Museological Review, 9: 2003

Contents

ISSN 1354-5825

Museological Review, Issue 9. 2003

MUSEOLOGICAL REVIEW

A Journal edited by Students of the Department of Museum

Issue 9
2003

University of Leicester
GRADUATE STUDIES

MUSEOLOGICAL REVIEW EXTRA

A Journal Edited by Students of the
Department of Museum Studies

Special Issue 10
2003

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University *of*
Leicester

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Design and layout: Jim Roberts,
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Contents

Editorial

We are pleased to welcome you to the ninth issue of the Museological Review, an annual publication edited by research students at the Museum Studies Department, University of Leicester. This publication aims at compiling and promoting original ideas around various issues of museum theory and practice.

In this issue **Amy Barnes** points out the danger of perpetuating the stereotyped images of the China and Chinese culture, by examining the representation of Chinese art and culture in contemporary British museums.

Carrie Chen focuses on cognitive learning activities and particularly she considers the processes of acquiring information, evaluating it and making meaning out of it through museum's visits and the understanding of Taiwanese history.

Yupin Chung provides a brief history of involvement of Taiwanese government with museums and galleries activities and discusses the weaknesses of the current policy as well as some of the future policy issues.

Katerina Gioftsali presents a sociocultural perspective of the learning experience, where the individual visitor and social partners are considered as inseparable contributors in developing their understanding experiences.

Hiroyuki Ishikawa looks how museums activities can enhance the area management of Japanese local heritage sites by enabling inhabitants to understand the relationships between themselves and their heritage.

Finally, by focusing on the interpretive analysis of an Ontario archaeology exhibition in Canada, **Phaedra Livingstone** explores issues related to the limited representations of women's history within museum exhibitions.

We would like to thank Professor Eilean Hooper-Greenhill for her useful advice throughout the process of editing this issue and the museum researchers and professionals Richard Toon and Nadia Arbach for proof reading this issue's articles. We are also grateful to Jim Roberts, senior technician at the Museum Studies Department, for pulling together this issue's material into a publishable format.

Contributions for the next issue of Museological Review, which is going to be published in 2004, are welcomed. Contributors may send articles on aspects of museum theory and practice or reviews of exhibitions and books.

Anna Catalani and Dimitra Zapri (editors)

Notes for Contributors

Aims

* To enable museum studies students and other interested parties to share and exchange museum information and knowledge.

* To provide an international medium for museums students and ex-students from around the world to keep in touch with a relevant centre of research.

* To bring to the attention of the practising and academic museum world, innovations and new thinking on museums and related matters.

Objectives

* To provide a platform in the form of a journal to be published per annum, for museums students, staff and others to present papers, reviews, opinions and news of a relevant nature from around the world.

* To widen up the constituency of the readership beyond the normal museological boundaries (e.g. to teachers, historians, artists, sociologists, environmentalists and others) in order to emphasise the importance of museums to society as a whole.

* To promote and advertise the research of contributors to as wide a public as possible via the journal and other means as the committee may from time to time decide.

Submission of manuscripts

The Editors welcome submissions of original material (articles, exhibition or book reviews etc.) being within the aims of the Museological Review. Articles can be of any length up to 5,000 words. Each contributor will receive one copy of the issue, but not a fee.

Four copies of the typescript will be required; three copies to the Editors and a copy for you to keep for your own reference. Make sure that all copies carry late additions or corrections. **It will not be possible for us to undertake or arrange for independent proof reading and the obligation for thorough checking is the responsibility of the author not the Editors.**

Contributions should be set as follows:

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China in Britain: The representation of twentieth century Chinese art and culture in contemporary British museums

Amy Barnes

Introduction

This article explores how twentieth century Chinese art and design, produced under the Communist regime, has been interpreted and displayed in contemporary museums. Museums act as both image-makers, and reflect the preconceptions and experiences of wider society. This article aims to establish a correlation between images of China in popular culture and the contemporary presentation of Chinese art and culture in museums. To these ends, the article will examine the interpretative approaches utilised by the Victoria and Albert Museum, chosen for the size, scope and international importance of its Chinese collections and the stated aims of its curatorial team to challenge existing perceptions of China.

Orientalism

As a background to this study, it is important to consider the theory behind the West's relationship with the East. Undoubtedly, since its publication in 1978, Said's *Orientalism* has been the major influence on the study of the historical relationship between the West and the rest of the world. Prior to Said's ground-breaking work, the term 'Orientalism' was used in the context of area studies or to define a nineteenth century European school of painting, which focused on exoticised, fantasy images of Eastern society; lavish and luxurious interiors and languid, sensual women. However, as a result of his study, the term has assumed a less innocent meaning. Although Said's work focuses on historical European representations of the Middle East in literature, the main conclusions of *Orientalism* may be applied to the West's process of image making with regard to other Asian cultures, including China.

Said argues that Orientalist images delineated 'us' from 'them', by projecting alternative values and social mores onto other societies, in order to provide a contrast by which we could define who we were, by understanding what we were not, rather than offer truthful representations of reality. In a sense, the 'other' is perceived as a negative mirror image of Western society and its values. Where the West was in ascendancy, the 'other' was in decline. Where morality and justice were upstanding in Europe, debauchery and brutality held sway in the 'other'. Where the West strove for greater perfection, the decadent 'other' stagnated. These comparisons, wherein the West is orchestrated to appear evidently superior, were designed to define the West's own self-image.

The Modernist Museum

Foucault has identified three *epistemes*[1] or contexts of knowledge which characterise European society at a given point in history; the Renaissance, Classical and Modernist. Following on from the Renaissance, during the Classical *episteme*, contemporary to the Enlightenment, the world was understood through classifications, taxonomies and hierarchies, organised on the basis of appearance. With the advent of the nineteenth century – the Modernist *episteme* – these constructions became more complex. The world was organised according to outwardly invisible characteristics and functionality. From these arose the human sciences, heavily influenced by concurrent colonial attitudes. The Modernist *episteme* legitimised racial hierarchies, which placed European civilisation above that of Asia, Africa and aboriginal communities, through the absolutism of its scientific discourse, in turn justifying the colonialist project and validating the paternalistic role of the British Empire.

The influence of these perceptions reached a peak in Britain during the Victorian era, coinciding with the height of confidence and belief in the Empire. These ideologies allied to and consolidated by science, infiltrated museum display, the most famous example of which being the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford. The Victorian public had no reason to doubt the authority or objectivity of the curator, nor the scientific validity of their interpretation, and perceived these hierarchies as natural and indisputable.

Founded for the edification of the masses, the modernist museum was imbued with the spirit of the age. Exposure to great art was expounded as a cure-all for the ills of society. This leads one to question what constituted 'great art'? As will be explored later, these perceptions have a significant bearing on what is chosen by museums to represent China. The traditional art historical approach to display and interpretation arranges art objects chronologically, seeking to visually illustrate a smooth, historical narrative of artistic development. A European derived ideal of beauty, exemplified by Classical and Renaissance sculpture, is privileged, as is the concept of the artist as genius. Celebrated artists are singled out as cultural icons, through big budget retrospective exhibitions of their work and populist art history and criticism.

Non-Western art cannot be easily assimilated into the modernist European canon, for several reasons, including culturally disparate notions of beauty, the employment of realism and the identity (or anonymity) of the artist. From a post-colonial viewpoint it is accepted that we cannot expect other cultures to conform to such narrow conventions. However, the right to define art has been an attribute of the dominant culture in society at any given moment.[2] Thus, in the past, the art of non-Western cultures was relegated from art historical study to the pseudo-scientific sphere of ethnography.

The museum's historical status as an institution of the State, is inextricably linked to its role as image-maker. The modernist museum was conceived from the French Revolution of 1789. The Royal Collection, housed in the Louvre, was

democratised, becoming a symbol of the new relationship between the people and the state. Duncan asserts that a marked feature of this new concept of the nation-state was the delineation of public space, including museums, which could be manipulated to serve political and social means.[3] In their role as collectors and preservers of cultural heritage, museums and art galleries acted as a conduit through which an official national identity could be visually asserted, to 'augment and reinforce the community's collective knowledge about itself and its place in the world, and to preserve the memory of its most important and generally accepted values and beliefs'.[4]

Duncan argues that museums have became secular places of worship. Throughout their history they have been associated with transformation and liminality,[5] within which time and space are suspended, preparing visitors for the 'cultural epiphanies'[6] which are believed to result from the presence of great art. Within these spaces, defined by their monumental architecture often reminiscent of the temples of Antiquity, visitors enact ritualistic behaviour akin to pilgrimage.[7] Moving in a prescribed sequence, visitors greet each object with hushed reverence, essentially worshipping at the altar of the nation.

However, images can be defined as transitory and highly subjective understandings of the world filtered 'through the spectacles of [viewer's] own backgrounds, ideologies, biases, and experiences'.[8] In her work on interpretive communities,[9] Hooper-Greenhill has shown that by its very nature, a museum display cannot present a reality nor an absolute truth. Neither will it transmit the same 'message' to all that view it, whatever the intentions of the design and curatorial team. The process of exhibition is deeply imbued with personal and external political agendas. The very acts of collection and selection are influenced by the ideologies of the age and much of the non-Western material in British museums, came from the collections of colonialists and missionaries. As Pearce asserts, all collections are the result of individual political agendas, and all bear the 'indelible marks of the contexts from which they arose'.[10]

In the museum environment, visitors utilise a range of interpretive strategies to construct meaning from what they see. In order to render their experiences intelligible, an individual mediates their experience through the 'meaning-making' strategies of their interpretive communities; their family, friends and peers. Inside the museum, external influences also come into play. The curator selects what to include and exclude in their exhibition to best illustrate their interpretation of a particular subject, influenced by colleagues, dominant attitudes in their academic specialisms and sponsors and benefactors. This situation is exacerbated by the fact that demographically museum professionals are not representative of a cross-section of society. As a result, albeit unwittingly, they may perpetuate the presentation of other cultures from a white – or establishment – perspective, failing to give due consideration to the diverse histories, interests and needs of multi-cultural society. It is hardly surprising therefore, that museums are perceived as 'white people's territory'.[11] When considered alongside the typical art museum visitor; white, middle class and educated to a higher level, there is, perhaps a temptation in the museum world to play safe with conservative, uncontroversial

exhibitions, which meet the visiting public's pre-existing experiences of art. Affirming this 'elite' audience's notion of what 'art' is, exhibitions may serve unconsciously to perpetuate stereotypes or misrepresentations of the art of other cultures, by excluding them from mainstream art history.

Thus, with their outward appearance as agents of objectivity and truth, consolidated by the almost religious observance of a visit, it is evident that museums can influence visitors' perceptions of other cultures. However, it is also clear that visitors bring their own preconceptions, which may have been formed by personal experience, or the attitudes of their family, friends and wider society, to the museum experience. Therefore, it is appropriate to examine the representation of China held in the popular British imagination.

The Image of China

Europe has a long-standing fascination with China. Although known to Europeans from the time of the Roman Empire, it remained almost mythical, only known by its luxury goods traded first along the Silk Route and later by the British East India Company founded in 1709. An image of China was conceived from the only tangible evidence available; silk and later tea and porcelain. Exotic and produced by unknown technologies, these products came to symbolise an imagined China. Porcelain, in particular, became so synonymous with its country of origin, it came to be known simply as 'china'

By the eighteenth-century, *chinoserie*, the vogue for all things 'oriental', reached new heights. Unknown to the European aristocrats that consumed them, the craze for objects of Chinese origin was aided and abetted by canny Chinese kiln and factory officials. Accustomed to adapting products to meet individual markets,[12] native design was manipulated to reflect the distorted orientalist images of China in Europe, far removed from the realities of indigenous Chinese taste: Mass-produced wallpaper painted with romanticised European images of China, intricately carved ivory ornamental objects, lacquered furniture, silver cutlery, silk textiles and blue and white porcelain. The most compelling evidence for this is the classic willow pattern motif. Designed in Britain in response to idealised images of China, the design was, ironically, applied to porcelain by Chinese decorators for whom the combination of motifs would have been meaningless.

The Hong Kong fashion designer Vivienne Tam, offers an insight into the disparity between *chinoserie* and native Chinese taste. She concludes that the way in which 'Chineseness' has been interpreted in the West is heavily influenced by the Qing aesthetic: "…Chinese restaurants decorated in plush red and shiny gold,…[and] heavy brocaded Fu Manchu robes."[13] Increased contact between the Occident and the Orient coincided with the Qing dynasty (1644-1911), influencing European style, and vice versa. The Qing were nomadic invaders from the north, who, in comparison with the refined sensibilities of the subjugated Han people, were brash and uncouth. The interior design of Royal Pavilion at Brighton is the zenith of *chinoserie* style, with its plush and richly coloured fabrics,

Chinese wallpaper and exotic lacquered furniture. To Tam's mind, the Georgian designers of the Royal Pavilion interpreted traditional Chinese motifs in much the same way as the Qing – as outsiders.[14] *Chinoserie* reflected and contributed to an exotic and luxurious fantasy of China in Britain, itself influenced by the eclectic tastes of the Qing.

By the Victorian era, the new political stance towards China dramatically altered Britons' perception of the country. The image of China, once set up as an example to the West, shifted in order to affect a change in the hierarchy of the two nations from the British perspective. The Opium War of 1839-1842, which resulted in the ceding of Hong Kong to the British, was enthusiastically reported at home by the popular press. Propagandised accounts attacked the Chinese, portraying them as barely civilised and barbaric.

Although during the nineteenth-century, the image of China became tarnished by political events, Chinese art was held in a more positive light. Artists and designers, particularly those influenced by the Arts and Crafts movement and Impressionism, used eclectic influences in their work, including elements derived from Chinese art. While revitalising and inspiring Western design, at the same time their work perpetuated the distorted images of *chinoserie* into and beyond the nineteenth century.

Due to the prevalence of mass-produced export ware available at the time, Chinese art was criticised as being uninventive and formulaic. Having only a limited and skewed perception of Chinese artistic achievements, it appeared to commentators that Chinese culture was frivolous, effeminate and stagnant. Such images were reinforced by the Great Exhibition of 1851, the brainchild of Prince Albert, where China was accorded a small display. In contrast with those representing other nations, it was not sponsored by the Chinese government and thus was comprised of a selection of Chinese art made from extant collections in Britain.[15] Legitimised by its close association with the monarchy, the Great Exhibition accorded an opportunity for the British to display their national pride by patronising an exhibition composed of objects from a country defeated.[16] As might be expected, these were not representative of the full scope of Chinese artistic achievement, but comprised export ware and *chinoserie* made for the European market, including textiles, lacquerware, bronzes, carved ivory balls and porcelain. It was believed that one could know a country through its objects. Describing an earlier commercial exhibition, known as the 'Celebrated Chinese Collection' on display in Hyde Park in 1842, a journalist remarked: 'A few hours spent in studying the contents of this collection, with the aid of the descriptive catalogue, will possess the visitor with an idea of the Chinese almost as complete and vivid as could be formed by a voyage to China.'[17]

The Victoria and Albert Museum, known as the South Kensington Museum until 1909, took an explicit role in the popular presentation of the Empire during the latter half of the Victorian era.[18] The museum was seen as a microcosm of the world, maintaining the idea that it was possible to know other cultures through examples of material culture. After 1862, the Asian collections were designated

a separate wing reflecting wider orientalist attitudes of the time. Said has commented that this project asserted the absolute difference between the Orient and the West, at the same time as collapsing difference within the term 'oriental art'.[19] Their marginalisation within the accepted canon of art was emphasised by their separation from the main collection, as was their status as the material culture of subjugated and colonised cultures, displayed as they were at the colonial centre.[20] At this time, Chinese art was not regarded as a separate entity from the art and culture of other Asian nations. Indian, Persian, Korean, Japanese and Chinese art were displayed, inaccurately, as though they represented a homogenous 'Oriental' artistic tradition.

The wider socio-political relationship with China continued to influence the study and exhibition of Chinese art into the twentieth century. After the collapse of the Qing dynasty in 1911 and the subsequent establishment of the nationalist Republic of China, the pre-eminent status of porcelain in the study of Chinese art collapsed. It had come to symbolise the perceived decadence and downfall of the Qing.[21] Interest transferred to early Chinese ceramics which were felt to be imbued with the vitality and innovation of a young culture. They represented a glorious past, in comparison to the 'decayed and exhausted present …[with]… no future.'[22] In political and industrial terms, it seems the closer China imitated the West, the less exotic and inspiring it became. Crucially, the 'otherness' of China came to be defined as much by a temporal distance as a geographical one.[23]

Although the scope of the collections encompassed most Chinese artistic traditions, during the inter-war years, a bias towards ceramics remained. As Clunas states: 'the Department [of ceramics] exercised an unofficial hegemony in which 'Chinese ceramics' and 'Chinese art' were collapsed into one another'.[24] He goes on to suggest that it was the anonymity of the ancient potter which legitimised a focus on ceramics over, for example calligraphy or ink painting. Parallel with the Western tradition, Chinese painters and calligraphers signed their work. But to include them in mainstream art history would subvert the smooth linerality of a Eurocentric understanding of artistic development. Anonymous ceramics were less problematic and could symbolise the whole Chinese race.[25]

The Twentieth Century

In the popular imagination, a darker image of China pervaded the first decades of the twentieth century. In the years following the suppression of Chinese resistance to British imperialism, growing suspicion of the small Chinese community in Britain gave rise to the term, 'yellow peril'. Concentrated on the Limehouse area, London's Chinese community began as a small and largely transient population, isolated by the language barrier. But it grew rapidly, increasing to 2,419 residents by 1921.[26] Sensationalised accounts in the press portrayed Limehouse as a place of violence, opium dens and magic.[27] Sax Rohmer's overtly orientalist creation, the 'insidious' Dr Fu Manchu,[28] possessed of ancient and unknown mystical powers, came to embody the widespread fear of the educated 'other', unbound by Western rationality and morality in the popular

consciousness. Fu Manchu's nemesis, Nayland Smith, was, in contrast, the epitome of tenaciousness and virtue, characteristics ascribed to the West. All these factors contrived to highlight the community's 'otherness'.

Chinoiserie today

An alternative image of China has developed since the 1960s. The cross-cultural elements of Hong Kong are ascendant here, focusing in particular, on martial arts films. The films of Bruce Lee and Jackie Chan first gained widespread recognition for this cinematic genre in Britain in the 1970s, providing a more positive image of the Chinese male to consign Fu Manchu to the past. A recent re-emergence of interest in this genre, has coincided with big budget Hollywood adaptations. Ang Lee's *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* (released in the UK in 2001) has been an extraordinary success, receiving ten Oscar nominations and achieving the status as the highest grossing non-English film of all time.[29] It can be argued that this film combines the two strands of Western imaginings of China with its theme of ancient codes of martial arts, combined with a populist genre. In the works of a recent reviewer: 'It's contemplative, and it kicks ass'.[30] Perhaps fuelled by the handover of Hong Kong in 1997, the 1990s saw a fashion-led commodification of selected aspects of Chinese culture, including *feng shui,* traditional medicine and food, which reflected and consolidated the image of ancient Chinese mysticism and exoticism with, perhaps, a hint of colonial nostalgia.

Whereas these images are relatively positive, there is a flip-side. The twentieth century saw major political and social upheaval in China. In particular, the events and symbolism of the Communist Peoples Republic of China (PRC) founded by Mao Zedong in 1949, has undoubtedly made an important and lasting impact on global perceptions of China. Media coverage of the Tiananmen Square massacre in 1989 made a significant contribution to the demonisation of the Communist regime in the West. Although China's isolation has abated in political and economic terms in recent years, it's policy towards Tibet and the Dalai Lama, has resulted in a Free Tibet movement, capturing the imagination of youth culture and vociferously supported by rock stars and Hollywood actors.

Centuries of image-making have resulted in a complex jumble of images associated with China in contemporary British popular culture and are largely due to the contradictions and complexities inherent in the historical relationship between the two nations. The exoticism, wisdom and ancient civilisation of China is juxtaposed with images of cultural and social decline, crime, decadence and debauchery. The China of our imaginings is 'hybrid by nature – diasporic and cosmopolitan.'[31] These influences establish a perception of China, which constitutes many individual's sole experience of China on entering the museum space.

Twentieth Century Chinese Art at the V&A

Opened in 1991, the T. T. Tsui Gallery of Chinese Art replaced the existing China Gallery dating from the 1950s. Seeking to emphasise the richness, breadth and longevity of Chinese culture and to demystify the collection, cutting through popular orientalist misconceptions and stereotypes of Chinese art and design,[32] the final design of the gallery utilises an object-based thematic approach. Whereas the preceding gallery emphasised the chronological development of ceramics, the Tsui gallery avoids this bias, using objects chosen from the full scope of the collection. The gallery is based on six themes; Burial, Temple and Worship, Living, Eating and Drinking, Ruling, and Collecting, utilising a range of interpretive techniques, with the aim to render the history and culture of China intellectually accessible to diverse audiences.

Overall, the image of China projected by the Tsui Gallery is positive. The scope and longevity of Chinese art and culture are emphasised. Audience research and the employment of current museological theory enabled the curatorial team to ensure that visitors could engage more deeply with the art, culture and history of China. But to what extent does the gallery meet its aim to confront and challenge stereotypes? The thematic approach allows visitors to engage with the collection according to frameworks which are familiar and relevant. However the gallery concentrates on the art and culture of Dynastic China. The twentieth century is largely absent.

Post-1949 China on display

In fact several pieces of twentieth century Chinese art are displayed in the Tsui Gallery, but reflect older traditions in choice of decoration, material and subject matter. Despite this, the V&A has the largest collection of twentieth century Chinese political and contemporary art and design in Britain. So, why is it not displayed alongside the art and design of Dynastic China? An exploration of the wider art historical response to art produced under the Communist regime and the image of China which it promotes will offer an explanation.

The art of Communist China can be roughly divided into three categories: 1) Socialist realism and propagandist art (Soviet-inspired oil painting, peasant art and propaganda posters); 2) Traditional-style industrial landscape painting); and 3) Avant-garde art and political kitsch (produced since Mao's death in 1976, incorporating elements of Western artistic conventions with satire, political pastiche and social comment).

As previously discussed, Chinese art has been marginalized in Western art history. Non-western art or design that incorporated Western influences, be they material, style or content were, in the modernist tradition, dismissed as hollow imitation. Even today, in the traditional European canon, contemporary Chinese artists cannot exist,[33] because conventional art history can only understand them as either Chinese artists – that is working within the bounds of 'their

tradition' – or as modern artists, in which case their ethnicity is perceived as irrelevant.[34] Coupled with this notion of 'authenticity', is the cult of the artist-genius, imagined to be working freely outside the bounds of materialistic society and the political influence of the state. Connected to this, as we have already seen, is the perceived ability of great art to effect a spiritual 'liberation from the mundane and commonplace'.[35] Chinese art of the last fifty years transgresses these values. Of an overtly political nature, it is produced according to strict conventions, prescribed by a totalitarian state.

As a case in point, discussion of the socio-political context in which the post-1949 Chinese paintings on display in the recent *Khoan and Michael Sullivan Gallery* (opened Autumn 2000) at the Ashmolean, Oxford, is largely evaded, even when the works exhibit overtly political themes. Working within the traditional brush and ink genre, a number of the artists in the collection worked under extreme political duress, particularly during the Cultural Revolution of 1966-1976, during which artists and intellectuals were brutalised and murdered. A sanitised version of twentieth century Chinese art history is favoured, suggesting that the modernist ideologies which dismiss artistic development or change, particularly that inspired by the West, or indeed, perceived as sullied and debased by political influence, still affects the interpretation of Chinese art. Encouragingly, however, the V&A offers a more rounded approach to the presentation of the material culture of Communist China.

In the 1980s the Far Eastern Department, in direct contradiction of the 'prejudices of fashion',[36] undertook a unique project to collect twentieth century Chinese art and design. In the true founding spirit of the museum, objects from the Cultural Revolution and Mao memorabilia were acquired as important examples of twentieth century design. Unlike the British Museum, which has focused on folk art and pre-Communist twentieth century works on paper,[37] the V&A has actively sought to acquire examples of propagandist art and the political kitsch of the nineties, tying in with the post-modernist interest in the power of the everyday to visually define and evoke society at a given point in history.[38] Pieces from the collection, including porcelain, badges and miscellaneous ephemera are on permanent display in the Twentieth Century Design Galleries and were included in a recent temporary exhibition entitled *From Icon to Irony*, which charted the development of the iconic use of the image of Chairman Mao from 1949 to the present.

Given the associations that these objects engender, it might be supposed that visitors would be confused or distressed by the images on display. However, anecdotal evidence has shown that the response of visitors is rooted in their lack of empathy for the political context within which the objects were produced, some even finding the images funny or absurd.[39] This hints at a possible reason for the apparent invisibility of Communist China in other museums. Communist imagery does not key into long-standing exoticised perceptions of China and the socio-political context in which these objects were produced is, perhaps, so far removed from our experiences in the West that Dynastic China is more fathomable than Communist China. It is probable that in the same way,

museum curators focus on material culture, which they recognise and can assimilate into their personal frameworks of knowledge.

So why does the V&A separate their Dynastic and twentieth century Chinese collections in display? The stated aims of the curatorial team behind the Tsui gallery may provide the key. Their overall objective in challenging stereotypes of China, was to create a positive image with which diverse audiences could engage. On the other hand, the overriding image of Communist China is negative, not just within the confines of modernist art history but in the wider perception of society. In the West we are conditioned to reject the ideologies of communism and regard it as a threat to the concepts of democracy and freedom. Coupled with the prevailing image of Chinese Communism as oppressive and brutal and our incapacity to emphasise with contemporary Chinese culture, we cannot engage with its imagery.

Conclusion

It is clear that an exotic image, formulated and refined over centuries, still contributes to a perception of China in popular British culture. The old prejudices against Chinese art and design remain in the seeming unwillingness of museums to explore the social and political context within which twentieth century Chinese art and design has been produced. Even where a museum has undertaken to amass a collection of material culture which challenges perceptions of Chinese art, it is kept separate from the display of more conventional objects with recognisable imagery.

The V&A is, however, unique in its willingness to collect and display outside the 'norm'. A peculiarity in the museum world, the V&A's main function is to collect the contemporary, whereas other museums tend to navigate towards the past. At the V&A the material culture of Communist China is used within the context of a cross-cultural exploration of the influence of the state on artistic production, in the Twentieth Century Design galleries. This in itself is a 'great leap forward' in the presentation of Asian art. The incorporation of Chinese art in an exhibition which cuts across cultural boundaries, is evidence of the extent to which the museum has in practice, broken free of the conventions imposed by its modernist beginnings.

Overall, despite growing awareness and innovative use of post-modernist discourse in the interpretation of Chinese art and culture, an orientalist tendency to privilege the representation of Dynastic China over that of the twentieth century and contemporary seems to remain. Although they no longer bear resemblance to the limited interpretations of the past, exhibitions of Chinese art and culture, for the most part consolidate preconceptions of China in the British imagination. Thus, by its exclusion, modernity continues to be invalidated in Chinese material culture.

As a final word, Foucault's 'effective history' may illuminate the perpetuation of historical images of China. Foucault understands change and development

as resulting from sudden and catastrophic ruptures in frameworks of knowledge.[40] Compare this with modernist discourse, which understands development and progress as a smooth linear process. Perhaps it is this framework, which prevents due consideration of those aberrations in conventional knowledge, which really controls our interpretation of other cultures. Rather than breaking the mould and subverting traditional art history, it is easier to overlook those realities that would challenge old certainties. However, at the dawn of the twenty-first century, we can be sure that museums will continue to play a role in the construction of cultural images. As it has in the past, the future relationship between the West and China will have a significant bearing on the way in which its material culture is interpreted. Thus, interest may yet orientate towards Communist imagery.

Notes

[1] See Eilean Hooper-Greenhill (1992). *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge.* London and New York, Routledge, chapter one for a more in-depth discussion of the relevance of Foucault's theories to museum studies.

[2] Craig Clunas (1998). 'China in Britain: The Imperial Collections'. In *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum,* eds. T. Barringer & T. Flynn. London and New York, Routledge, p. 43.

[3] Carol Duncan, *Civilising Rituals: inside public art museums.* London and New York: Routledge, p. 3.

[4] Ibid., p. 103.

[5] The power to instil a mode of consciousness outside the everyday cultural and social process, in a sense promoting a 'mode of receptivity' in the visitor. Ibid., p. 15.

[6] Germain Bazin, curator of the Louvre, quoted by Ibid., p. 11.

[7] Ibid., p.7.

[8] Colin Mackerras (1989). *Western Images of China*. Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press, p.1.

[9] See Eilean Hooper-Greenhill (1999). 'Education, Communication and Interpretation: towards a critical pedagogy in museums'. In *The Educational Role of the Museum*, ed. E. Hooper-Greenhill. London and New York: Routledge.

[10] Susan M. Pearce, ed. (1994) *Museums and the Appropriation of Culture*. New Jersey, The Athlone Press, p. 1.

[11] Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, 'Cultural Diversity: Attitudes of ethnic minority populations towards museums and galleries'. *GEM News* (Spring 1998), at http://www.gem.org.uk/culture.html (as of 13 February 2000), p. 1.

[12] After the establishment of the Mongol Yuan Dynasty (1206-1368) ceramic factories were encouraged to take advantage of existing Mongol trade relationships and produce wares for export to the Near and Middle East. Underglaze blue decorated porcelain, so associated with China in the West, was initially produced to meet foreign tastes, utilising Islamic forms and designs.

[13] Vivienne Tam (2000). *China Chic*. New York: Regan Books, p. 198.

[14] Ibid., p. 204.

[15] Catherine Pagani (1998). 'Chinese material culture and British perceptions of China in the mid-nineteenth century'. In *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum,* eds. T. Barringer & T. Flynn. London and New York, Routledge, p. 39.

[16] Ibid., p. 37.

[17] Comment from the *Spectator*, quoted ibid., p. 37.

[18] Tim Barringer, 'The South Kensington Museum and the Colonial Project'. In *Colonialism and the* Object, eds. T. Barringer &T. Flynn, p. 23.

[19] Edward Said (1978), quoted ibid., p. 16.

[20] Malcolm Baker and Brenda Richardson, eds. (1997). *A Grand Design: The Art of the Victoria and Albert Museum.* New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., p. 221.

[21] Clunas, 'China in Britain', p. 47.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid., 47.

[26] Jenny Clegg (1994). *Fu Manchu and the 'Yellow Peril': the making of a racist myth.* London, Trentham Books, p. 6.

[27] Ibid., p. 8.

[28] Fu Manchu first appeared in fiction in 1912, with the publication of *The Mystery of Fu Manchu*, followed by a series of novels, inspiring a popular series of horror films from 1921 to 1968 starring Boris Karloff and Christopher Lee as Fu Manchu.

[29] Tom Booth, 'Tiger's runaway success', at http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/entertainment/newsid_1224000/1224315.stm. (as of 18 March 2001).

[30] Richard Corliss (2001). 'Martial Masterpiece', in *Crouching Tiger, Hidden*

Dragon: A Portrait of the Ang Lee Film, eds. A. Lee, J. Schamus et al. London: Faber and Faber, 2001, p. 9.

[31] Geramie Barmé, 'Cultural Cross-Dressing'. In *China Chic*, V. Tam, p. xviii.

[32] Personal communication from Rose Kerr, Head of the Far Eastern Department, V&A, to author. 13 December 2001.

[33]Craig Clunas (1999). 'What about Chinese Art?'. In *Views of Difference: Different Views of Art*, C. King, ed. New Haven and London, Yale University Press, p. 135.

[34] Duncan, 109.

[35] Rose Kerr, 'Contemporary Chinese Crafts', in *The V&A Album*, No. 4 (1985), p.321.

[36] See Anne Farrar (2000). 'Twentieth-century Chinese prints at the British Museum: the formation and development of the collection', in *Collecting Chinese Art: Interpretation and Display,* Colloquies on Art and Archaeology in Asia No 20, Percival David Foundation, ed. S. Pierson. London: SOAS.

[37] Susan M. Pearce (1995). *On Collecting.* London and New York, Routledge, pp. 147-149.

[38] Personal communication from Rose Kerr, Head of the Far Eastern Department at the V&A, to the author. 13 December 2001.

[39] Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, p. 10.

Acknowledgements

My thanks go to Rose Kerr and the Department of Far Eastern Art at the Victoria and Albert Museum, for their assistance during the research of this article. I would also like to thank the staff the of Department of Museum Studies at Leicester University for their support and guidance during my studies.

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Interpreting History: Adults' Learning in The Taipei 228 Memorial Museum

Chia-Li Chen

Introduction

How do adults learn in history museums? There is much research investigating how children learn in science museums, however, little is known about adult learners' learning in history museums. This paper examines and analyses how adults learn in history museums through a case study of the Taipei Museum in Taiwan. Theories of constructivism and adult learning are reviewed in the first part of the paper. Constructivist theory suggests that each individual constructs his or her own knowledge. The theory of andragogy (Dufresne-Tassé, 1995) studies the learning patterns of adults and indicates that they are self-directed and tend to incorporate personal experiences into their learning. In addition, this paper focuses on cognitive learning activities, which relate to how people acquire information, evaluate it, and make meaning out of it.

This research is based on a fieldwork carried out in March 2001. It is part of the author's PhD research, investigating how people in Taiwan construct their cultural identities through museum visits. The research is qualitative in nature and the Taipei 228 Memorial Museum is chosen as a case study to explore how people interpret, cope with, and construct their historical views through visiting the museum and thereby understanding the traumatic past of Taiwanese history. As the first holocaust museum in Taiwan, the Taipei 228 Memorial Museum touches the most traumatic experiences and the repressed history of the country.

A complete account would consider the conflicts, tension, and doubts about the historical views presented by the museum and those of its visitors, however, due to length limitations this paper focuses on learning activities and how people interpret history. Visitors' recollection and memories of the past in the memorial museum are not discussed. Through data analysis, four patterns of adult learning in the history museum emerge: acquiring information, reconstructing personal experiences in a historical framework, activities of interpretation such as challenging and comparing, and constructing historical views. The current research does not intend to offer a holistic view of frequent visitors' learning processes, but instead offers some observations and insights into their ideas and reflections during visits.

Methodology

Three volunteers and two adult visitors were interviewed. They were all frequent visitors who had been to the museum at least twice in the year before the research was carried out. The technique used was to interview the first frequent visitor, including volunteers, who agreed to be interviewed, using a semi-structured in-depth approach. The fieldwork was carried out for five consecutive days. On

each day, one frequent visitor was chosen randomly and interviewed. Each interview was about thirty minutes to one hour long and all of the interviews were transcribed after the fieldwork. To compare the visitors' interpretation with the messages the museum intends to convey, the exhibition was discussed in terms of its themes. Two museum staff were also interviewed.

Learning Theories

For decades researchers and museum practitioners have been interested in finding out what visitors learn in museums, but little is known about learning outcomes. One major problem is that learning in the museum takes place in an informal setting and most visitors do not stay long enough for formal evaluations (Hein, 1995). Museum learning is also called free-choice learning, to emphasize that visitors can choose their own pace and set their own learning objectives (Falk and Dierking, 1998). Apart from school groups, most visitors come to visit museums voluntarily with their own agenda and knowledge and, therefore, are likely make very different meanings out of their visits.

Museums are agents to convey the meaning of history in two senses. According to Kavanagh, "It is used to refer to what happened in the past. It is also used to refer to the representation of that past in the work of historians" (Kavanagh, 1996: 4). However, visitors are not passive receivers, but are themselves historians interpreting what happened in the past in relation to their own experience. History is a process of constant construction and reconstruction, by both historians and the public. Based on constructivist theory, the aim of the present research is to identify the interpretation and meaning that adult frequent visitors make in history museums. To better understand how visitors make meanings and to understand the approach taken in this thesis, a brief review of constructivist theory and theories of adult learning is helpful.

The Constructivist Learning Theory

The traditional definition of learning is, "An active process of assimilating and accommodating information within a social, physical and psychological context" (Dierking, 1996: 25-6). In the past, most learning theories have focused on formal school education. Recently, constructivist concepts of learning have been widely applied in the museum community, since its emphasis on the active role of learners is particularly informative in this context. Hein explains the idea of constructivist learning as one in which, "Learners construct knowledge for themselves – each learner individually (and socially) constructs meaning – as he or she learns. Constructing meaning is learning: there is no other kind" (Hein, 1996: 30). In constructivist theory, meaning making is central to learning and each person constructs their individual meaning. Sutherland further points out that the fundamental concept of constructivism is that, "People construct their own real knowledge from their own experiences and that this is not necessarily the same as what they have been taught at school" (Sutherland, 1997: 86).

Jeffery-Clay further elaborates that the constructivist learning is a process of connecting new information with prior knowledge and re-structuring existing knowledge. She points out that, "Individuals learn when they modify existing conceptual structures, creating new links and integrating new concepts" (Jeffery-Clay, 1998). It is this dynamic learning process – with its focus on individual active learners rather than passive information receivers – which is emphasized in constructivist learning theory.

In the museum context, some researchers believe that the museum is a perfect environment for constructivist learning since it provides various stimuli and experiences (Falk and Dierking, 1992: 114; Jeffery-Clay, 1998: 5). However, critics argue that an object-rich environment or hands on experiences do not necessarily make museums perfect settings for constructivist learning since 'mind on' is more important than 'hands on' (Osborne, 1998). Besides, there is very little empirical evidence to show what and how visitors actively construct their meanings in the museum context. Though constructivist theory helps us to focus on the learners (Osborne, 1998: 9), knowing that visitors construct their own meaning in the museum is not enough to have created a full picture of the visitors' learning process and learning outcomes. Furthermore, visitors are not a group of homogenous people. They differ in age, sex, and social and educational background. To discuss how they make meaning out of their visits, it is first necessary to distinguish adult learners from children and school groups.

The Adult Learners

Life is a continuous learning process and people learn in various ways and styles. As the popularity of the idea of lifelong learning grows, the role that the museum plays in adult learning is gradually receiving more attention. In this research, the interviewees were all adults over twenty years old. To illustrate the meaning-making process of frequent adult visitors to the museum, it is necessary to review major educational theories of adult learning.

Unlike formal education, research and theories in adult learning and informal learning were not well developed until the 1950s and 1960s. Cyril Houle, Allen Tough, and Malcolm Knowles were among the first to systematically investigate the characteristics and styles of adult learners (Knowles, 1993). Different from pedagogy in formal education, Knowles proposed the term 'andragogy' to refer to the informal education of adult learners (Dufresne-Tassé, 1995). It is defined as "the art and science of helping adults learn" (Knowles, 1993: 32). Knowles singles out the difference between the two learning styles: "In essence, to the pedagogue the important thing is transmission of the content. To the andragogue the important thing is acquisition of the content"(1993: 31). To Knowles, the pedagogical model is widely applied in teaching school children while andragogical model, similar to the constructivist ideas, emphasizes active learning and is more appropriate for adult learners. The following table shows the comparison he made between the two styles of learning:

Subject of assumption	Pedagogical Model	Andragogical Model
Direction of the learning	Teacher-directed learning	Self-directed learning process
Concept of the learner	Dependent personality	Increasingly self-directed organism
Role of learner's experience	To be built on more than used	A rich resource for learning
Readiness to learn	Dictated by curriculum	Develops from life tasks and problems
Orientation to learning	Subject-centred	Task - or problem - centred
Motivation	External rewards and punishments	Internal incentives, curiosity

Table 1: Comparison of Assumptions of Pedagogy and Andragogy *(Source: Malcolm S. Knowles, 1993: 31)*

This table shows two very different approaches to learning. Adult learners, with more experience and, therefore, more resources in life, are considered to be relatively self-directed and self- motivated (Allen, 1993). Their learning objectives are also different. They learn not for credits or credentials, but to accomplish tasks or problem-solve (Anderson, 1995). Their learning motivations are also generally regarded as associated with the development of their life stages (Baldwin et al., 1992; Gunther, 1994).

In general, adult learners are considered to be more independent in building on their own system and structure from their learning experience (Hiemstra, 1993). Though Knowles' arguments are widely applied in understanding the motivations and behaviours of adult learners, they cannot fully explain the learning experience of adult visitors in the context of museums. Unlike other learning settings, museums provide not only information and knowledge, but also an object- rich environment within experiences of entertainment and relaxation. As Dufresne-Tassé points out, many adult visitors come to museums primarily for entertainment or social purposes, rather than problem solving (1995: 246). In addition, different types of museums also provide very different learning experiences. Task-solving orientation might explain some visitors' motivations in science museums, but it hardly explains adult visitors who choose to visit art museums. The following sections illustrate how adults learn in the case of the Taipei 228 Memorial Museum.

The Taipei 228 Memorial Museum

The Taipei 228 Memorial Museum was open in 1997. It presents and displays the most traumatic period of Taiwanese history, that is, the 228 Incident. It aims to commemorate those who died at the time and was dedicated to the "Promotion of human rights, peace, and justice." (Taipei 228 Memorial Museum Exhibition Guide: 2). Before discussion and analysis of how adult visitors learn in this museum, it is necessary to introduce and understand the causes and history of the 228 Incident.

The 228 Incident

The worst massacre of modern Taiwanese history occurred on Feb.28 1947 and it is called the 228 Incident. This was two years after the Japanese colonial period ended and Taiwan was reunited with China, after fifty years of separation. The reunification, however, did not bring joy to most people in Taiwan. The cultural gap and tensions between the Taiwanese people and mainlanders (new immigrants from China after 1945) caused many conflicts and disputes, which triggered the 228 Incident.

First, their colonial experience distinguished Taiwanese from the new immigrants from mainland China. For those who came from China after 1945, the war with Japan was a horrible and unforgivable experience. People in Taiwan, however, had been under the governance and education of the Japanese colonial government from 1895 to 1945. Many of them spoke fluent Japanese and some were either forced or volunteered to join the Japanese army fighting against China during World War II. In this respect, Taiwan and China were enemies during World War II. Many mainlanders, including the first Governor-General after the unification, Chen-Yi, thought that Taiwanese people were essentially Japanese who needed to be transformed and re-educated. In other words, the Taiwanese people were not treated as the fellow citizens many of them expected when colonialism ended. Through frustrations brought about by the failure of de-colonization, the dream of equal political participation failed to materialize and discontent grew.

Secondly, during the fifty years of the colonial period, Taiwan developed a different social and economic system from China. In order to export raw materials such as sugar and logs to Japan and later support Japan's invasion as a military base in WWII, Taiwan became industrialized and infrastructures such as railways and irrigation systems were built throughout the country. Though the growth of the economy and industry were mainly for the service of the colonial empire, Taiwan was the most advanced and developed province of China in 1945. Thus, when Taiwanese people saw the ragged and ill-disciplined soldiers from China, their dream of unification suffered rapid disillusionment and with it contempt for mainlanders developed. They not only differed in language, but also in concepts of lifestyle and custom. Apart from cultural differences, tensions were heightened when mainlanders took over most of the property and positions left by the Japanese. Then, in the first few years of unification, corruption, and inefficiency by the nationalist government caused serious problems of unemployment, disease, and social disorder (Kerr, 1966: 243; Chang, 1989: 116). Conflicts increased between mainlanders and the Taiwanese people and confrontations reached a climax when the February Twenty-Eight Incident happened in 1947.

The immediate cause of the February 28 Incident was that in 1947, monopoly officials attempted to arrest a woman who sold untaxed cigarettes and beat her unconscious. The brutal behaviour of the government officials angered people and fury at the new immigrants exploded among the Taiwanese. After a short period of upheaval, the government started negotiations with representatives of

the people. The main goal was political reform. The people's representatives demanded the peaceful resolution of the Incident along with many political reforms, including increased opportunities for Taiwanese participation in politics. While promising to bring about a peaceful solution, General Chen asked Chiang Kei-shek to send back-up troops from China. As soon as the troops arrived in Taiwan, they started a massacre of Taiwanese people, including those who worked at the port and those who were at the train station. In addition, they arrested the people's representatives, newspaper reporters, doctors, and lawyers who had spoken for the political reform. About twenty thousand people died and most Taiwanese intellectuals and members of the elite were killed or "disappeared" forever.[1]

The Establishment of The Taipei 228 Memorial Museum

This historic tragedy had a great influence on the development of Taiwan. Viewed historically, the 228 Incident is more than simply an incident. From the perspective of the government, the 228 Incident was a rebellion and uprising that needed to be crushed. For most Taiwanese, however, it was an appeal for political reform and democratisation. Following the lifting of martial law and the process of democratisation, the 228 Incident became one of the most fervently discussed issues in Taiwanese society. The populace demanded to know the truth of the Incident and demanded the government publish all the first hand historical

Plate 1: The Taipei 228 Memorial Museum

documents. In 1987, the Committee for the Promotion of the 228 Peace Day was founded. The opposition party, DPP (Democratic Progress Party), also played an important role in demanding the truth of the 228 Incident in its party manifesto, forcing the government to reveal information by frequent questioning by its congressmen in the legislative Yuan (Tseng, 1997: 150). Faced with the rising discontent in society, in 1995, under the leadership of first DPP mayor of Taipei, Chen Shui-bien, a proposal to build a museum commemorating the incident took shape. After a year's preparation, the former Taiwan Broadcasting Station was chosen, renovated, and opened to the public in 1997.The museum is housed in a renovated historical building. It was originally built for the Taipei Broadcasting Bureau in 1930 by the Japanese colonial government. In 1947, when the 228 Incident occurred, the station became the centre for representatives from both parties to broadcast news, so it was indeed a historical site of the 228 Incident. In the following section, the themes of the museum exhibition are introduced and discussed.

The Themes of the Taipei 228 Memorial Museum

As the first holocaust museum in Taiwan, the Taipei 228 Memorial Museum has a rather different mission from other museums. In addition to revealing and representing the historical facts of the 228 Incident, the museum is also dedicated to promoting harmony among different ethnic groups. As pointed out in its mission statement: 'The purpose in founding the Taipei 228 Memorial Museum is mainly to present the 228 Incident, along with the promotion of Taiwanese history, reminiscence of the past, the love of the homeland to achieve mutual understanding, ethnic harmony and peace in society' (Taipei 228 Memorial Museum, 12). In the mission statement, there is a clear message about teaching Taiwanese history and promoting Taiwanese consciousness, both of which had long been neglected by the education system under the former regime.

In the three-floor building, the ground floor and second floor house the permanent exhibition rooms and the basement is designed for temporary special exhibitions. The present research focuses on the permanent exhibition rooms where visitors were observed and interviewed. The permanent exhibition consists of newspapers, paintings, sculptures, photographs, and objects used by victims that are illustrated by panels and labels displayed in chronological order. Analysing the historical narrative from the illustrative panels, there are several messages conveyed by the exhibition.

First, it focuses on the social and political milieu before the KMT government[2] came to govern Taiwan and portrays what it was like in its Japanese colonial period compared to the nationalist government period. It shows the great contrast in people's lives under the two regimes. Thus, well-established society is contrasted, particularly with the early years of the KMT's government, remembering the contrast between the different systems and administrations evoked the people's discontent with the new regime in the first place.

Plate 2: The wall of photographs of victims in the 228 Incident

Secondly, the tragedy is explained as the result of confusion of identity. There is a panel indicating that from the beginning identity issues played a central role in the Incident. It says: 'The confusion of identity has caused the tragedy which is engraved on the earth of the island'. The museum conveys through this a strong message to visitors that the identity issue was one of the key factors that caused the tragedy and that it still influences and shapes contemporary Taiwanese society - an issue, it suggests, that needs all our effort to resolve.

Learning in the Taipei 228 Memorial Museum

Visitors generally go to museums to acquire new information, but for frequent visitors to the Taipei 228 Memorial Museum more complicated responses and different learning activities take place. To summarise, visitors' responses and learning activities can be broadly divided into three main categories: learning, recollection, and connection. This paper focuses only on their learning activities. Drawing on data from interviews, four learning patterns emerge: acquiring information, reconstructing their personal experience into an historical framework, making comparison between the museum information and their prior knowledge, and constructing their historical views. Each pattern will be discussed in turn.

Acquiring Information: Identifying Themes

One way to understand how visitors acquire information is to ask them about the theme(s) of the museum. Museum staff members were asked what message they would like visitors to get and the visitors and volunteers were asked what they thought the museum theme was. Their answers enabled a comparison to be made between the visitors' learning outcomes to the message the museum staff intended to communicate. The way is which respondent identified themes is summarised below:

Staff A	Staff B	Interviewee A	Interviewee B	Interviewee C	Interbiewee D	Interviewee E
To show how Taiwanese survive in difficulty	To solve the ethnic conflicts	Reminiscence Justice done	A history lesson	To understand history	To reconstruct history	The facts of the 228 incident

Table 2: The Museum Theme Identified by Interviewees

From this table, it can be seen that the interviewees identified several themes in the museum. The factors that influenced visitors' identification of these themes included the content of exhibition and the manner of display and their personal experience. As a person related to victims, Interviewee A expressed a rather strong message about the museum theme, that is: 'justice is done'. For other respondents, who were less personally involved with the 228 Incident, the main theme was to understand the history of the 228 Incident. However, if we compare their responses with those of the museum staff, there is a slight but important difference. For example, when asked about the messages that they expect visitors to acquire in the museum, staff A of the 228 Memorial Museum thought they would be about the difficulties that the Taiwanese have been through, whereas staff B thought they would be about solving ethnic conflicts. From these accounts, it is clear that the museum staff hoped that the museum would communicate more complicated messages to its visitors; however, visitors had their own interpretations and understandings.

Reconstructing Personal Experiences in a Historical Framework

Apart from acquiring information, visiting the history museum aides visitors set their experiences in a social and historical context. In this case study, it was found that respondents' learning practice is in constant dialogue with their personal experience. Two political events have great influence on visitors and stand out as significant turning points in their lives and provide a framework to contextualise memories. They are the 228 Incident in 1947, which initiated the white terror and KMT's totalitarian regime, and the lifting of martial law in 1987, forty years later. Some respondents' personal experiences and childhood memories are intertwined with these two events. It shows the important role that the 228 Incident has

played in people's lives, especially those who lived through it. Interviewee A, a family member of the victims expressed how her life has been changed because of these events:

> Later, we carried on our study after many years....That is to say, it happened during our youth, which should be our golden age. It stopped my brothers and sisters doing many things. We felt...very frightened and dared not to talk to others. We were afraid of doing many things...We could only speak about it in public after the lifting of martial law, and we are old now (Interviewee A, Female/ Age: 51-65).

For most people in Taiwan, the 228 Incident played an important part in their lives and visiting the museum facilitated the contextualisation of visitors' personal experiences in a historical framework.

Challenge, Comparison and Interpretation

During their visits, visitors also make links, compare information with prior knowledge, and construct their own interpretations and meanings. Due to the nature of the museum, it is found that interviewees have undergone a process of dialogue, especially when they learn about controversial historical events.

It is natural for visitors to associate the 228 Incident with contemporary ethnic conflicts in Taiwan. Volunteers observed that a great tension arose between the museum and visitors, especially during the first year of opening. Volunteers and the museum staff interviewed reported two extreme reactions. For those who had experienced or suffered from the 228 Incident, some had very strong feeling about the leaders of the KMT party during that period of time and out of rage dug out the eyes of Chiang Kai-shek's photograph. On the other hand, some other visitors, mainly mainlanders, found that it was hard to accept the establishment of the 228 Memorial Museum. They thought that the interpretation of the 228 Incident by the museum was reversed and that it was the Taiwanese people had killed mainlanders.

Different views and ideas are constantly in disagreement and dialogue in the museum. To understand how visitors learn about the traumatic history presented by the museum, the perspective of transformation theory is helpful in explaining the process. It suggests that, 'learning is understood as the process of using a prior interpretation to construe a new or revised interpretation of the meaning of one's experience in order to guide future action' (Mezirow, 1997: 13). The processes are as follows: exploring existing meaning schemes, learning new meaning schemes, and transforming meaning schemes and meaning perspectives (Mezirow, 1997: 7).

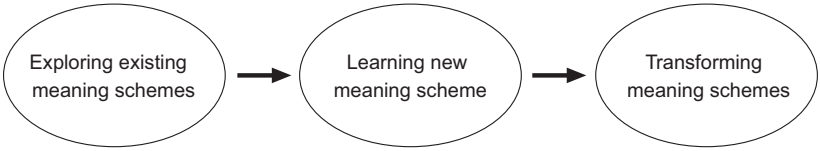

Fig.1 The Transformation Theory

In transformation theory, the learning activity involves a series of dialogues and debates between the prior knowledge and new information. Through the dialogical process, learners transform their original concepts and construct new perspectives. In the museum, visitors gather information and compare it with their existing knowledge. If the information agrees with their prior knowledge, they keep and expand their original knowledge structure with added information. On the other hand, if the new information contradicts their prior knowledge, they either reject it entirely or modify their original knowledge structure to accommodate the new information. As a result, they might change their historical view. As a tour guide, Interviewee D has experienced confronting challenges and questions from visitors. She explained how she interpreted the 228 Incident and her views about the controversial ethnic issue:

> The 228 museum aims to reconstruct historical fact. Since we have been repressed for more than fifty years and not allowed to talk about it, it becomes an unrecoverable wound. No one knows the facts; we only know it causes a big problem of ethnic harmony. In fact, the 228 Incident is not an issue of ethnic conflict. It is a repression by the ruling of the ruled... So the victims are not only most Taiwanese people but also some mainlanders (Interviewee D, Female/Age: 51-65).

In her experience, some visitors did change their attitudes and their hostility towards the museum and accepted her interpretation and re-thought the whole issue. She reported one elderly visitor, a mainlander, who, as soon as he entered the museum, was very emotional and protested that the museum did not present the historical facts. After listening to the tour guide and visiting the museum, he came back and told her:

> Now I realize. Thank you. If it were not for you, I would not have been patient enough to visit the whole exhibition. Now I understand what you mean. I understand it was the massacre and the suppression by the ruling class of the ruled. It was not because of an ethnic conflict (Interviewee D, Female/Age: 51-65).

Though from time to time there are still conflicts and disagreements about the interpretation and exhibition of the museum, it shows that the patience of museum volunteers and staff helps mediate to visitors the information provided by the museum and assists them in obtaining a more holistic view of the incident.

Constructing Historical Views

Through this learning process, some respondents are able to construct their own historical views after a series of dialogues and reflections upon their prior knowledge. With his prior knowledge and the information provided by the museum, Interviewee E explained his view of the 228 Incident:

> Of course, everyone has his or her own point of view. From my political viewpoint, I think of the incident as the people's rebellion against suppression by the government. The people's revolt was just. Of course, if it happened today, there would be no need to rebel under the judicial system. But it was a natural reaction in those circumstances. Secondly, it was the corruption of the KMT that brought about the revolt of the people. In the second phase, there were also a few mainlanders killed. But in the third phase, it was the KMT troops, rather than the mainlanders, who massacred innocent people… (Interviewee E, Male/Age: 51-65).

Through comparison and debate, sometimes with the assistance of the voluntary tour guides, some visitors are able to expand their original knowledge and construct their own perspectives on history.

Conclusion

This paper has focused on how frequent adult visitors learn in the museum. Though visitors acquire the information provided by the museum, each of them interprets and makes their own meaning. The findings of the research also agree with the theory of adult learners. Researchers have claimed that self-directed learning and the use of the personal experience as a learning resource are the two main characteristics of adult learners (Brookfield 1986: 25; Allen, 1993; Knowles, 1993). Similarly, this research shows that life experience plays an important part in their learning and reveals that in the museum context, visitors are likely to contextualise their personal experiences in a historical framework.

Other details of he process of learning were also discovered. For example, some messages received in the museum might be in contradiction with the visitor's original "knowledge," while others messages might be totally new, adding to and extending their existing knowledge. Visitors, therefore, may undergo a process of dialogue and debate. The data presented here suggests that visitors apply some strategies, acquire new information, challenge, compare and interpret, and construct historical views. Through this comparison and interpretation, visitors are able to transform their original meaning schemes and construct their own historical views in the history museum.

Notes

[1] There was no accurate record of deaths during this massacre because many people were afraid to admit that a family member died during this incident.

[2] The KMT (Kumingtan), the nationalist party, governed Taiwan from 1945 to 2000. After its defeat in the presidential election of 2000, it remains one of the major political parties in Taiwan.

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Profile of Taiwanese Museums and Galleries: Supply, Cost and Demand

Yupin Chung

Overview

This paper collates the existing data on museums and galleries in Taiwan[1]and provides a brief history of government involvement up to 2002. It describes and compares data sources, cultural sectors, number of museums, expenditure and income, and visitor trends. It discusses the weaknesses of current policy for museums and galleries in Taiwan and suggests some issues, which need to be taken into consideration for future policy-making.

1. Data Sources

The Council of Cultural Affairs has published *Cultural Statistics* annually since 1994. The publication is concerned with the different cultural sectors in Taiwan and policies affecting them. The CCA's '*Cultural Activity Database*' is a further source museum researchers can use in order to understand and analyze current exhibitions or education programmes held in museums. The book *Taiwan's Museums: The Doors are Open* is accepted by most scholars as the most accurate, with regards to the number of museums. In 2000, the CCA sponsored a survey of effects of visitors' fees on the number of visitors entitled '*Charging for Arts: A Study of Charges and the Public Reaction*'. In accordance with the financial operations of the cultural sector, the Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics (DGBAS) of the Executive Yuan (EY) is the agency responsible for budget, accounting and statistics (BAS) affairs within the central government as well as local governments, and has been established for 67 years. DGBAS provides some figures and tables on web site[2].

2. Framework

The initial section of this paper is devoted to a discussion of the scope for government intervention in Taiwan. Why does government fund the museum sector? Which governing authorities have taken responsibility for museums?

2.1 A Brief History of Government Involvement

Government support for museums in Taiwan provides the major financial support for the many national and local museums despite limited funding. Support predominantly takes the form of direct subsidies, as in contrast with the United States, as tax concessions in Taiwan are still under development[3] so that museums receive little income from private donations. Why does government fund the museum sector? It needs to consider the rationale for government intervention

in markets, and more specifically in the markets for cultural goods and services.

2.2 Public Governing Authorities

2.2.1 Council of Cultural Affairs (CCA)

The Council of Cultural Affairs (CCA), which falls under the Executive Yuan was founded on 11 November 1981 to coordinate and guide the various ministries and councils to promote national culture. With the establishment of the new government on 20 May 2000, under the leadership of the President of Taiwan Chen Shuibian[4], it will work toward establishing the Ministry of Culture. The intent of this effort is to unify cultural administrative authority; to increase efficiency and effectiveness; and to integrate education and culture.

The overall aim of the CCA is to 'To enliven culture and to integrate arts into life[5].'

The Council will:

- review and provide cultural rules and regulations, cultural development policies, basic guidelines and overall plans;
- preserve and promote cultural heritage;
- cultivate and encourage cultural development and administration personnel;
- disseminate cultural, coordinating and promoting literature;
- promote living culture and community development;
- plan international and cross-strait cultural exchanges (between mainland China and Taiwan);
- promote music, dance and drama;
- promote the fine arts and environmental art; and
- subsidise cultural and artistic activities.

The approach may be summarised as quality, promotion and enjoyment of the arts. CCA's nine major objectives were limited to the acceptance of its role as main sponsor for public museums[6]. Up to the present time there has never been a central "Ministry of Culture" in Taiwan and current funding for the museums has been channelled through diverse bodies. These funding bodies and the form and extent of direct subsidies at central and regional levels will be described in Section 4.

2.2.2 Ministry of Education

Today, the educational role of museums is claimed as the major justification[7]. Museums, like other educational institutions, look upon themselves as performing valuable public-interest activities that deserve public support. According to the Social Education Act[8], museums and galleries are defined as educational institutions. Thus the Ministry of Education has taken responsibility for five public museums in Taiwan since the 1970s; these are the National Museum of History, the National Science Educational Institute, the National Art Educational Institute, the National Dr. Sun Yatsen Memorial Hall and the Provincial Taiwan Museum[9].

In response to the necessity of unifying museum administration, the Ministry of Education will transfer their affiliated museums to the CCA. The Council will manage all the main cultural sectors, including museums[10] and heritage sites as well as the performing and visual arts. Chen Yuxiu[11], Chairperson of CCA, emphasised that objectives behind the construction of culture are to enliven culture and to integrate arts into life, as she said in her speech to the Legislation Yuan Parliament on 29 May 2000.

> 'Culture and education are inseparable. The Council will complete the establishment of professional art education and school art education, and on this foundation will promote comprehensive social art education in order to realize the grand ideal of lifelong art education.'

2.2.3 Local Council Cultural Bureau

Since the 1980s, a government initiative to establish more public museums began with the establishment of a municipal cultural center in each city. These were to be multi-functional organizations, which included a local library, performance hall, art gallery and museum. After 1990, the CCA launched a 'Community Construction Plan', which aimed to build up local theme museums[12] in local cultural centers.[13] In addition to these local culture museums, 'metropolitan museums' have also been established. The Taipei Fine Arts Museum, the first modern art museum in Taiwan, was established in 1984. The Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts, located in the south of Taiwan, opened its doors to the public in 1994.

Originally the *Local Council Cultural Bureau* (previously known as cultural centers) had a very strong educational role as well as the responsibility for liaising between community and local government. With its change in status, various executive duties have been added. These are currently the monitoring of affiliated museums and the allocation of grants to local cultural activities. Public museums and galleries have recently had a relatively high profile within Taiwan, and are a statutory responsibility of local government.

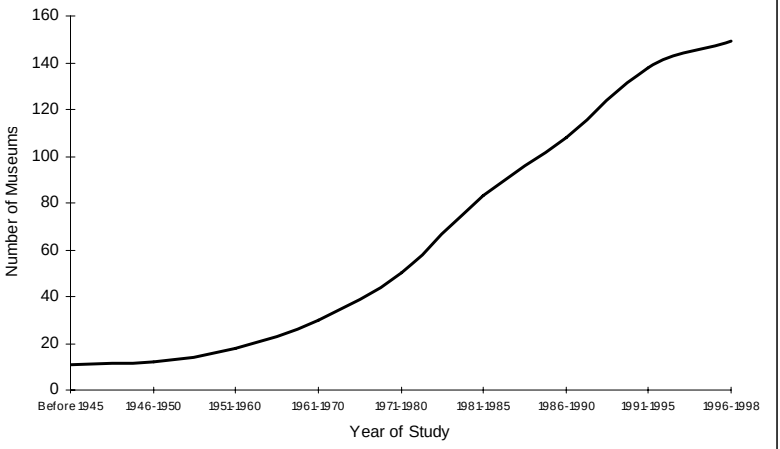
3. Supply

3.1 The Growth of Museums

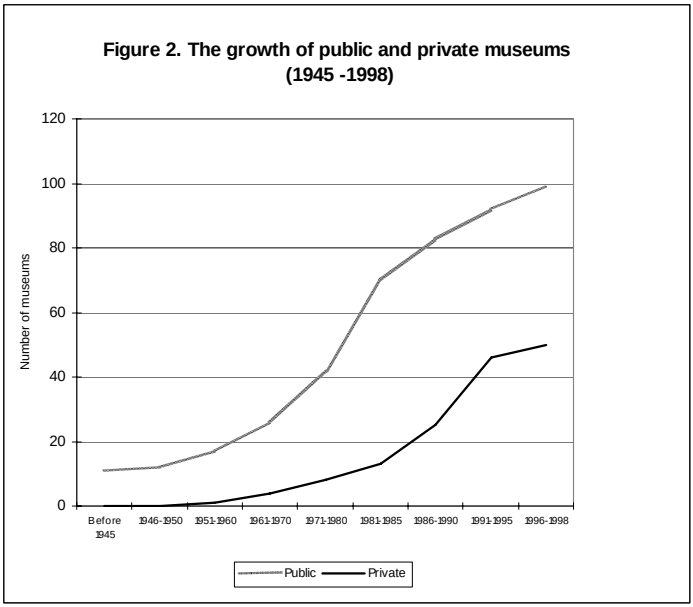
In the 1980s, Taiwan's flourishing economy contributed significantly to a museum explosion. In 1980, there were only fifty museums in Taiwan, but by 1997 this number had increased threefold (Fig. 1). Cultural Statistics (1997)[14] listed 149 museums in Taiwan, 99 of which had been set up in the last fifteen to twenty years, both by public and private governing authorities. Before the 1980s many Taiwanese museums were public, while the trend of 'private museums' was developing in the 80s and 90s (Fig.2).

The root causes of this groundswell of interest in museums are not difficult to understand. First, growing interest in collecting inspired more collectors, who not only supported the art market but also increased the demand for museums[15]. Compared to museums in other advanced countries, the history of museums in Taiwan does not go back too far. The concept of the 'museum', in a modern sense, was brought from Japan and the West, and spread through Taiwan after 1949. Secondly, the museum boom in Taiwan was a product of increased political liberty and cultural awareness, and Government regards the museum as an important cultural index within economic prosperity.

Figure 1. The Growth of Museums in Taiwan (1945-1998)



Source: Cultural Statistics (1997)



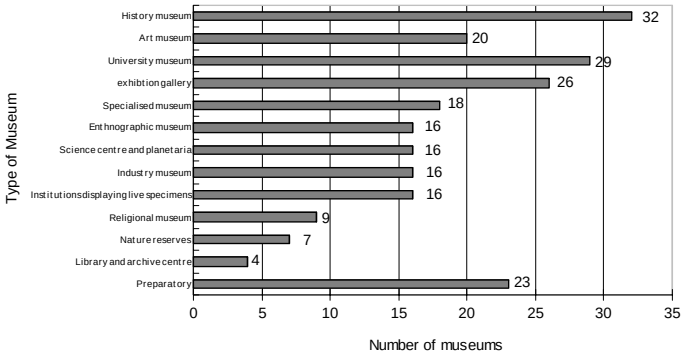
Source: Cultural Statistics (1997)

The Central Region Office Survey (1998) [16] provides the most comprehensive listing of museums in Taiwan, and for 1998/1999 it listed 232 museums. While it is not a statistical database, the source may be able to provide more detailed information about the museums. The very wide range of sizes and types of institutions which are called museums in this Survey perhaps reflects the absence of a universally agreed definition used by the Council of Cultural Affairs or the Ministry of Education.

Within the last two decades museums have turned into a major growth area of the leisure and tourism industry. In recent years Taiwan has moved away from a traditional manufacturing economy[17] towards a service economy. The number of museums catering for the new leisure markets has consequently grown. Particularly noticeable growth has been in museums presenting aspects of Taiwan's industry as well as history museums in rural and urban areas (Fig. 3) [18].

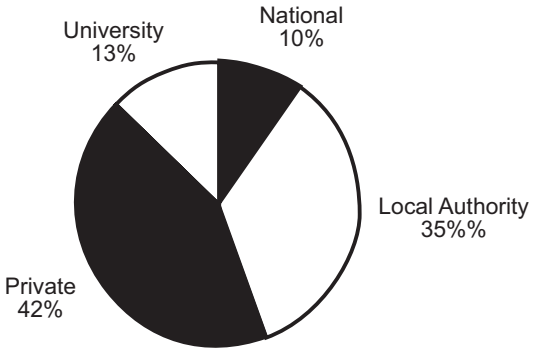
According to the Central Region Office[19] Survey (Fig. 4), museums have tended to be developed within local authorities. During the 90s, there were 29 new public museums in preparation and construction. Only one[20] of these was a national museum, the others being local museums. Those local museums provide a sense of identity for their area and act as a cultural focus contributing to the cultural infrastructure. This has also had a knock-on effect in existing national museums, which have had to take these new standards into account in their own renewal and development programmes.

Figure 3. Museums and Museum Type in Taiwan , 1998



Source: Central Region Office (1998)

Figure 4. Distribution of Governing Authority of Taiwanese Museums, 1998



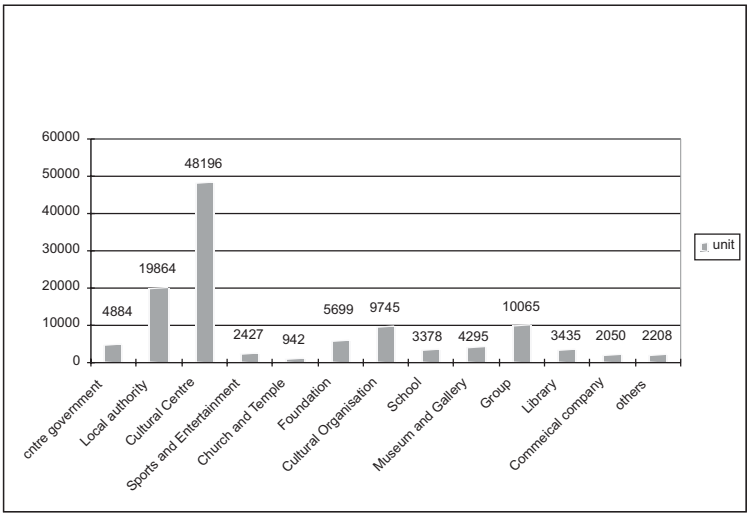
Source: Central Region Office (1998)

3.2 The Growth of Museum Activities

What do museums do? They include educational services, displays and exhibitions, publications, and lectures carried out within the museums and outside them, often in partnership with other organizations. To be successful, museums have to be active organizations, and should not be confused with static exhibitions. The Council of Cultural Affairs and the Ministry of Education intend to utilise museums and galleries as 'informal schools' to reduce the distance that often exists between people and their culture.

However, the Cultural Activity Database[21]shows that 14 types of organizations provided 125,907 cultural activities from 1994 to 2000. Cultural Centers supply 48,196 activities, more than ten times those, which are held in museums and galleries (Fig.5). Exhibitions and educational workshops form but one part of museums' work, and it is the full range of their relationship with the public, which has to be considered in examining what they do. It is noteworthy that the number of cultural activities charged for in museums or galleries is greater than in cultural centres (Fig. 6).

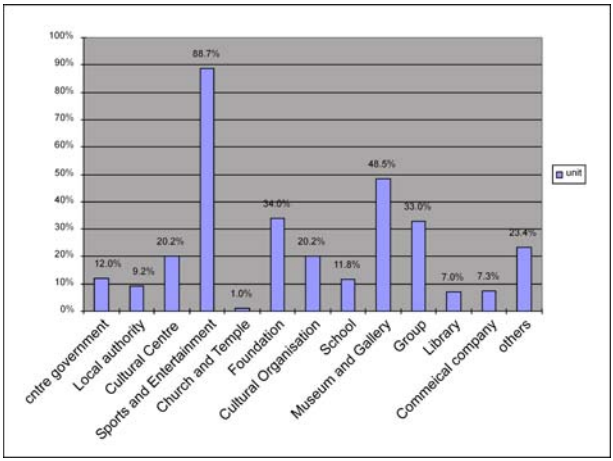
The CCA has supported county and municipal cultural centres in order to implement the 'Plan to Promote Weekend Cultural Bazaars' and the 'Nationwide Cultural Festival'. With the support of the Council, all cultural centres play an important role of promoting comprehensive social art education. This may indicate that museums and galleries provide a wide range of cultural activities of value to their users, as well as supporting economic development programmes providing a focus with other facilities and services for inward investment



Source: Cultural Activity Database, CCA

Figure 5: Number of Cultural Activities in Museums and Galleries with other Cultural Organisations 1994-2000

Figure 6. Percentage of Cultural Activities Charged For in Museums and Galleries Compared with Other Cultural Organisations, 1994-2000



Source: Cultural Activity Database, CCA

4. Cost

In this section, we need to assess the impact of changes in government policy and examine the problems that museums face in responding to them. What are the attitudes toward public support in relation to museum decisions? Should the government leave management decisions to the museums? Clarke (1991: 293) points out that relations between museums and the funding department are by tradition conducted on the so-called arm's length principle. The idea behind arm's length funding is that a museum can determine its own policies.

Since national museums depended so heavily on government finance in the early 1970s, their technical independence may not enable them to persist in their objectives for long. Besides, the growth in pursuit of local culture has been significantly fuelled by a growth in cultural awareness, the so-called Nativism. To meet the demand, in 1978 the government established a plan for public cultural centres in every county and city in Taiwan.[22] With the promotion and support of the Council, some cultural centres are operating smoothly and have become 'Cultural Bureaus' in order to enhance the cultural environment.

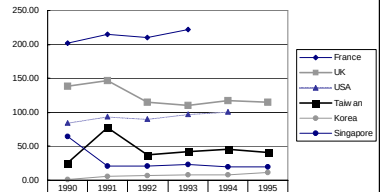
4.1 Cultural Budget & Earned Income

Compared with France and Britain, Taiwan spends relatively little on culture. As can be seen from Figure 7 and Figure 8, cultural spending can be expressed in terms of a percentage of all government expenditure and of spending per capita. From 1990 to 1995, the Taiwanese government regularly

spent 1.43 % of its entire budget on culture. In 1991, however, this amounted to 2.72 % because the Taipei Sports Ground[23] was built. It is generally accepted that cultural organizations in the U.S.A. may receive much of their income from private donations, so support is not predominantly in the form of direct subsidies. As shown in Figure 7, the percentage of all budget spending on culture in Singapore and Korea is less than in Taiwan. Again, Singapore and Korea spend less per capita than Taiwan.

Source: Central Government Financial Statistics, Local Government Financial Statistics and the Foundation of National Currency Statistics.[24]

Figure 8. Culture Spending Per Capita (1990-1995)



	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
France	201.40	214.88	210.19	221.86		
UK	138.45	146.33	115.46	109.76	117.72	115.38
USA	84.99	93.69	89.85	96.92	100.70	
Taiwan	25.47	77.90	37.66	42.69	46.15	40.55
Korea	1.01	6.38	6.83	7.78	8.73	12.17
Singapore	64.21	21.01	20.57	23.69	19.80	19.73

Source: Central Government Financial Statistics, Local Government Financial Statistics and the Foundation of National Currency Statistics.

Note: Spending per capita is calculated with US $ at 1996 Prices

The Cultural Statistics Bureau breaks down cultural spending into different categories: arts[25], cultural resources, international and cross-strait cultural exchange, and media (Table 9). The budget for museums is typically included in the category of 'arts'. There is little published information on the budget and earned income of national and local authority museums. It can be seen from the table that spending on arts is predominantly in the form of the total cultural budget. The arts budget of arts is approximately £124 million per year[26].

Table 9. Spending on Arts, Cultural Resources, Cultural Exchanges, and Media (1995-1998) Measured in percent of cultural budget

	Arts	Cultural Resources	Cultural Exchanges	Media
1995	50	14	9	27
1996	60	10	9	21
1997	61	11	7	21
1998	53	12	8	27

Source: Central Government Financial Statistics, Local Government Financial Statistics and the Foundation of National Currency Statistics.

Although the government has increased the arts budget[27], there have been suggestions that current government funding may be no longer sufficient to cover the basic running costs nor are the purchase grants large enough to enable all museums to maintain an active collecting policy. Figures for the seven major Taiwanese national museums for 2000-01/ 2001-02 (Table 10) indicate that the public funding was reduced, during this period except for the National Palace Museum. Thus, other sources of revenue are introduced such as admission fees, retailing income (from museum shops and publications) and facilities renting. 'Self-generated revenue' has been considered. 'Self-generated revenue' refers to the museum's capacity to earn revenue from its operations, in contrast with government funding[28]. Charging for admission to national museums has been controversial. It can be seen from Table 10 that admission (adult) rates vary from the equivalent of 20p to £6. The National Museum of Marine Biology and Aquarium opened its door to the public in 2000. At the beginning of the first four months, its admission revenues were about £3 million[29] with a high admission charge.

Table 10. Spending on National Museums

Year	Museum	Government Budget □M		Earned Income □M		Price □
		2000/1	2001/2	Adm	Exhib	
1907	National Taiwan Museum	2.365	2.827			0.2
1965	National Palace Museum	12.756	15.622			1.6
1986	National Museums of Natural Science	4.609	2.544	2.447	0.6	2.0
1988	National Taiwan Museum of Art	5.915	4.541			0.2
1997	National Museums of Science and Technology	3.663	2.118	1.26	0.667	2.0
2000	National of Museum of Marine Biology and Aquarium	0.602	0.0045			6.0
2001	National Taiwan Prehistoric Culture Museum	0.103	0.238	0.207	—	2.0

Source: Central Government Financial Statistics (2002)

The situation for local authority museums is less clear: they have always been run on less generous funding, and currently, because of the forthcoming changes in local government finance, it seems that they too will be expected to augment their income by their own efforts.

4.2 Consumer Spending

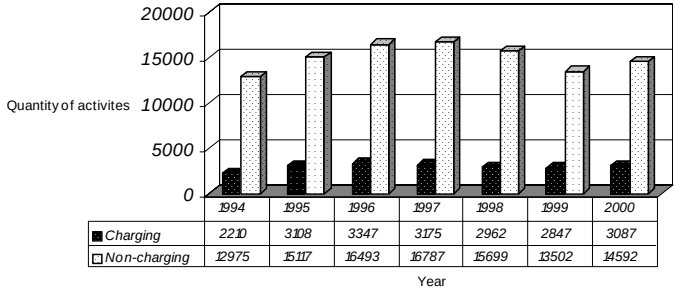
According to Cultural Statistics (1999)[30], the percentage of consumer spending on 'education and culture' has been steadily increasing form 1.2% in 1964 to around 13% in the 1990s. Reflecting growing real incomes and social changes, there has also been a quite remarkable growth in the provision of new leisure facilities targeted at the general public. However, theme parks, cinemas, catering, home-based activities, and entertainment all compete with museums.

A survey entitled "Charging for Arts: A study of Charges and the Public Reaction?[31]" shows that there appears to be less resistance to the idea of imposing charges for special exhibitions than for entry to permanent collections. The reasonable price is around £2 to £3. Over 70% of visitors are primarily concerned with the quality of the content.

However, because of the earthquake of September 21 1999, the rate of consumer spending showed a decrease. At that time the CCA initiated a 'spiritual healing'

event, promoting reading therapy, the publication of books, audio and video materials, the 'September 21 Earthquake Disaster Spiritual Healing Activity Series', the 'Reflecting on the Worst Earthquake of the Century and Heading Toward a New Millennium' Art Festival, the 'Peace of Mind Curriculum Art Therapy' Learning Project, the September 21 Earthquake Disaster Concert, and the Spiritual Healing Concert to Help the Earthquake Victims. Figure 11 shows that arts activities have increased. Surprisingly, charges for arts activities are also increasing (Table 12). The question remains as to whether charges actually levied reflect willingness to pay, or whether willingness to pay is conditioned by charges actually levied, or both.

Figures 11. Charging and Non-Charging for Arts Activities (1994 - 2000)



Source: Cultural Activity Database, CCA

Table 12. Economic Growth Rate and Charging Rate (1994- 2000)

Year	Economic Growth Rate (%)	Charging Rate (%)
1994	7.1	14.6
1995	6.4	17.1
1996	6.1	16.9
1997	6.7	15.9
1998	4.6	15.9
1999	5.4	17.4
2000	5.9	17.4

Source: Key Economic and Social Indicators, DGBAS (2000), Cultural Statistics (1999)

5. Demand

5.1 Numbers and Visitors

A vital statistic in any analysis of museums is visitor numbers. These numbers are obtained by a variety of counting methods used by museums, some more reliable than others. Also, it is useful to identify different types of visitor (for example distinguishing day trippers from other visitors, and looking at the socioeconomic composition of the flow of visitors) because their behaviour differs considerably.

It would be surprising to find that the size of museum visitor flows and the number of visitors were not relevant for national or local authority support: however, the present Government claims 'investment' and proof of 'efficiency and effectiveness' are key factors in providing the widest possible 'access for all'. As can be seen from the Cultural Statistics (2001), there were 71,550,000 or more visits in 2000[32].

5.2 Trend and Visitors

Leisure time allows freedom of choice, freedom to 'do what one wants to do' and to 'do something for its own sake'. Surveys of leisure time, such as those done by in Cultural Statistics, imply that there might be the potential market for cultural organisations. According to the Social Trend, however, Taiwanese tend to spend their free time on home-based activities (Table 13). A growing amount of our leisure time, activities and spending take place in our own homes. Electronic media bring music, drama and films to our living rooms; video and compact discs mean we can enjoy them when we want them.

Table 13. Leisure Time and Activities (1999-2000)

Type of Activity	Total (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)
Home-Based	99.43	99.45	99.41
Training	28.72	28.51	28.92
Sports	72.24	74.15	70.34
Tourism	55.91	54.43	57.57
Arts	35.42	33.26	37.57
● Folklore	23.21	22.01	24.39
● Fine Arts	12.98	11.02	14.92
● Music	11.64	10.30	12.96
● Drama &Dance	7.19	5.72	8.64

Source: Social Trend, DGBAS (2000)

Additional competition has emerged most recently in the form of very large one-stop leisure destinations that combine retailing, entertainment, catering and leisure activities. The typical visitor is primarily concerned with the quality of the experience he or she receives and whether or not value for money has been obtained. That experience may sometimes be affected as much by the quantity and quality of the visitor facilities, as by the technical quality of the display.

All museums have to strike a balance in satisfying two types of customers: the general public, seeking entertainment and instruction, and scholars. Underlying the pressure in government policy is the feeling that museums have not been sufficiently responsive to the demands of the general public, and they are being urged to make their collections more attractive and more accessible by presenting them in a more inviting way and by offering loans and blockbuster exhibitions. Such changes can only be achieved, given budget constraints, at a cost to other activities. Within a tight budget and faced with increasing commitments, trade-offs have to be decided in terms of the services to be provided.

6. Conclusions

In the period 1999/2000 the museums sector in Taiwan was subject to increased pressure from government to demonstrate levels of efficiency. As a result of this, local authority museum services are, for the first time, becoming nationally accountable. This may encourage the production of more and better statistics, but for the time being hard data on museums remains very partial. Data analysis is complicated by the fact that the primary data is collected according to different systems

Using arts, heritage and culture as lead sectors to attract inward investment, while at the same time underpinning the quality of life for residents, has become an accepted part of economic strategy. A large number of organizations are competing for our leisure time and disposable income. Each organisation must try to convince its visitors that what it has to offer is the best use of time and money. Perhaps, too, consideration must be given to whether everything has to be justified in economic terms. For example, organizations might consider whether:

- Museums have been treated as places for cultural activities; is this approach truly related to their functions today?
- “Museum fans”: are a museum’s visitors loyal to it or simply “having a day out”?
- The Museum Experience: is it worth paying for or not?

As citizens we are naturally pleased to see government support of cultural activities, yet at the same time we must be aware that governments are as a rule motivated by the urge to look good by eliciting international recognition for their own country’s fine cultural taste.

There is a risk that, several years down the road, Taiwan will face a shortage of qualified professionals in the museum sector. It might be considered a failure of government spending towards integrating cultural organisations if there is an inadequate cultural administration personnel structure caused by the vacuum in cultural management and organisation over the years. Furthermore, today Taiwan's cultural environment must confront the challenges of competition from other new recreational forms such as videos, films, and theme parks. In other words, government must be accountable for all that is does, planning thoroughly, listening openly to their visitors, and continuing to create without interruption-not waiting around for others to respond.

The overriding notion that the formulation of policy must place priority upon government financial support is gaining ground in Taiwan. This is in fact the most inefficient, if not dangerous, kind of approach. Often such policies merely outline sums or guidelines for money allotted, while the public's needs, the substance and content of art presentations, and quality of facilities and equipment are overlooked or contested.

Most disheartening of all is the thematic disorder shared by formulaic objectives. These objectives avoid the interpretation of the real importance of museums. In the past year, the Government has introduced the concept of 'Best Value'; however, this was implemented without carrying out regular user surveys. Limited government knowledge about museums in their individual communities contrasts with government expertise in the existing bureaucratic structure, so that development has been largely unplanned, and is motivated in the main by local considerations.

Some museums have been set up without due regard for their relationship with existing museums, or sufficient clarity about their long-term management or funding. This will drive museums to become like shops for promoting cultural activities.

There has not been much research and debate concerning the impact of charging with regards to the demographic characteristics of visitors. What is needed is an admission strategy appropriate to the specific situation of each museum.

Notes

[1]. The Republic of China (ROC) government currently controls the Taiwan, Kinmen and Matsu areas. In this paper, Taiwan means ROC. The Taiwan Area, with 36,006 square kilometres, includes Taiwan proper, the Penghu Islands, Green Island, Orchid Island, and Tiaoyutai Islets. Its population is 22,277,000. The ROC, a constitutional democracy, was founded in 1912. The government has been configured with a system of checks and balances in which the five highest branches of the central government, which are under the leadership of the ROC president as well as the National Assembly, jointly administer the country. These five branches of the national government are

the Executive, Legislative, Judicial, Examination and Control Yuan. The President of the ROC is the highest representative of the nation. In the past the President was elected by the National Assembly. However, since March 1996, the President has been elected by popular vote. The National Assembly's chief functions are to amend the Constitution, and to impeach the president. The Executive Yuan, headed by the premier constitutes the ROC cabinet. The Legislative Yuan formulates the nation' s laws. The Judicial Yuan runs the national court system and is responsible for civil, criminal and administrative cases as well as cases concerning the discipline of public functionaries. The Examination Yuan is responsible for the examination, employment and management of civil service personnel. The Control Yuan is the highest control body of the state, exercising the powers of impeachment, censure and audit.

[2]. http://www.ey.gov.tw/web/index-ey2000.htlm.

[3]. According to Article 30 of the Statute to Encourage and Subsidise Culture and the Arts, the Council of Cultural Affairs and the Ministry of Finance jointly ratified and announced the Guidelines for Exempting Cultural and Artistic Enterprises from Operating and Entertainment Taxes. This provided preferential tax exemptions to cultural and artistic enterprises engaged in such activities as exhibitions, performances, screenings and auctions. See http://www.cca.gov.tw/intro/index_e.html.

[4]. See web site of the Council of Cultural Affairs. http://www.cca.gov.tw/intro/index_e.html.

[5]. Chen Yuxiu, new Chairperson of CCA, emphasised that objectives behind the construction of culture are to enliven culture and to integrate arts into life, as she first expounded in a speech to the Legislation Yuan (parliament) on 29 May 2000 (see 2.2.2).

[6]. CCA is an "arm's length" body and can allocate its budget at its own discretion, as is the case with the Arts Council in England. CCA provides grants for smaller museums in the regions. Originally it had an advisory role as well as responsibility for promoting culture between national and provincial museums.

[7]. Eilean Hooper-Greenhill (1992:2).

[8]. The Social Education Act was first passed in 1953, and it was amended in 1959, 1980 and 2002.

[9]. In line with governmental streamlining, this museum was renamed the National Taiwan Museum in 1997.

[10]. These are the National Taiwan Museum, the National Museum of Taiwan History. (preparatory Office), the National Taiwan Museum of Art, the National History Museum, and the National Taiwan Prehistoric Culture Museum (preparatory Office). However, the National Museum of Science, the National Museum of Maritime and the National Museum of Marine Science &

Technology (preparatory Office) will still be financially supported by the Ministry of Education.

[11] See web site of the Council of Cultural Affairs. http://www.cca.gov.tw/intro/index_e.html.

[12] Three theme museums, the Taipei County Yingko Ceramics Museum, the Hsinchu Glass Museum and the Hwalien Sculpture Museum, were established in the 1990s.

[13.] Chen Guoning (1997: 2).

[14.] Cultural Statistics (1997:80).

[15.] Tseng (2001:190).

[16.] Taiwan's Museums: The Doors are Open (1998).

[17.] The term of "Made in Taiwan" is used to mean mass-produced cheap goods.

[18.] Specialised museums and industry museums have developed in response to increased leisure time.

[19.] In line with governmental streamlining implemented in July 1999, a Central Region Office was established with seven previously established agencies under its supervision.

[20.] Taiwan's Museums: The Doors are Open (1998).

[21.] The Cultural Activity Database records up-to-date and annual cultural activities. The database was set up by the CCA. Museums and Galleries are regarded as one of 14 types of cultural organizations. There were 125,907 activities held from 1994 to 2000.

[22.] According to the resolution of the Executive Yuan in 1978 and 'The Plan of Establishment of Local Cultural Centres' Issued by the Ministry of Education, Republic of China.

[23]. The sports ground costs about £500 million.

[24.] Foundation of National Currency (1996)

[25.] It includes visual and performing arts and museums.

[26.] Cultural Statistics (1998).

[27.] The government has spent a large proportion of the budget on buildings since the 1980s.

[28.] Lord and Lord (1997: 162).

[29.] Lin Zhongxiao (1999).

[30.] Cultural Statistics (1999:40).

[31.] A survey was conducted by DaiYe University, Taiwan.

[32.] Cultural Statistics (2000).

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my appreciation to Richard Sandell for his advice on the organisation of this paper, as well as several valuable references he brought to my attention.

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Museum Learning as Participation in a Community of Learners: A Sociocultural Perspective

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Introduction

It has been argued (Falk and Dierking, 1992) that museums are educational institutions that enhance, reinforce and promote memorable, meaningful, and highly contextualized experiences. In fact, teaching and learning models, which are theory dependent, have been developed to describe the way in which learning in museums has changed. This article seeks to present the sociocultural perspective of the learning experience and to explore the implications for museum practice. This paper is concerned with the development of a model that sees museum learning as a process of participation in sociocultural activities.

The issues in this article are part of the broader current research that aims to provide the model of participation in a community of learners as a platform in the form of an educational programme for school groups to be applied to other museums for constructing a meaningful museum experience. The research focuses on the social interaction between participants among different communities of practice (museum staff, schoolchildren, teachers, families/parents) in a museum setting. Visiting a museum involves opportunities for visitors to participate in different practices and communities. This diversity of practices generates a diversity of agendas that shapes the museum as a community of practice and an institution. Specifically, the research considers children's participation in museum activities when visiting a museum as part of a school group and examines how this participation changes as children of different ages collaborate and coordinate not only with each other but also with parents, museum staff, and teachers in joint activity. Through negotiation and reciprocal contributions, all participants constitute a new community of learners, which is based on mutuality in joint activity and guidance. This new community of learners is the catalyst for transferable learning and development for all participants in structuring a meaningful museum visit.

This paper places an emphasis on the endeavor of museum practitioners to make museum visits as meaningful as possible. In order to understand the sociocultural perspective of the learning experience and to highlight the theoretical and practical stance of the participation model in a museum environment, it is essential to review some of the major sociocultural theories over the years.

Defining learning experience from a sociocultural perspective

Soviet psychologist Vygotsky focused on social interaction and, like Piaget, believed learning to be developmental, but he differentiated between what he called "*spontaneous*" and "*scientific*" concepts (Fosnot, 1996: 18). On one hand, he defined spontaneous concepts as 'pseudoconcepts', meaning those that are

naturally developed by a child in the process of construction 'emerging from the child's own reflections on everyday experience' (Fosnot, 1996: 18). On the other hand, he proposed that scientific concepts 'originate in the structured activity of classroom instruction and impose on the child's more formal abstractions and more logically defined concepts than those constructed spontaneously' (Fosnot, 1996: 18).

He argued that the above concepts are not in conflict but, rather, are part of a unitary process (Falk and Dierking, 1995:46). In this process Vygotsky believed that scientific concepts grow downward to organize and utilize the spontaneous concepts, while spontaneous concepts grow upward preparing the ground for more systematic reasoning (Falk and Dierking, 1995:46). As a result, Vygotsky used the term '*zone of proximal development*' ("zo-ped" or ZPD), according to which there is an intellectual space one can reach with the help of a more knowledgeable partner: 'It is the distance between the actual development level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers' (Vygotsky, 1978:86). The knowledgeable partner is relatively more skilled than the novices, with a wider vision of the culturally organized activities. In short, what a child can do without help today (zone of proximal development) she/he will be able to do by herself/himself tomorrow (actual developmental level).

Vygotsky claimed that cognitive processes occur first on the social plane between people as an interpsychological category, and then these shared processes are internalized and transformed to form the individual plane within the child as an intrapsychological category (Bjorklund, 2000: 61) Thus, the sociocultural approach and specifically the "zo-ped" is a 'dynamic region of sensitivity to learning the skills of culture' (Rogoff, 1990: 14), in which children can learn to solve problems at a level between their current ability and their ability with the assistance and collaboration of adults or more skilled children. Other psychologists like Wood, Bruner and Ross, related the concept of zo-ped with the concept of "*scaffolding*". They proposed that scaffolding 'occurs when experts are sensitive to abilities of a novice and respond contingently to the novice's responses in a learning situation, so that the novice gradually increases his or her understanding of a problem' (Bjorklund, 2000: 62). For Vygotsky the nature of learning is 'dialogical' (Fosnot, 1996: 20), as he was interested not only in the role of inner speech on the learning of concepts, but also in the role of the adult and the learners' peers as they conversed, questioned, explained, and negotiated meaning' (Fosnot, 1996: 20).

The main idea is that 'we as human beings have no access to an objective reality, since we are constructing our version of it, while at the same time transforming it and ourselves' (Fosnot, 1996: 23). However, there is a debate between those who place an emphasis on individual cognitive development and those who place an emphasis on the sociocultural effects on learning. Terms such as cognitive constructivism and social constructivism have become common in the literature (Leslie and Gale, 1995).

Contemporary sociocultural theories that are based on the ideas of Soviet psychologist Lev Vygotsky acknowledge that, rather than arguing whether the cognizing individual or the sociocultural should be given priority in an analysis of learning, it is better to recognize the 'essential' and 'inseparable' roles of the individual and the sociocultural context (Rogoff, 1990: 25). In this perspective, Barbara Rogoff has developed and explored the concept of apprenticeship or guided participation in sociocultural activities. She attempts to keep the roles of the individual and the sociocultural context in focus. Rogoff claims that 'instead of working as separate or interacting forces, individual efforts, social interaction, and the cultural context are inherently bound together in the overall development of children into skilled participants in society' (Roggoff, 1990: 18). Rogoff has developed the concept of apprenticeship or guided participation to extend Vygotsky's concept of the Zone of proximal development. She has viewed the transaction between children and adults as reflecting an apprenticeship in thinking, with novice children improving their skills and understanding through participation and with the challenge of more skilled partners. The model of apprenticeship for children's cognitive development focuses our attention firstly on the active role of children in organizing development, secondly on the active support and use of the more skilled partners in culturally organized activities, and lastly on the context of cognitive events and activities (Rogoff, 1990: 39).

This implies a dynamic relationship and a social interaction with the characteristics of 'reciprocity' and 'bidirectionality' between two or more children together (Garton, 1992: 11). As Garton points out, social interaction assumes the 'active involvement of both participants in the interchange, bringing to it different experiences, interests and prior knowledge, both qualitative and quantitative' (Garton, 1992: 11).

Moreover, the notion of apprenticeship has the value of including more people than a single more knowledgeable partner and a single novice; 'it involves a group of novices (peers) who serve as resources for one another in exploring the new domain and aiding and challenging one another. Among themselves, the novices are likely to differ usefully in expertise as well' (Rogoff, 1990: 39). However, the knowledgeable partner is also still developing breadth and depth of skill and understanding in the process of challenging and helping the novices. In short, as Rogoff points out, 'for children as well as for their social partners, engagement in shared thinking yields the opportunity for development of greater skill and understanding' (Rogoff, 1990: 195). Furthermore, children's participation in shared activities and shared thinking is the basis on which they build their understanding, Children, as they collaborate and argue with others, they consider new alternatives and recast their ideas to communicate or to convince. In these activities, children advance and construct their ideas in order to make meaning out of these (Rogoff, 1990).

Lave and Wenger tried to rethink and reformulate our conception of learning and offered the related idea of 'legitimate peripheral participation' (Lave and Wenger, 1991). Like Rogoff, they placed an emphasis on the whole person and viewed agent, activity and world as mutually constitutive. Learning was viewed as a 'situated activity' (Lave and Wenger, 1991: 29) focusing on the relationship

between learning and the social situations in which it occurs. By this we mean that 'learning is a process of participation in communities of practice, participation that is at first legitimately peripheral but that increases gradually in engagement and complexity (Lave and Wenger, 1991). In other words, legitimate peripheral participation provides the relationships between newcomers and old-timers, where newcomers become a part of a community of practice by actually engaging in the process of becoming a full participant in a sociocultural practice (Lave and Wenger, 1991: 29).

Rogoff further developed her provocative ideas of apprenticeship or guided participation by positing an emphasis on thinking development and learning as a process of 'transformation of participation in sociocultural activities' (Olson and Torrance, 1996: 389-414). This theory is based on a sociocultural perspective which takes as a central premise the idea that learning and development occur as people participate in the sociocultural activities of their community, transforming their understanding, roles and responsibilities as they participate (Olson and Torrance, 1996: 390).

In all the above approaches, guided participation, legitimate peripheral participation and transformation of participation, the emphasis is on *participation* in sociocultural activities that are not formed by individuals alone, but by people in cultural communities.

Exploring the model of participation in a Community of Learners

This paper sees learning and development as a communal process of participation in sociocultural activities, one that is based on a mutual process of collaboration between active participants in joint activity. In order to highlight this stance, this theory will be contrasted with two other theories that view learning as one-sided process in which only one ' "side" of a relationship is active' (Olson and Torrance, 1996: 391). The first one treats learning as a transmission of knowledge from an expert to a novice and the second views learning as an acquisition of knowledge by learners themselves.

Transmission theory is a traditional academic position towards teaching and learning, where knowledge is independent of the learner, having its own external existence, and learning is incremental, adding bit by bit to a passive mind. It is based on the transmission model that sees communication as a linear process of imparting information and sending messages from a knowledgeable information source (i.e. learned teacher, museum exhibition, museum staff) to a 'passive receiver' (Hooper-Greenhill, 1999: 68) (i.e. pupil, visitor) who is seen as 'the empty vessel to be filled' (Hein, 1998a: 37) with knowledge. Teaching involves the division of knowledge into small discrete parts, arranged in order, usually from the simplest to the most complex where 'the focus is exclusively on the subject' (Hein, 1998b: 33), and teachers present information to pupils in a 'rational and incremental sequence' (Hein, 1998b: 33). It is obvious that this model excludes people and

'neglects the important role of social and physical context in learning' (Dierking, 1996: 24). It ignores the learner and their needs by providing only a partial and narrow view of the learning experience. Learning is not only teaching facts and concepts, but it is also about interests, prior-knowledge, experience, beliefs, motivations, enjoyment, feelings, and sharing experiences with others in an effective environment (Falk and Dierking, 2000; Hooper-Greenhill and Moussouri, 2002: 2).

The acquisition theory of knowledge treats learning as the province of learners who acquire knowledge through their active exploration providing the appropriate environment for individual learners to be both 'challenged and stimulated and to partake in experiences that will move them towards the desired goals' (Hein, 1998a: 38). Thus, acquisition theory is an one-sided process of exploration, where learners undergo changes as they learn and interact with the material and concepts we wish to teach. The individual is responsible for gaining the skills and information. Generally, both theories put a boundary between learners and the sociocultural world, with either the individual or the environment as the active agent responsible for moving new materials across the boundary (Amsel and Renninger, 1997: 267).

However, Rogoff claims that this boundary between the learner and the environment disappears if learning and development are viewed as a transformation of participation in which participants from both sides contribute support and direction in shared endeavors (Amsel and Renninger, 1997: 267).

According to a sociocultural perspective, cultural development involves individuals becoming members of communities of practice. It focuses on how, through incorporation of new community members, individuals, interpersonal relations, and community activities are changed (Falk and Dierking, 1995: 103). Rogoff suggested that this process involves three aspects. The first one is the transformation of individual participation in joint activity called the 'personal plane of development' (Falk and Dierking, 1995: 103). In this plane, individuals change through their involvement in many activities. The individual participates in and contributes to ongoing activities; there is no boundary between individual and environment. The second aspect is transformation of interpersonal relations called 'interpersonal plane of development' (Falk and Dierking, 1995: 103) which focuses on how people communicate and collaborate in both face-to-face interaction and more distal arrangements of people's activities that do not require co-presence (Amsel and Renninger, 1997: 269). The last aspect is transformation of community practices themselves, called 'community plane of development' (Falk and Dierking, 1995: 103). In this plane people participate with others in culturally organized activities.

None of the above planes can be isolated. From a sociocultural approach, developmental processes involve not only individuals, but also group and community processes. Thus, none of these processes is static. On the contrary, they are in a dynamic interplay where individual change is constituted by and constitutes interpersonal and community processes in sociocultural activities (Amsel and Renninger, 1997: 269).

Transformation of participation of people engaged in shared endeavors entails changes in ways that contribute both to the ongoing activities and to the person's preparation for involvement in similar and subsequent activities. Sociocultural perspective abandons the idea that the social world is external to the individual and that development is only a process of acquiring knowledge and skills independent of activity. Instead, the focus is on 'people's active changes in understanding, facility, and motivation involved in an unfolding event or activity in which they participate' (Amsel and Renninger, 1997: 271). Furthermore, change is a continuous process by which prior and upcoming events or activities are involved in the ongoing present event or activity. Any present event is based on previous events as an extension and is directed toward goals that have not yet been accomplished.

Two of the most important components of the model of participation are communication and collaboration in shared endeavors, where participants adjust themselves in varying roles by stretching their common understanding to fit in new perspectives in shared activities. As Rogoff points out, 'such stretching to accomplish something together is development, and occurs in the process of participation' (Amsel and Renninger, 1997: 272). Thus, the emphasis here is on learning and development as ongoing processes rather than just products.

The concept of a community of learners involves the active engagement of all participants; no one has all the responsibility and no one is passive. Generally, more skilled community members support newcomers' learning and development through attention to what they are ready for and interested in as they engage in shared activities in which all contribute. In a community of learners, all participants are active in structuring the inquiry, though usually with asymmetry of roles (Olson and Torrance, 1996: 396). The relations among participants are dynamic; participants serve as resources to each other, with varying roles and shifting responsibilities according to their understanding of the activity. The significant element in a community of learners is the dialogue, in the sense that people build on each other's ideas on a common topic. 'Individuals assist each other in learning to be responsible, making choices and solving problems in ways that fit their individual needs while coordinating with the needs of others and with group functioning' (Olson and Torrance, 1996: 405).

Implications of the participation model in a community of learners in museum settings

Museums are social environments where social groups, such as family groups and school groups, go in order to interact and share experiences and beliefs with each other. But the sociocultural process of learning in museums involves not only face-to-face interaction, but also the content and the organization of the exhibition (i.e museum staff, those whose ideas and artifacts are represented in the museum, those who prepare and fund the exhibits, and the visitors) (Falk and Dierking, 1995: 97).

According to the participation model, learning in museums is viewed as the transformation of mutual participation in communities of learners. Participation in a community of learners involves participation in specific institutions, in which participants pursue inquiries, make connections among various contexts, share interests, expertise, experience and knowledge with others, and learn how to learn and how to assist and collaborate with others in shared endeavors (Falk and Dierking, 1995: 97).

In a community of learners, both visitors and museum staff are seen as active participants in organizing the inquiry. The individual visitor, the interaction with social partners and the cultural milieu (museums) are meaningful and integrated components of the social world because they are inseparable contributors to the ongoing activities in which participants develop their experiences and understandings.

Usually, participation in museums requires more involvement from visitors in organizing their activity (i.e. the museum visit) and provides more freedom to manage their own choices about where to go first, how long to stay, and which aspects of the exhibit to explore deeply according to their interests. Thus, visiting a museum involves opportunities for visitors to participate in various practices and communities.

Rogoff argues that 'museums can be considered as places where different practices and their participants can meet, learn from each other as peripheral members in different communities, and contribute to each other's practices' (Falk and Dierking, 1995: 101). In museums, the relationship between the communities of museum staff and museum visitors is based on mutuality where through negotiation and reciprocal contributions they engage in shared endeavors by spelling out their diverse agendas, concerns and goals.

Considering the above, the ongoing research places an emphasis on how participants, and especially schoolchildren change their participation in museum activities as they collaborate and coordinate with others in shared endeavors. The central question is one of understanding schoolchildren's changing roles as they participate in museum activities. Consequently, from the participation view, evaluation focuses on the process of individuals' (schoolchildren, museum staff, teachers, parents/families) participation in and contributions to the ongoing museum activities rather than on 'products' and individuals' possessions of concepts and skills. The focus is on *what* individuals do and *how* they think.

Hence, this study provides another dimension of social interaction and collaboration among schools when visiting a museum. The social interaction is a dialogical and dynamic communication process, where it stresses an emphasis on the active role of pupils of different ages and with different prior experience, interests and motivations. This internal collaboration entails an intention to go beyond the narrow limits of a classroom and reach collaboration between pupils from different classrooms (i.e, 5th and 6th grade), parents, teachers and museum staff using the adults and the older pupils as more skilled partners aiming to

facilitate and guide the younger pupils during their museum visit. In this new community of learners the relations among participants (pupils of different ages, schoolteachers, parents/families, museum staff,) are dynamic and complementary with the characteristics of mutuality and bidirectionality. Participants learn to take responsibilities for their contributions to their own learning and to the group's functioning. Instead of a teacher or a museum education officer attempting to address and manage many pupils as one recipient of instruction, the proposed educational programme perceives museum learning as participation in a community of learners. Specifically, this programme involves a community working together with all serving as resources to each other, with varying roles according to their understanding of the activity, shifting responsibilities and changing participation in museum activities.

The model of participation in a community of learners tries to treat all the participants as a unity. The discourse is often conversational in the sense that participants build on each other's ideas on a common topic or activity guided with mutuality and support by more skilled community members. More precisely, the community of learners model assumes a collaborative system in which whoever has the responsibility for "leadership" is still carefully coordinating with and assisting the others in shared endeavours.

Active participants assist each other in transforming their participation and learning to be responsible, make choices and solve problems in ways that fit their individual needs (personal plane), while coordinating with the needs of others (interpersonal plane) and with group functioning (community plane).

Meaningful learning occurs when the learner has an active role in creating meaning in his/her experiences through the context he/she brings. 'When we talk about learning and particularly learning in museums, we are not talking about learning facts only. Learning includes facts, but also experiences and emotions. This is a long-term process that requires individual effort but is a social experience as well' (Hooper-Greenhill and Moussouri 2002:2). Thus, it is essential to assess the effectiveness of participation in a community of learners not only in terms of learning facts and concepts but also in terms of those aspects that have to do with experiences, emotions, feelings, behaviour, interactions, understandings, thoughts, ideas and memories. Participation in a community of learners provides participants with the chance to learn how to coordinate with others by sharing interests and experiences, how to support and lead others to become responsible and organized in their own learning, and to be able to build on their previous knowledge and interests to learn in new areas.

Conclusion

People can learn and develop through their participation in communities of learners. 'Community of learners is based on mutuality where the whole is greater than the sum of the parts and different people have differing roles' (Olson and Torrance, 1996: 407).

In this paper I tried to present an aspect of museum learning by putting an emphasis on the view that museums are places where the roles of the individual and the social are 'essential' and 'inseparable'. Educational services in museums must be defined and redefined by utilizing new teaching and learning methods aiming to address visitors' needs and interests. Museums must find ways to engage visitors actively in experiences that promote different kinds of learning. I believe that the model of participation in a community of learners in museum settings can enhance visitors' learning, because it involves a dialogue among the different communities who are actively involved in the educational programs, to spell out their agendas, interests, concerns, feelings, thoughts and goals in order to develop a better understanding of their museum experience. As museum practitioners, it is important to create effective links and networks in a way that enables active, personal and social learning that allows visitors to move, explore and choose freely according to their past experiences, prior knowledge, needs, and interests.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to my personal tutor Professor Eilean Hooper-Greenhill for her useful comments and guidance on my initial papers. It is essential to express thanks to my colleagues for their contribution during the research seminar in May 2002.

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A Study on the Area Management of Japanese Local Heritage Sites with Museum Activities

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1. Introduction: Background, Aims, and Method

This paper is a study of how the area management of local heritage sites can be enhanced with museum activities. There are three different kinds of local heritage sites – natural, cultural, and industrial – all of which shape the lives of local inhabitants. Museum activities can provide a way in which inhabitants are able to understand the relationships between themselves and their heritage. Museum activities can enable people to interact with nature and to study local history. By investigating and researching heritage, collecting and preserving it, exhibiting it and using it to educate inhabitants (Fig.1), museum activities can preserve local heritage sites and hand them down to the next generation. In order to make this possible, area management of local heritage sites should link the community to a core museum, create networks of community centres, and offer museum activities that make the most use of local heritage sites (Fig.2).

In the last fifteen years several articles have been devoted to the study of the relation between museology or adult education and museum activities in Japan. For example, Arai Juzo has already explored the future possibility of open air museums from the viewpoint of museology (Arai, 1989). Additionally Iwahashi Keiko has considered the relationship between adult education and museum activities (Iwahashi, 1992). However, the field of town and country planning has not been much researched. This study will elucidate how local heritage sites can be managed and how inhabitants can become more involved with museum activities. Specifically, this study aims to clarify the conditions and subjects that contribute to the development of Japanese local heritage sites within museum activities.

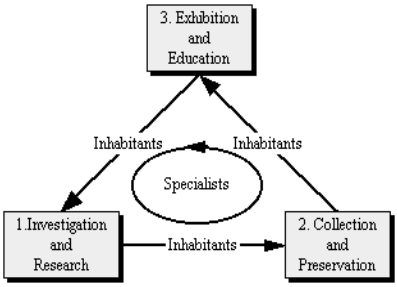


Fig.1 The process of inhabitants' participation in museum activities

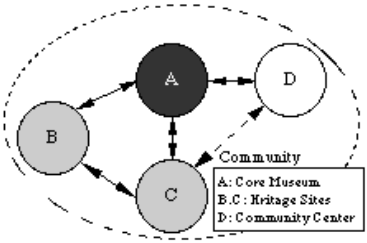


Fig.2 An area management of local heritage sites with museum activities

In order to achieve the above aim, two main points will be considered (Fig.3). First, it is essential to clarify the relationship between the inhabitants' understanding of preservation and their awareness of the preservation of their local heritage sites. Secondly, it is necessary to elucidate the link between citizens' activities and their participation in museum activities, and to clarify how citizens' activities can be enhanced through museum activities. This article has therefore been structured in three sections. The first section will discuss three particular local areas in Japan (Asahi town in Yamagata prefecture, Karuizawa town in Nagano prefecture and Kawasaki city in Kanagawa prefecture), with a particular focus on the inhabitants' actual visits to local heritage sites and their awareness of heritage preservation. This will enable us to evaluate the awareness of preservation of the people in each area. The second section will discuss the relationship between inhabitants' actual visits and their awareness of the preservation of local heritage sites. Finally, the third section will consider the relationship between citizens' activities and their participation in museum activities, and will show how to support citizens' activities with museum activities.

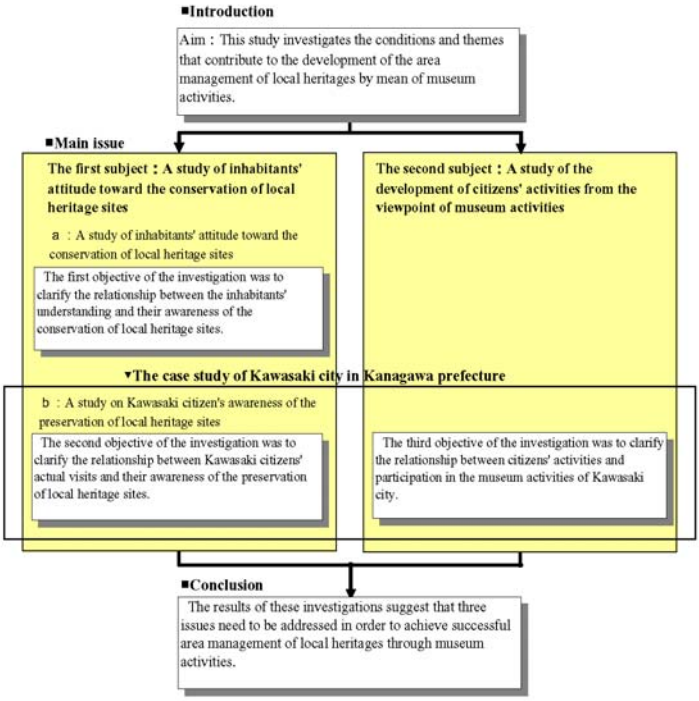


Fig.3 The flow chart

The main tools for this research were questionnaires and interviews. The information was gathered from representatives of inhabitants and citizens' groups involved in preserving local natural and historical heritage.

2. Definition of the Terms

Before the main argument, it is necessary to define the three pivotal terms used in this study. The first term is "local heritage". Local heritage consists of three elements: natural heritage (the fauna and flora of an area), cultural heritage (the movable and fixed properties that encourage people to identify themselves with their home province), and industrial heritage (the physical evidence of the development of the industrial world).

The second term is "inhabitants". Inhabitants are people who live in the area covered by the museum activities. The territories of museum activities are administration, socio-economic, cultural, natural and geographical areas. In this study, inhabitants are the people who live in the administrative district.

The third term is "museum activities". Museum activities consist of three elements: investigation-research, collection-preservation, and exhibition-education. The museum is a non-profit making, permanent institution in the service of the society and its development, and open to the public.

3.1 Section 1: A Study of Inhabitants' Attitudes toward the Preservation of Local Heritage Sites

First of all, this study aims to clarify the relationship between the inhabitants' understanding of preservation and their awareness of the preservation of their local heritage sites. The local heritage sites used in this study were: Asahi, Karuizawa, and Kawasaki, which are towns in Yamagata, Nagano, and Kanagawa prefectures respectively (Table1). The investigation was carried out by sending questionnaires about heritage preservation to the inhabitants. Specifically, these questionnaires touched upon the characteristics of heritage that museums were concerned with. The questionnaire was mailed to a random sample of inhabitants aged twenty and over. The inhabitants were chosen from the inhabitant basic ledger in October 1995 and November-December 1998 (Table2).

Local heritage sites are divided into three different types: cultural, industrial, and natural. Figure4 shows the relationship between the number of people who have visited the local heritage site ("number of visitors"), and the number of people who already knew about the local heritage ("the inhabitants' awareness"). From this study, it appears that many people knew about and already visited the natural heritage sites (which were Ukishima of Onuma in Asahi, Shiraito Waterfall in Karuizawa, and Todoroki Urban Conservation Park in Kawasaki). Additionally, it appears that many people knew about their cultural heritage sites (which were Okuma Remains in Asahi and Noborito Laboratory

Tab.1 The outline of the investigation applicable area

Area	Asahi	Karuizawa	Kawasaki
Project Name	The Asahi Town Ecomuseum	The Karuizawa Ecomuseum Plan	The Tama River Ecomuseum Plan
a. Population (person)	9,819	15,918	1,202,820
b. Size of Land (km2)	196.73	156.05	142.38
c. Population Density (per 1km2)	49.9	98.3	8448.0
d. Population Growth Rate	-5.7	-0.8	2.5
e. Population of Old Person Rate	27.0	17.5	10.0
f. Agricultural Population Rate	32.8	5.23	0.58

Notes) a.b. a national census 1995 c. (a)/(b) d. a national census1995/ 1990 (%) e. a national census1995 of population of 65 years and over (%) f. a national census1995of agricultural population rate (%)

Tab.2 The results of the questionnaire vote and the rate of collection

Area	District	Population	%	Population of Adult	%	The number of distribution	The number of collection	%	The rate of collection
Asahi	North			1,942	25	198	67	25	33%
	Central			3,802	49	365	123	48	34%
	West			2,045	26	217	71	27	32%
	Total			7,789	* 100	780	261	100	34%
Karuizawa	East	3,491	22			211	61	33	29%
	South	3,581	22			469	85	46	18%
	Central	5,122	32						
	West	3,724	23			100	39	21	39%
	Total	15,918	*100			780	185	100	24%
Kawasaki	Kawasaki			159,832	16	144	23	11	16%
	Saiwai			110,084	11	101	16	7	16%
	Nakahara			160,537	16	146	30	14	21%
	Takatsu			143,240	14	130	27	13	21%
	Miyamae			153,625	15	141	45	21	32%
	Tama			155,114	16	138	40	19	29%
	Asao			108,864	11	100	34	16	34%
	total			991,296	* 100	900	215	100	24%

Notes) * inhabitant basic ledger in November 1998, **inhabitant basic ledger in October 1995

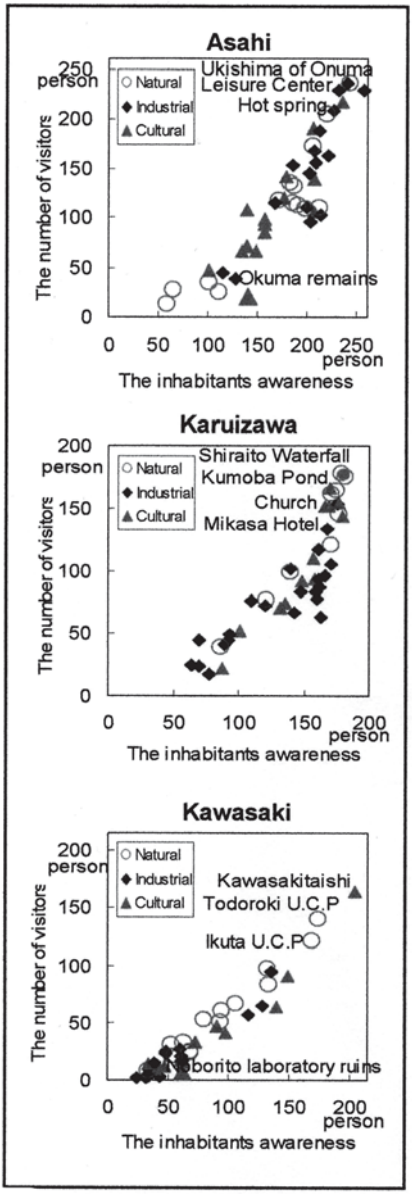


Fig.4 The relationship brtween the number of visitors and inhabitants awareness

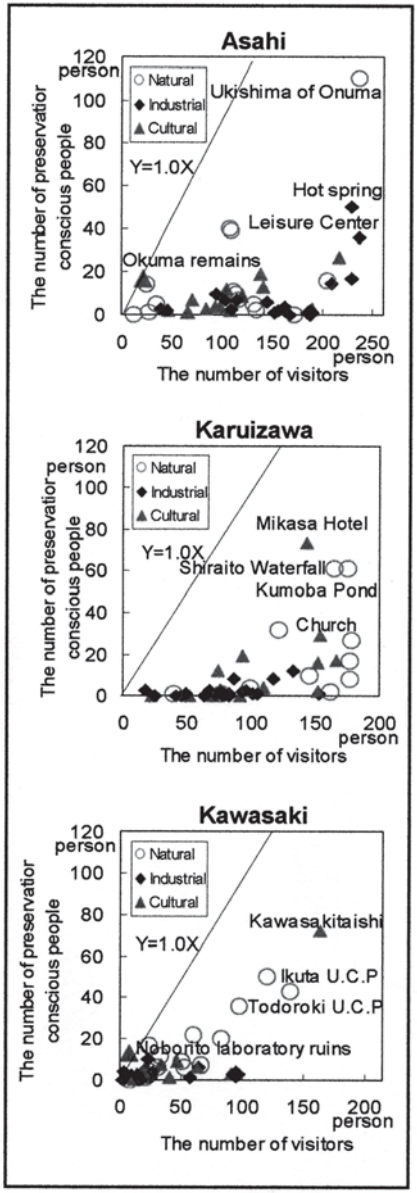


Fig.5 The relationship brtween the number of preservation conscious people and the number of visitors

ruins in Kawasaki), but there were very few visitors to cultural heritage sites. From interviews with inhabitants it was evident that they had held a symposium the year before, they had read newspaper articles about their cultural heritage, and so on. Therefore, inhabitants' awareness of Okuma remains and Noborito Laboratory ruins was high despite the fact that they might not have actually visited these sites.

Figure 5 presents the relationship between the number of visitors and the number of people who want to preserve local heritage ("the number of preservation-conscious people"). First, by looking at the number of preservation-conscious people, it is evident that many people want to conserve their natural heritage in each of the three locations. In addition, it is clear that there are many people interested in preserving industrial heritage in Asahi, and cultural heritage in Karuizawa and Kawasaki: the number of visitors to natural heritage and cultural heritage sites is generally large, and many people are conscious of the need to preserve them. Second, concerning Okuma remains and Noborito Laboratory ruins (on the left side of the figure), it was evident that although local people may have never visited these heritage sites, there are many people with preservation consciousness. Therefore, Okuma remains and Noborito Laboratory ruins are examples of heritage that many people admit has a value. These heritage sites are recognised by many inhabitants because they have been in the news and are taught in schools.

From the above data, it can be concluded that there are many inhabitants with a high awareness of their heritage, a large number of visitors, and the highest level of preservation. However, the data suggests that industrial heritage is most important in Asahi and that cultural heritage is most important in Karuizawa and Kawasaki. Therefore, a possible strategy can be the creation of a preservation plan that focuses on the type of heritage that has many preservation-conscious people. For example, there is much consciousness of industrial heritage in Asahi.

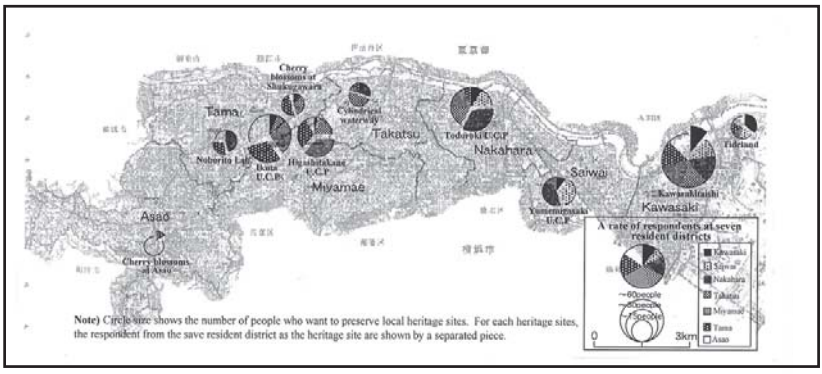


Fig.6 The preservation consciousness of Kawasaki citizen to the local heritage sites

Ultimately, preservation consciousness is influenced by the number of visits, information and education. Planning school education programmes that promote the heritage of Asahi and Kawasaki can be a solution. A possible activity could be to hold a series of lectures so that many people can know the value of their heritage, and to also held a symposium and carry out a historical sites tour.

3.2 Section 2: A Case Study of Kawasaki Citizens' Awareness of the Preservation of Local Heritage Sites

The second objective of this study is to understand the creation of the inhabitants' preservation consciousness. This analysis has been made by monitoring citizens' actual visits to heritage sites and their awareness of the preservation of local heritage sites. Kawasaki in Kanagawa Prefecture has been chosen as a case study. The number of visits to the local heritage sites ("the frequency of visits per person") and the inhabitants' motivations ("reasons for preservation") have been calculated from data taken from the questionnaire.

Figure6 shows the responses given by each residence district about ten local heritage sites. The number of preservation conscious people is high. From the number of respondents it is also clear that inhabitants' preservation consciousness is highest for Kawasakitaishi (a Buddhist temple), the natural heritages of Ikuta and Todoroki Urban Conservation Park.

Table3 shows the correlation coefficient for the relationship between the inhabitants' awareness, the number of visitors, and the number of preservation-conscious people in 45 heritage sites in Kawasaki. The correlation coefficient between the number of visitors and the number of preservation-conscious people is high (0.8135). This shows that if there are many visitors, there are many preservation-conscious people. Therefore, it is probably true to say that the inhabitants become more aware of preservation through visits to local heritage sites.

Tab.3 The correlation coefficient of the inhabitants' awareness, number of visit and preservation consciousness

	Awareness	Visit	Preservation Consciousness
Awareness	1.0000		
Visit	0.9668	1.0000	
Preservation Consciousness	0.7337	0.8135	1.0000

Note) This table shows correlation coefficient with the relationship between the inhabitants' awareness, the number of visitors, and the number of preservation conscious people in 45 heritage sites.

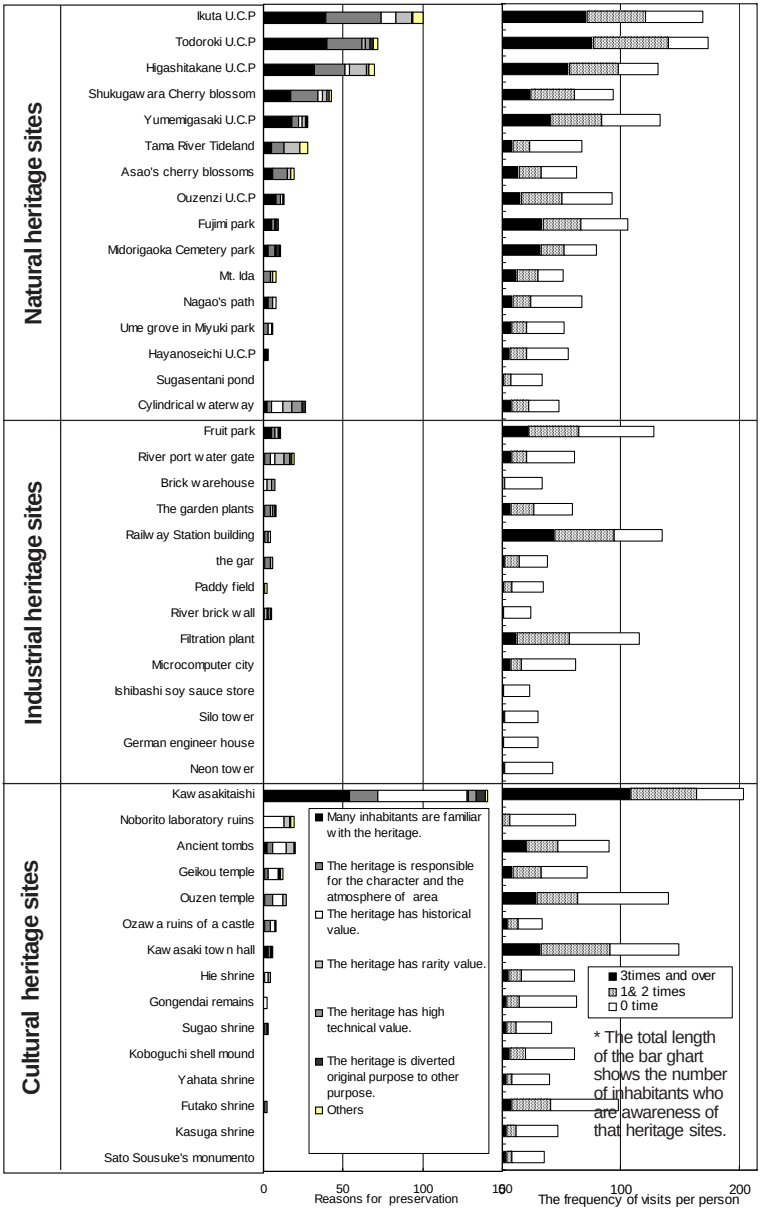


Fig.7 The reason for preservation of local heritage sites and frequency of visits per person in Kawasaki (plural answer)

Tab.4 An analysis of the number of inhabitants' awareness points and the number of visit points by the quantification theory 1st family

	Item・Category	The number of person	The number of Visit points			The number of awareness points		
			Category weight	Range	Partial correlation coefficient	Category weight	Range	Partial correlation coefficient
Basic Proprety	Length of residence			5.04	0.39		8.61	0.31
	under 1 year	17	-1.48			-1.54		
	1 - under 3 years	28	-2.83			-3.33		
	3 - under 5 years	21	-2.56			-5.26		
	5 - under 10 years	20	-1.11			-3.31		
	10 - under 20 years	38	-0.02			0.56		
	20 years and over	82	2.21			3.35		
	Resident district			2.74	0.18		5.47	0.19
	Kawasaki	23	-1.52			-2.82		
	Saiwai	16	-1.53			-1.79		
	Nakahara	28	0.12			-1.45		
	Takatsu	27	1.21			-0.21		
	Miyamae	44	0.34			1.72		
	Tama	36	0.56			2.65		
	Asao	32	-0.37			-0.98		
	Desire to stay in resident district			1.93	0.13		5.87	0.16
	do not move	120	0.31			0.68		
	wont to move other ward	10	0.94			3.43		
	wont to move out of city	19	0.47			1.24		
	Unknown	57	-0.98			-2.44		
	Sex			1.20	0.13		2.66	0.14
	male	98	0.63			1.40		
	female	108	-0.57			-1.27		
	Age			1.18	0.08		3.72	0.11
	20 - 29	23	-0.54			-2.63		
	30 - 39	53	-0.27			0.26		
	40 - 49	41	0.02			-0.08		
	50 - 59	47	0.64			1.09		
	60 years and over	42	-0.09			-0.03		
Citizens' Activities	Culture and Art			1.28	0.09		0.59	0.02
	do	29	1.10			0.50		
	do not	177	-0.18			-0.08		
	Local Community Work			1.39	0.09		4.88	0.16
	do	24	1.23			4.31		
	do not	182	-0.16			-0.57		
	Sports			1.14	0.09		4.07	0.15
	do	34	0.95			3.40		
	do not	172	-0.19			-0.67		
	Welfare Work			0.69	0.04		3.49	0.09
	do	14	0.65			3.25		
	do not	192	-0.05			-0.24		
	Learning			0.79	0.03		3.42	0.07
	do	8	0.76			3.29		
	do not	198	-0.03			-0.13		
Concern	Politics			0.63	0.05		1.84	0.07
	have	38	0.52			-1.50		
	have no	168	-0.12			0.34		
	Volunteer			0.60	0.05		1.98	0.08
	have	39	0.49			1.61		
	have no	167	-0.11			-0.38		
	Multiple coreelation coefficient				0.53			0.52

In Figure7, local heritage sites have been divided into three kinds, cultural, industrial, and natural, according to the number of preservation-conscious people. The figure also shows the reasons for preservation and the frequency of visits per person to heritage sites. Evidence suggests that if the frequency of visits per person is larger (the number of the people visiting a site more than three times is high), the number of preservation conscious people will also be large. Therefore, the inhabitants tend to become more conscious of preservation by repeating a visit. In considering the reasons for preserving natural heritage, many people responded that “Many inhabitants are familiar with the heritage” and “The heritage is responsible for the character and the atmosphere of the area.” It can be seen for some cultural heritage sites that the rate of the response “The heritage has historical value” is generally high. For instance, the rate for Kawasakitaishi is high and “Many inhabitants are familiar with the heritage” too. Hence, to increase the number of preservation-conscious people, it is necessary for inhabitants to discover the value of the heritage sites and enjoy visiting them more often.

Table4 shows the results of “quantification theory 1st family”. The dependent variables are the number of local heritage sites visited by one person (“the number of visit points”) and the number of local heritage sites known by one person (“the number of awareness points”). Sex, age, resident district, length of residence, desire to stay in resident district, citizens’ activities and matters of concern are considered independent variables. The volumes of partial correlation coefficient about the number of visit points and the number of awareness points have been considered. It can be seen that the greatest correlation is for “length of residence”, followed by “resident district”, then “desire to stay in resident district “, then “sex”, and finally “age”. The multiple correlation coefficient for the number of visit points is 0.53, and for the number of awareness points is 0.52. Moreover, the range of “length of residence” about the number of awareness points, the volume results large (8.61). Therefore, the number of awareness points is influenced by “length of residence “. Additionally, in the categories weight of “sex” and “length of residence “, “male” and “more than twenty years” have a positive value. This is explained by the fact that the people who have been resident for a longer time knew a lot of heritage sites. Furthermore, the partial correlation coefficient of involvement in local community work (“the residents’ association and the neighbourhood association”) is large (0.16), and the category weight has a positive value. Therefore, it could be said that the people who are more involved in local community work know more heritage sites too.

In conclusion, heritage sites (with a high number of preservation-conscious people) get support from and are visited by the people living inside the residence district. Concerning natural heritage sites, many inhabitants are familiar with urban conservation parks, and the frequency of visitors per person is high as well as the total number of visits. Therefore, inhabitants become more aware of preservation through repeat visits. Inhabitant’ awareness of heritage sites and number of visits were influenced by the inhabitant’s “sex” and “length of residence”: people resident in the area for more than twenty years, as well as men, have a greater awareness of their heritage sites. In addition, people doing local community work know a lot of heritage sites.

3.3 Section 3: A Study of the Development of Citizens' Activities from the Viewpoint of Museum Activities -The Case of Kawasaki city in Kanagawa Prefecture

In this section, the aim is to clarify, from the viewpoint of museum activities, the present condition of citizen activities (managed by non-profit organisations), and also to present the conditions that integrate citizen activities with museum activities. The investigation was done by mailing questionnaires to 280 representatives of citizens' groups registered in the Kawasaki Volunteer Centre and Kawasaki Citizen Office. It was also carried out by interviewing several respondents from citizens' groups about heritage preservation. The interviews were carried out from February to July 2000. Questionnaires were mailed in January 2000, and the number collected was 127 (Collection rate: 45.3%).

The activities of citizens' groups have been divided into four elements related to museum activities (Figure8). The largest number of groups carried out "education", followed by "investigation" and then "collection", but few carried out "exhibitions".

In Figure9, the active fields of citizens' groups have been organized into six categories: social welfare, cultural education and culture, local community, environmental conservation, international co-operation, and others. Each kind of citizens' group carried out four elements of museum activities. The rate of "education" is generally high in all fields, while the rate of "investigation" and "collection" are high for "local community" and "environmental conservation" citizens' groups. The rate of "exhibitions" is comparatively high for "education and culture" groups.

In Figure10 indicates the number of active people and the annual activity cost, and shows the number of citizens' groups that have taken part in the four elements of museum activities. It can be seen from the number of active people in "exhibitions" that as the number of active people increases, the rate of carrying out the exhibitions becomes high. It can be seen from the annual activity cost for "exhibitions" that as the annual activity cost increases, the rate of carrying out becomes higher too.

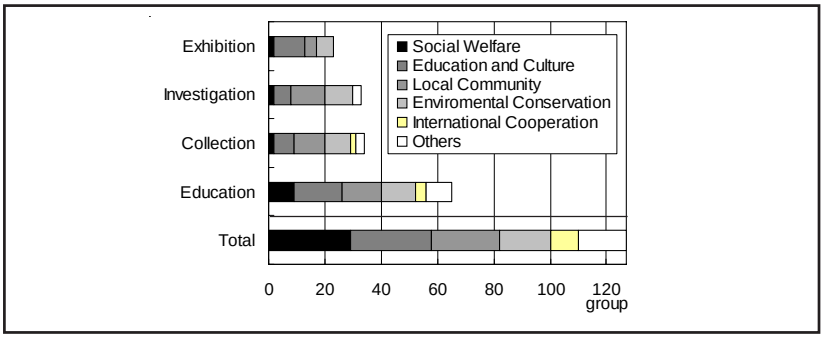


Fig.8 The contents of activities are acted, and activities field (plural answer)

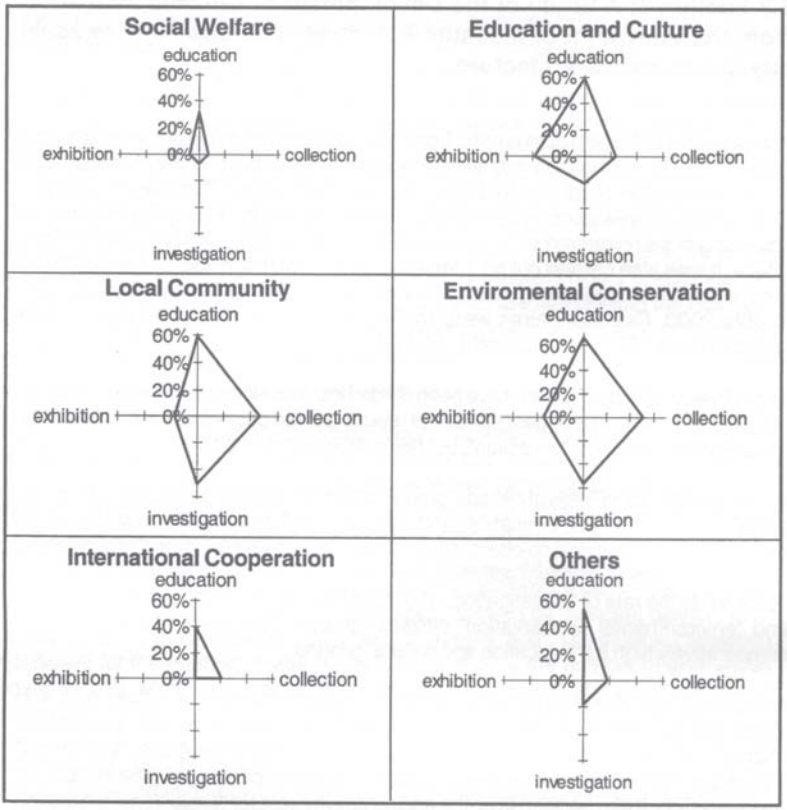


Fig.9 The rate of an active field and four contents of activities are acted (plural answer)

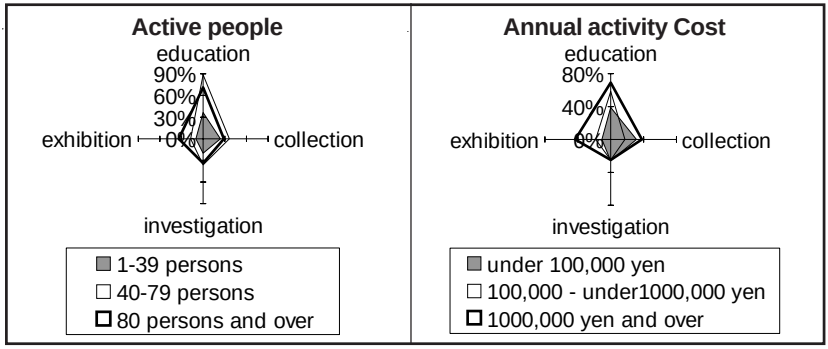
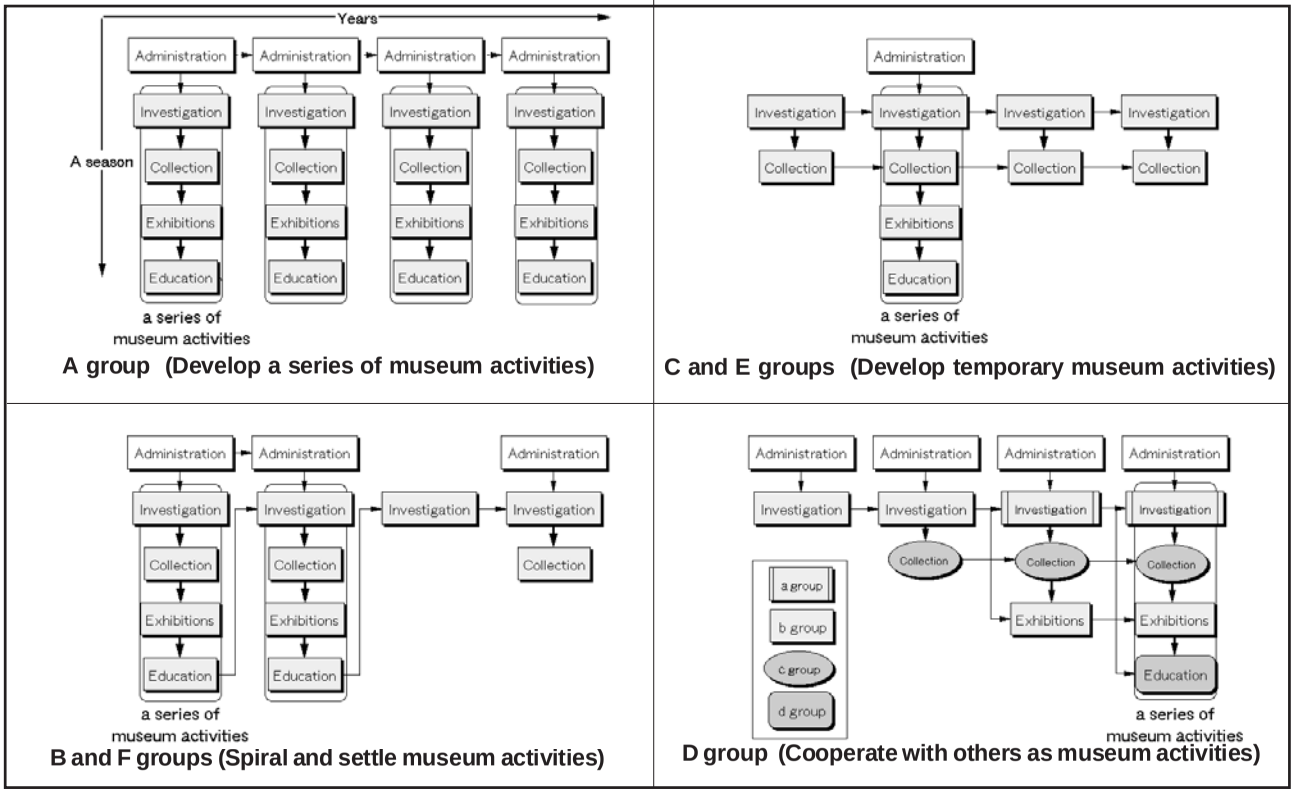


Fig.10 The rate of the activities person number, annual activities fee and the contents of activities (plural answer)

Fig.11 Scheme with a type of a change in the citizen group activities



Tab.5 The profile of citizen group and the present state of the activities support

	Investigated groups	A: Takatsu Silver Guide Club	B: 'The Town is a Museum' Club	C: 'Taik to the Tama River' Club	D: The Town Planning Conference of Hirase River Basin	E: The Club for the study of town planning	F: Team of Preserva local heritage proj
Profile	Activities field	Education and Culture	Local Community	Environment Conservation	Local Community	Local Community	Education and Cultur
	The number of active members	1 - 39 people	1 - 39 people	40 - 79 people	More than 80 people	1 - 39 people	1 - 39 people
	Annual activities fee	Under 100,000yen	100,000yen - under 1,000,000yen	100,000yen - under 1,000,000yen	More than 1,000,000 yen	Under 100,000 yen	100,000yen - under 1,000,0
	Active purpose	Older people who took a series of lectures in the community center organized a Takatsu silver guide group. They aim at deepening the friendship of the members, and showing people historical spot of the city: shrine, temple, and so on.	Housewives organized the group that holds lectures in the community center. They aim at educating children about their hometown, and hold a program of entertainments such as showing all round the town and conserving a local forest.	Middle aged people started their group that held a series of lectures of the Kawasaki City life learning association. They aim to let people know the nature of the Tama Rive, and ramble through the river explaining the wild birds and plants.	Inhabitants organized a group that local shopkeepers took a leading pot to Kawasaki City carry out a repair work of the Hirase River. They aim at promoting the development of local community, planting cherry blossoms, and cleaning the Hirase River.	Housewives in their 50's and people of sixty years old and over started a group. They aim at deepening the friendship of the members, and studying town planning.	They asked an expert to gi lecture at the community cer and the library, and started t team of the Tama River Ecomuseums Project. They investigate their local cultur history, and aim to with mak paths for rambling".
Activities support	Technical support	When the members hold an exhibition, they can get advice from the local historian who was a lecturer at the community center, and borrow materials from him.	They walked with their lecturer who explained their town.	A lecturer taught them the history of the Tama River, and he advised them how to record information about the wild bird and plant.	They made a local heritage sites map in cooperation with the elementary school, and held a natural observation tour. They asked the administration and specialist for advice.	They borrowed a printing room from a teacher at the local high school, and issued a bulletin of their group.	They learned how to inves the local history, collect mat from a local historian, and wereshowed all round their t by a local historian.
	Financial support	When they held an exhibition, the community center allow them to use a room for free.	They have a grant from Kawasaki City in order to conserve a local forest.	They held a program of entertainments that were aided from Kawasaki City as the 70th anniversary commemoration citizen project.	When they held a program of entertainments, they received a grant from local shopkeepers' club, residents' association, landowners' club and Kawasaki City.	However, they don㪠t issue the bulletin of their group, because they are short of workers and money now.	They got a grant to promot Tama River Ecomuseums pr from Kawasaki City.
	Securing an active base	They registered their group with "the social volunteer group" of the Kawasaki City Board of Education so that they could use a conference room of the community center for free.	They hold a tea party and a concert in a landowner's iris garden where they help the landowner to cut the grass.	Their activities area is the Tama River and that basin, however, there is no activities base.	They are permitted by Kawasaki City to carry out their activities in the Hirase River basin.	They registered their group with the community center, and they used free conference room for three years. They use a conference room and a printing machine at Nakahara Ward Office now.	When they borrow the conf room at a community center, can get reduced rental charg
	Sharing information	They showed other groups all round the town. They talked about a folk story in the elementary school.	They visited landowners, and interviewed them about their stories to learn local history. They guided people all round the town, and also accept inquiries about walking routes from the people.	They made an activities report, and talked about the Tama River at the elementary school.	They distributed widely the local heritage sites map at the elementary school, residents' association and so on, and showed inhabitants all round their town. They also held a gardening club.	They investigated air pollution in Kawasaki, and cooperated with a teacher at the local high school and other groups.	They contact a local histor group and an environment conservation group; they coo their investigations and shar information.

In Figure11, the type of each group and the relationship between citizens' groups of museum activities have been compared with the activities supported by the administration (In further detail, the upper part of Table5 shows the profiles of six citizens' groups, and lower part shows the present state of the activities supported by Kawasaki City.) The A-group continuously carries out "education" activities by taking "technical support" from the administration. The B and F-groups' characteristics are a spiral of activities. In the first year at the community centre and after, the B-group began to conserve the natural environment, and the F-group began to preserve the local heritage sites that were placed on the administration's "preservation list", because they could secure a base for their activities from the administration and the landowner. The C and E-group didn't have many relations with other groups: they temporarily developed "exhibition" and "education" activities only if they could gain "financial support" from the administration. D group developed a series of museum activities all throughout the time period.

Analysis suggests that the degree of citizen participation in the planning of exhibitions is influenced by the number of active people and the financial scale of the citizens' group. Participation in investigation and collection work is also influenced by the group's field of activity. Therefore, to make citizens' activities possible as a series of museum activities, the administration should give financial support for the cost of the activities of citizens' groups and set up an interchange opportunity for citizens' groups. However, in order to encourage the involvement of citizens in museum activities, it is important for the administration to communicate and cooperate with the local community, and to provide support corresponding to the character of each citizens' group. For example, it is important that citizens' groups relate to the local landowner and secure a base for their activities from the administration. It is important that they cooperate with local community groups, and to strive to share information too.

4. Conclusion: The Condition and Issues that Contribute to the Development of the Area Management of Local Heritage Sites with Museum Activities

To conclude, we can summarize the results of each section. This will clarify the conditions necessary for the development of area management of local heritage sites in relation to museum activities.

Firstly, since preservation consciousness is influenced by number of visitors, this suggests the necessity of planning educational programmes which promote heritage in each area.

The preservation plan should focus on the type of heritage that has many preservation-conscious people in each area. In this study, in considering the number of preservation-conscious people it was seen that industrial heritage was more important in Asahi, while cultural heritage was more important in Karuizawa and Kawasaki.

As for local heritage sites with a high frequency of visits per person, even though there are few preservation-conscious people, it is necessary to hold a series of lectures and a symposium so that people can appreciate the value of their heritage sites.
For local heritage sites with a small number of preservation-conscious people, it is necessary to implement a tour of historical sites and a natural observation tour so that inhabitants become familiar with their heritage sites. It is evident that for natural heritage sites, many inhabitants are familiar with urban conservation parks, the number of visitors is high, and the frequency of visits per person is high. In addition, the strength of preservation consciousness increases through repeated visits to local heritage sites.

It is important that older man and people doing local community work (who have preservation consciousness) take part in museum activities. The number of inhabitant's awareness points of heritage sites and the number of inhabitant's visit points are influenced by the inhabitant's "sex" and "length of residence": people resident in the area (for more than twenty years) and the men have a greater awareness of their heritage sites.

In order to encourage the involvement of citizens in museum activities, it is important for the municipality to communicate and cooperate with the local community, and to provide support corresponding to the character of each citizens' group. Moreover, to integrate citizens' activities through museum activities, the municipality should give financial support for the cost of the activities of citizens' groups and should set up an interchange opportunity for the citizens' groups.

From this study, three issues have emerged and need to be presented in order to achieve successful area management of local heritage sites with museum activities.

First, the directors should draw up a plan to preserve local heritage sites corresponding to the characteristics in each area, because there will always be different levels of preservation consciousness, different citizens' activities, and different types of heritage in each area.

Secondly, educators should cooperate with older people and the local community when carrying out educational programmes. For people to become more aware of preservation it is necessary to have them join an educational programmes; this will increase their awareness and may inspire them to visit local heritage sites.

Thirdly, instructors should negotiate with the surrounding community and municipality. However, to combine citizens' activities and museum activities together, it is necessary to prepare events that can involve municipalities, local communities, and citizens' groups. Furthermore, to continuously develop citizen activities as a series of museum activities, it is indispensable that municipalities support citizens' groups according to their diverse characters.

Acknowledgements

This paper owes much to the thoughtful and helpful comments of Prof. Otaki Kazumasa (Yokohama National University), Assist Prof. Ohara Kazuoki (Yokohama National University), and Prof. Kobayashi Shigenori (Yokohama National University). I am most grateful to Kawasaki City Synthetic Project Office, Kawasaki Volunteer Centre, and Asahi Town Office Planning Section for enabling me to carry out fieldwork. Moreover, I would like to thank Prof. Eilean Hooper-Greenhill (University of Leicester) for accepting me as a Visiting Fellow in the Department of Museum Studies. This research was financially supported in part by the Sasakawa Scientific Research Grant from The Japan Science Society.

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Were There No Women Then? Looking at Gender Representations in an Archaeology Exhibition

Phaedra Janine Livingstone

Over the past decade museum practice has received unprecedented public attention throughout Europe and North America. There has been considerable debate surrounding issues of cultural representation and the role of the museum as a public institution. But, in the museum studies literature we have yet to complicate the understanding of museums and cultural diversity such that we simultaneously consider gender issues. This article offers a critique of museum constructions of history from an antiracist feminist standpoint.

Applying the technique of interpretive content analysis, this inquiry explores problems related to the representation of women in an archaeology exhibition. As knowledge producers in publicly mandated educational facilities, museum curators, educators, designers and evaluators have an ethical responsibility to very carefully consider the gender representations they manufacture in the development of exhibitions. Despite this, content analysis is a detail-oriented evaluative technique still used surprisingly seldom in museums. Where applied, content analysis is most commonly used to critique art installations (e.g., Bal, 1996; Robinson, 1997). A few published content analyses critique gender messages in history displays (Porter, 1996; Rogoff, 1994; Trotter, 1996), but none the author has found to date have looked at archaeological exhibitions.

A brief discussion of the exhibition looked at for this inquiry is followed by a survey of related anthropological literature contemporaneous with its production. The content of a sample of the displays is then discussed to illustrate interpretation problems specific to the gender representations made in the exhibition. Some suggestions for consideration in planning future archaeological displays are then listed.

Background to the critique

Museum education theory is an emergent field with no consensus on what constitutes learning, let alone how to facilitate and measure it (Hein, 1998; Leinhardt & Crowley, 1998). A social constructivist understanding of visitor 'meaning-making' is increasingly accepted, and asserts that visitors in a new environment build on their past experience and their social interactions with other people (visitors, staff, or strangers) to make sense of an exhibition/ experience (cf. Hein, 1998; Jeffery, 2000; Rounds, 1999).

Although visitation to Canadian museums is increasing (Harris, 1998), government-funded museums in Canada (as elsewhere) currently face increased pressure to diversify their audience demographics, find new funding sources, and address the concerns of the greatest possible cross-section of potential

visitors. Exhibit development teams responding to this pressure by including 'something for everyone' in their exhibits run a significant risk of communicating misinformation. We still do not adequately understand how different sorts of visitors learn from different sorts of museum interventions. Strategies for adequately representing gender in museum display have received even less attention in museum research.

Ontario Archaeology is a permanent exhibition at the Royal Ontario Museum (Toronto, Canada) that provides visiting school groups and the general public an opportunity for cross-cultural historical learning. Such exhibitions hold the potential to make us question the normalcy of contemporary stereotypes, and perhaps even to catalyse the imagination of alternative futures. Or they may simply reinforce current Western gender stereotypes, unconsciously writing contemporary norms into the presentation of another culture or historical period.

While expanding the range of materials considered worthy of historical research beyond archival documents has proven useful to feminist historians writing of women's experiences in the modern era (Reinharz, 1992), much material evidence of women's lives has been permanently lost. To generalise, throughout history women have held lower status than men, with the result that their experiences have been documented less, and their access to durable (and often more expensive) material culture has been more limited. The archaeological record is especially unforgiving as excavation is a destructive process that can only be undertaken once. Evidence not considered 'relevant' to the archaeological inquiry at hand is ignored and lost or permanently disassociated from its provenience (which cannot be recorded subsequently). The research interests of prior archaeologists therefore, significantly limit feminist reinterpretation of established archaeological data. At the same time, Western conceptual categories have also been used in archaeological interpretation, thereby simultaneously over-writing pre-colonial meanings and gender relations (Wylie, 1997).

In any museum the available research, theoretical underpinnings of the various professions, current political concerns, and institutional mandates all significantly influence the exhibition content a visitor negotiates. The process of reclaiming women's history in museums is therefore especially complex and problematic. Feminist archaeology is conducted with the goal of achieving a more holistic interpretation of past lifeways, by balancing the attention traditionally paid to elite, male, and public spaces or activities, with attention to the traces of the domestic, the vernacular, and the diversity of social positions. Unfortunately, this approach to the archaeological record is relatively recent, and as a result, the majority of collections held by museums are still skewed to represent the elite and male-dominated histories constructed by well-off white male collectors and curators.

Representing women in the museum

A 1987 survey conducted at the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature to test the status of women's history within Canadian museums found that museums

did not tend to have any collections policies related to the systematic inclusion of women's material history. While some collection was reported in association with specific exhibitions on women's history, a paltry eighteen exhibitions with limited thematic scope were reported. Further, although these exhibitions focused on the social history of 19th and 20th century women, 'they did not necessarily provide insights into the unequal status of women in Canadian society' (Reilly, 1989: 50).

Of course, the appropriation of the past has important political consequences and cannot be divorced from current socio-political representation issues. But, 'the past is a foreign country. They do things differently there' (Lowenthal, 1985: xvi). While the pretence of an objective scientific reconstruction of the past is inappropriate and dangerous, neither can the burden of appropriately representing the past simply be shifted by museums to constituencies claiming association to the cultural patrimony in question.

Hurdles to overcome in inclusive historical reconstructions include the long-standing male bias in museum collections, reflecting the interests of male curators and donors, and the differential value placed on 'male' versus 'female' objects. A less tangible problem is the deep-seated bias in most museum disciplines to treat male actors as the norm, and 'male' activities as more worthy of study. Noting reactions to her work with Cochiti potter Helen Cordero, Barbara Babcock said:

I've been told by Pueblo ceramic scholars and feminists alike that a little old Pueblo lady shaping dolls of mud is charming but trivial and unproblematic—affirming yet again that even, perhaps especially, among scholars 'the non-Western woman is the vehicle for misplaced Western nostalgia' (1997: 255-256).

Babcock responds to this marginalisation by pointing out that not only did Pueblo potter Maria Martinez become perhaps the most famous Native American artist, but the study of pottery has 'generated more literature than any other aspect of Southwest culture' (1997: 257). Such gender bias and the focus on the elite in 'prehistory' are being countered with feminist archaeology and the re-analysis of data on human evolution (e.g., Ehrenberg, 1989; Hager, 1997).

The Ontario Archaeology Gallery

To consider the question of gender representation in detail, I conducted an interpretive content analysis (i.e., qualitative 'reading') of a permanent exhibition at the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM). The ROM's *Ontario Archaeology* (OA) gallery was first opened in 1984 under the name Ontario Prehistory, and curated by anthropology staff with the assistance of exhibit consultants (personal communication with A. Raljic, ROM Anthropology Department, 1998). The exhibition is intended to demonstrate both trends in pre-contact Ontario history, and the processes used by archaeologists to write such histories. The east side of the gallery (see figure 1) is devoted to an "exploded" mock excavation unit, also depicting activities associated with each occupation level. The west side of the gallery holds display cases, each containing labels, an artist's renditions of common activities for the period, and a few 'typical' artefacts. The south end of

the gallery houses a small model longhouse and a wall mural photo reproduction of some petroglyphs.

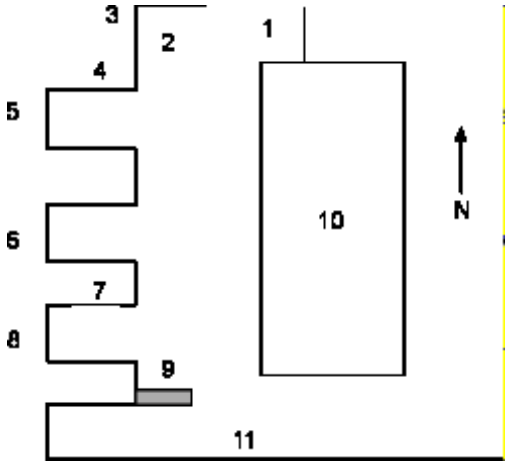


Figure 1: The Ontario Archaeology Gallery floorplan

The OA gallery is among the smallest in the museum, and is located in the lower exhibition hall (level 1B). Not surprisingly, the exhibition receives only moderate visitation in comparison with the other exhibition halls. Student groups may be taken through as part of a general tour of the museum, as part of an archaeology tour, or for a tour on Canada's First Peoples. Casual visitors observed in the gallery tend to spend more time on the diorama than the text-heavy theme cases. The layout is such that partition walls break up the interpretive text, causing a visitor to choose to slow down and look at each interpretive case, or look only at the diorama while passing through.

There is more than one entrance, and visitors may read the exhibition beginning at either end. The exhibition makes sense read in either chronological or reverse-chronological sequence, but the visitor is only offered orientation through the introductory panels at the north entrance.

Related literature

Before discussing the displays in more detail, I will provide a synopsis of the literature I looked to regarding the status of Iroquois women during the historical periods represented. The literature is complicated by the fact that the term Iroquois may be used with different levels of specificity; Iroquois refers both to specific tribes, and to a larger cultural group defined by the Iroquois Confederacy (the Six

Nations). The more general application is used in this exhibition and a majority of the literature referred to. The Iroquois name for the particular culture group represented is *Hodenosaunee* (people of the longhouse), indicating the importance of the longhouse as a metaphor for traditional Iroquois social organisation.

Archaeologist Bruce Trigger (1985) gives a comprehensive account of early Iroquois history based on archaeological, historical, and ethnographic reports. According to Trigger, the number of nut processing and hunting camps found which predate the Early Iroquoian period (1200-500 years ago) suggest a less sedentary lifestyle was experienced in earlier times. During the Early Iroquoian period the Iroquois were living in small palisaded villages with multi-family longhouses. Further, Iroquois communities in this period '...probably consisted of single bands, which appear to have survived into the historical period [i.e., post-contact] in the form of localized matrilineal clans' (1985: 89).

Despite the increase in archaeological and documentary evidence available for the Iroquois following European contact, there is no less speculation in the interpretations of how the status of Iroquois women changed over time. Trigger (1985: 207) summarises many ethnologists' arguments as saying '…that increasing trade strengthened the economic importance of males, undermined the traditional matrilocal residence pattern, and eroded the principle of matrilinear succession to public office'. He responds:

> There is no reliable evidence to support any of the claims.... Matrilinear principles of social organization are strongly attested in the *Jesuit Relations* for the 1640s... while matrilocal descent groups and residence patterns appear to have survived into the eighteenth century.... ...[I]t can be argued that because of the important role that corn played in intertribal trade, an increasing reliance on such trade would have strengthened the position of women... no less than that of men (Trigger, 1985: 208).

Sanday (1974: 202) echoes the opinion that women's control of agricultural production ensured Iroquois women political and economic status (since at least the beginning of Iroquois horticulture, in the Early Iroquois period). Brown (1975: 236) counters that it is neither their agricultural work, nor the practices of matrilocality or matrilineality, but their control of economic organisation which secured Iroquois women relatively high status. Spittal (1990: 7) summarises that most who look at the status of Iroquois women through history hold that they '...have had a constant powerful and clear-cutting role in [Iroquois] society'.

Brown's (1975: 239-248) summary on the position of women in Iroquois society since European contact notes that Iroquois 'matrons' held the following responsibilities: (1) control over which men could be elected to council through matrilinear descent. Although women could not sit on council, the matrons could speak through male representatives, and veto important decisions. (2) Matrons controlled distribution of *all* food stuffs. (3) They could also serve as religious practitioners, and help select other 'keepers of the faith', half of whom were

women. (4) They held full authority over the longhouse. (5) Matrons arranged marriages. (6) Matrons controlled prisoners of war. Any woman could become a matron once old enough and appointed by her peers.

In an attempt to objectively define the relative status of women cross-culturally, Sanday (1974: 1975) looked at female status in the public domain of twelve cultures. The data was coded according to (a) female material control, (b) demand for female produce, (c) female political participation, and (d) female solidarity groups devoted to female political or economic interests— the presence of each factor indicating high status. Despite the fact that the scaling procedure is predicated on the assumption that status is linked to economic power, thereby excluding other possible ranking systems, Sanday's results support Brown's claim (1975: 243) that Iroquois women may have enjoyed the highest status of women in any society to date. Murdock (in Brown, 1975: 237) concludes: 'Indeed of all the people of the earth, the Iroquois approach most closely to that hypothetical form of society known as the matriarchate.' This same argument may be pursued as far back as the Early Iroquois period based on archaeological and oral historical evidence.

A selection of specific exhibit elements are discussed below, followed by some more general comments pertaining to the representation of Iroquois women found in this gallery. The numbers used to identify the displays correspond with the numbering in figure 1.

1. Introductory panel, north entrance

North entrance to the Ontario Archaeology gallery

The introductory panel just inside the gallery begins with the text: 'This exhibit represents important events in the prehistoric past of Ontario and North America.' With this statement a false impression is given that the archaeological trends discussed might be of equal relevance in the discussion of the history of any other pre-contact Native group in North America.

Below the introductory statement is a colour-coded diagram demonstrating the stratigraphic levels illustrated in the adjoining diorama (#10). The stratigraphic levels are labelled in descending order as follows:

Algonkian rock art. 'Rock art is an expression of spiritual beliefs, found in later periods of Prehistory.' [This is not actually an occupation level, but explains the presence of the mural (#11) on the south wall.]

Village farmers, 500 years ago

Rice harvesting, 1600-400 years ago

Stone tool making, 12,000 years ago

Mammoth kill, 150,000-12,000 years ago.

2. 'What to look for' panel

In the north-west corner of the gallery the following statement provides further orientation:

> The cases in this gallery contain different kinds of information about the peoples of the past. Paintings offer reconstructions of life in the past. Maps show the locations and distributions of people and technologies. Drawings of hands illustrate the manufacture and use of artifacts. The artifacts in the cases are the physical products of human activity.

Beside this text is a picture of two male figures hunting caribou. For visitors entering the exhibition from the north, this secondary text helps establish curatorial intentions, but does not explain the difference between the diorama narrative and the narrative pursued via the interpretive cases.

3. 'Passage to the New World' display

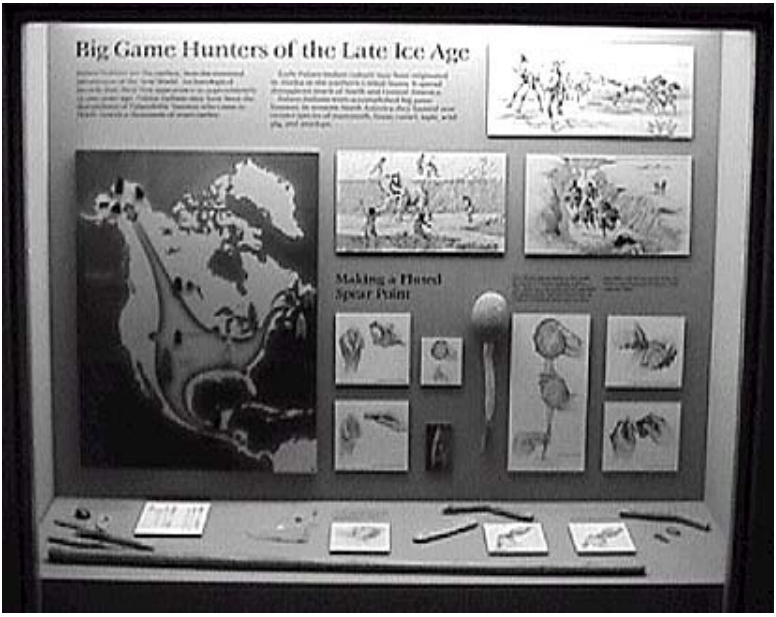
The text here explains that:

The date of the first occupation of the New World is not yet known. Early Paleo-Indians, also known as Clovis complex peoples, were the first to leave extensive archaeological remains in North America. They were probably the descendants

of Paleolithic hunters and gatherers who came to the New World over 12,000 years ago.

An artist's renderings of four Clovis occupation sites each include a male silhouette and additional illustrations depict disembodied male hands creating Clovis points.

4. 'Big Game Hunters' display



A display case depicting Paleolithic men at work, but what were the women doing?

The gender-neutral text in this case refers to 'people', 'human activity', 'Paleo-Indians' or 'hunters', but again, only male actors are depicted in the images. The complete lack of female images until midway through the interpretive panels begs the question: What were the women doing? Since the 1960s, 'feminist agendas and priorities have entered hunter-gatherer [research] discourse…. [and raised the question] of whether women's work in gathering plant foods (and small game) is not more important to subsistence than men's hunting' (Lee, 1992: 32). Gathering activities are not mentioned anywhere in this exhibition. The gender-neutral language and male images in the early section of this exhibition effectively erase women from the first 10,000 years of history covered.

5 'The First Inhabitants of Ontario' display

An interpretation of early human activities at the Fisher site is offered via three pictures and some curatorial text. In the first image, three men are depicted making stone tools. The second image depicts three young women (wearing distinctive hairstyles and clothes) sewing, one adult male hafting a spear, and an adult woman cooking in the background. The text merely describes these as 'campsite activities', but the implication is that this is a family unit demonstrating the sexual division of labour appropriate to the evidence for the period, although there is no such unequivocal evidence in the archaeological record. A third image depicts spear point making, with four men working in the foreground, and another two in the back looking from a bluff over the terrain. The text mentions there are various areas of such manufacture on the Fisher site.

The second image in this sequence depicts a temporary campsite, but does not mention that there would likewise have been many areas devoted to such activity, as bands travelled together. By omission, one must assume that women were tied to the camp while men were mobile. This overlooks women's gathering or social duties, and is based on a backward projection of contemporary gender bias, not a presentation of physical evidence.

Having two images devoted to stone tool manufacture effectively skews the interpretation of Clovis activity, giving the impression that most waking hours would have been devoted to tool making. The reality is that it is archaeologists who have for a long time devoted most of their energy to analysing stone tools, thanks to the durability of these artefacts. In the 'Prehistoric technology' display case (#6), only male figures are used, and only woodworking, stone tool making, and hunting are classified technologies. Nonetheless, on careful inspection, sewing, food preparation, pottery, and agriculture are depicted elsewhere in the exhibition as technologies that were the domain of women. It is not the artefacts but the archaeological imagination that has gendered the above tasks and neglected to include the 'female' tasks as technologies.

7. Early Iroquois display

Clearly, adopting gender-neutral language did not make the reconstruction of earlier Ontario history gender-free. Nor is gender-neutral interpretation an accurate or ethical goal. Unless explicitly addressed, 'gender-connected conventions and expectations' (Houston, 1996: 54-55) of both the interpreter and the visitor will creep in. The sexual division of labour is more explicitly reflected in the use of gendered text from this point on in the chronology.

The division of labour depicted for the Early Iroquois is based on oral histories, archaeological inferences, and the backward projection of ethnographic observations. It is possible to read this presentation as suggesting that pre-Iroquoian groups were not egalitarian in terms of status (although gatherer-hunter studies suggest they would have been), and that women only achieved enough

status to be explicitly mentioned in the Early Iroquois period through their economic role in agriculture. This erases both the other economic roles women played in the Early Iroquois, and those roles established well before agriculture. Neither is it possible through the interpretation to imagine gender roles as dynamic or overlapping. A label in this case includes the statement: 'Mothers would train their daughters to be potters by teaching them to make small pinch pots.' Images throughout the gallery show adults training same-sex youth in a variety of activities.

8. Middle Iroquois display

In this panel a large picture shows many men building a longhouse, with two women in the background. Both women have children nearby. The fact that longhouses were controlled by women, and predate the Middle Iroquois (Trigger, 1985) is not expressed. Rather, the impression given in the picture, by depicting active men and relatively passive women, is that longhouses are male things. This is reinforced in the diorama (#10, figure 1) depiction of men fixing the longhouse exterior, while women and girls pound corn.

9. 'Life in the Longhouses' model

The longhouse model is diminutive and does not convey the central importance of the longhouse for the Hodenosaunee. The associated label has a dark background that does not match the rest of the interpretive text, and paired with the awkward positioning, this display looks like an afterthought. The following text provides not only a belated explanation of the importance of the longhouse, but also suggests a social hierarchy not echoed in the other reconstructions. Contrary to the implied hierarchy, the literature looked to above supports the interpretation that the Iroquois were fairly egalitarian throughout the history interpreted:

The longhouse was the social and economic focus of Iroquois village life.

A longhouse was the property of women in a family. Children and men lived in the homes of their mothers and wives. The women of the village farmed and harvested food for winter consumption. Kernels of corn were stored in bark containers....

The men hunted birds, small game, and deer. The men were also warriors. After a raid, prisoners from other tribes were sometimes brought to the village. The men of the village often discussed warfare, trade, and legends while sitting around the embers of the longhouse fires....

Children were an active part of village life. They helped in the harvest and practised adult skills such as hunting and pottery making.

The Iroquois had domesticated dogs. The dogs were kept for hunting, as pets and sometimes were used in special ceremonies.

10. Excavation and reconstruction diorama

A view of the excavation/ reconstruction diorama from the north entrance

The archaeology diorama has four sections, corresponding to the four occupation levels discussed along the wall on the opposite side of the gallery (cf. #2, 5, 6 and 8). A mock excavation unit sits in the foreground of each diorama section, and in the background mannequins conduct period-appropriate food production activities. The diorama reinforces the gender stereotypes found in the cases along the west wall and women are only shown in the fourth, most recent section. Differential status is also implied by the positioning of the mannequins used; the females are all sitting on the ground, while in the other three tableaux the male mannequins are standing or bent over, looking larger.

The attitude that archaeology is a 'scientific' endeavour is implied through the inclusion of archaeological tools in the excavation units. The fact that archaeological interpretations such as the ones that informed the OA gallery are based on educated guesswork is not explained. The role Iroquois oral history plays in archaeological interpretation is not acknowledged in the exhibition, nor are any contemporary or historical Iroquois points of view offered as alternative interpretations.

Finally, the OA account ends at early European contact, avoiding the potentially controversial post-contact period, the huge and immediate impact of European colonisation on Iroquois culture, and the fact that the Iroquois are a contemporary First Nation.

Suggestions

Many of the representation problems faced by the OA exhibition are common to other permanent exhibits, which suffer from changes in theory and public opinion over their long lifespan. The exhibition opened in 1984 and would be done differently today. Nonetheless, the ROM was amply aware in 1984 of the public communication role exhibitions play, as demonstrated by the influential 1976 ROM publication *Communicating with the Museum Visitor*. Further, the high status of Iroquois women was well documented prior to 1984, but is effectively contradicted by the interpretation offered in the exhibition. Rather, the long-standing sexist 'Man the Hunter' tradition of functional-structuralist anthropological interpretation is offered.

Through their permanent exhibitions, many museums continue to speak for others through the preferential use of the 'scientific' interpretations. The OA presentation of Aboriginal heritage relies solely on interpretations by Euro-Canadian archaeologists. In the words of one Euro-Canadian archaeologist:

...Western archaeologists have tended to make very little use of Aboriginal teachings and oral literature in their reconstructions and representations of the past. If Native people question the validity or appropriateness of outsiders' attempts to relate Aboriginal history with no reference to their own traditional accounts, their reaction should come as no surprise (Pettipas, 1994: 9).

That being said, there should be even less surprise if Aboriginal feminists question the validity or appropriateness of the historical account offered. As McGuigan puts it:

How museums signify the past and what is included and excluded are controversial. 'Bias' is too crude a concept for analysing what is at stake, however, because it suggests a simple divergence from 'objectivity', which in itself is a contested idea. A more satisfactory approach is to frame the issue in terms of negotiation and struggle over representation, an approach that does not presume to know the objective truth in, say, quantitative terms. From a feminist perspective, for instance, it ceases to be a question of whether or not women's lives are represented but how they are represented, the narrative discourses and images that are deployed (1996, p.131).

Community consultation in exhibit development involves representatives from the closest living communities related to, but not necessarily direct descendants of, the culture to be interpreted in a proposed exhibition. It is a process in which heterogeneous contemporary communities are represented by a few individuals. However, where great time depth is involved, a given culture may have changed drastically, such that consultation involves not a simple verification of 'the facts', but a negotiation of whose partial histories will be authorised and how they are to be represented within the museum. Would a Clovis woman, for example, share the concerns of her contemporary descendants? Raising this question, and others like it, could induce useful thought processes within a development team or focus

group critically reflecting upon proposed interpretations, content and programming.

Recognising that the representation of the past is '...as much about our relationship to the past as about "the past" per se' (Conkey, 1997: 201) the key question to address in exhibit development is this: what actors have been denied a voice the exhibition purports to represent? Archaeological interpretation is an art, which relies heavily on social and scientific theories, and is subject to change. The partial nature of archaeological interpretations should at least be made clear in any exhibition intending to explain the process of archaeological inquiries.

Based on his consultations with various Natives, Pettipas (1994: 92-93) includes consideration of culturally sensitive terminology in his advice for curators of Aboriginal exhibits by listing alternatives for 27 vernacular terms. However, consideration of the language used in an exhibit cannot end at the reading level addressed or with use of specific culturally or gender-sensitive words. The explicit and implicit exhibit narrative must also be checked by comparing the visuals, the labels, and the account offered by literature in the related disciplines. Using as a starting point schedules to identify sexist language (Eichler, 1997) or gender-biased museum presentations (Sullivan, 1994), exhibit development teams can work toward fairer representations, even if portraying cultures with great disparity in the relative status of the sexes. Community consultation alone cannot be relied upon to address this problem.

Finally, as exhibit developers cannot address the full diversity of phenomena discussed, they need to communicate the partial nature of any exhibition. What other objects are in storage? What is missing from the museum collection? What sorts of objects have not survived? *Who and what is missing from this display*? Augmenting standard museum education techniques with creative pedagogies, such as story telling, can assist visitors in using their own imagination to debate the limitations in the archaeological/ curatorial imagination presented.

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