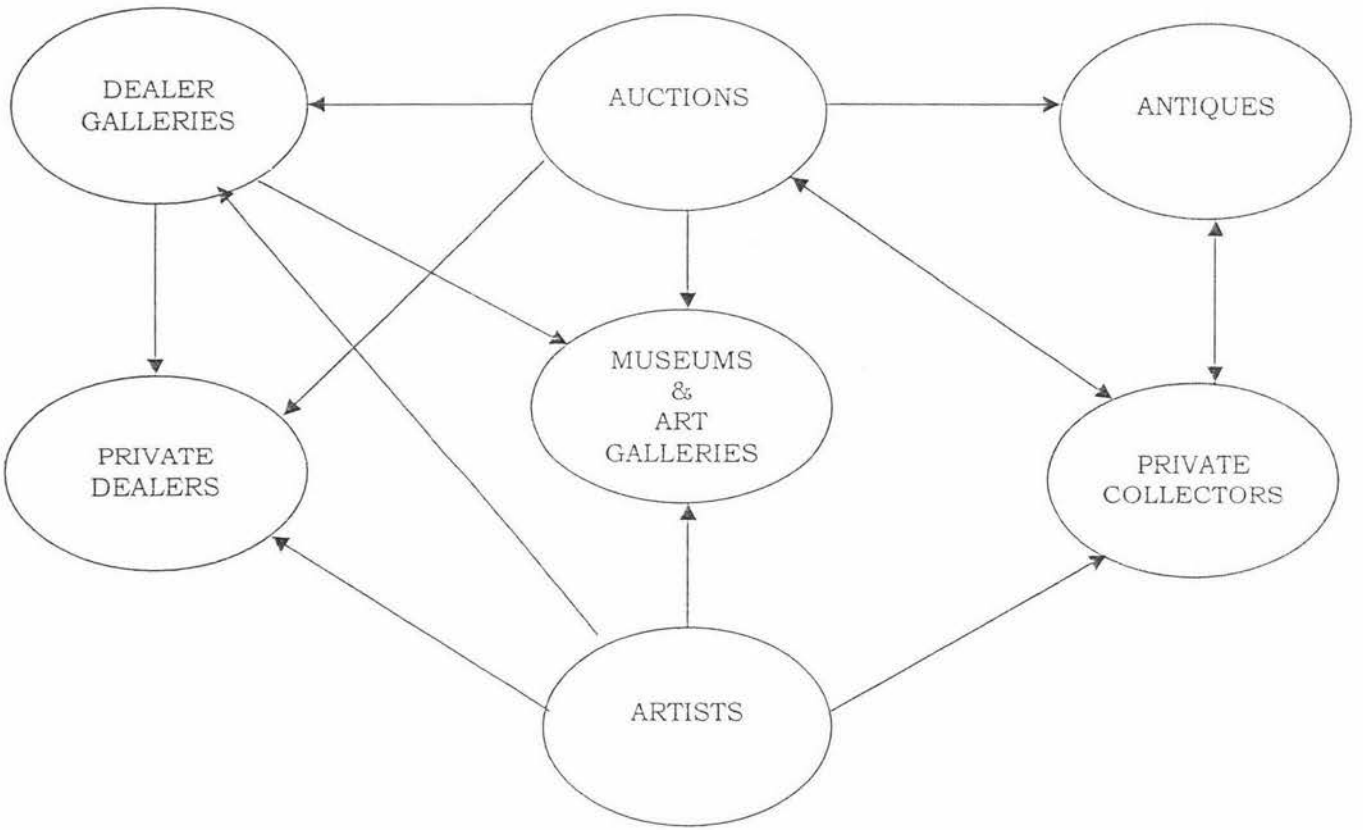
(2) Dealer galleries introduce artworks into the commercial network with the characteristic 'fringe' shows. These can in turn influence public institutions into collecting and exhibiting these. They can also influence the private sector to collect and display, therefore acting to influence public taste. They can directly influence the market in this way by being sensitive to cultural, political and aesthetic changes in public taste and therefore anticipating future market trends (Barker 1999: 123).

(3) Auction houses increase supply of goods in response to greater demand from private collectors, public and private galleries. Auction houses can directly influence the market by increasing the desirability of various goods through promotion using catalogue presentation and elevating objects for sale into a 'quasi museum status' category (Satov 1997: 237).

(4) Artists and practitioners increase production with increasing demand from private collectors, dealer galleries, public institutions and auction houses. They can directly influence the market by promoting themselves and increasing their profile within both the private and public sector (Barker 1999:125).

(5) Private collectors increasingly purchase objects that are validated in both private and public institutions. They can respond directly to greater profile and increased supply from artists and practitioners. They can directly influence the market by

FIGURE 2: `MARKET NETWORK



reflecting changes in public taste. If the private collector is significant in status he/she can validate new collection paths in similar ways to public institutions (Department of Aboriginal affairs 1989: 95, Johnson 1991: 38)).

All these constituents create a cohesive integrated market system, dependent upon each separate component to validate the increasing value of cultural product.

Market Scope in Auckland / Wellington

Auction House

Auction houses have the highest profile player in the New Zealand art market. Staff from leading auction houses - Dunbar Sloane in Wellington and Webbs and Cordys in Auckland were briefly interviewed to establish their current emphasis on Oceanic art, their client base characteristics and future market projections. Possible variations between the two cities were also investigated.

All auction houses have noted a recent reduction in availability of historic Oceanic artefacts. As a result of this, Webbs places a low priority on sales of historic Oceanic artefacts, generously leaving Cordys as the main player in the Auckland artefact market. Dunbar Sloane regularly holds sales of artefacts but presents them as a subsidiary of the main antique collectable sale. All houses noted an increase in prices in Oceanic artefacts and see this as a result of poor supply and greater public demand. All houses in this research have regular national and international clients. The auctioneers interviewed consider that they offer a comprehensive service in the market, and feel that their current effectiveness is undimmed by the presence of new players in the Oceanic market. They believe that this is due to each client's trust and confidence in each auctioneer's knowledge and scholarship.

All auction houses commented that their client base is predominantly male, Pakeha and characteristically in the middle to upper income bracket. Staff at Dunbar Sloane commented that in their view, the major motivation among clients is not primarily

investment driven but inspired by a sense of identity and connection to New Zealand. A strong interest in object types such as Māori cloaks was noted. This was seen to indicate that artefacts are being acquired as significant heritage heirlooms. In accordance with this, many ex-patriate clients on the client list do not appear to be deterred by the Antiquities Act legislation as many collections are retained in New Zealand for family.

All auction houses remarked that clients did not seem to work as a group or collecting body but acted independently of each other and appeared secretive and competitive in many instances.

The most intriguing dynamic noted by Dunbar Sloane's staff was the changing and developing collector interest in the 1880-1920 period Oceanic artefacts. These were now seen as more collectable and appeared to be in high demand. As a result, these collections are now featured in antique catalogues where a decade ago they would have been in colonial collectable category commanding much lower prices.

When questioned if the current demand and collector interest in auction sales is responding to Internet and dealer expansion in this area of the market, all respondents felt the interaction and immediacy of the auction experience, coupled with strong client loyalty, proved that auctions would continue to command a high profile in the market sales of artefacts. They also commented that an auction reaches the wider audience and therefore contributes to its continuing success as a market outlet.

No major differences were noted between the Auckland and Wellington markets, perhaps resulting from a mobile pool of customers specifically travelling to auctions in both locations.

No auction houses in New Zealand currently offer online services or mentioned an intention to offer these services in the future. This is consistent with the established international auction houses who until recently offered no net-based services. Christies has decided to distance itself from net-based auctions and less expensive merchandise and is

consequently not offering net-based services. Recently Sotheby's has offered online services such as online bidding and catalogues with the aim of maintaining some control over the auction market internationally. There has been increasing pressure from small houses to break the established auction houses lock over the auction market by offering net-based services and catering for the increasing lower end of the market.

A new sector of collectors has recently been created by Television (Antiques Roadshow) and Internet (Ebay). The larger established firms like Sotheby's and Christies have not traditionally catered for these collectors. In order for these auction houses to maintain some control over the auction market and tide the increasing influence of smaller auction houses, they will need to offer net-based services and cater for an increasing lower-end collector sector (www.sothebys.com).

These comments have been echoed by private dealers in New Zealand who are concerned with the international and national auction houses' reticence to 'move with the times' and develop net-based services. They note that dealers are increasingly utilising the net nationally and internationally and consider this inability to utilise the Internet as reducing potential auction house market share.

Private Dealer

The intermediary between Auction house and Dealer gallery is the private dealer who sources objects from auctions, retail outlets, private collectors, Internet and primary indigenous sources to service an Australasian client base. One such dealer was interviewed who resides in Auckland. He was discreet about his activities but was happy to reveal some insights. Interestingly he noted that his client base characteristically spanned all socio-economic groupings and was male dominated. Many clients had little or no apparent knowledge of or familiarity with ethnographic collecting and collectors. He noted his clients appeared to be primarily interested in investment and aesthetics. He indicated that different tastes, location and resulting selection criteria contributed to noticeable differences in the Australian and New Zealand markets. He characteristically sourced his collections from retail outlets such as antique and bric-a-brac stores, auctions, primary

indigenous producers and private individuals. He was quoted in a 1997 magazine interview where he described the dwindling availability of objects for sale. "finding old tribal art is getting harder, he says. The global demand for such things is growing rapidly and "they're just vanishing from everywhere" (Heron 1997: 43).

A Wellington private dealer was also interviewed. He differed from the previous interviewee as he has a retail outlet that provides a public focus and is developing foot traffic clientele in addition to his primary dealer role. His commercial outlet is in a secondary retail location and in this sense provides a limited public profile, however he considers the location appeals to a demand among many collectors to accidentally find outlets, much in the way that collectors find antiques and bric-a-brac outlets. His shop stocks historic artefacts from Oceanic, Asian, North American and African origin. These are mixed with contemporary home-wares, which provide a context for these artefacts. These home-wares also provide him with his 'bread and butter' sales. By providing a wide variety of products this dealer is widening his client base. He has provided added value with his retail outlet. His mix of goods places him on the borders of a dealer gallery and a home-ware store. Perhaps by doing this he has maximised his client pool and resulting profits.

His client base was characteristically male dominated and middle to high income with primary interest in investment and aesthetics. He contacts institutions when objects of interest are available. He sources his artefacts from private collectors, auction, retail outlets such as bric-a-brac and antique shops and has on occasions obtained artefacts from other private dealers. He has not mentioned indigenous primary producers as a source.

He has developed a strong network of collectors throughout New Zealand who provide him with good access to their private collections. As a result of his growing knowledge of a national collecting network, he often brokers sales between these collectors.
He has an online web site where he offers artefacts for sale and has indicated that this service complements his retail and personal service rather than relying on a single means to accrue value. He has used this page to elicit interest with national and international

collectors and dealers and further discusses a technique of posting an artefact for sale on Ebay and providing details of his web site when inquiries are made.

Contemporary Oceanic goods are not highly visible in his shop, he relies more on goods with an Oceanic theme for the home-wares provided in his shop. He does however emphasise authenticity with the historic artefacts supplied in his shop. He guarantees their authenticity and historic provenance with constant citation from a wide variety of catalogues and reference texts that he uses to substantiate his claims.

He has indicated that international buyers have visited him to purchase artefacts, because of their familiarity with his Internet site. He considers that the favourable prices of artefacts on this market is due to the low value of the New Zealand dollar. He also believes international buyers are looking at the New Zealand market due to a buyer perception of dwindling supplies of artefacts on the European and American markets.

On occasions he has purchased from online Sothebys auction service and resold immediately online in another country to a private collector. He prefers to sell in this way to collectors in the United Kingdom. This has been to his considerable financial advantage because of the United Kingdom collectors' lack of familiarity with online services and the reduced availability of artefacts for sale on the local market. Sales of this kind have resulted in good profit margins.

He has used Ebay but considers this auction site of little interest to him because of the low quality of artefacts offered for sale. As previously noted, he has however used the site for promotion by posting an artefact for sale. He noted that his asking price was high, so the potential for selling online this way was fairly low.

The Internet has provided him with a greater variety of ways to purchase, sell and promote himself and his merchandise. He feels that it is simply a complement to his range of services but a necessary one due to the increasing use of this technology internationally. He considers the reticence of auction houses to use this technology may mean they will lessen

market share in time. He prefers to sell on the international market due to a high currency return and has indicated that he prefers the United States and European markets to the United Kingdom.

He has used the Internet to his advantage when purchasing and on-selling artefacts on the international market. The belief held by some private collectors that established auction houses only cater for the higher end of the market has on occasions been to his advantage. This has allowed him to purchase at a low price from established auction houses and then sell to a private collector who shies away from established auction house sales.

Dealer Galleries

A recent development in Auckland has been the establishment of dealer galleries marketing Oceanic artefacts as 'fine art'. To date no such dealer galleries have been established in Wellington. Both contemporary and historic Oceanic artworks are exhibited in these dealer galleries, and this distinguishes this type of emergent gallery from established fine art galleries who currently represent both Māori and Pacific contemporary artists.

In this type of gallery, contemporary and historic Oceanic art forms are displayed in a manner characteristic of the fine art gallery where provenance, display style and elevated price are distinctly different from other retail outlets that promote Oceanic material. It should be noted that an Oceanic theme is predominant where both indigenous and Pakeha artists supply artworks for this gallery. Client characteristics are typical of the clients who regularly frequent other fine art galleries. They are male, Pakeha and middle to upper income bracket. Private fine art collectors, museum professionals and corporate professionals appear to be the major target groups of this new type of gallery. Dealer A, interviewed for this study, operates one of these new galleries that market both historic and contemporary Oceanic art.

Galleries operated by Māori dealers are found in both Auckland and Wellington. It should be noted however, that this is only a recent development in Wellington. Recently opened

galleries such as 'Mataora' in Auckland and 'Kura' in Wellington exhibit established and emerging Māori artists. A wide variety of artists are represented working in media such as painting, sculpture, ceramic, jewellery and textile art. These galleries target both a Māori , Pakeha audience and the tourist market. Cultural authenticity can be guaranteed and control over marketing and interpretation are firmly in Māori control.

This demand for indigenous cultural product is reflected in Creative New Zealand's recent development of a "Māori Made" trademark. It is a bid to exert control in the market of Māori art. "It's no panacea and it won't stop the rip-offs. But as more artists become licensed to use it...we're hoping that it will help buyers and retailers become more discerning about what's authentic, what we value and to have more respect for things Māori" (Philp 2001: 33). As yet there are no galleries operated by Pacific Islanders selling Pacific Island art exclusively.

Design Stores

The greatest activity in 'Oceanic style' at present is in the 'home decorating' market where Oceanic 'inspired' artworks have been captured by the contemporary fashion culture and have become an important ingredient for the modern home environment. Small stores specialising in Oceanic inspired crafts, gifts and homewares made in the Pacific and locally have emerged in Auckland and Wellington in profusion. A recent magazine article (Pearson 2000: 94-7) comments that the keen interest in a "distinct Polynesian flavour" directly relates to New Zealanders need to "express our place in the world". She terms this movement as 'Pacific style' while an article one year later by Douglas Lloyd-Jenkins (2001: 38) uses the term 'Pacific Twist' to describe how Pacific influences continue to shape our modern New Zealand interior:

> "Reborn international modernism may indeed be the current that is carried to Auckland from Sydney by the cool Tasman, but the Pacific Twist ensures that the notion of the Pacific and New Zealand's place in it, continues to inform and influence New Zealand interior design".

Homemakers would appear to be inundated with images of ethnic wares modestly placed within a modern home environment. The market has reacted with a huge increase in outlets catering for this popular contemporary Oceanic style.

Antique and Collectables

Antique and collectables shops as well as fairs still provide a miscellaneous, apparently dwindling supply of artefacts to the vigilant buyer. These appear to be the target of the bargain hunter where a sense of exhilaration and surprise contribute to the collecting spirit. These outlets appear in quantity in both Auckland and Wellington.

Internet

The global phenomenon of the Internet reaches into all sectors of the market allowing private dealers, auction houses, public institutions, and private individuals to access sources of artefacts world-wide on the net. As previously noted, auction houses in New Zealand have not as yet taken advantage of net-based services and currently feel little need to as they currently feel secure with their stake in the market share. A large proportion of private dealers are fully engaged on the Internet. It has become a very attractive venture because of the wide variety of services it offers. It enables the dealer to promote their business to a wide-range of market participants (public and private galleries, private collectors and other dealers nationally and internationally), and its ability to access the international market has provided an attractive mechanism for the private dealer.

Artists and practitioners are also becoming net-based and can service buyers directly without the use of a dealer, resulting in a reduction in transaction costs. There is an increasing use of the web by artists and practitioners who provide art for sale. They can also attach their web site to related art based sites such as Nga Taonga a Hine-te-iwa-iwa (www.craftinfo.org.nz) in New Zealand for promotional purposes and provide a virtual gallery of goods for purchase. The net offers private artists the ability to access private collectors, private dealers, public institutions and create and promote artist/practitioner networks.

Major New Zealand public institutions have rapidly trained staff in Internet skills, resulting in high levels of Internet and Intranet use. They have also utilised the Internet to actively promote their own collections on the web sites where collection highlights are presented in a virtual gallery with brief provenance details included. This creates a conduit to the extensive institutional collections held and ideally creates interest for future visitation. By providing this conduit, access to private collector networks, private dealers, artists and practitioners, online auction houses and other public institutions considerably widens the pool and effectiveness of information and access to available artefact/art for purchase. Currently traditional networks such as auction houses and dealers are relied on for purchase world-wide. A slight interest in the Internet, by private collectors, artists and staff in public institutions has been noted and changing dynamics resulting from the Internet have yet to make a major impact.

Artist/Practitioner

Artists have recently started representing themselves using the Internet where they create virtual galleries for promotion and sale world-wide. This phenomenon is difficult to quantify. As an example, a site operated by Waituhi Māori Art consultants and practitioners Rangi and Julie Kipa. This site (www.maoriart.com.) illustrates the potential for self promotion and development of market without traditional retail framework. Their web site offers their own traditional and contemporary Māori adornment, tattoo, weaving and painting. Further exhibition services including exhibition design and installation, investment advice, corporate promotion and educational services are offered.

A further variation in artist initiated ventures is a Māori collective called 'Indigenous Aotearoa', located within Waiwhetu marae, 20 minutes from Wellington city. Contemporary art/handicrafts are for sale such as pounamu, painting, wood and stone carving, ceramics, basketry and textile arts. Cultural tours and demonstrations are available on request.

Art galleries/ Museums

Major public art galleries and museums, though not actively selling Oceanic artworks do

influence and validate a market direction in a quantifiable manner. Both historic and contemporary Oceanic artworks have been incorporated into major contemporary fine art exhibitions for the last decade. 'Te Maori' in its return home introduced a completely new perspective to Māori artefacts and in a surprisingly immediate manner inspired both Māori and Pakeha audiences to view artefacts in a significantly different manner. The initial wave of shows after 'Te Maori' appeared to concentrate almost exclusively on Māori contemporary art. Shows initiated by the National Art Gallery, Wellington, demonstrated this interest in contemporary Māori art with exhibitions such as 'Karanga, Karanga', an exhibition in 1986, representing art by Māori women and 'Toru: three installations by Māori artists' (Muru, Matchitt and Hotere) in 1988. Exhibitions by the Museum of New Zealand representing Māori historic artefacts and contemporary art together are best represented by later shows such as 'Taonga Maori' and 'Kohia Ko Taikaka Anake', both in 1990. Exhibitions would continue this tradition at the Museum of New Zealand with shows using both contemporary and historic collections such as 'Nga Puna Roimata o Te Arawa'and 'Pu Manawa: a celebration of Whatu, raranga and taniko', both in 1993. Auckland Art Gallery's 'Korurangi: new Māori art', exhibited in 1996, also reflected this interest in developing Māori contemporary art.

The exhibition 'Traditional arts of Pacific Island women' in 1993, marked a movement by the Museum of New Zealand into exhibitions featuring contemporary and historic Pacific arts. 'Patterns of Paradise: Cook Islands Tivaevae', at Auckland Art Gallery in 1995 also reflected this interest in the Pacific arts. Recent exhibitions include 'Jewelled: Adornments from across the Pacific' at Te Papa and 'Bright Paradise' at the Auckland Art Gallery. Both exhibitions, shown in 2001, focus on the innovative arts of the Pacific.

Equally, Auckland Art gallery's 'Purangiaho: seeing clearly' and 'techno māori: māori art in the digital age' initiated by City Gallery Wellington and Pataka Porirua Museum of the Arts and Cultures. Both shown in 2001, reveal a strong interest in the changing dynamics of Māori contemporary art and its use of new media.

The boundaries between art and artefact appear now to be completely blurred as a result of

movement back and forth between art gallery and museum. Display styles at museums and art galleries have markedly changed to reflect these trends. One recent example of this is Auckland Museum's new Pacific gallery: 'Masterpieces' opened in 1999. Approximately 600 historic Pacific objects are displayed. Placement, spot lighting, display case design and reduced provenance documentation characterise a new direction for Auckland Museum in its display of historic Pacific artefacts and reflects a strong desire to emulate traditional art gallery display method and to a degree, a response to changing public tastes. Fulimalo Pereira describes 'Masterpieces' ability to: "reflect the open, uncluttered clear experience of an art gallery setting" (1999: 89). Collections such as house panels, pottery, adzes, canoe ornaments, baskets and shields from the wider Pacific are displayed in type arrangement for optimum aesthetic appeal. It may, in part at least , also be drawn by a desire to develop an exhibition style distinctly different from the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa in Wellington.

> "With Masterpieces the audience is invited to appreciate the artistry of a wide range of objects made and used by people of the Pacific Islands. The aim is to show that whether objects were made for everyday use, for special occasions, or in honour of gods and ancestors, many Pacific artefacts display an aesthetic intention of form or decoration beyond their obvious function. We have here in essence a Pacific art gallery with objects to be enjoyed as beautiful works of art" (Pereira 1999: 89).

Documentation is kept to a minimum. Labels are economic with contextual information available through interactive computer and a large map for orientation is located immediately outside the exhibition gallery. The case and mount techniques used reflect a dramatic and aesthetic approach to 'Masterpieces' gallery design:

> "extensive and varied use of steel and glass cases, armatures, plinths and mounts that become fine sculptural objects in their own right. The result, with artefacts displayed to elevate and reveal their essence, creates a compelling and dramatic experience for the visitor"(Architecture New Zealand 2000: 65)

Museum Shops

Museum shops provide contemporary and traditional Oceanic art and artefacts that reflect and support their institutional profile and collection base. Merchandise supplied in retail outlets such as museums and art galleries are branded with 'quality' and 'exclusive' attributes by association with such prestigious academic institutions.

Products ranging from books, decorative arts, crafts and branded products are sold. Both shops at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa and Auckland Museum provide Oceanic material from indigenous and local sources. Both provide on-line access for the local visitor and an international client base. Similar strategies for promotion are used by both museum retail outlets where an emphasis on quality product, legitimate source, and New Zealand focus are clearly indicated.

Diversity in range of Oceanic material is evident in each retail outlet. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa provides merchandise reflecting its key bicultural foundation where Māori motif and design are prominent in products from both indigenous and local producers. This contrasts with Auckland Museum's Oceanic emphasis in its merchandise, also produced from indigenous and local sources.

Cultural Festivals

A growing number of cultural festivals are being held that offer art/artefacts and handicrafts for sale directly to the public. The Pasifika Festival is held annually in Auckland and its growing appeal beyond the original Pacific in other parts of New Zealand.

Increasing appeal can only indicate greater access by collectors, dealers, galleries and public institutions to acquiring artworks from it. It has been mentioned as a potential source by one of the collector case studies.

Case Study: Dealer A

After completing the interviews with the collectors participating in this study, it was apparent that three had established a relationship with Dealer A, in Auckland. Each of these collectors has a primary focus on contemporary fine art and uses aesthetic criteria to select for their collection. While reviewing the interviews with these collectors, it was apparent that Dealer A influenced their collecting practice to varying degrees and her ability to articulate the significance of historic and contemporary Oceanic art forms resonated with and influenced their own thinking in this subject.

For the purposes of this study and to maintain confidentiality this dealer is named Dealer A. This Auckland gallery is directed by three partners and Dealer A is the active partner. The gallery deals with contemporary New Zealand fine art, contemporary New Zealand decorative art, contemporary and historic Oceanic artwork and artefacts and to a lesser extent with historic and contemporary African artworks. The gallery publication states that it deals in individual works from New Zealand, the Pacific and other countries. All are presented in a rarefied minimal space typical of a contemporary art gallery environment. All quotations in this section are taken from an interview with Dealer A recorded on 2 June, 2000. Page numbers refer to the transcript of the interview in the possession of the author.

Dealer A was born in the South Island to a family of European heritage. As far as she can remember her family has no past involvement in the arts. She has several years' experience working in two leading Dunedin and Auckland galleries prior to establishing her current gallery. She has been directing her gallery (Gallery A) since 1995. She declares that her main inspiration for establishing the gallery in the form it currently takes evolved from three incidents. The most important relates to an encounter with a Māori cloak:

> "The thing that actually changed the whole course of how we did the gallery was that I saw a Māori cloak at an auction and it was so incredibly beautiful and looked like a piece of contemporary art really, it was a patch work design and it was just absolutely beautiful" (p.2).

The other memorable incidents were "seeing the figures (Papua New Guinea figures) in David Jones's (Sydney Department store) in the sock department" (p.2), and looking through a photographic book by Liederman of many of the significant 20th century artists. When she "realised in the background of all these studios ... mainly Oceanic and African pieces and ... that was the whole movement then of modern art..." (p.2).

Aesthetics

The range of art forms in Dealer A's gallery, including fine art, ethnographic and decorative arts, and their integrated display treatment has created some confusion between contemporary and older artworks among the buying public. Some members of the public have enquired about one contemporary artist's identity. When viewing, in one instance, a dyed chicken feather hat from the Cameroons: "people say, who's done that? They'll name a couple of artists and I'll say it was done in the nineteen forties" (p.8).

She freely admits that this blurring of the boundaries, occurs as a result of the integrated method of display. She made this comment on a Papua New Guinean shield dating from about the 1950's, recently exhibited in the gallery space:

> "in the window at the moment is a shield from Papua New Guinea, a nineteen fifties one, actually made out of car tin and it looks like a contemporary art piece...here we're putting it within that context and no-ones ever done that so we've had an amazing response to it, people love it" (p.8).

Her aesthetic approach with the gallery is contrary to commercial practice but the overall style and approach is of paramount concern to presenting and redefining artworks there. She notes:

> "it's very tempting to put a whole lot, purely for commercial purposes we'd do a lot better if we jammed a lot more onto our walls but then the aesthetic isn't there and that wouldn't work. They'd just look like a big mess really" (p.10).

She makes a parallel with the new display techniques in Auckland Museum's new Pacific gallery in her remarks concerning practical issues of design and their effects on artworks on display "they're [Auckland Museum] using colour behind things now...it's not seen as something different, distant anymore. These pieces [referring Gallery A] aren't different" (p.10). These remarks are somewhat contradicted by her comments concerning her own response to displaying and interpreting artworks within the gallery A space. When commenting on the display methods, she talks of altering the client's traditional perspective and transforming these perceptions of the object as an art form:

> "that's by distancing them from it. It's amazing, by putting a piece of glass over something it turns from the ordinary [in] to the extraordinary" [the effect is to] "verify it" [allowing people to] "view it as an art piece, which is always what they were, that's what they were always made for, it's just that we use different terms" (p.11).

Spirituality

Dealer A believes that there is a 'shared quality' to the artwork that she exhibits in her gallery. She remarks that "It has to have for me a sculptural element to it and has to have a soul element to it" (p.3). She makes no qualitative distinction between the different kinds of artwork selected for exhibition in her gallery: "I don't actually think that I deal in artefacts. I don't see them as artefacts. I see them as...they're very much individual artpieces, I suppose" (p.4).

There appears to be a more complex motivation behind her selection of artworks. She believes that "art chooses you". This notion of an artwork's intrinsic power and 'metaphysical embodiment' introduces another important facet of Dealer A's selection criteria. This spiritual dimension, or what Dealer A describes as an: "essence of life", means that her selection of artworks is based on more than materials. This is demonstrated by her restricting the sale and display of weaponry in her gallery: "I would never deal with anything that has killed anyone" (p.3).

Each artwork, in her view, has the capacity to interact with other materials in the gallery space. When asked if the artworks related to each other (in a theoretical or cultural

manner), Dealer A responded with the comment "They sing to each other" (p.4). She further demonstrates that the spiritual dimension of these artworks appear to affect the clients. This was evident when she witnessed the response by a client to the power of a Māori cloak:

> "one of the cloaks here was bought by someone who is just a straight businessman...who has no real interest in spiritual elements...he came in and it was like someone falling in love and the really interesting thing about this cloak was that all the feathers on it came up, they actually physically came up and now the cloak is with him, it's a member of his family, they blessed it into the family, and they say it really changed their family and they interact with it ...that's their [cloak's] power" (p.6).

Dealer A ensures that she herself respects the spiritual dimension of the art forms by "believing in what the kaumatua have told me and believing in doing what is right" (pg.6). She comments that on a number of occasions she has herself observed inexplicable events where artworks communicate in a observable manner to enable her to understand something on a spiritual level. One such event relates to a large African sculpture she has named 'Gladys'. The story started with this sculpture, who was at the time in storage and not on display, causing inexplicable things to occur. Dealer A recalled:

> "these figures tell you things and every time I was going out [of the storage area] and I'd hit my leg [on Gladys] ... and it's bizarre and then I realised it. She [Gladys] wanted to be out here [on display] and as soon as she was out here she was fine" (p.5).

She also participates in small offering rituals, which serve to demonstrate her sensitivity to different cultural perspectives. Once when some Indonesian artworks were entering the gallery for display, Dealer A rushed to find gifts out of respect for eastern customs:

> "if these pieces were in Indonesia, they would have been given a gift so I actually zapped downstairs and bought them a fudge bar, so the fudge bars were actually on them for the whole exhibition" (p.18).

Visitors to the gallery sometimes wanted an explanation: "so you explain about it and so that leads them (clients) into an understanding about the offering and the culture that they came from" (p.18).

Dealer A also ensures that her clients observe and respect these customs when they purchase artworks. She requires that the artworks are:

> "treated as a member of the family. They're blessed into each of the families as well and they are very much an ongoing living thing, they are not viewed as material things, there is a very strong spiritual element to them" (p.5).

When the artworks are purchased a condition of sale is agreed upon regarding their future disbursal. Dealer A considers this agreement to reflect her ongoing concern and care for these artworks. She commented:

> "if they physically for certain circumstances need to return them or sell them or whatever, they must come to us and if we're no longer here, they must go to a museum first" (p.5).

Dealer A observes the recognition by government departments and their concession for Māori cloaks to travel overseas with Pakeha clients as further facilitating this close, spiritual dimension and suggested ancestral lineage between a cloak and client in the following remarks:

> " I think it is fantastic that Internal Affairs is allowing them to travel with their cloaks...they can take them out of the country...I think its an enlightened view because...they understand that these pieces are living pieces within a family" (p.12).

It seems apparent that Dealer A considers herself somewhat on the periphery due to her own response and commitment to spiritual and cultural values when dealing with the interpretation of artworks in her gallery:

> "I'm an outsider and I always will be and because I'm viewed to be a bit different too, probably viewed to be a bit ...woolly because I talk about spiritual things, because I believe he has a name [gestures to African figure] and I believe that they [gesturing around gallery] exist and they are living things" (p.24).

Trends

Dealer A considers her gallery to represent a new approach in Australasia to the selection and display of art forms. She sees that her gallery is "probably one of the few places in Australasia. I mean I haven't been into a space that is like this" (p.8) but later comments that there appears to be a movement in the market place to simulate this distinctive approach:

> "I will say, everyone is now moving a lot more towards this. You will see now that nearly every gallery in Auckland will have this applied art or whatever, it's probably because we've led the way there to how the public view art" (p.8).

She also acknowledges a significant growth in interest in Oceanic art: "Oh, its absolutely huge now, ...before if you'd said Oceanic or Pacific art, now it's in, its hot, everywhere you go now, you are seeing it, that's just a matter of course really" (p.9).

Dealer A considers that the increase of interest in Oceanic artwork is also reflected in popular magazines. Looking through a current art publication she observes:

> "if you look at this now, if you looked at one five years ago you'd be lucky to see a piece of Māori or Oceanic...just flicking through this, you've got people making kete, you've got the whole thing" (p.15).

She considers that this strong interest in Oceanic artwork has had some negative effects on the quality of work available in the market. She observes that:

> "it's so Oceania now...I feel a lot of the Māori and Pacific artists who are working at the moment have not had proper training, it is not enough to say 'this is how I feel' and put this up on the wall. You have to have an aesthetic behind it" (p.16).

As a result, when works are presented to Dealer A for consideration to exhibit and sell in the gallery: "we reject ninety-seven percent of what we see...we have a very rigorous selection process". This process is further reinforced by gallery supporters such as the artists Pat Hanley and Gordon Brown where: "anything that comes in this gallery, I will ask their advice on that. They have a fantastic eye, so they advise me" (p.16).

Cultural Continuum

The issue of developing and reinvigorating cultural Oceanic art form is one that Dealer A discussed when responding to questions about traditional notions of authenticity. She demonstrated these concepts when discussing one of her artists' work:

> "We show Chris Charteris work and I believe he is fantastic but he is making contemporary Māori and Oceanic pieces based on early pieces, putting his own things into them" (p.9).

She stresses that this appears to reinforce more salient beliefs that she holds:

> "Culture must evolve, cultures must carry on, so I don't have a definition of authentic or a period of time when it was made...what we do here... feed into making sure these cultures are evolving...that skills are not lost" (p.9).

She demonstrates a further commitment to supporting a wider concept of 'Oceanic' artwork by her comments regarding a young Pakeha artist whom she exhibits in her gallery: "we gave her a scholarship last year to go and work with Diggeress Te Kanawa to evolve how to put feathers through contemporary kete" (p.14). Dealer A's concern when presenting images of these to a major institution in London, is noted in the following remarks "they loved the kete...and they said what's her origin?" (p.14). When her Pakeha background was divulged, the museum staff said: "we won't consider them" (p.14). In this

instance she appeared unconcerned with traditional intellectual and cultural rights when considering this practitioner's use of generic 'Oceanic' motifs and iconic designs. When her artist's works were rejected on cultural grounds Dealer A responded:

> "Unless they had some percentage of cultural blood apart from Pakeha, they won't consider them and I was flabbergasted. I packed everything up, I won't support that... it's time they changed their policy" (p.14).

It seems apparent from her comments that Dealer A believes a cultural phenomenon or 'style' derives from local or familiar influences and experiences. Dealer A actively promotes a generic notion of 'Oceanic' born from a locality and not necessarily ancestral lineage or heritage. This is evident in her remarks:

> " I say to my clients 'why do you have an image of a seagull on the wall when you can have a piece of Oceanic or Māori, why don't you celebrate our culture?' and it has changed, because people now come in and they say 'wow' and this gives them a talking point and that's different to anything they'll see anywhere [else] in the world" (p.12)

Sources

Dealer A acquires artwork for exhibition and sale by commissioning from primary indigenous producers`, from an established network of intermediate dealers and, to a minor degree, from auctions and from clients selling art back to her. She admits she has no time for the Internet as yet "I'm still on courier pigeon, I don't even know how to get on the net" (p.18).

Sourcing art forms from primary sources in the Pacific is increasingly significant for Dealer A. She travels to the Pacific Islands to negotiate these acquisitions herself. In locations such as Africa, she relies on dealers to provide her with artworks: "We pay very good money for our pieces and he [African dealer] I trust him" (p.17). Her trust is rewarded in instances where she is presented by very high quality artworks further verified by overseas tourists:

> "Americans come in here ...they say 'his work is fantastic...'Because it is from Africa, this is the best of the best, so that's the thing, if you have good faith then it usually comes back to you, so he (dealer) sources for me" (p.17).

When travelling to primary locations herself, she will persevere with her producers to gain their trust. She talks about an occasion when visiting Raratonga for the purpose of acquiring tivaevae. She noticed a British television crew was filming with the intention of completing a program on tivaevae. She observed the makers "bringing out tivaevae and I thought these are not the best ones" (p.20). When the crew had left, Dealer A developed a productive relationship with these people:

> "And on the final day they asked me in for a special morning tea and they opened these big camphor boxes... they bought out these tivaevae...they were very old and very, very beautiful, they were astonishing and that only happened because its about, it about trust and its about spending time" (p.20).

She also notes her own influence on the artworks produced when she is selecting for the gallery. She recalls "they'll bring in things and I'll say 'no this is machine made, no it's hand sewing I want'...'this is what makes these pieces special, this is you sewing it" (p.17). As she continues to explain, this is not only benefiting her own market interest but the survival of the producers' own traditional skills Dealer A genuinely believes that she is helping to support and assist producers by her encouragement of the traditional skills "unless these skills are handed down, ... they are going to be lost" (p.17). It seems apparent that Dealer A recognises two distinct market expectations here: one that retains authentic and traditional skills such as tivaevae making and another where contemporary and emerging cultural forms are fostered, especially in the case of personal adornment.

She sees no ethical dilemma with selling and marketing Pacific artworks and considers such questions to be:

> "Idealistic, because in a sense, where would this material go then, what should be happening to it, well in an ideal world it should be with the people in the Pacific, within Oceania. It's like fantastic, go share it... someone else is going to enjoy it, bye" (p.21).

She does however make a distinction with Māori material:

> "it's different with Māori culture and that's why I would never deal with anything with tribal affiliation. Then it [iwi affiliated artefact] shouldn't leave" (p.21).

It appears that Dealer A does acknowledge things might change for Pacific people living in New Zealand but interestingly not for Pacific people living in the Pacific:

> "it may change within New Zealand, but it won't change in the Pacific. It will change with an awareness of young people knowing their cultural heritage" (p.21).

She further examines this idea when considering the future of Pacific artworks within the New Zealand market:

> "I am so confident that they will go to people who have them as living pieces and that's why I feel comfortable about doing it, and the day I don't, then, that's when I'll stop. And that's why I believe pieces choose people" (p.21).

Clients

Dealer A characterises her clients as predominantly Pakeha men who are: "quite inquisitive, they want to know about things, so I would say it was men who have led the way" (p.12). Many of her clients are "ex-pat New Zealanders who live half here, half overseas" (p.12).

Her business is expanding largely by word of mouth:

> "we are certainly getting more people. We don't advertise ...its all client based and so the word is spread that way really" (p.12).

Her style is subtle and careful and she will not actively pursue her client group to the extent that some dealers are known to do. When asked about her methods, she stated:

> "I will send them an image on a card to a client, I don't even call up my clients... I don't know, I don't like doing it. So I'll send an image or I'll send them a note and ...there will be certain pieces that I think will be right for certain people so we'll let those people know first" (p.12).

Most clients are repeat buyers and Dealer A noted that: " most of our clients would have bought at least ten to fifteen pieces off us". A relationship is formed with her clients that may help to ensure a form of customer loyalty. Dealer A notes: "I would see most of my clients, or talk to my clients once on a weekly basis" (p.22).

Her relationship with clients is intrinsic to the success of her gallery and is clearly expressed in a comment she made near the end of the interview when discussing a particular artwork on display. She mentioned that she is very selective when matching artworks up with potential owners and her clients appear to be very aware of this. She would not sell to or have respect for a person who walked into her gallery and immediately asked, "how much is this?" (p. 5). She later recalled a simple misunderstanding between a client and herself regarding a potential sale. Eventually, the client asked her: "do you think that this piece would be right for me, do you think I could consider it?" (p.29).

Public museums and art galleries, however, do not appear to feature in her client list:

> "But it's interesting that I don't get too many museum people, I don't have many people from Auckland Museum...not even Auckland Art Gallery which stated they were going into this kind of area much more. We don't see them in here very often at all" (p.22).

When asked why, she remarked:

> "I don't know, I sent them a note that they didn't have to take the number ten bus to get over here. I don't know why it is ... I think a lot of people do feel uncomfortable about it and I think that they also maybe view us as being exclusive" (p.23).

Care/maintenance

On a practical level, Dealer A provides a wide-ranging gallery service. The gallery publication states that the gallery offers specialist services that include framing, valuations, research and documentation and Conservation for works of all media.

Much time has been put into developing new and attractive display systems that will be compatible with her gallery style. She discusses the collaborative design of the Nashville box that can be used flat and on the wall. It is a: "way of being able to display things, with a nice aesthetic to it. I imagine these boxes are being used round the world now" (p.11). They are used by clients who use them to display: "beautiful pieces like kapkaps" (p.11). The gallery also offers a professional mounting and framing service.

There is a certain aesthetic that she sells with her artworks and this is available to clients in the form of display systems specifically designed to enhance this aesthetic interpretation. An essential element of this approach is that: "everything here is on a piece of glass, burnished sand blasted glass so that it lifts it off the surface and again making it that object of preciousness" (p.22).

Dealer A offers a further service to hang artworks within the client's home environment. This further emphasises the personalised service that is characteristic of her gallery:

> "And now we go into clients houses and take ____ (contract technician), everyone loves ____ and he's got such a wonderful temperament and he's very much part of the gallery" (p.11).

Once an art-work is purchased by the clients, she considers the care and responsibility lies with the new owner, however, she does offer further conservation services if required. Care is interpreted not only as maintaining the physical integrity of the object, it includes spiritual care of the object, Dealer A sends the artwork to the client with a form of offering:

"everything is wrapped with a leaf, and that leaf, when the time is right is thrown back into the sea" (p.22). Provenance information in the form of a research article prepared by Dealer A is sent with the artwork to its new home accompanied with small but special touches such as a bottle of wine:

> "when the artworks leave here they go with their research article, they go with a bottle of wine so that people can go home and unwrap...and enjoy it ..and most people come back and buy again..." (p.22).

This personal emphasis can not be overstated. Dealer A does not only provide an outlet for artworks but provides a complex and intimate experience for prospective and existing clients.

Gallery Style

Each year Gallery A produces a very attractive, small format, glossy publication. It includes a number of colour, high quality images of artworks (fine art, decorative arts and Oceanic) All images are accompanied by relevant provenance information: artist, date, size and exhibition history, if relevant. Each publication includes an essay by a commissioned writer and in many cases, poems by poets such as Ian Wedde and J K Baxter characterise this publication:

> "Each year we do a small publication where I will have various people write for it. I used to do the writing myself and then I realised that it was much better to get other people to do it " (p.7).

All relevant information related to these publications is given to appropriate institutions. Dealer A discusses how she donated specific material to Auckland Museum in the following remarks:

> " all our recordings and all the papers will be left to the museums and the correspondence. Any recording we might do or information we might have ...I went up and photographed them making tapa in Tonga and Auckland Museum hasn't had any funding to do that...I've just given them a set of those photographs" (p.7).

The gallery holds four openings each year. Each show will feature several artists. Dealer A discusses how this in itself is different to current fine art shows where one artist is featured. The gallery has been considered by the reviewers as a secondary market because of this: "they say we're a secondary market... well they say you don't have a show of just one person ...and it's an ongoing battle really" (p.13).

A show has, on occasions, emphasised one theme. Dealer A discusses the process of organising a recent show around a chosen theme, in this case the theme of 'Oceania', and she confides that she has made some concessions to allowing more focus on specific artists recently:

> "this year we are giving four artists , for example Emily Siddell, ...who's doing glass leis and really developing the 'Oceania' thing. Her work is so important, I would suggest she go to another gallery that can give her a one person show so I had to consider that I think she needs to extend herself... we decided to offer her and Humphrey Ikin a whole gallery for a month but it's 'Oceania' material, that's their brief and I will not interfere...I have every confidence" (p.13).

She discusses her influence being fairly non-interventive beyond suggesting the general theme that the artist can then develop:

> " he's (artist) fantastic to work with because sometimes his work I found was a bit, it had too much in it, you know, it was almost as if he had almost thrown everything into it so I will say 'I think we need to move back a little bit and look at the sculptural elements" (p.13).

New Directions

Dealer A has a constantly evolving business strategy that responds to and interacts with the wider marketplace. She is aware that a market can become saturated and that a modified approach is required to keep an edge on current trends. She observed that: "the market is

huge now ...and it's everywhere and my response to this is probably move away from it" (p.28).

She has no intention of expanding into the international art market, realising that her niche is with a select and intimate client group and her success is dependent on developing and maintaining these complex relationships. She recalled a time when a client in Geneva questioned her on the international option and she commented:

> " I'd rather sell it to my clients over here in New Zealand and keep the pieces here. No, I know that they are going to go overseas and be fifty times the value of what they are here" (p.25).

However, she does try to maintain an advantage by reflecting international trends in the way she operates her Auckland gallery: " the reason I went overseas was to look...to see where I could go next, what I could do next" (p.28).

Her last investigative trip was a resounding success for her. She was inspired by a new direction for her gallery, exemplified by a brightly coloured red feather hat from the Cameroons:

> "We went to seven cities in twenty one days and did two hundred and sixty art galleries and museums, so it was huge and as soon as I saw that hat (art form), I saw Gary (husband) that night and he said 'you've found it haven't you' and I knew" (p.28).

Dealer A's gallery marks an important development in the marketing of Oceanic material within New Zealand. Her gallery space transforms both fine artwork and cultural artefact into a universalised art form. Within this context she promotes an eclectic mix of both historic and contemporary Oceanic art form which, on one hand, follows international trends to examine and penetrate the boundaries between western and non-western art, and on the other, develops a specific local market using a recognised and generalised Pacific orientation. The following chapter will discuss Dealer A's influence on the collectors in

this study and her ability to articulate a specifically local notion of ethnicity through the structure of her gallery and the art forms within it.

Chapter Six

Constructing Identity

Introduction

Traditionally, research emphasis on the consumption and acquisition of cultural material has been understood as fundamentally an economic activity. However, this study has found that collections can be a source and expression of collector self-definition. This very process of collector appropriation and recontextualisation of cultural property can confer specific meaning and value to these collections. The way individuals choose to collect, preserve, value and exchange collections, relates to their notion of a collective reality and therefore helps define who they are in the modern world.

This chapter will explore the construction of each collector's identity through the process of collecting within a dynamic multicultural environment. The collectors' own notions of identity and ethnicity are examined through a cross-case analysis of this collecting behaviour and the meaning they attach to the objects they assimilate from different cultures.

Included in this analysis of the collection process is the influence of the international and national market in cultural property and the transformation objects and artworks with a Pacific or Oceanic signifier, detached to some extent from the specific original cultural context.

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section: 'Understanding collectors', examines the wide range of collecting practice documented in this study. It specifically seeks to illustrate each collector's highly individual approach to collecting Oceanic art forms. The second section, 'The Construction of Identity', explores each collector's personal motivation for collecting Oceanic art forms and how these are given expression in the construction of their collections.

The third section, 'Notions of the Pacific', investigates each collector's perception of the Pacific and significance in their own self-definition. This discussion is placed within the broader context of the history of ethnographic collecting and the contribution of 'primitive' art to the development of European art The fourth section: 'Market Relationships', explores the diverse and intricate relationships between market and collector. These are examined to reveal the varied threads of influence that marketplace dynamics can have on collectors.

Understanding Collectors

The five collectors interviewed for this project exhibited a complex range of collecting practice. No two collectors exhibited the same specific motivation to assemble, display and preserve historic and contemporary Oceanic art forms. Qualitative methods proved ideally suited to explore the depth and detail which could reveal both similarity and diversity between the collecting practice of each collector. It has been possible to locate each collector in a continuum, ranging from those whose primary focus is in collecting historical items, within an essentially anthropological framework, to those whose interest is in selecting works because of their aesthetic qualities. Their relationship to one another is expressed through their own perception of what their collection of historic and contemporary Oceanic objects represents to them. This relationship is visible in a movement from the left pole of the continuum, where collections of Oceanic art forms are essentially perceived as cultural artefacts to the left pole, where collections of Oceanic art forms are perceived as aesthetic works of art. Collectors A and B perceive their collections as cultural artefacts and Collectors C, D and E perceive their collection's as art.

Collectors A and B view their cultural collections as closely associated with originating cultures; both selected within strict time, location and stylistic frameworks. Collector A selected his collections within a geographical boundary and ten year time period, selecting objects on a functional or ritual basis and influenced to a minor extent by an aesthetic perspective. His intention for the collection to be in some way educational governed his selection process. He appeared primarily concerned that earlier concepts of fabrication and function be preserved in the body of this collection, while accepting that

future changes in society were inevitable. Collector B also collected items that reflected their functional purpose within the originating culture, aesthetic considerations were an important factor but not dominant in his selection process. He emphasises his interest in collecting items from an earlier period characterised by little compromise occurring due to European intervention. He has developed a notion of quality and authenticity, which he recognises in artefacts due to his in-depth level of research and experience.

Both Collectors A and B express an interest to preserve Pacific cultural integrity and purity in their collections. These collecting practices are consistent with Clifford's (1988: 228) comments regarding the classification of artefacts in anthropological collections where 'authenticity' is qualified by a historical context. In this way Collectors A and B appear to be situated conceptually towards the artefact extreme of the scale. Collector A has ceased to acquire objects, his collection is in effect whole and complete. It is significant to note that collecting ceased on leaving the Buka community. He has subsequently returned to this community and gathered further objects but does not consider these to be part of the original collection. This reveals Collector A's strategy to retain material integral to time and place when acquiring his collection.

Collector B is in the final stages of his collecting. He has become more selective and goal oriented, and as a result, has found that the New Zealand market has only a limited amount of material that is of any interest to him. This is consistent with Kremer's (1992: 159) comments about the discriminatory and discerning aspect to building a collection of quality, quantity and type. Collector B's current involvement with the collecting fraternity is primarily through the sale of some items from his existing collection on the international and market network. In this way, Collector B remains engaged in the market network with the gradual disposal of his collection. He continues to enjoy the 'thrill' of market relationships in this continued engagement. This is consistent with Belk's (1994: 322) comments on the importance of social collecting networks and the mutual support and understanding they provide their members, although, Collector B appears to be particularly involved in the dealer/retail networks, rather than specifically with collectors. This is consistent with Belk's comments, where his involvement with the retail community indicates his familiarity, ease and enjoyment with the commodity aspect of his collecting.

Collectors C, D and E differ significantly from Collectors A and B in respect of their collecting practice. All collect traditional and contemporary Oceanic art forms and all are in their peak collecting stage. Both Collectors C and D have previously collected contemporary Oceanic objects but are now noticeably interested in what the market defines as traditional, older object types. All have a strong interest in the established art dealer market, with a much lesser degree of interest in the auction market. The common aspect in their collecting practice is their focus on the aesthetic foundation of their collections. All three are situated towards the 'art' end of the artefact-art continuum.

Collectors C have a strong interest in the functional /ritual dimensions of their collections so their location on the continuum straddles the two opposing concepts, but with a leaning toward characteristics associated with aesthetic/art perspective. This is due to their collecting, acquisition and display methods, which reflect a priority for aesthetic and formal qualities. Their collection's narrative expresses a primary interest in contemporary New Zealand art forms spanning broad connections with the wider Pacific that they perceive reflects an engagement with contemporary New Zealand's political, social and cultural issues.

Collectors D and E have been particularly frank about their concern for aesthetic values dominating their selection criteria, however, both consider functional and ritual aspects to be of some importance when researching and valuing their collections. Collector D expressly collects within a modernist art perspective focusing on contemporary New Zealand abstract art. Oceanic art forms are increasingly evident in her collection as a response to changing notions of value within the national and international market network. These are representative of Collector D's response to social, political and cultural perceptions of a changing New Zealand identity. Collector E collects artworks that observe aesthetic and symbolic linkages and connections. He selects artworks that illustrate a broad notion of Pacific identity, gathering together a diverse range of art from New Zealand, Australia and to a minor extent, the wider Pacific.

Both Collectors D and E are notable New Zealand philanthropists. Collector D is a recognised patron of the arts and works within a traditional academic framework to articulate her collecting practice. She believes that art reflects 'time' and sense of 'place'

in a country she considers to be free of European historical constraints. Her art collection, in her view, expresses this notion of innovation, "where everything is possible" (Te Papa Press 1999: 11).

Collector E clearly situates his collection as peripheral to traditional academic structures. His collection expresses a sensitive gathering together of innovations in visual thinking, which he believes are a response to society and 'place'. Collector E's collection was conceived as a public collection, which would respond to the content of public museum collections and thereby generate creative public dialogue and discussion (Te Papa Press 1999: 12). He perceives himself and his collection to be innovative. This is pivotal to his belief that his collection will be used to develop and generate a new visual language for both New Zealand and Australian art-making.

What is significant to Collectors C, D and E is the spiritual dimension that their collections embody. Collectors C and D both observe a certain degree of cultural custom when handling and displaying their collections. Collector E articulates his interest for the spiritual in his acceptance of 'mystery' in art where 'truths emerge' when rational thought and academic reasoning are dispensed with. This interest in the 'spiritual' dimension of Oceanic art forms reflects what Thomas (1999: 279) describes as a contemporary 'new age' reinvention of a 'primitivist' interest in the 'mystical' and 'cosmic' aspect of non-western artefacts. In their act of constructing a meaningful and coherent collection, Collectors C, D and E have become closely associated with the values and meanings invested in the art forms. By this logic, the spiritual and mystical attributes in the collected Oceanic art forms will therefore be associated with or transferred to them as collectors.

Collector B referred to some form of spiritual connection when describing his personal relationship with the carved 'Uri' figure and its eventual disposal, although this event remains inexplicable to him. He did not profess to any involvement in cultural activities in the upkeep and maintenance of his collections.

All Collectors A, B, C, D and E have shown an immense capacity to broaden their knowledge of Oceanic art forms through their collecting activity. Their growing libraries,

filed newspaper and magazine articles and relevant purchase data fulfil a demand to retain and refine information necessary to developing 'good' collections (Clifford 1988: 218). All are known in their various social circles as 'collectors' and all enjoy a level of social interaction, prestige and status from this activity. Pearce (1995: 232) believes that prestige is one of the principle motives to collect however, this was not reflected among these collectors as a significant motivator in their collecting activity.

Collectors A and B have been gifted Oceanic art forms as a result of their reputation as collectors. In their view, this has further promoted their own sense of popularity and admiration. According to Kremer (1992: 135) a gifted object may be diminished in value to the collector as it has been excluded from the selection process and from the collector's control. Conversely, it may enhance the collector's sense of popularity as it has with Collectors A and B.

Collectors D and E are recognised as collectors nationally and internationally (although E is now distanced from his collection due its formation into a public trust). They both receive varying public recognition and admiration that acknowledges their philanthropic contributions. Recognition is further multiplied by the intention to keep both collections intact and preserved for future generations. This is consistent with Pearce (1994: 250), who suggests that this desire to keep a collection intact after one's eventual death results from the collector's own sense of identity being intimately associated with the value and meaning of the collection.

An important confession from Collectors A, C, D and E was the existence of mentors in the early stages of their collections. Collector A remarked on the work of the innovative missionaries Schweitzer and Laubach as pivotal to his chosen path. Collectors C both mentioned the influence a local person involved in local body politics and a member of the Tautai Pacific Arts Trust, had in initiating their contemporary Pacific art collection and in widening their social networks to include artists and artisans from both Pacific and Māori origin. Collector D talked about her friendship and familiarity with an influential and wealthy American collector whose eclectic and wide-ranging collection included ethnographic collections. Collector E discussed the influence and driving force that both Gordon Brown and James Mack contributed to his knowledge and awareness of

innovative contemporary New Zealand artists and the mechanics of the market network. Significantly, Collectors A, C, D and E had little experience of Oceanic art forms in their childhoods. Collector B in contrast, does not mention a mentor of any kind, but nostalgically recalled in detail his familiarity with his grandmother's collection of New Ireland artefacts. Mentors in their different manifestations have significantly influenced each collector's specific navigation through the many challenges that Oceanic art forms represent.

All collectors in this study are situated at different stages of their collecting cycle. Collector A has ceased collecting and Collector B is in the process of winding down his collecting activity. Collector B's current engagement in the market network is through disposal of his remaining collection items, an activity that keeps him actively engaged in the market system internationally and nationally.

Both Collectors A and B have strictly adhered to specific period and location when setting out selection parameters for their developing collections. They have as a result collections that through time have increased in size and scope representing object type and function. The collections have not diversified from their basic intention and in this manner represent coherent rule governed exercises. This is in contrast to Collectors C, D and E who have characteristically evolved their selection parameters to include object types from different locations, periods and functions. This evolving nature is reflected in each collector's receptivity to the changing values inherent in the market system and their own responses to political, social and cultural aspects of their own lives and changes occurring within New Zealand society.

All three are very familiar with the market structure and actively interact with dealer galleries and to a lesser degree, the auction market. All three actively pursue current gallery exhibitions featuring both fringe and established artists and are involved in their urban environments and the multitude of cultural, social and political interactions that occur in cities. All participate in a market network of knowledgeable people who provide mutual support and reinforcement of common interests in Oceanic art forms, thus creating a 'community' of people with similar interests and perspectives. Dubin's (1998: 50) ideas are particularly significant in relation to this collecting group and their interest

in Oceanic collections. She believes that a 'community' of collectors may not be defined by geographical and ethnic boundaries themselves but are connected through an interest in art forms that have an assumed 'ethnic' quality.

Collector D is distinct in this group, as she is actively involved with both national and international markets on a regular basis. Her collections reflect this. She uses a modernist international framework to compare American modernist art with New Zealand and Pacific contemporary art forms. Collectors C, D and E all assemble a diverse range of historic and contemporary Oceanic art forms to create evolving and eclectic collections. As collectors they exhibit a highly receptive approach to changing market dynamics and influences and their collections, in their diverse assemblage of Oceanic objects, reflect this.

The Construction of Identity

All of the collectors in this study discuss with differing emphasis their passionate concern for being New Zealanders. In this sense, the collectors express notions of their own ethnicity within a dynamic and strongly debated national concern for identity.

Collector E set out consciously to establish an art collection that reflected New Zealand and its cultural identity within the Pacific. On several occasions he emphasised the responsibility of public art collections as being able to reflect the local cultural environment and seemed alarmed at the distance between community and contemporary art-making. It is significant that he selected many of his initial Oceanic art forms from Australia in the 1970's. He acknowledges the impact Closer Economic Relations (CER) had on his own selection criteria and considers this to be an important time for New Zealand's own changing notions of identity. This idea of evolving sense of identity is also reflected in his later selection of Pacific cultural artworks such as the large black tapa. He attributes buying this to increased availability within the local market and a growing familiarity and receptiveness to these art forms within the New Zealand population at large.

Another aspect to his notion of identity is reflected in his ideas concerning locality and its significant effect on artistic expression, which he believes is 'shaped' by place irrespective of indigenous or migrant origin. He feels committed to European New Zealanders developing an artistic expression that evolves through a sense of place. This commitment and concern for cultural identity within New Zealand is distinctly evident in the selection criteria of the artworks incorporated into his varied collection. His vision of an ideal exhibition mentions art forms constructed from different media and different cultural origins, which would connect at a symbolic level. In this instance, Collector E uses a 'universalist' logic to create affinities and symbolic relationships between different cultures and their art forms. He is, however, not interested in the relativist interpretation that Pearce (1994: 411) believes is an attempt to empower non-western people by returning to their own non-western traditions. Collector E selects and acquires art forms that relate in a visual and symbolic sense only, with little concern for specific cultural meanings

A deep sense of evolving identity appears to pervade Collector E's personal philosophy of art collecting. This is reflected in his many comments regarding cultural identity. His previous experience with tourism in New Zealand has given him some insights into changing cultural influences and art forms. He mentions the introduction of canvas to Aboriginal communities as a successful example of this and remarks on the potential that has been created as a result of this introduction. His concern for the many forms of cultural expression are not static but highly tuned to the idea of flux and change. This contributes to his notion of artwork as an articulation of process, change and experience. In this light, artwork for Collector E is a way of understanding a national culture and its many manifestations.

Collectors C also consciously focus their collecting activity on art forms with a strong connection to New Zealand. They collect art forms with a 'provocative' and challenging quality, resulting in these being the subject of much discussion and debate within their social circles. Artworks selected are both contemporary and (more recently) traditional from both Māori and Pacific cultural origin. They note that their other collections of books, furniture and ceramics also correspond to New Zealand's historical past. Their participation in community-based cultural activities such as the Tautai Pacific Arts Trust

also functions as a commitment to New Zealand society and its many different cultural inhabitants. They emphasise their primary recognition of Māori within New Zealand and note that they have felt at odds at times in their established social circles when voicing these perspectives. They have admitted to feeling conflict about collecting historic Māori artefacts due to associated Iwi affiliations. In response to this, their recent acquisitions of Māori cloaks have been unprovenanced with no known tribal affiliation. They highlight their cultural respect and care for these collection items and feel that their guardianship role is reflected in this level of commitment. They have mentioned an element of 'fate' in the acquisition of their collections. Kremer (1992: 139) suggests that the collector believes that fate brings the object to them, they are therefore the destiny of that object and any ownership in a spiritual or cultural sense will be transcended in the act of possession. Kremer suggests that destiny of the art form, in the collector's mind is a result of their commitment to the collection. In this instance the collector is worthy and deserving, due to their respect and knowledge.

Collectors C collect contemporary Pacific art forms and consider these to be a response of a new generation of Pacific Islanders living in New Zealand and not to be a direct reinterpretation of essential Pacific island cultures. They have recently collected more in the area of traditional cultural artefact, perhaps providing further linkages and connections for the essential narrative of their collection. They believe they have a knack for 'acquiring' collections which emphasises their sense of an evolving collection. They are open to forms of artistic expression but believe that all components of their collection must 'connect' to them in some way.

This connection to Māori and Pacific cultures is through a 'sense of place' and affinity. In this way their collection represents an 'examination of self' where they have redefined and invested each collection item with a personal meaning and therefore created connections and linkages, irrespective of cultural origin. Michael King's (1991: 19) comments about an evolving sense of Pakeha culture in New Zealand are consistent with Collectors C's evolving notion of connection to 'place'. They are in this sense using their collection to articulate these connections but extend their sense of affinity to embrace 'Pacific' cultures within New Zealand.

Collector D's collection is primarily an art-focused collection of mainly New Zealand abstract artworks, where she makes connections using established aesthetic criteria for her cultural art forms. Artworks by Theo Schoon and Gordon Walters provide conduits and linkages for cultural art forms from both traditional and contemporary Māori and Pacific artists. These connections are referred to several times as establishing an intrinsically New Zealand framework for the collection as an entity. She does make distinctions between her essentially art-based collection and her cultural material. These distinctions are utilised when displayed together where they are on a continual basis juxtaposed in different display configurations, to "re-familiarise' and create further 'linkages' between artworks within her home environment.

All the collectors in this study have shown a preoccupation to creatively 'curate' their collections within their domestic space. However Collectors C, D and E have all consistently used New Zealand art to give perspective to the display and structure of their collections. Kremer's (1992: 157) remarks about display being a curatorial exercise to reinforce and strengthen the collector's sense of identity and reality by creating personal narratives seems particularly evident in these cases. Pearce (1995: 271) goes on to substantiate this by her belief that the spatial relationships created in the domestic space using a collection creates a self contained and internal world.

Collectors C, D, E and A have a strong sense of heritage when describing the eventual disposal of their collections. Collectors D and C use the term 'guardianship' when describing their personal concern for their collections. Collector E has already created a public collection from his artworks so this notion of social responsibility has been embodied in this action. His collection is currently loaned to a major public institution. Perhaps the notion that distinguishes Collectors C, D and E from Collector A is the essential intention of each collection. Collectors C, D and E are very much developing collections in progress with an evolving narrative concentrating on different notions of New Zealand identity. Collector A's collection has been completed and serves to act as an educational resource for future Solomon Island generations living in New Zealand and for a wider audience with an interest in Pacific Island cultures. Collector A envisioned his collection as a resource, which will represent a defined period in the history of Buka society. A concern for the collection's safety had determined its eventual location in New

Zealand due to political upheaval in the Solomon Islands. There appeared to be no concern for establishing New Zealand connections as a focus for this collection.

Collectors A, D and E are concerned to 'preserve' and protect their collections. All will ensure that these collections are protected from the potential of future neglect by their intention of gifting them to major institutions. In this way their collections will remain intact and be given a heritage value. This will guarantee varying degrees of status and prestige and, if associated with the collector by name, will ensure personal standing, and in a more long-term sense, a degree of immortality (Belk 1994: 323).

Investment as a primary motivation for collecting, revealed by Collector B, was of little concern to collectors C, D, E and A. These collectors expressed the value of their collections in symbolic terms, where the qualities invested in each collection articulated very personal meaning and value. Kremer (1992: 135) believes that the commodity value of a single object is replaced by the symbolic value of the collection as an entity.

Notions of the Pacific

All collectors acquire cultural art forms from non-western origins. Collectors B, C, D and E all collect from wide ranging locations including both Northern and Southern Hemispheres. It is significant that these Northern Hemisphere collections are kept in more discreet cultural groupings and displayed in quite distinct locations within their home environments, with the notable exception of Collector B who displays all his art forms together in aesthetic configurations throughout his house. Kremers (1992: 148) comments on the collector's manner of display representing a perception of reality seems relevant here as it indicates the collectors' conscious decision to demarcate collections of distinctly differing ethnic origin as a projected 'Pacific' reality.

All make little distinction within the Pacific to identify specific locations that they collected from except for Collector A, who specifically collected from the Solomon Islands, notably Buka. Collector B remarks that historic artefacts from Vanuatu, New Ireland, Fiji and Tonga are of interest to him and this selection reflects a broad interest in diverse Pacific sources. All remaining collectors have created their own broad definitions of the 'Pacific'. Factors that may have influenced this characteristic selection could be

aesthetic criteria, availability and/or familiarity with certain object types. This selection process signifies a generalised taste among the collectors for the 'primitive', where they may represent western-related ideas of 'mythical', 'natural', further identifying with a culture distinct from their own secular and modern world (see comments by Errington 1998: 149). Collectors C have however distinguished themselves from current popular interests in ethnic 'inspired' artwork predominant in the home decorator market. Kremer (1992: 145) comments that some collectors believe that the value of their collections is in their unique and undiscovered status. Perhaps Collectors C distinguish themselves from 'ethnic' wares to re-assert their own innovative collecting path and in so doing, the value of their collections.

Although all collections are distinctly varied in this study, all collectors ensure that art forms collected by them are 'authentic' and manufactured by certifiable indigenous artists. This is significant according to Dubin (1998: 75) who believes that collectors need to ensure indigenous production and their anticipated possession of these is rooted in a need to be associated with the perceived qualities and attributes that Oceanic art forms contain.

Collectors E and D acquire primarily New Zealand/Pacific artworks with an aesthetic modernist perspective. All artworks within each of these collections relate in an aesthetic and formal sense. In this way they appear to support the basic modernist tenet where artworks share a formal aesthetic relationship. Modernism has in its generous relativist perspective included and promoted cultural works in the fine art context (see Clifford 1988: 195). Both collectors share this generous spirit where cultural and historical context are secondary, and in some cases excluded, to assert formal and aesthetic relationships within their collections. The significant point is that Collectors D and E use Oceanic material to create these aesthetic relationships which reinforce the local aspect of their collections and their specific relationship to them.

Collectors C differ somewhat in their emphasis where aesthetic appeal is secondary to their own evolving cultural perspective. In this way their artworks relate to one another primarily in an iconic and cultural manner, where generally recognised cultural motif and form create linkages and connections.

Aesthetic concerns are of course of importance to Collectors A and B. However both have used differing criteria when selecting collections. Collector A has selected within a well defined geographical location and time span, whereas Collector B has selected by date of manufacture and a notion of 'quality' as a defining criterion. He clearly dismisses contemporary Oceanic art forms for his collection due to their lack of traditional 'authenticity'. Both sets of selection criteria illustrate a constructed and defined collecting path, identifying an 'authentic' representation.

Another salient point highlighting definitions of the Pacific is the inclusion of Māori art forms by Collectors C, D and E into their definition of Oceanic cultural artworks. As noted, case study documentation had clearly informed the participants that Māori cultural artworks were not included in the proposed study of their Oceanic collections. During the course of each interview, it was evident that both Māori and Pacific material were described in conjunction with one another when referring to Oceanic material. Although Collectors C, D and E all acknowledged in varying degrees the predominant status of Māori culture and cultural material in New Zealand, all continued to include both cultural groups in the same descriptive sentences. This was in strong contrast to Collector B who made specific distinction between Māori and Oceanic cultural artworks, resulting in this collector not acquiring Māori materials for his collection. This generalised notion indicated by Collectors E, D and C of a 'pan-pacific' culture (inclusive of Māori) is in masked contrast to the overarching official bicultural framework of New Zealand whose constitutional national document, the Treaty of Waitangi, expressly prioritises equity between Māori and Pakeha. Later migrant groups such as Pacific Islanders are dependent upon partnership negotiations of the two dominant Treaty partners (see Thomas 1999: 265 for comments on Treaty).

The lack of this distinction differentiates each collector's specific cultural notions and distances them from the many divergent and evolving political realities in New Zealand. It may indicate that their collections represent a route around bicultural issues in New Zealand by providing an alternative world-view and understanding. This perspective fits closely with McLoughlins' (1999: 183) comments on the detachment and dislocation from context that is characteristic of the modernist language, allowing an art form to move from being culturally specific to one that can communicate in a universal voice. This universal voice is further defined by the notion that when cultural materials are

transformed from cultural artefact into the exclusive art zone, the artist is distinguished by working in an intellectual manner. This is in contrast to the cultural artwork where an artisan/craftsman works in a functional and culturally specific manner.

Obvious movements of cultural material into the art zone are the movement of Australian Aboriginal works on canvas into the international art market and the more local interest in Pacific tapa as art rather than primarily cultural material. Collectors E, D and C all perceive and display their collections as works of art, however, all exhibit different degrees of interest in their collections' specific cultural meanings. The movement and display of cultural art forms is consistent with Phillips and Steiner's (1995: 19) view that a new modernist context is one where art forms from remote cultures become integrated into a world of meaning and value comprehensible through each individual collector's eyes and dislocated from its originating cultural context. In this way, Collectors A and B distinguish themselves from Collectors C, D and E by viewing their collections as cultural artefacts unable to be divorced in theory from their original context.

The overall reclassification and display of these collections within an art structure places all these collectors in a historical western framework. Pearce (1995: 330) believes this interest in exotic and the 'Other' has been paramount to the collecting of third and fourth world cultures for centuries.

Market Relationships

This research gives an insight into the ways that private collectors' interact with other elements within the market system. The interviews have provided a glimpse into the collectors perceived relationships with other collectors, the gallery network and more specifically with Dealer A. In the course of the interview, Dealer A's capable and astute personality was revealed as she described how she operates in subtle and diverse ways to interact comfortably with a wide range of clients. Her consummate interpersonal skills enabled her to facilitate an increasing volume of loyal clients and artists. A constant and watchful eye on international markets and their potential application within the New Zealand market reveals her intuitive business skills. Her marketing skills deftly construct a unified image in gallery design, support structures, publications and most importantly, selection of art forms for sale where she provides the collector with a range of

comprehensive services, which include research, conservation, framing and outreach support.

Dealer A's gallery provides a version of what Clifford (1999: 188-219) describes as an urban 'contact zone' for clients where she mediates between artists, indigenous primary producers and collectors. Here she articulates a vision which draws together both New Zealand and international political, cultural and social issues in a generalised assemblage of historic and contemporary western and non-western art forms. All are presented as art forms in a contemporary modernist gallery space and are, as a result, validated as high value art. Dealer A has emphasised a 'moral' aspect to her quest to raise the profile and gain a deserved recognition of Oceanic art forms in New Zealand and internationally. This is in keeping with Morphy's (2000: 129) comments on the promotion of Aboriginal art as historically moral. Conversely this promotion of Oceanic art forms can also be viewed as a sound business promotion where increasing market interest internationally in indigenous art forms has created incentive and direction for her business activities.

In the same sense, collectors use her vision to negotiate their own identity and place within a dynamic national and international environment. Collectors can pick and choose between a diverse and eclectic assemblage of art forms and their associated meanings. These art forms are assembled and displayed in ways to exploit a multitude of meanings and values where spirituality, aesthetic and political concerns, cultural authenticity and high quality can be emphasised or exchanged to suit the clients' demands. Kremer's (1992: 157) comments on the curatorial aspect of display are significant in this context. Dealer A, through the creative assemblage and organisation of the art forms in her gallery, is creating symbolic values closely associated with her own identity and that of her gallery.

Dealer A is significant in this study as she has regular contact with Collectors C, D and E. Her relationship with each collector is unique and this relationship is characterised by specific levels of interaction and exchange. Each collector makes separate and individual demands on Dealer A and she responds with an appropriate level of engagement.

Collectors C, D and E all rely heavily on and in turn support the dealer network within the New Zealand market to acquire artworks. Collectors D and E are also involved with

the international dealer network. Collectors C and E represent a more involved and developed relationship with individual dealers whereas Collector D can distance herself from the overall national market network. Her activity in the marketplace is characterised by more passive behaviour responding to artwork availability. Perhaps this differentiation is explained by her status as a high value customer. This is indicated by her privileged socio-economic status and high profile within the arts network in New Zealand and internationally.

Collectors C, D, and E all utilise the auction network but in a secondary, almost a tentative manner. Collector B, however, has relied heavily on the auction system to buy and the international dealer network to sell his artworks. As Collector B is in his final stage of collecting he requires lower purchase price and demands a higher return on sale.

Collectors A and B do not support the local dealer market. Collector B has preferred to collect from auction and retail outlets. His obvious enjoyment using these outlets is closely linked to his own use of the 'hunting' metaphor where acquisition is bound up in the thrill of the chase. Pearce's (1995: 184) comments about the hunt analogy are particularly relevant to collector B and his motivation to collect. She believes that the collector uses the term to promote a sense of 'cunning, prowess and ultimate success' and is ultimately involved in an act of control and dominance.

Collector A has never used the western market system to acquire his artworks. The essential selection and inherent value of Collector A's collection has been intrinsically tied into the local Buka system of cultural use and manufacture. He has exclusively collected from Buka communities and is therefore concerned to retain the 'authentic' use and manufacture of cultural art forms in a specific period and location.

Dealer A represents a significant influence with Collectors C, E and to a lesser degree, Collector D. She has a close and personal relationship with both Collectors C and E where all parties actively support and nurture each other in their buying and selling activities. Dealer A's relationship with Collector D could be defined as more passive owing possibly to Collector A's more prominent and influential profile in the art market. Dealer A will send relevant information concerning available artwork for sale and

Collector D responds on an irregular basis depending upon interest. This passive manner reflects Collector D's access to multiple sources nationally and internationally resulting in a reduced reliance on a local market.

In this sense, gallery and client appear to have a mutually beneficial relationship. Dealer A has created an environment where context and product reinforce a distinctive overall quality and status. Clients feel especially comfortable in this milieu, perhaps even flattered to be among its exclusive select client group. This is consistent with Morphy's (2000: 134) comments about how limited access to resources limits and protects the market and through this process, keeps it exclusive. Dealer A in this instance is not the producer but the facilitator of consumable goods of disparate origin (western and non-western) within a created specialised context where she is highly sensitive to the 'high end' art market product. Pearce (1995: 232) believes that fine art is often a deliberate target for collecting due to its intrinsic value and importance. This seems compatible with Dealer A's emphasis in her gallery on the 'fine art' context as a way of building prestige and status for her gallery and art forms.

She creates 'added value' for her clients with ongoing publications, provenance research, technical advice and services and regular social gatherings. Dealer A's deliberate emphasis in her gallery environment on provenance, research and expertise directly applies to Kremer (1992: 159) comments on the relationship of knowledge, connoisseurship and quality. These expert services sustain the quality and status of her marketplace and the products traded within it.

Conversely, the clients' demand for Dealer A's product is due to their recognisable aesthetic qualities, spiritual dimension and their ability to communicate a particular ethnicity. Her extensive client networks are connected by an interest in the promotion of Oceanic art forms but are distinct in their limited connections to originating communities. In this way she provides a conduit to Oceanic communities, while providing access to contemporary indigenous artists. Her gallery provides in this instance, a safe and secure environment where a 'community' of like-minded individuals can meet, socialise and re-affirm their common interests. Dubin's (1998: 50) comments about 'an imagined community' bound by an interest in a group of objects, which are

themselves bound by a cultural association, seem consistent with Dealer A's environment.

Both client and Dealer A actively construct social status and 'liberal consciousness' by this act of 'exchange'. Dealer A's success is based on her ability to identify a range of goods carefully selected to appeal to a group of collectors' respective political and social position. Dubin's (1998: 75) comments about the transference of attributes from art forms such as 'environmental', 'politically correct' and 'earthy' is relevant with the collectors in this study. Collectors C, D and E all reveal a significant interest in Oceanic cultures. This is expressed by Collectors C's and D's political and social empathy. Collector E's interest is in a collective relationship. Both perspectives are expressed through a relationship of 'place' and proximity.

Collectors E and C express their admiration for Dealer A in specifically different ways. Collectors C are regular clients. They value her ' integrity' which they see as reflected in her sensitivity to cultural and spiritual aspects of her business. As collectors they have less familiarity with the art market and appear to have relied heavily in the past on her advice and direction. In this way Dealer A's relationship with Collectors C has been characterised as a mentoring one, where she has provided articulation for their evolving collection and advice on future direction. They have felt flattered by her attention and perseverance with them as collectors and they enjoy the social interactions that her gallery provides them with.

They have, as a consequence of this relationship, gained confidence in the market system and this has been reflected in their more confident recent movement into the use of auction houses and other dealer galleries. A notable development in their collecting habits is their movement into the institutional lending circuit with the recent loan of artworks for a major institutional exhibition. This activity may indeed engender status and empowerment within these new, expanding and exclusive social circles. Status is increased two-fold: the lending of collections has, in general, increased the value of these due to institutional validation, and admittance to a collecting and philanthropic circle is in itself status raising due to its inherent exclusivity. Pearce's (1995: 232) comments on the collection representing a 'monument' to the collector, which elicits admiration and

prestige seems relevant here. This involvement in a 'collector network' by Collectors C will engender reputation and regard and their movement nearer to the public domain of both Collectors D and E is significant in this study.

Collector E admires Dealer A's involvement in and support for the dealer/artist network within New Zealand. He specifically mentions her as an advocate for new culturally diverse directions in the art market and her success in raising the profile of these art forms within the New Zealand art market. Collector E has a sophisticated understanding and experience of the dealer/artist consumer system and has been actively collecting Oceanic art forms since the early 1970's. He considers Dealer A's current focus as supporting the very basis of his collection practice.

Collector D has, as mentioned, a more distant reliance on Dealer A. She is actively involved in the international market and will only buy when a product comes on the market that she has previously shown interest in. She comments that she has had past contact with vast and wide-ranging eclectic collections such as the Menil collection. She does acknowledge, with some surprise, that this approach (the combined fine art/ethnographic collection) is novel within New Zealand collecting history. Collector D is therefore less reliant on Dealer A due to her familiarity with these 'novel' approaches in collecting, her more extensive market networks world-wide and her greater financial reserves. Dealer A will invariably raise her own dealer status and the status of her gallery by providing artworks for Collector D's collection. The act of selling artworks to Collector D is in fact an act of validation for the Gallery A and serves to demonstrate the dynamic relationships within the dealer/artist/collector network.

Dealer A became increasingly relevant in this research because of her influence with collectors C, D and E. Her significant influence in the Auckland market has been due to her very distinct approach to marketing cultural art forms within a private commercial art gallery space. She has displayed cultural art forms alongside noted 'high end' fine art works and maintained a cohesive gallery approach to the display of these artworks.

Her gallery is characterised by a generous use of empty open space. Gallery cases, plinths and hung artworks are lit to isolate and enhance each individual work. Such

attention to the formal qualities of each artwork transforms once functional objects into aesthetic artworks immediately allowing accessibility to traditional fine art audience. The gallery space and manner of display transform the visitor's perception of a once culturally specific object to a universalised artwork.

Text information adjacent to artworks on display is restricted to artist, date, size and medium. No reference is made to price. Further provenance information is supplied on purchase. A handsome quarterly publication incorporating glossy colour illustrations is produced and sent out among the gallery mailing list. This publication acts as an invitation to each quarterly exhibition and functions to introduce new artists and/or artworks included in the upcoming exhibition to the gallery's valued customers. New Zealand artists', curators' and poets' writings are incorporated into this publication. This functions on one hand to weave the stylistically different artworks into the unified gallery approach and on the other to validate the artworks supported by the gallery, using a New Zealand scholarly approach, which acts to raise prestige and social standing within collecting and social circles. This is consistent with Kremer's (1992: 159) comments that the development of knowledge about a collection is consistent with the collectors developing discrimination and connoisseurship.

The gallery environment and mode of display serve to frame each artwork within the modernist paradigm. This mode of display emphasises each artwork's formal qualities as rare and unique while attention to provenance and scholarship reinforces their 'authentic' nature. They are at once dislocated from their cultural environment and united in a stylistic and connected modernist whole.

The gallery's display of both fine art and cultural objects further encourages a modernist perspective where formal qualities are of high priority. Cultural material is traditional in the sense that it has seemingly been made for functional or ritual purposes and constructed by an indigenous person or community. Contemporary cultural material made primarily for commercial purposes is also included in the gallery selection. These are made by both indigenous and non-indigenous artists. In this instance Dealer A is actively encouraging a concept of a cultural continuum where cultural identity is invested in both contemporary and traditional media and linked through a shared cultural past (see

comments on Graburn about contemporary art forms re-invigorating traditional forms). What is specifically significant here is Dealer A's encouragement of this continuum that is linked through a shared place and cultural affinity (see Mason's 2001: 26 comments on the Māori art continuum).

Conversely, Dealer A offers art forms that with their evolving generic 'Oceanic' designs, could be influenced and nurtured by the notion of New Zealand as a 'Pacific' nation. All art forms in her gallery are primarily valued for their essential formal qualities and all are validated within a contemporary art gallery environment. The gallery represents what appears in theory to be a contradictory position: where indigenous and non-indigenous, traditional and contemporary art forms are interpreted in a uniform, modernist environment. Their generic 'Oceanic' interpretation avoids 'tension' by utilising both 'colonial' contextual information and 'modernist' representation. Mcloughlin's (1999: 230) comments on 'tension' in Canadian galleries when using either minimalist space or contextualised space for the exhibition of cultural art forms is interesting here, as Dealer A has specifically chosen to utilise both formats and avoid tension in this way.

Connections and linkages are continually made through thematic references in both display method and publication material. In a quarterly Gallery A publication, is a passage by the contemporary artist Jim Vivieare is included with colour plates of an Indonesian and a Papua New Guinean artefacts. The perspective revealed reinforces the layered connections and relationships of locality that Dealer A's gallery exemplifies:

> "Much could be constructed around and read into the practice of lifting later 19th century/early 20th century ethnological artefacts by unknown artists/craftspeople, and placing them in tandem with contemporary works of art. What is brought to the past is the reconfiguring/reinterpreting context of the present. What is brought to the present is the evocation and complex forces from which it has emerged...The gallery's primary concerns are to showcase both Oceanic objects and art made by New Zealanders. Such exhibitions lead the viewer into a series of implied connections when simple utilitarian objects are effectively changed by their placement, surroundings and the resonating proximity of known works by, for example, Ann Robinson or Emily Siddell. The viewer is privy to a specialised energy field created by a symbiotic power relationship. Allowing access for possession." (Vivieare 2001).

Dealer A's varied selection of cultural sources reveals that she casts her net wide when selecting for and defining her notion of the 'Oceanic'. She actively promotes the contemporary production of material influenced by a nationalist thematic notion of 'Oceanic'. This is evident in her commissions for a recent themed 'Oceania' exhibition of indigenous and non-indigenous artists. At the same time she will promote traditional techniques as in the case of tivaevae, where she encourages old methods. This could be a result of her very astute sensitivity to the market where authenticity of method and skill is retained but innovation in design may be promoted.

Dealer A has remarked, with satisfaction, about Auckland Museum's Pacific 'Masterpieces' gallery. She appreciates its aesthetic and formal emphasis when exhibiting Oceanic art forms and makes the obvious connection between her gallery and the recent direction of this major institution. The 'Masterpieces' gallery re-affirms her gallery's innovative approach and highlights the influence that her gallery has had on larger institutions (see Barker's 1999: 125 comments on commercial galleries creating loop to larger institutions).

Dealer A incorporates African traditional and contemporary cultural artworks into the mix, which further reinforces the modernist perspective of this gallery. Dealer A had previously remarked on her familiarity with the influence of African art on the modernist movement. Her observations of the connections between major artists such as Picasso and African art forms have possibly influenced her wider choice of cultural materials within the gallery. This use reinforces a universalistic and global approach to divergent cultural material where their essential relationship is amplified by encouraging formal connections and inexplicable spiritual associations. This universalist notion (see Thomas's comments 1999: 17) is amplified by Dealers A's concern for spiritual connection between the artworks themselves and her own observance of generalised cultural customs being applied to all cultural materials within the gallery. In this way Dealer A navigates around specific cultural customs which could highlight non-generalised customs.

Dealer A encourages close relationships with her clients. Her openings are social and convivial where various clients are even involved in exhibition activities. She comments that she will see her regular clients at least once a month. This is reinforced by Belk's (1994: 322) comments about the collecting network's specific importance in the collecting process, where it provides the collector with a mutually supportive community of knowledgeable others. In this way the mutual identity of the collector is supported, appreciated and understood. In this case Dealer A's gallery provides the connecting space where collectors, artists and academics can meet and interact.

Dealer A is always concerned with staying at the cutting edge of the art market. She is constantly seeking further innovative approaches to selecting and interpreting art in her gallery space. Her latest world trip allowed her the time and stimulation to look for further avenues, culminating in her acquisition of one cultural artefact that she considered inspirational in her travels. A brightly coloured feather headpiece placed obliquely on the gallery wall, spot-lit with reduced explanatory text outlining location, age and dimensions represents her new direction. At once it is recognisably of non-western origin, simultaneously it could also be made by a contemporary New Zealand artist. This duplicity further emphasises Dealer A's evolving direction over the last few years where her stable of non-western and western, traditional and contemporary artworks reinforce and nurture one another to create a united style and form.

This direction is firstly an intuitive response to increasing international interest and the developing art market for the non-western contemporary and historic art form, and secondly a sensitive response to New Zealand's particular blend of political, cultural and social debates, where identity and ethnicity predominate. The homogenised 'Pan-Pacific' culture exemplified by the specific blend of Māori, Pacific Island and Pakeha artists in Dealer A's stable, seems very current in the light of this ongoing debate (see Fleras and Spoonley 1999: 106 for comments on political conceptions of identity in New Zealand). This presents a largely Pakeha clientele with the ability to navigate their place and sense of belonging in New Zealand by acquiring, possessing and assembling diverse and eclectic Oceanic art forms in which to mediate meaning individual to them and their specific needs and demands. Dubin's (1989: 60) comment that collectors' preconceptions of the 'primitive' are mediated through their collecting of art, art values and personal

experience is particularly significant with these collectors, who are all using Māori and Pacific art to negotiate their own identity.

The use of generalised local motif and design to create a 'narrative of identity' has been symptomatic of settler primitivism since colonial settlement in New Zealand (see Thomas 1999: 12 for comments on settler primitivism). Its redefinition using generalised Oceanic design and motif is made visible in the use of both a generalised Māori and Pacific art form. Dealer A's gallery has allowed European New Zealanders to create their own narrative of identity through their collections. Their world is constructed from assembled culturally diverse art forms, which are selected and re-contextualised to create meaning. They examine relationships between Oceanic art forms that allow exploration into a developing sense of place and their own affinity with Pacific peoples.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion

While there has been an increasing international interest in the nature of private collecting practice amongst historians, anthropologists, sociologists, consumer studies and museum studies scholars, there has been only limited research undertaken in New Zealand during the last twenty years. The research that has been undertaken has tended to focus on nineteenth century collecting and little attention has been given to the collecting of contemporary art. There has been little attempt to provide a systematic analysis of either private collecting practice or the art market with which these collectors must engage, apart from programmes made for television, magazine articles and a few academic contributions.

This thesis is an exploratory study in one area of contemporary art collecting in New Zealand, that is, the collecting of historic and contemporary Oceanic art. The thesis documents and examines the collecting practice of five private case study collectors who have collected, or currently collect, historic and contemporary Oceanic artefacts. A detailed account of the collecting practice of each collector is provided. A set of key issues including collecting strategy, collection care and collection disposition are then examined by cross-case analysis. Three of the case study collectors interviewed all had a client relationship with one particular fine art dealer. Hence it was decided to document and examine the operation of the gallery and the relationships between the dealer and the collectors.

Interviews with the six collectors and the dealer provided a rich data set that has confirmed the complexity of collecting practice as documented by international research. The international research has been useful in analysing some of the results of the research. However, when Pakeha collectors focus their attention on the historic and contemporary art of the indigenous peoples of the Pacific, the analysis must reach beyond the generic

practices and motivations elucidated in the international literature and examine the politics of collecting in the post colonial context of New Zealand at the turn of the millennium.

Much of the international research that has been undertaken into collecting practice has focused essentially on collectors as individuals and has also provided cross-case analysis of both qualitative and quantitative data. This research adds an innovative component in documenting the relationships between four collectors and one art dealer. It is proposed that this dealer creates a 'contact zone' in the form of a fine art gallery. In this 'contact zone' collectors can interact with Māori and Pacific Island artists and, through the medium of the dealer, with peoples in the Pacific Islands who are the source of much of the historic material that is being sold in the gallery.

The analysis of collecting practice and the documentation and examination of the role of the dealer provide the foundation for the central argument of this thesis that the collecting of historic and contemporary Oceanic art provides a means through which these collectors engage with issues of identity. The preliminary analysis of the interview data enabled the development of four propositions, which were outlined in the Introduction:

Proposition 1: In the last quarter of the twentieth century, it has become increasingly acceptable for collectors of contemporary fine art in New Zealand to include a range of historic Oceanic artefacts in their collections.

Two distinct collecting groups were identified in this qualitative study. Collectors A and B are at the end or 'winding down' period of their collecting. Their Oceanic collections represent distinct cultural entities where contextual information is pivotal to their perceived value and meaning. In this sense these collections represent a distinct cultural 'Other'. In comparison, Collectors C, D and E are all at their peak collecting stage. Their Oceanic collections enhance and serve to situate and contextualise their contemporary fine art collections where they construct a cultural and political narrative that places them in relation to a 'particular' 'Other'.

These two groups illustrate the contrasting and diverse motivations behind the collecting continuum of art and artefact. The life cycle of each collecting group suggests a new development towards the collection of Oceanic art form as fine art works rather than as cultural artefact.

Proposition 2: A new type of dealer has emerged in the metropolitan centres who provides access to historic and contemporary Oceanic art in a fine art gallery context.

The market aspect of the collecting process examined in this study emphasised some unexpected dynamics. Interviews examining the market-collector relationship, represented by Dealer A, accentuated a unique market response to the diverse cultural, political and economic changes in New Zealand. Dealer A's response articulated a philosophy for her clients that enabled acquisition of 'Oceanic' art forms by utilising a broad notion of 'Pacific' citizenship. In this instance Dealer A legitimises and validates cultural artworks within her fine art gallery environment. She creates narratives through a unique and characteristic interpretation that allows her clients to situate and connect their individual narratives into an emerging 'Pacific' identity. It is significant that the collectors in this study who are clients of Dealer A explore their own sense of ethnicity and place through their respective art collections. Dealer A has explicitly facilitated a narrative expression using eclectic, diverse and symbolic 'Oceanic' art forms. She uses these as abstract symbols to promote certain qualities that the client desires to project and promote in themselves.

Dealer A's astute application of changing trends in the international tribal art market and her interpretation of these in a way that is able to be applied within the New Zealand art market has resulted in a unique gallery. Her gallery represents both fine art and anthropological perspectives. Both perspectives, in a contradictory way, contribute to increased value of indigenous art works within the art market.

Dealer A's gallery provides her clients with a mediated space where debate, discussion and networks can be forged to create a 'community' of like-minded people. The gallery in this sense provides the client with a 'contact zone' where collectors, artists, and indigenous communities can connect in physical, intellectual or emotional ways.

Proposition 3: The inclusive nature of this type of collecting suggests the art collections are being used to engage with issues of personal identity, particularly issues of Pacific and New Zealand citizenship in the post-colonial, multicultural context of New Zealand major urban centres.

What is distinctive in this study is the complex way in which each collector navigates his or her own identity through their individual collections. No two collectors acquire, select and classify in the same way. The qualitative approach of the research has been ideally suited to this study by enabling each collector to express him or herself in a unique way. It accentuates the personal and intimate nature of each collection and its assembled meaning and value. The study has provided a significant contribution to the understanding of collecting behaviour concerning Oceanic art forms within the New Zealand art market. It has identified international and local factors that contribute to a unique collecting perspective, which is constructed firmly in a relationship with place and culture.

The study has shown that each collector responds to his/her political, cultural and economic environment in a way that constructs a personal narrative of continuity and connectedness. This act of possession, or conversely, severance from original context makes an object personal, re-values and recontextualises it in a way that creates a new narrative. Through this an object gains symbolic and iconographic value. In this way the collector establishes a sense of identity.

A further examination of the local and particular 'Other' in the collector's mind has indicated that it has a broad and less explicit nature. Collectors C, D and E all presented varied and diverse visions of a New Zealand identity characterised by a broad pan-pacific

culture. In this way these collectors create a less politically conflicted world where the dynamic and persistent estrangement characteristic of cultural politics within New Zealand becomes at once controllable, allowing a way for a form of resolution. This last dynamic is situated in both a local and a world-wide 'primitivist' dynamic where local and recognisable cultural art forms are used to affirm place and belonging. A generalised and homogenous cultural 'Other' characterised by a pan-pacific culture, allows a distanced relationship, secure from the political reality of New Zealand's current polarised cultural relations.

Proposition 4: The new type of collecting is yet another form of appropriation of historic Oceanic art into the western framework that has little to do with historic context or with the realities of Oceanic contemporary cultures.

This study has identified that New Zealand collectors of Oceanic art forms participate in a 'primitivist' dynamic which has a number of manifestations that are both international and local in character. The study has also shown that the local market dynamic utilises these 'primitivist' perspectives to articulate for collectors a way by which they can individually navigate their own identity and ethnicity through the assemblage and classification of their art collections.

All the collectors in the study have been, at some stage, participants in a wider 'primitivist' dynamic reflecting a cultural relation between a civilised 'self' and an exotic 'Other'. There are many re-inventions of this dynamic where art forms of non-western origin have been interpreted by European cultures. Examples of these are interpretations as 'artificial curiosity', 'ethnographic fragment' and 'modernist art'. All these interpretations represent a series of appropriations within a continual cycle of reclassification and reinterpretation of the 'primitive'. Each kind of appropriation brings with it varying levels of value and meaning which change in response to the changing European values and qualities, that it serves to underpin and support. European New Zealanders' interest in indigenous motif and design has to some extent been influenced by these international dynamics.

All collectors in this study have, to varying degrees, been influenced by an interest in and fascination with an exotic cultural 'Other'. Some collectors preferred to perceive their collections as distinct and integral in time, location and technology where they are viewed as representing a culture distinct, past and witness to a cultural 'Other'. For the collectors, a fascination with and need to understand and possess a 'spiritual' and 'mystical' quality exemplified by the collecting culture (Oceanic) unlike their own, motivated them to acquire, select and display these art forms in their own environments.

The local reinvention of these 'primitivist' dynamics in this study is distinctive to New Zealand. The local revision of 'primitivism' is characterised by a demand for affinity with a 'particular' cultural 'Other'. New Zealand's historic binary relationship between European settler and indigenous 'native' has shaped a highly distinctive feature of settler colonialism where interactions have been direct, local and politically dynamic. It is through this local vantage that European New Zealanders seek affinity with and legitimacy in their settled land. Their constructed identity is recognisably associated with a connection to land and to the indigenous Māori population. In this way collectors C, D and E affirmed their identity through their individual collections, which embodied both European New Zealand and also Māori art forms. Their collections enabled them to construct, assemble and display their own perceived version of the estrangement characteristic of settler and native dynamics and affirm their own ethnicity grounded in place and a particular 'Other'.

This research has identified that complex and diverse patterns of contemporary collecting are largely a response to local context. Describing the local collector practice in the generic terms of Northern Hemisphere models diminishes contextual flavour and nuance. A good understanding of local context was needed to understand their broadening and evolving collecting patterns, their developing relationships with artists and dealers and their scholarly and intellectual understanding of their growing collections. This suggested that collections served to establish the collector's place in the world rather than being merely a body of material with consumer, and investment interest.

This study's multidisciplinary approach, encapsulating a wide range of disciplines such as Museum Studies, Anthropology, Sociology, Cultural Studies and Art History has many applications for future research. However the qualitative nature of the study, small sample size and limited representation in specific age and income brackets means that significant areas of collector behaviour have not been investigated. The lack of quantitative data available on New Zealand collecting habits made it difficult to provide a context for the qualitative data collected. This has highlighted the need for some basic demographic and statistical information on the broad collecting habits in New Zealand. Such a comprehensive study is necessary to understand past, current and future patterns in all areas of collecting. Specifics such as collection focus, duration of collecting, age, gender and ethnic characteristics would enable researchers to understand the phenomenon of popular culture that is peculiar to New Zealand.

Examination into the relationship between private collector and commercial gallery has indicated a complex and interdependent dynamic in the market of art. This implies a potentially rich and fertile area of study into the multitude of relationships and shifting dynamics within and between the private collector, institutional curator and commercial market sectors.

This study has focused on only one very broad collection orientation: collection of the distant (in time, space and culture). The collection of the familiar that may grow out of ethnicity would warrant further investigation, particularly if these two motivations are grounded in the same premise: to affirm continuity and connectedness. Comparisons of collectors operating within the two orientations may prove fruitful.

Comparative investigation into the collecting behaviour of other settler societies, such as te post colonial societies of Australia and Canada, may prove particularly significant. Allusions to commonalities between settler societies and their distinct political, cultural and economic characteristics have been drawn in this study. There is, however, no current data from which to draw to establish any comparisons or conclusions.

This exploratory research has offered an increased understanding of the complexities of collecting Oceanic art in New Zealand and has provided valuable insights into a previously unstudied field. It has revealed how the collecting of art has become a means for an increasing number of European New Zealanders to construct identity and articulate place within a rapidly changing political and social environment.

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Collector E, recorded in Wellington, 1 March, 2000

Dealer A, recorded in Auckland, 2 June 2000

Appendix

Collector Questions

Biographical

- Age group?
- Ethnic origin?
- Married/Single/Divorced?
- Children?
- Where were you born?
- Occupation?
- Qualifications?
- Main wage earner in the house?
- Do any other members of your family collect?

History of the Collection:

- What do you collect?
- Do you make distinctions between your collections?
- Do your different collections relate to each other in any way?
- Are there specific object types that you collect?
- How may items are in the/each collection?
- Do you have a favourite collection item?
- When did you start to collect?
- Have you collected consistently over the years since initiating your collection?

Collector

- Do you consider yourself a collector?
- Do you belong to any collectors club?
- How did/do you acquire your collections?
- Do you purchase your collections or have they been given to you?
- Do you actively source out collections?
- Have you noticed changes in availability of collections?
- Have you noticed changes in price?
- Do you set yourself limits?

Care of Collections

- How do you look after your collection?
- Do you remember how you acquired each piece?
- Do you remember what you paid for it, do you note this down?
- How do you find out about each item?
- Are you interested in how each piece is constructed? Who made it? When? Where?
- Do you record this?
- How (notebook, computer database)?
- Do you register each item (mark each object distinctively)?
- Do you collect information relevant to your collection (newspaper articles, academic publications)?
- Are you interested in who owned your collections before you purchased them?

Display

- Where do you keep your collection (bedroom, living room, shed, kitchen, garage)?
- Is your collection on display (in display cases, shelves, walls) or stored in cases, in a chest of drawers?
- How is your collection arranged (type, chronology, aesthetic configuration or random)?

Social Network

- Does anybody else know of your collections?
- How do they react to your collection?
- Is there anyone in particular you show your collections to?
- Do they collect as well?
- What do they collect?

Motivation

- Why do you collect (aesthetic appeal, cultural significance, complete a set, nostalgia, investment)?
- Why were you encouraged to collect (you acquired one item and carried on from there, looked good in your home, encouraged by somebody, good investment)?
- Does your collection relate to your occupation, hobby?
- How do you feel about your collection?
- Does it seem part of you (in a symbolic way)?
- Do you use your collection in any way?
- Would you sell a piece if it became particularly valuable?

Future of Collection

- Will you collection ever be complete?
- Do you ever see anything you must have?
- Do you feel guilty for purchasing items (cultural aspects, financial reasons)?
- Would you start a new collection over again?
- What will you with your collection in the future (sell, bequeath, it to someone, gift to institution)?

Dealer Questions

Biographical

- Age group?
- Ethnic origin?
- Married/Single/Divorced?
- Children?
- Where were you born?
- Occupation?
- Qualifications?
- Are you a collector?
- Do any other members of your family have an interest in art or collecting?

Gallery Art/Artefacts

- What do you sell?
- Do you make distinctions between the objects for sale in your gallery (art/artefact)?
- Do your different objects for sale relate to each other in any way?
- Are there specific object types that you sell (or do not sell)?
- Where do you source the objects for sale (auction houses)?
- Do you buy directly from indigenous communities?
- Do you employ agents?
- Do you source the objects from specific locations/cultures?
- Do you actively source out specific types of objects?
- Have you noticed changes in availability or types of objects?
- Have you noticed changes in price?
- Do you set yourself financial limits?

Care of Objects for Sale

- How do you look after your objects for sale (physically/spiritually, culturally)?

Research

- How do you find out about each object
- Are you interested in how each object is constructed? Who made it? When? Where?
- Do you collect information relevant to objects for sale (newspaper articles, academic publications)?
- Do you generate your own published material?
- Are you interested in provenance?
- Do you have collegial relationships with museum /art gallery institutional staff?

Display

- How do you display your objects for sale (in display cases, shelves, walls)?
- Is there a specific aesthetic to your display methods?

Client Base

- Do What type of clients do you have?
- Can you describe them (race, age, socio- economic status, and gender)?
- Are specific groups interested in specific types of art?
- What type of relationship do you have with your clients?
- Do you see them socially?
- How frequently do you have exhibitions?
- Do you have exhibition openings and what are they like?
- What is the form of the invitation to the opening?
- Do you contact clients when a suitable artwork is for available (how)?

Gallery Approach

- Are there other galleries that have a similar approach to displaying and selling artworks the way you do (locally and overseas)?
- How do you select artworks for display and sale in the gallery and why?
- Do you see your gallery moving in a particular direction in the future?