

〔学部共同研究会報告〕

ケニアにおける地域まるごとミュージアムの 現状と課題

—コミュニティ・ミュージアム・オブ・ケニアを事例として—

EUSTACE GITONGA *

日 時：2006年11月1日（水）14：40～16：10

会 場：立命館大学産業社会学部共同研究室

コミュニティ・ミュージアム・オブ・ケニア（以下 CMK）とは、「ある地域における昔からの技術や遺産を単に博物館に保管・陳列・展示するばかりでなく、それらを地域のコミュニティに返し、知識を共有し、環境を考慮して行動する博物館」を意味し、具体的には、自炊可能なキャンプ場、ナチュラトレイル、カルチュラルセンター、温泉、スネークパーク、そして展示施設としての博物館がある。このCMKは、地域まるごとミュージアムともとらえることができる。

研究会では、ダイレクターであるユースタス・ギトンガ氏（写真）にCMKの現状と課題について報告していただいた。その詳細は、以下の通りである。（遠藤保子**）



Introduction

In 1901 rail completed at a cost of £ 6.5 million – brought 30,000 Indian coolies.

In 1902 commissioner, Sir Charles Eliot, British East African Protectorate (Kenya) surveyed the territory and its people for economic potential. It became imperative for London to develop the colony's production, make use of the railway for export and pay back the public capital.

* ユースタス・ギトンガ

コミュニティ・ミュージアム・オブ・ケニア, ダイレクター（ケニア）

** 立命館大学産業社会学部教授

A campaign to stock the new country with settlers to capitalize on the agricultural potential and provide cash crops for the world market was started. Thousands of settlers migrated into Kenya determined to build a "Whiteman's country".

The empire was not to be a burden on British tax payers and Kenya had to self finance, creating a huge burden financing roads, rail, telegraph systems, administration, personnel etc. leaving little for education, health and other institutions.

The new settlers, in between their survival chores still had some extra time to engage in leisure activities. Those that had aristocracy backgrounds had more time on their hands and they started collecting items that they considered curious which included native material covering utility, artistic, ceremonial clothing, weapons, musical instruments and all manner of objects that included biological material.

The collectors formed a sort of club which later developed into the East African Natural History Society. This club made the first attempt to assemble their motley collection under a single roof to make the first museum in 1910.

As the colony progressed economically, the young museum increased its collections and membership and attracted funding from government.

New towns developed along and on each end of the rail line forming a network that connected high potential agricultural land areas. Outside this network was the larger part of the country, mostly arid. There was no money to develop this arid area and even access roads were unknown in many areas. The Colonial Administration simply "cut off" those areas and dubbed them closed districts ensuring that outsiders remained out of the areas. Only the missionaries had relative access to these areas. The old ways of life remained largely intact. The closed districts were and remain the source of the artifacts that form the national museum collection.

New museum

In 1930 a new museum building was built in Nairobi and was named after the then governor of Kenya Colony, Coryndon.

Right from the onset many of the museums collection items were collected as objects of curiosity and more often than not, ended up displayed out of context, with the result that the essence of the true meaning and significance of this material was lost. The curious nature of these collections fascinated the colonial settlers and they were quite pleased with their handiwork, a museum depicting the native life the way the settlers saw it.

For the next forty (40) years, museum careers involved only British colonial people and where they were not British, they had to be white. It was taboo for any Kenyan native to "tamper" in the museum's industry by trying to get involved at any notch above a subordinate worker.

1963 Kenya became a new Independent Republic with an indigenous President. A large portion of white settlers left the country to settle in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Britain and Australia. But a sizeable number remained in Kenya and continued to work in the new

government, business and large scale farms.

Old habits die hard. A new form of neo-colonialism began to take root in several fields with the museums field becoming an early casualty.

The new government did not have any money to extend infrastructure development beyond the rail line zone. So the closed districts remained closed.

The new government adopted the Coryndon Museum, named it the National Museums of Kenya and continued giving it financial support but paid no attention to the way it was administered as the government was mired in its own economic, social and political crisis. This situation became a conducive environment for evolution of a resistance to change monopolistic National Museum System. There was nostalgia to the old empire.

The National Museum administration saw to the continuity of the institution remaining a bastion of the colonial continuity in Kenya. At the single national university of the time, indigenous students were discouraged to take science subjects that might lead to a museums career. Earth sciences were specifically a no go zone.

Those that had studied abroad and had secured employment with National Museum were encouraged to conform to the establishment. For 30 years this exercise was sustained creating a near stagnation in numbers of indigenous Kenyan Museum professionals, ensuring that the local as in the past would remain at the tail-end of the pecking order.

Meanwhile the administration maintained a 'clean' face to the government and to the international community portraying the museums operations as romantic and ahead of the pack with its archaeological work becoming akin to piety.

The indigenous Kenyans who formed the greater part of the populace could not quite fathom the new museum displays which to them was just a collection of paraphernalia. The majority of native Kenyans therefore became passive observers where the museum featured and to date, most people recall their first school trip to the museum but few recall what they saw.

In the mid 1980's Kenya had single political party system with dictatorial tendencies creeping into every institution, business and just about every operation in the country. For National Museum administration, these were golden times and they were indeed, in their element. A near total exclusion of the enlightened or "uppity" natives on all important museum matters became a key part of their mental repertoire. This would become an unwritten national museums policy.

Many indigenous museum professionals who had innovative work plans or who had an affinity towards new ideas were overtly discouraged and then promptly shown the door with the cumulative result of a sizeable community of museum professionals outside the museums system. I was part of this group.

1992 - The Kenya political establishment succumbed to pressure via a political wind that had swept the country with citizens demanding multi-partyism and liberalization .

Kenya held its first multiparty elections for three decades.

Community Museums of Kenya (CMK)

It is against this background that the Community Museums of Kenya (CMK) was established.

Formation of CMK – A group of like-minded indigenous Kenyans got together and decided to take advantage of the new liberation by lobbying the government to register a second museums system.

Our preliminary contact with the government was very encouraging. The government wanted to see on paper what we had in mind.

We embarked on the task of articulating our vision on paper for government perusal.

The circulation of our presentation through the various government departments took one year. The Ministry of Research and Science finally called us to a meeting and the government verdict. The Minister said that our vision is something that ought to have been implemented thirty years earlier. The government had decided that Community Museums of Kenya would be registered as a Non Governmental Organization (NGO) to facilitate access to a wider base in partnerships.

The arduous process of vetting through eight different government departments before registration took another 2 years. In 1999 Community Museums of Kenya was registered as a Non-Governmental Organization with the Minister for Research giving it clearance to operate as a research institution and as a research affiliating institution.

The Community of museum professionals outside the national museums system formed part of CMK's core group which functioned as planners, think-tank, implementers, workers, lobby group, consultants, drivers and extension officers etc. Between them these people had a combined working experience in the museums field of more than 170 years.

We were a very diverse group originating from different ethnic Kenyan backgrounds and having been exposed to other global cultures and education systems we were therefore establishing CMK from a vantage point.

This team understood the social/cultural and political positions of the diverse indigenous communities, their needs and aspirations, their strengths and shortcomings vis-à-vis the position of the western community and its colonial legacy with the attendant technological advantages and disadvantages. They were quite familiar with both sides of the divide and their diverged views. A case in point is the incident of an elder from northern Kenya. Several years earlier the National Museums researchers excavated an important hominid fossil that was to become world famous. The fossil ended up in the strong room in Nairobi, Museum. The illiterate elders from a pastoral community had a grandson who was in high school. The famous fossil was excavated on the elder's clan land and the community knew about the fossil and a local legend around the fossil was taking form.

The grandson's wish was to see the legendary fossil from his ancestral land. The elder sold his animals to pay for the journey to the Nairobi Museum. Having traveled several hundred miles through very difficult terrain the two people arrived at the museum and announced their wish to the administration. To their consternation, they were given forms to

fill and show their research permits, their sponsors and show if they were working on their masters or doctoral dissertations. Needless to say the two returned home without setting their eyes on the legendary fossil from their clan land.

During the two year wait, we crisscrossed the country especially in the closed districts conducting meetings with community leaders and the more youthful educated members of the communities and discussed the practical options of establishing museums with community participation and ownership.

We found those sessions extremely useful. Each side had learnt a lot from the other.

Several communities started by allocating land to the project as their first contribution. They also were very clear on the type of museums or displays they would like in their areas.

After getting registration and the various relevant permits CMK embarked on establishing two museums and an archaeological research and excavation program in Baringo, one of the former closed districts. We had partnered with the local county council on the museums establishment and French researchers collaborated on the excavation program under Kenya Paleontological Expedition (KPE).

The communities on the ground, of course, had many basic survival problems, like getting enough food and water for the day. CMK had to address the issue of their social problems if we hoped to get their attention on museums matters. The social problems were as diverse as the communities themselves. One community had a huge environmental crisis caused by an invasive shrub, *Prosopis juliflora*, that had been propagated on their land by one of the United Nations International agencies. The shrub had choked their pastures, water services, killed people and their animals and was finally pushing them out of their homes.

Another community needed an access road 8 Km long but if built the road section would save them 120 Km of round trip circumventing an escarpment. Yet another community on the hillside wanted a tree nursery established to help them plant seedlings to cover the denuded hillsides. There was a permanent dam with a lot of water but the land set aside for the nursery was 5 Km from the dam, so the first item on the shopping list was 5 Km of water piping in a trench.

The Community Museums of Kenya mission of "Taking Museums to the people" acquired a new sibling "Social Development".

The building of the two museums and the social development projects were running concurrently and bit by bit our operations began attracting media attention.

We sent four local young people to France for technical training and another began his PhD course in micro paleontology at the University of Lille, France.

Establishment of CMK caused immediate alarm to the nearly one hundred years old museum monopoly and the monopoly set out immediately to fight off the new intruder.

Traditional museums funding sources were pressured to give a wide berth to CMK. The National Museums Administration ordered the arrest of the French Research team members and charge them with illegal excavation of fossils. At least one member of the team was arrested and spent five days in jail before the court established that the research permit that the accused had was a genuine issue.

The multinational companies that were helping us with social development resources were pressured to tone down their enthusiasm.

2000 – The Community Museums of Kenya research team (KPE) made a monumental prehistoric discovery. We excavated *Orrorin tugenensis*, the six million years old hominid that proved that hominids were bipedal nearly 3 million years earlier than anticipated.

Like the CMK, the new discovery did not conform with the establishment which caused consternation in the scientific fraternity and generated healthy and lively debate.

2001 – I traveled to UNESCO Headquarters having secured an appointment with officials that were in charge of the African Desk. My mission was to inform the officials about CMK and seek UNESCO support since our operations were a natural fit into UNESCO's mandate.

The officials promptly informed me that they won't hear me out unless CMK acquires International Council of Museums (ICOM) membership through its African Chapter – AFRICOM whose office was hosted by the National Museums of Kenya, Nairobi. Of course, AFRICOM did not welcome CMK with open arms and it took another two years before CMK was allowed membership of AFRICOM whose mission is "to promote development of museums....."

2002 – Kipsaraman museum opened its doors to the public. The ceremony was officiated by the French Ambassador to Kenya. *Orrorin tugenensis* was a central exhibit in the new museum.

2003 – Lake Baringo Reptile Park opened its doors to the public and the ceremony was officiated by the Minister of Tourism, Kenya and the President of the National Museum of Natural History, Paris.

News of the Community Museums spread fast resulting in many enquiries by members of different Kenyan communities who wanted our collaboration to set up the various facilities they had in mind.

We followed those enquiries with recce trips which included site meetings with the elders and the youth. These would be followed by several planning meetings this time in our Nairobi office.

This trend has continued to date and the community requests to CMK to help them establish a museum or cultural centre of their choice has overwhelmed and surpassed our capacity by far.

Heritage: Artifacts and material culture tell the story of a people. CMK sees our diverse cultures as a vehicle that may be used to spur social and economic growth. We have forty two tribes in Kenya that is forty two different ways of life to borrow and benefit from.

There is urgent need in developing Community Museums so as to preserve while encouraging utilization of the heritage before it is dismantled and then disappear.

When a community loses its heritage, the size or the visibility of that community not withstanding, it is indeed the entire humanity that loses.

BARINGO DISTRICT

Kipsaraman Museum is a functional museum but requires fencing, extension of exhibits, a nature trail, water supply, a crafts shop and an archaeology laboratory. A collection of over 50 thousand specimens has accumulated so far from our excavation sites. This material needs to be stored, curated and studied properly.

Rondinin

Orrorin field museum-At *Orrorin tugenensis* excavation site, only the hominid bones were removed and some small animal bones but many of the larger animal fossils were left in situ one example being a whole rhino skeleton that lived six million years ago. We plan to construct exhibition sheds, walkways and foot bridges that will make up a field museum not to mention the different sediments that clearly illustrate the past history of the Tugen Hills.

Fossil Forest Field Museum – 5 km away from Orrorin site there is another exciting site that is more than 1.5 Km long. There are fossil tree stumps, branches, twigs and other material that clearly illustrate the palaeo-environment 6.3 million years ago. The place needs fencing to keep away livestock and minimize damage, walkways and footbridges because a river has cut through the sandstone exposing the fossils.

Saimo Camp Site:-

This is a strategically located site right on the edge of Saimo cliff, the highest point on the Tugen Hills. This patch of land has been allocated to CMK by the Baringo County Council for development of an eco-lodge and a campsite with a magnificent viewpoint. It commands a breath-taking view. From there, the Rift Valley floor about 1400 m below is clearly visible complete with dry river beds, lake Baringo, lake Bogoria, the eastern shoulder of the Laikipia escarpment and early in the morning the snow cap of Mt. Kenya to the east. A nature trail for bird walks is also planned. This site is 8 Km from the Kipsaraman Museum and is considered an extension of the same.

Lake Baringo Reptile Park:-

This is a functioning live reptile museum where visitors see at close quarters snakes, tortoises, crocodiles, chameleons and other reptiles. It needs fencing, children's recreation area and water of supply even though it is situated on the shore of lake Baringo.

Ilchamus Ethno Museum and Cultural Center:-

The Ilchamus are Maa speaking group who live in the lake Baringo basin, a pastoralist people who have been victims of *Prosopis juliflora* an alien invasive weed that has invaded much of their wetland causing havoc to the community. Their tradition has remained fairly intact over the years. These were among the first communities that approached CMK for help in developing their ethno museum and cultural center and set land aside for that purpose.

Besides resources to construct cultural performances facilities, ethnographers and historians are required to organize collections of material culture, curation and documentation. The community is also soliciting help in setting up a small library and a cultural performance facility. CMK began by helping in tackling the Community's environmental crisis – *Prosopis juliflora* menace. We are now ready for the development phase.

Proposed Tugen Hills hot water spa –

The Tugen community living on the upper slopes of the hills requested CMK to work with them and develop a hot water spa facility at a historical site on the side of the crest of Tugen Hills. Two rivers spring from the rocky hillside a few feet apart running down the gentle slope and then join about 15m from the source. One river has cold water and the other very hot water but after joining, they form a pool with a comfortable 40° C temperature.

Development of the facility requires a 2 Km access road and a stair walkway with about 1200 steps with support railings in addition to the utilities.