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MUSEOLOGICAL REVIEW

A Journal edited by Students of
the Department of Museum

Issue 8
2002

University *of* **Leicester**

GRADUATE STUDIES

MUSEOLOGICAL REVIEW

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Editors:
Kostas Arvanitis
Anastasia Fillippoupoliti
Hui-Jong Hsieh
Yuka Shimamura

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Preface

It is a pleasure to welcome this eighth edition of Museological Review. The Department of Museum Studies is very proud of its journal and delighted that it continues to move from strength to strength. Museological Review is the responsibility of the research students in the Department of Museum Studies and through the commissioning, reviewing and editing processes valuable research skills are learnt. Academic staff are not involved in any way, and so the responsibility for the continued existence of the journal falls to students, who are of course, not with us for long.

As a result, Museological Review is in a continual state of renewal, which means that it is always fresh and always seen from new perspectives, although equally, it is always experienced as a learning event by its editors!

This edition has been produced by a group of four main editors who have been supported by a smaller group of native English speakers who have helped with language editing. The papers include some written by Leicester students, but others by students from elsewhere. All involved have worked hard to produce a journal that has academic integrity.

As Head of Department, I am pleased to be able to thank everyone who has contributed, as the journal is one of our major achievements. We hope that all who are studying museums will find this issue of Museological Review useful, interesting and inspirational for the continued production of high quality research.

Eilean Hooper-Greenhill
Professor of Museum Studies
University of Leicester

Editorial

Welcome to the eighth issue of the Museological Review, a journal edited by Ph.D. students at the Department of Museum Studies, which provides a platform for current museological research.

This edition brings together current and past students of the Department, academics and museum professionals. Camilla Mordhorst introduces the term 'the additive narrative' to describe the dominant narrative form of traditional cultural history exhibitions; and by examining three Millennial exhibitions she questions this form as the only way of representing history in museums. Tracy Tsai by comparing British and Taiwanese museum and school contexts argues that the teachers' museum agendas are strongly situated by their educational beliefs. Chia-Li Chen investigates the circumstances under which Taiwan has absorbed the concepts of community museum and Ecomuseum using the example of the Bai-mi Clog Museum. Carolina Pelaz Soto focuses on the so-called 'effect Gugenheim' exploring the impact of the Gugenheim museum of Bilbao both in the local economy and the Asturian museums and governing bodies. Dr. Suliang Cheng explains the situation of Art theft in Taiwan and China 'exposing' its methods, procedures and smuggling routes. Sergio Lira continues a discussion started in previous editions on Portuguese museums during the Estado Novo era; and he examines how a law of 1965 changed museum concepts and introduced modernity in the Portuguese legislative corpus concerning museums.

We would like to thank Professor Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, Head of the Department of Museum Studies for prefacing this issue. We would like, also, to thank our fellow PhD students and museum professionals Bruce Campbell, Kate Pontin and Leslie Tepper for proof reading some of this issue's articles. Last but not least, we thank Jim Roberts for putting everything together for publishing.

The next issue of the Museological Review will be published in Spring 2003. We welcome contributions to the journal, being articles and exhibition or book reviews.

Kostas Arvanitis, Anastasia Filippoupoliti, Hui-Jong Hsieh and Yuka Shimamura (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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Please type on one side of the paper only, keep to an even number of lines per page, and use standard size paper (A4) with wide margins. Justified, double line-space texts should be submitted without any page numbering. The sub-headings should be typed in exactly the same way as the ordinary text, but should be in bold. Sub-headings should be displayed by leaving extra-space above and below them.

Do not use footnotes.

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Style

*   Sub-headings are welcome, although 'Introduction' should be avoided where this is obvious. They should be in bold and aligned to the left.

*   Words ending in -ise or -ize: -ise is used.

*   Numbers: up to and including twenty in words, over twenty in figures, except that figures should not begin in a sentence.

*   Measurements are given in metric (SI) units, though Imperial units may be quoted in addition.

*   Place names should be up-to-date, and in the Anglicised form (Moscow not Moskva).

*   Italics should be used a) for foreign words not yet Anglicised, including Latin; b) for titles of books, ships, pictures etc.; c) very sparingly, for emphasis

* Quotations should be set in single quotation marks '...', using double quotation marks "..." for quotes within a quote. Quotations of more than two lines of typescript should be set on a new line and indented.

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* Organisations and companies take the singular, e.g. 'the Royal Academy is...'.

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Once the paper has been accepted for publication, the Editors will appreciate if the contributor can send his/her article on a floppy-disk. We can deal with files prepared on a PC or Macintosh computer using Microsoft Word. Other word processors may be used, but the text must be saved as ASCII or as Rich Text File (RTF). All word processed documents Must be saved cleanly, i.e. with a final 'save as...' in order to resolve all edits. Please discuss this with the Editors if unsure.

Articles should be addressed to the Editors, Museological Review, University of Leicester, Department of Museum Studies, 103/105 Princess Road East, Leicester LE1 7LG, UK. Telephone number: 0116- 2523963; Fax number: 0116-2523960.

The exhibition narrative in flux
Camilla Mordhorst

Introduction

Since historical research and writing became a science around 1800, objectivity has been the dominant ideal. As the German historian Leopold von Ranke wrote in 1824, the unique task of the historian was to tell it as it really was: '*wie es eigentlich gewesen*'.

This ideal of objectivity is also reflected in the traditional cultural history exhibition. Here historical objects have been presented as direct representations of the past reality in which they originated, unlike writing and speech which are seen to render reality through the medium of words. In 1911, the Danish historian Kristian Erslev wrote: 'each and every object is evidence, in itself, that an act has taken place. Accounts, however, can be the embryo of the human imagination, bearing no relationship to the outer world' (Erslev, 1987: 72). As historical sources, he concludes, the material remains of the past are 'simpler and more reliable than witness accounts...' (Erslev, 1987: 72).

However, the question remains whether the cultural history exhibition is any closer to the 'reality' of the past - is any more 'objective' than historical accounts. In exhibitions, objects are selected and located in an interpretative context formed not only by exhibition texts, but also by the order and frameworks in which objects are presented. As the philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche wrote: 'There are no facts as such. We must always begin by introducing a meaning in order for there to be a fact' (Nietzsche quoted in Barthes, 1986: 138).

Therefore, the question raised is the following: which interpretative contexts objects are located and inscribed in, by cultural history exhibitions? Are there traditions of representation, and if so what are they?

The Discourse of History

In the article 'The Discourse of History', the semiotician Roland Barthes attempts to map the representation of the past. Basing his analysis on historical works, Barthes identifies a series of factors, which he attributes to 'the discourse of history'. According to Barthes, what distinguishes the discourse of history from other discourses is its claim to articulate reality:

> '... that paradox which governs the entire pertinence of historical discourse (in relation to other types of discourse): fact never has any but a linguistic existence (as the term of discourse), yet everything happens as if the linguistic existence were merely a pure and simple "copy" of another existence, situated in a extra-structural field, the "real"' (Barthes, 1986: 138).

How, then, does the discourse of history operates to convince us that it is not a discourse but a mere representation of reality? There are two central strands to Barthes' analysis.

Firstly, he points to the absence of references to the author or reader in the discourse of history, as if history tells itself, something he calls 'the referential illusion' (Barthes, 1986: 131). The removal of all traces of subjective presence in the discourse thus contributes to the performance of objectivity.

Secondly, the discourse of history creates meaning in the past: 'For history not to signify, discourse must be limited to a pure unstructured series of notations; these will be chronicles and annals (in the pure sense of the word)' (Barthes, 1986: 137). The historian is not only gathering facts, but also relating them and granting them significance. Events are, for example, presented so that the closer we come to the historian's own time, the larger the number of historical events to be deemed significant; something Barthes calls 'the acceleration phenomena of history' (Barthes, 1986: 129). Despite the fact that the historian selects and orders the events of the past, the illusion of objectivity is maintained. According to Barthes, this can be attributed to the fact that at the beginning of the 19th century, when the discourse of history constituted itself as a genre, the concept of a 'pure' representation of reality and the linear narrative were conflated. The linear narrative thus became the most 'truthful' means of representing the past.

Barthes' analysis is based on written works, but the discourse of history can also be seen to operate in the cultural history exhibition. This article argues for the usefulness of analysing the traditional cultural history exhibition as a specific narrative form embedded in the discourse of history - a narrative form representing objects as 'facts'.

The Cultural History Exhibition as Narrative

The cultural history exhibition emerged with the opening of public, national museums around 1800 (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992: 167-190) since when a specific narrative form has been dominated. This is what I will call *the additive narrative*. I choose to apply a specific term to the narrative form of the cultural history exhibition because the additive narrative eludes established genres. The additive narrative is characterised neither by the pure sequence of events of annals, nor by the suspense structure of the Aristotelian narrative; rather, the additive narrative is located between the two.

In the additive narrative, events are *meaningfully* linked by their chronological relationship to each other. The chronological ordering of objects locates them not only in time but also in a *development*. The temporal hierarchy of past events creates a connection of unarticulated causality, whereby earlier events 'create' later events. The additive narrative is thus also characterised by the

acceleration phenomena of history, i.e. the closer we come to the present, the shorter the periods, the more complex the world, and the greater the number of objects deemed necessary to include as documentation.

In the additive narrative the author is entirely absent. The traditional cultural history exhibition is presented without any signature - all explicit references to those who have created the exhibition are excluded from the exhibition itself. Visitors are similarly absent from the narrative. There is no 'you' or open questions for visitors to ponder. The ideal is that the history tells itself - presented through objects alone.

In the additive narrative objects are presented as primary. The selection process necessarily is involved - the absence of certain objects, the premises of interpretation etc. are ignored, as if objects speak for themselves. The 'referential illusion' of this narrative form is underlined by the constant emphasis on the authenticity of the objects. Because, what is authenticity other than the uninterpreted, the original appearing in its original form? Any interpretative dimension - inevitably given that most historical sources are produced by humans - is recuperated by the object being the *primary* source, i.e. a source with only one interpretative layer. In exhibitions, objects are traditionally placed behind glass, where alarms, dimmed lights, careful mounting indicate that precisely these objects are particularly valuable because of their authenticity.

The additive narrative was institutionalised as a means of presenting reality at museums during the 19th century. The narrative form was then ratified over years of use, becoming the most neutral means of representing reality, unrecognisable as a specific narrative. That the cultural history exhibition has a specific narrative form has only become apparent through the problematisation of its contents. As the literary historian Peter Szondi writes:

> '...because the form of a work of art always seems to express something unquestionable, we usually arrive at a clear understanding of such formal statements only at a time when the unquestionable has been questioned and the self-evident has become problematic' (Szondi, 1987: 5).

As early as 1953 Barthes criticised the apparently inextricable link between linear narrative and the representation of reality. Linearity, like all other representative forms, is not neutral, converting as it does '...the exploded reality to a slim and pure logos, without density, without volume, without spread, and whose sole function is to unite as rapidly as possible a cause and an end' (Barthes 1953: 26). Other theorists, like the historian Hayden White and the philosopher Francois Lyotard, have analysed how the ways in which we have produced and continue to produce history have resulted in a one-dimensional representation of the past, a criticism that has not gone unnoticed in the museum world. A series of millennial exhibitions demonstrate that the additive narrative can be challenged as the only conceivable way of representing history in a museum context.

Three Millennial Exhibitions

In the year 2000 three impressive millennial exhibitions opened in Paris, Berlin and London. All three were ambitious - the result of years of hard work by respected institutions that had gathered large numbers of rare and valuable objects. All three were launched as 'millennial exhibitions' and thematically they all related to the new millennium by reflecting upon its basis - time. The Paris exhibition focused on European utopias throughout history, the Berlin exhibition sought to look into the future, and the London exhibition revolved around time as a phenomenon.

The three millennial exhibitions paint a picture of the traditional exhibition narrative in flux. The Paris exhibition basically used an additive narrative. Objects were presented as 'raw' sources, ordered chronologically as if they were an unmediated representation of past reality. What was unique here, however, was the incorporation of another narrative layer explicitly interpreting this 'uninterpreted' documentation. The Berlin exhibition could be seen as challenging the traditional additive narrative by using an *associative* narrative form. The familiar linearity of the additive narrative was entirely absent, creating an exhibition which seemed to implode time and space. Here the narrative moved through intuitive and intellectual thought associations, illuminating central concepts from a variety of angles. Objects were presented as signs open to interpretation by visitors to use in imagining the future. Finally, the London exhibition can perhaps best be seen as an exhibition utilising aspects of both the additive and associative narrative. Here the definitive representation of history is deconstructed in a multiplicity of narratives. As in the Paris exhibition, objects were presented as 'raw' historical material supporting the historical narrative of the exhibition. All three exhibitions represent a departure from the classical narrative of the cultural history exhibition - and as such can be seen as a materialisation of contemporary theoretical debates.

The Classical Narrative Exhibition in Paris

Utopia. The Search for the Ideal Society in the Western World (Plate 1) was shown from April 4th to July 9th, 2000 at Bibliotheque Nationale de France in Paris. The exhibition theme was the history of utopias in the Western world from antiquity to the end of the 20th century; a theme presented in an additive narrative form.

The exhibition was chronologically structured in four sections. Four hundred objects were used to tell the history of utopia, section by section. The first section of the exhibition was called *The Utopian Sources: Ancient, Biblical, and Medieval Traditions*. This section dealt with the birth of utopian philosophy, primarily in the golden age of antiquity and the Christian paradise. The second section of the exhibition was called *Other Worlds: Utopian Imaginations from More to the Enlightenment*. Secularisation resulted in utopian ideas being

relocated from heaven to earth. This section of the exhibition began with Thomas More's Utopia from 1516, the first of a long series of works on the ideal human society.

The third section of the exhibition was called *Utopia in History: From the Revolutionary Age Through the Nineteenth Century*. The French Revolution and the American Declaration of Independence were here singled out as prominent examples of attempts to realise social utopias. The final section of the exhibition was called Dreams and Nightmares: Utopias and Dystopias in the Twentieth Century. The technological advances of the 20th century made it possible to realise 'utopias'. Nazism in Germany and Stalinism in the Soviet Union were used here as terrifying examples, although the exhibition did end on a more optimistic tone. The youth movements of the 1960s and 1970s showed that despite the dreadful experiences of the 20th century utopian dreams have survived.

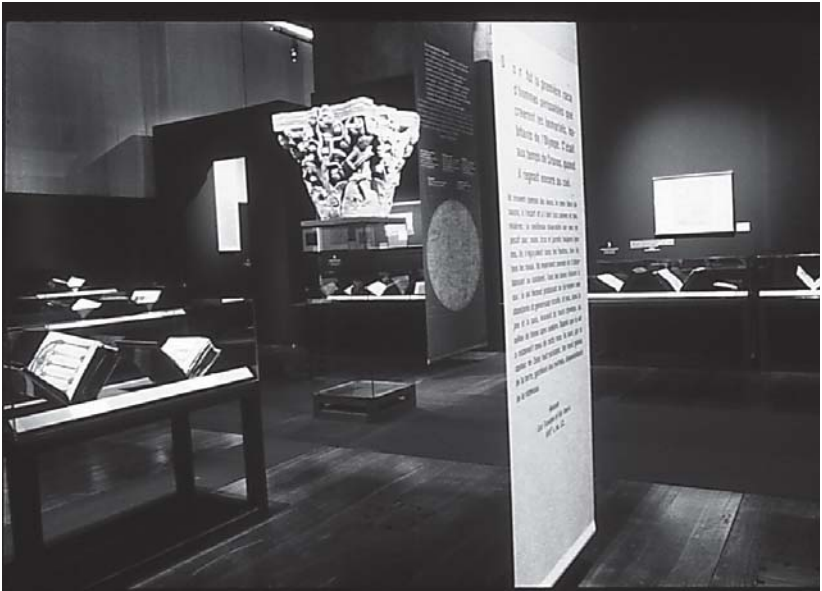*Plate 1: View inside the utopia exhibition. Scenography by Charrat, Gaitis and Zenoni. Photo by S. Biscioni*

The utopia exhibition was structured as a chronological development narrative. In order to ensure that visitors would follow the narrative, there was only one possible route through the exhibition. The entrance was at one end and the exit at the other. The only path between them was marked by a red carpet.

Within each section of the exhibition, the chronological sequence of events was also largely observed. Rather than establishing direct connections between the historical events represented, the aim here seemed to imply that the individual events would be inconceivable without their historical precedents. In the third section, concerning utopias throughout history, the first object presented was the American Declaration of Independence (1776). Then, thirteen years later, came the French Revolution of 1789, followed by the small religious societies of the early 1800s in the USA and the socialist inspired communal experiments in France, ending with the Parisian Commune in 1870.

The acceleration phenomena of history was very apparent in the exhibition - the closer we came to our own era the shorter the periods became. The first section of the exhibition covered more than a thousand years of history, from antiquity to the Middle Ages. The second section on the Enlightenment covered a few centuries, the third section did not cover more than a hundred years, whilst the fourth section, on the fall of utopia, did not even span a century, running from around 1910 to the 1970s. This gave an inevitable impression of a development philosophy whereby events are substituted by new events with increasing speed requiring more objects than the more 'stable' society of earlier times. That we accept the Middle Ages being limited to a tenth of the space filled physically and thematically by the 20th century is context specific - we are within what has become the familiar narrative of the discourse of history. The acceleration phenomenon of history is how we perceive the past.

Objects as Evidence

Originals rather than copies were used throughout the exhibition. Even the photographs were originals, rather than the more common exhibition reproductions. That 'originality' played such a large role can be attributed to the narrative form of the exhibition, characterised as it was by the 'referential illusion' of the discourse of history. The objects were presented as the uninterpreted material upon which the exhibition organisers based their interpretations. The organisers of the exhibition and the authors of the texts were not mentioned in the exhibition. The idea here was of the objects telling history - unmediated. This was, also, underlined by the lighting of the exhibition. The lights were dimmed throughout. Only the objects were illuminated - spotlights from above. This emphasised the fact that the objects were seen as fundamental to the exhibition - and the interpretations accompanying them as imposed.

Reproductions and models were rare in this world of originals. There were, however, models of Thomas More's *Utopia and the City of the Sun* as imagined by Campanella in 1623. To avoid casting any doubt on the authenticity of the original objects, these models were clearly labelled as educational reproductions of original utopian ideas. The non-originality of these exhibits was further emphasised by the fact that, unlike the rest of the objects, they were not behind glass.

As well as supporting the referential illusion of the exhibition, the original objects underlined and added to the exhibition narrative, not least as sources for the story told in that narrative. In the section on utopias through history, contemporary stereoscopes were used to tell the story of the small religious communities in the USA. These stereoscopic photographs served the dual function of being examples of attempts to realise social utopias two centuries ago, as well as being concrete evidence of the assertion.

The Story within the Story

Throughout the utopia exhibition objects were used as guarantees of a neutral presentation of past reality, although - in the fourth section of the exhibition - there was one divergence from this principle. Here posters depicting the Soviet state's visions of the new society were radically juxtaposed with video monitors showing the first labour camps where millions of 'public enemies' were worked to death (Plate 2). This juxtaposition told a moralising tale of the failure of utopia in practice. Another montage with a similar message was located at the other end of the section. Here pictures of strong Aryan bodies - stills from Leni Riefenstahl's film Olympia and other propaganda from Nazi Germany were exhibited. The series of images ended with Zoran Music's brutal woodcuts of starved, tortured bodies in the concentration camps.

Plate 2: Posters from the Soviet State juxtaposed with video monitors showing the first labour camps in the utopia exhibition. Photo by S. Biscioni

These montages represent benchmarks in the exhibition. The basic narrative was, as described above, additive, subscribing to the ideal of simply telling what really happened as opposed to what Ranke warned against: 'Judging the past in order to teach the present for the benefit of times to come'. Yet this is precisely what the exhibition did, using the montages to add a moral dimension. Within the context and structure of the exhibition these elements transformed the story told into one of the constant efforts throughout history to realise dreams, dreams that, as soon as the means were available in the mid 20th century, became nightmares. This narrative structure can be understood within the Aristotelian narrative model with a beginning, middle and end - a culmination adding new information, which transforms the entire exhibition. In the utopia exhibition it was the technological means of the mid 20th century plus two insane individuals - Stalin and Hitler - who succeeded in recruiting the masses to realise utopias, which became the nightmares of reality. This marked the loss of innocence of utopia in the West. The montages were at the precise point of narrative climax - here the moral of the exhibition became fully apparent.

This culmination in the fourth section of the exhibition added an interpretative layer, which recasts the previous sections. It began to seem fortunate that Thomas More never realised his utopia, and that the technology available for eliminating the enemies of utopia were limited to the guillotine during the French Revolution.

The exhibition's subtle duality, combining as it did an additive narrative with an Aristotelian narrative was reflected in its French title *La quête de la société idéale en Occident*. The use of the word *'la quêté'* (the search) can be read as referring to both the searches for utopia in the west recounted in the exhibition, as well as a kind of criminal investigation; that is, a hunt for the perfect society which ends in the discovery that once the technological means are available the realisation of the dream becomes a nightmare.

The Additive Narrative in a Broader Perspective

One might imagine, given that the exhibition presented hopes for the future throughout history and since it opened at the beginning of a new millennium, that it would include utopias of the future. But this was not the case. It was a classical cultural history exhibition in that the chosen theme was recounted as a culturally historical development. The Paris exhibition thus inscribes itself firmly in traditional historical narratives, a communicative form which insists upon the possibility of determining a single narrative explanation of a specific historical phenomenon. Subscription to this ideal can be seen in the presentation of objects as neutral 'facts' within the narrative. The definitive nature of the narrative is further underlined by the use of the definite article in exhibition texts. The French title of the third section was, for example, *L'utopie dans l'histoire du temps des révolutions à L'aube du XXe siècle* (my emphasis) reflecting an investment in the belief that an unequivocal representation of utopia and history remains possible.

The Paris exhibition was thus noteworthy, not only because of its impressive historical objects and high level of professionalism, but also because it managed to fully exploit the additive narrative by adding an interpretative layer - the moral of the tale. The exhibition revealed the potential scope of the additive narrative. If, however, an exhibition is to avoid the kind of content inevitably implied by the additive narrative and challenge its claims of neutrality and its 'reduction' to a linear sequence of events shadowed by a concept of development, then other narratives have to be sought. Here the Berlin exhibition can serve as a good example of an alternative narrative.

## The Berlin Exhibition: Establishing a New Narrative

In summer 2000 the German capital hosted the millennial exhibition *Seven Hills: Images and Signs of the 21st Century*. The exhibition ran from May 14th to October 29th in Martin-Gropius-Bau. More than 2,000 objects were presented in 40 large rooms covering a total of 5,500m^2.

By juxtaposing the latest technology with cultural treasures from the past, the exhibition presented the visitor with resources to imagine the future - the history of the next millennium. The title of the exhibition, 'Seven Hills', like the themes it presented, invited free association:

> 'Solomon's seven pillars of wisdom, the seven hills on which Rome was built, the seven wonders of the world which amazed the ancients, and now the seven themes of the Berlin millennial exhibition: *Nucleus, Jungle, Cosmos, Civilisation, Faith, Knowledge, Dream*' (Poll, 2000).

Each hill was curated by an artist of international renown working in close collaboration with experts in the respective fields. Efforts had obviously been made to approach the millennium from new angles, not only by changing theme from hill to hill, but also visually. Here artists were given free reign - unlike the Paris exhibition the subjective nature of historical display was in focus in Berlin. The themes of the exhibition also indicated some challenge to the additive narrative. There was no chronological order or limits in terms of time and space. The themes were apparently unrelated, apart from as various bases from which gather insight into the future.

The seven hills spanned 40 numbered rooms. There was nothing to stop visitors by starting at the exhibition exit, or wandering backwards and forwards. However, since the rooms were numbered, it is tempting to attribute to that numbering some significance. If the numbers were followed, the exhibition started with the essence of existence - the nucleus (Plate 3) - after which came the last remains of primeval existence - the jungle. Then, there was outer space - also some kind of reference to the primeval. It was only then that civilisation made an appearance. And along with it came faith, the quest for knowledge, and finally the dream. There was, however, no classical sequence of events linking the various themes.
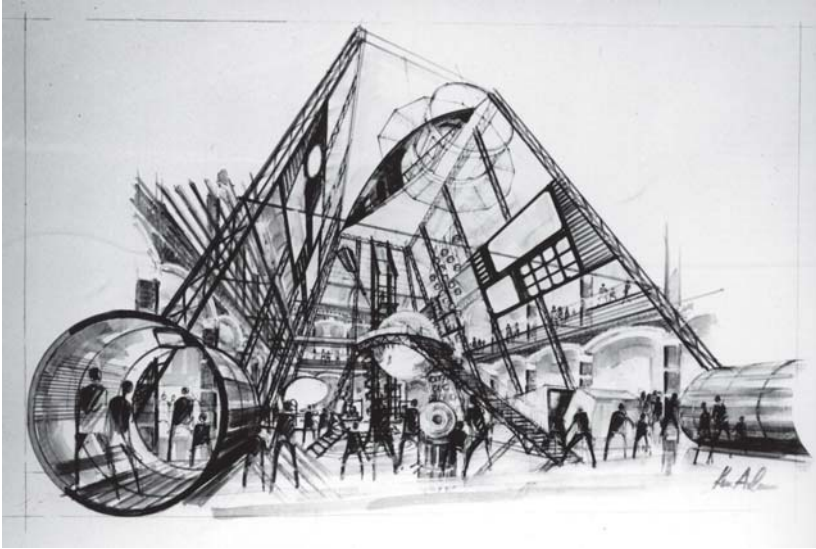
Plate 3: The theme Nucleus. It was designed by the film architect Ken Adam. Press photo from the exhibition Seven Hills.

There was no introduction to the exhibition, although it did end with a closing remark. The last room was entitled *Les jeux sont fait*, the croupier's line when the chips are down and the game begins. The line can be seen as expressing the moral of the exhibition: here you have the elements of the past - before you lies the future.

Another characteristic of the exhibition was that it posed questions, which visitors had to answer themselves using the signs available. Or, as stated in the exhibition brochure:

> 'The oracles of the Old World didn't promise anything and didn't hide anything - they gave signs which the people could put together for their own personal visions of the future. To give signs for the worlds of tomorrow, to offer enlightenment and orientation - that is the aim of the futuristic exhibition in the Martin-Gropius-Bau in the year 2000.'

This brochure contained the only written clues as to the ideas behind the exhibition. It was, also, the only place where the exhibition organisers were named. So the exhibition's challenge to the illusion of an objective representation was most obvious in the heavily interpretative frameworks and structure of the exhibition. The individual installations and texts were presented unsigned.

The Associative Narrative

At first glance the exhibition could be seen as a visualisation of a negative post-modern stance in a fragmented world - in the absence of 'meaning' the only option being to reflect the chaos of reality. But, the exhibition was not randomly structured - neither as a whole nor within the individual sections. This points to the fact that the exhibition was structured as an informative narrative - just not the one we are used to seeing in cultural history exhibitions.

The narrative of the exhibition can be seen as associative, seeking to encircle its theme by springing playfully between related themes, revealing possible points of view rather than campaigning for a single point of view. The exhibition was like a brainstorm - presenting material without forcing different perspectives to conform to a single thesis.

This associative narrative operated at every level of the exhibition. The second hill, for example, had the theme of the jungle. Here the set designer Tina Kitzing had created an artificial jungle, or as the brochure put it: '...in Jungle nature can be observed after the end of Nature - nurtured by man, collected, preserved and newly recreated as artificial life forms'. The jungle section of the exhibition consisted of six consecutive rooms, each with a subtheme: Cries and Whispers, Gene's Animal Farm, Whale Affinities, The Eyes of the Goddess, Cats and Chats, Tiger in the Net and Nature in the Drawer.

As the titles of the rooms imply, they were not sequential. As the brochure stated, we find ourselves 'after the end of Nature', making any representation of nature as a unity with its own objective existence and autonomous history impossible. Instead, the exhibition illuminated the theme from a variety of angles as a means of capturing the inseparability of the concept of nature and the practice of cultivation.

In order to underline the different angles represented, the individual rooms also looked very different. The section began with a huge painting of a group of animals in a jungle by Carl of Hessel-Kassel from 1776. Walking behind the painting brought visitors under a tree surrounded by 50cm high insects created by the jungle's curator for the exhibition. The room was filled by the cries of rainforest animals. An entire wall was covered with hundreds of different insects, which had fallen from a single tree in the South American rainforest and were now placed in individual illuminated glass cases in an artificial network.

Another room dealt with how human animals are - and how close humans are to animals. Here the Belgian artist Jan Fabre's elaborate costumes, made entirely of insects, were shown. William Wegman's photographs of staged dogs were hung beside nature photographs of apes in human situations. Part of the room was dedicated to the language of dolphins, using both audio and visual installations of playing dolphins. On the adjacent wall ancient vases decorated with dolphins were displayed in showcases. A third darkened room

was dominated by a large computer installation. Here visitors could look into the eyes of the Indian goddess Kali and by touching various parts of Kali's 'body' move through an artificial natural landscape. The room was also filled with sculptures, miniatures and paintings of the Indian goddess.

The Object as Sign

The title of the exhibition was *Seven Hills: Images and Signs of the 21st Century*. The subtitle was actually a challenge. How could the exhibition show pictures and signs of the 21st century when the century had only just begun? The exhibition included the latest technology, but the majority of objects were what we would usually categorise as either ethnographical, cultural history or art treasures. The explanation for the subtitle can be found in the exhibition's concept of objects as *signs* of different interpretations. The idea that objects express anything in and of themselves (i.e. refer directly to past reality) was abandoned. Their presence here was part of a constant process of (re)interpretation, enabling the exhibition's proclamation to show 'pictures and signs of the 21st century'.
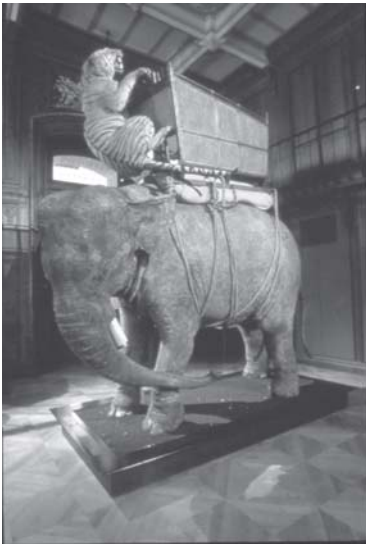
Plate 4: One of the more spectacular exhibits in the theme Jungle was a huge elephant being attacked by a tiger. Press photo from the exhibition Seven Hills

In the room *Cats and Chats - Tiger in the Net* the sign of the tiger was presented in a series of 'materialised interpretations': a map charting the genes of tigers living in modern captivity, a video documenting the identical lives of two different tigers living in zoos, a large showcase of weapons and trophies, tiger bones gathered on scientific expeditions, as well as photographs from the tiger hunts of the Imperial era. Gerhardt Richter's painting of a tiger was hung behind the most spectacular exhibit in the room - an elephant being attacked by a tiger - a dramatic moment captured by the taxidermist (Plate 4). There was also a game machine from Chicago where visitors could pull a fake tiger's tail and hear it roar. There was tiger 'merchandise', everything from tiger skins and tiger bone plasters to paintings of tigers and furriers from the 1800s. A divan covered with fake tiger fur, made by the curator of the section, stood in the middle of the room.

Each exhibit was accompanied by factual information. Who and when had painted the paintings, an explanation of how the

behaviour of tigers in various zoos develops, descriptions of tiger hunts in the old empire, etc. But there was no attempt to present any cohesive explanations. It was up to the visitor to combine the incongruous components of art, culture, nature and technology.

Since all objects were presented as signs open to a variety of interpretations, this juxtaposition of widely different objects was not problematic. The framework of the exhibition made it possible to juxtapose modern video recordings and old tiger skins - both examples of the human processing of nature. This raises the question of why the exhibition used so many originals. The works of art were all original, cultural history treasures had been carefully transported, and the latest technological masterpieces of the IT companies were represented. In the additive narrative originals are presented as the 'uninterpreted', whereas here the exhibition made it clear that nature cannot be represented beyond the confines of human interpretation, obviously making a non-interpretative representation impossible. The wide use of originals therefore has to be seen as toying with the concept of originality. By locating what we normally perceive as direct representations of reality in such an obviously constructed order the exhibition implied that even originals represent interpretations.

Another reason for the widespread use of originals can be found in the intuitive aspect of the associative narrative. The subjects and titles were evidence that emotions were acknowledged as a means of 'knowing'. An entire section of the exhibition dealt with dreaming, and the jungle rooms had, as mentioned, names like *Cries and Whispers* and *Cats and Chats*. Right down to the exhibit level feelings were incorporated, as indicated by the choice of the absurd tiger game machine placed next to the dramatic stuffed tiger attack. In the Western culture originals have been prized above copies, not only in the world of philosophy (as conceptualised and criticised by Derrida's concept of the metaphysics of presence), but also at a more emotional level. In *The Savage Mind* the anthropologist Levi-Strauss explains the emotional pursuit of the original or 'authentic' through analysing Western Europeans' feelings for historical archives:

> 'Paraphrasing an argument of Durkheim's, we might say of archives that they are after all only pieces of paper. They need only all have been published, for our knowledge and condition to be totally unaffected were a cataclysm to destroy the originals. We should, however, feel this loss as an irreparable injury that strikes to the core of our being' (Lévi-Strauss, 1966: 241).

According to Levi-Strauss if we lost our archives the past:

> '...would be deprived of what one is inclined to call its diachronic flavour. It would still exist as a past but preserved in nothing but contemporary or recent books, institutions, or even a situation. So it too would be exhibited in synchrony' (Lévi-Strauss, 1966: 241-242).

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In other words, we enshrine original archive documents because: '...they give a physical existence to history, for in them alone is the contradiction of a completed past and a present in which it survives, surmounted' (Lévi-Strauss, 1966: 242). In *Seven Hills* originals were not only used to play with the concept of originality, but also because they have emotional resonance.

The Associative Narrative in a Broader Perspective

Unlike the Paris exhibition Seven Hills was not bound by a sequence of events located in time and space. The exhibition established a new narrative form in which juggling time and space became possible. The exhibition used this absence of limitations to collapse the boundaries between time and space and describe the unsynchronised nature of history - a phenomenon whereby things of the past survive and exist in the present alongside new phenomena and objects as memories, points of orientation and sources of anxiety. The absence of synchronicity was underlined by the incorporation of objects as signs rather than relics of the past.

The open associative narrative invited visitors to imagine for themselves. In contrast to the concluding nature of the additive narrative, which disallows individual interpretations, the associative narrative demonstrates great respect for the evaluations of exhibition visitors. The narrative does, however, place demands on the visitor's ability to relate to complex issues. By presenting a variety of interpretations of a given phenomenon one can grant insight into the bases of academic production, but visitors are offered no simple answers to take home.

The associative narrative reflects the complexity of phenomena, as well as adding nuance and perspective to accepted conventions. The exhibition's pluralist approach constantly undermined its own structure, offering only temporary debatable order. One indicator of the open-ended nature of the exhibition was the use of the indefinite article in exhibition titles. The first hill, for example, was called 'nucleus' and not 'the nucleus'. At every level of the exhibition the signal was clear - it is neither desirable nor possible to retain the illusion of being able to pronounce unequivocally on the core of existence - or our beliefs or knowledge for that matter.

The choice of an alternative narrative in Berlin brought new insight to relationships commonly perceived within the confines of an additive narrative. This choice did, however, reveal some of the limitations of the associative narrative. If the additive narrative can be accused of 'limiting and unifying' the past to a sequence of events, it is also capable of presenting syntheses and providing common points of reference. The associative narrative, on the other hand, with its complexity and essayist style leaves the individual visitor to draw their own conclusions, something that can lead to the loss of common points of reference.

The third millennial exhibition can be seen as an attempt to combine the additive and associative narratives, moving beyond a unified narrative whilst retaining the option of presenting conclusions.

The London Exhibition - Combining Narratives

The exhibition *The Story of Time* was held from December 1st, 1999 until September 24th, 2000 in The Queen's House, part of the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich Royal Park. This is the site of the first meridian - the point from which all degrees of longitude and times on earth are measured - an obvious choice for a millennial exhibition on time.

The Story of Time dealt with time as a construct. The exhibition was not structured around a particular time or space. In principle it encompassed every kind of time - the chronological, physiological, psychological, narrative, *et cetera* - everywhere in the universe. The exhibition dealt with the same concept - time - from a variety of angles. In this way the exhibition can be seen to use an associative narrative form, but in contrast to the Berlin exhibition conclusions were drawn within the exhibition itself. The exhibition began with an introduction summarising the theme of the exhibition, and each room had explanatory texts. Whereas the Berlin exhibition could be seen as a brainstorm, the London exhibition offered visitors a broad spectrum of conclusions. Time can be perceived *both* chronologically, narratively, relatively, etc. but the message of the exhibition seemed to be that it was possible to map reality and reach conclusions from each of these angles.

The very presence of a variety of angles rendered the maintenance of additive narrative linearity impossible. Yet a haphazard journey was avoided by the choice of a loose framework reminiscent of the classical narrative - with a beginning, middle and end. Within this framework the first section of the exhibition was called *The Creation of Time*, and the last section was called *The End of Time*. Between them three other aspects of time were explored: *The Measurement of Time, The Depiction of Time* and *The Experience of Time*. The five sections were subdivided into different subjects - aspects of aspects of time. In *The Measurement of Time*, for example, there were eight subjects: *The Influence of the Sun, The Sun and Moon as Timekeepers, Calendars, The Seasons, Stars and Shadows, Mechanical Timekeeping,* and finally *Sumptuous Clocks*.

The immediate impression generated by the names of the various sections was that time and place had been juggled according to theme - just like the associative narrative. Upon closer inspection, however, it emerged that the order in which the sections were arranged, and especially the order in which the objects within each section were placed, indicated a meaning generating sequence. It is thus not coincidental that *The Measurement of Time* began with a section on the influence of the sun. As stated in the catalogue 'The Sun,

our closest star, is used as the *primary* timekeeper in almost every culture on Earth' (my emphasis). Two sections (and a couple of thousands of years) later humans had reached the mechanical measurement of time, showing the development of mechanical clocks from the earliest Roman dials to the latest atom run clocks. The chronological order was not rigid, neither within the exhibition as a whole or within the individual sections, but it cast a loose net over the exhibition. If the exhibition narrative had been consistently additive, then it would have been confined to a development narrative about time as a phenomenon, an exhibition in which the earliest concepts of time developed and changed over time. However, the London exhibition reflected a more anthropologically inspired approach, representing time as a construct, the perception of which changes according to time and place, thus disrupting any universal narrative.

Objects as Evidence

Since the aim of the exhibition was to depict the understanding of time throughout the world, visitors could have expected to see objects from different cultures. Yet, although over 500 objects were gathered from near and far, the exhibition failed to break free of a Eurocentric framework. The objects from China, Japan, Indonesia and Australia were primarily included to represent cultural plurality, rather than as sources documenting historical developments. Old and new European watches were exhibited together to depict a cultural development, but there was no parallel display of ancient and modern Chinese horoscopes, for example. The geographical distribution was also uneven, with more objects from Europe, Asia and America than from Africa, for example.

The exhibition's universal approach to its theme made a wide range of objects relevant, and there were outstanding examples, both art and natural and cultural history objects, as well as ethnographical objects. But whereas the cultural history objects were presented as the sources of a historical narrative, and the ethnographical objects as sources of the exhibition's ethnographical narrative, the works of art were presented not primarily as art but as interesting cultural history sources. Thus, Salvador Dali's drawing of a soft watch exploding was exhibited here to visualise the influence of contemporary scientific debates about the relativity of time on perceptions of the progress of time, and the impact of the atomic bomb exploding over Hiroshima. The exhibition focused on the cultural historical aspects of such works of art, something that can be understood in the context of its aim to encompass the phenomenon of time in all its complexity, coupled with the ambition only to use originals. Where central aspects of the perception of time, like the influence of the theory of relativity mentioned above, could be illustrated using cultural history sources, only original works of art were used. Such issues of representation were not encountered by the Berlin exhibition. The associative narrative makes no claims to be an all encompassing representation of a phenomenon, choosing instead to represent selected aspects of a given phenomenon.

Original objects dominated *The Story of Time.* Apart from the objects and related texts, the exhibition consisted solely of neutral, structural elements. All the objects were lit in the same way; all the walls and showcases were grey (Plate 5). There were no photographs or colour to imply contextual elements. The visual neutrality of the exhibition was broken only twice, and in both cases there were no objects, presumably to underline the fact that nothing was to disturb the informative, neutral presentation of 'facts' in the rest of the exhibition. These two rooms would be difficult to make anonymous - their interiors were characterised by the building's original function as the queen's palace, the first having a large spiral staircase (Plate 6), the second large painted ceilings. These visual breaks in the exhibition were used to establish the basis of the exhibition narrative. The first took the visitor back to the beginning of time using chronological tables. The second showed the birth of the stars and thereby the basis for time and place as concrete phenomena. These two breaks in the otherwise neutral presentation did not, however, alter the impression that the exhibition was free of everything other than strictly informative, interpretative elements. Neutrally lit with informative texts, the exhibition seemed to say that here are only established facts - the remains of history - and nothing else. Like the utopia exhibition in Paris any subjective presence, established through lighting, stage design, questions to visitors etc. was erased. The objects were the facts of the narrative. That the universal narrative was broken up into several narratives had no effect on the ideal of objective presentation, in which objects speak largely for themselves.

Plate 5: Apart from the original object and related texts, the exhibition consisted solely of neutral elements. All the walls and showcases were grey. Photo from The Story of Time, National Maritime Museum.
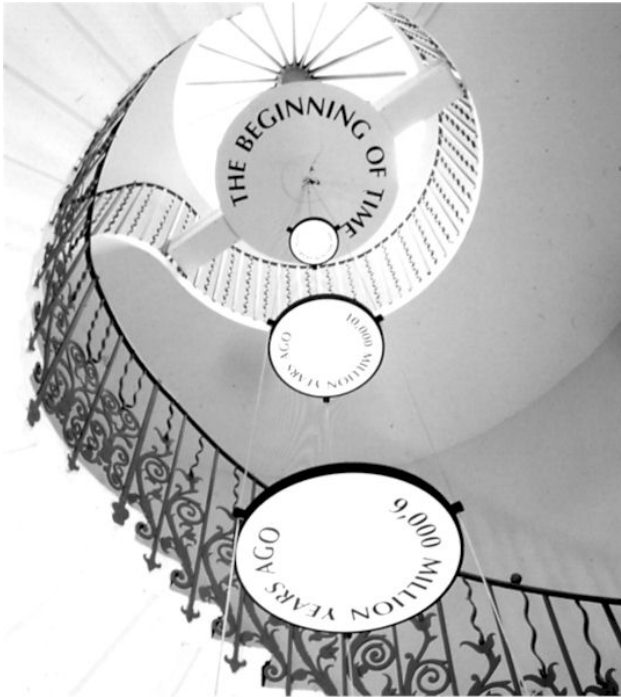
Plate 6: The visual neutrality of the exhibition was broken in the beginning. The spiral staircase took the visitor back to the beginning of time. Photo from The Story of Time, National Maritime Museum.

Everything - Plus

The London exhibition can be seen as introducing a more constructivist angle to the traditional, historical narrative. Since the exhibition set out to explore time as a phenomenon, those organising the exhibition found it impossible to tell a single, sequential story. Time dissolves in a multitude of perceptions changing according to angle, geographical location and culture. The constructivist approach was evident in the absence of an overall chronological structure and in the wide-ranging choice of objects.

In this context it would seem obvious to choose an associative narrative like the Berlin exhibition, something *The Story of Time* did to a certain extent. But the exhibition moved beyond the 'brainstorm phase', striving to give syntheses drawn from the additive narrative also present. The exhibition was called *The*

Story of Time, not stories about time. It began with *The Creation of* and concluded with *The End of Time.* Time was defined throughout (all time until now, but not the present and the future) as was place (the entire known universe, but no imaginary worlds). Finally, the exhibition presented objects as an uninterpreted basis for the narrative. The assumption that the visitors themselves would have reached a similar conclusion on the basis of the material supplied, and would be capable of reaching a consensus around one particular narrative of time, was thus maintained.

The exhibition about time wanted it all: to represent multiplicity without abandoning unequivocal conclusions. To cover the phenomenon entirely everything had to be included - all known times and all known places. This made the exhibition vulnerable, in that every omission could (rightfully) be criticised as a lack. But perhaps the exhibition can best be seen as a reflection of historical research today, having acknowledged the pluralism of history without relinquishing the academic goal of producing neutral syntheses.

Exhibition Narratives in Flux

The additive narrative remains by far the most widespread narrative in cultural history exhibitions, but the three millennial exhibitions discussed in this article are evidence that it is no longer the only option. All three were very different historical representations, although all used originals as focal points. In Paris and London objects were used as guarantees for the scholarly and objective presentation of their themes - as 'facts'. The Berlin exhibition used such objects as signs. Here originals and copies were undifferentiated, both being expressions of materialised interpretations. The exhibition's maintenance of the principle of originality has to be seen in the context of the 'aura' of such original objects, something used here to enhance the emotional dimension of the exhibition.

These three exhibitions demonstrate the existence of a narrative tradition in cultural history exhibitions - *the additive narrative* - as well as revealing challenges and supplements to that tradition. New narrative forms have emerged, although the changes have not yet been radical enough to contest the validity of originals over copies. So far the change has been limited as to how these originals are used.

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Teachers' agendas for museum visits - A Comparative Study of Britain and Taiwan

Tracy Tsai

Introduction

This study sets out to explore how teachers' museum agendas are developed in British and Taiwanese schools. In this paper, a teacher's museum agenda refers to a set of values, perceptions and expectations of what a museum visit will hold. The preconceptions and expectations teachers bring to a visit profoundly affect the way they use museums. However, most research carried out so far focuses only on the teacher's experience within the museum itself; very little attention is paid to the teacher's agenda prior to the visit. Therefore, this study will try to examine the nature and the development of teachers' museum agendas in the contexts of two quite different schooling cultures. In this study, it is assumed that teachers from different types of schooling culture would have different beliefs about teaching and learning, and consequently, they will have different perceptions and expectations of a museum visit. By comparing teachers from two countries, namely Britain and Taiwan, it is expected that the impact of implicit schooling culture such as educational beliefs and values on the teachers' museum agendas, can be more clearly revealed.

Ideology and Pedagogy

Teaching appears to be a uniquely human activity in comparison to learning behaviours exhibited by many species (Visalberghi and Fragaszy, 1988; Premack and Premack, 1988). Research suggests that although animals show the comprehension of the physical principle, which is the foundation of learning through observation, they lack the understanding of causality. The understanding of causality serves as a basis on which the model (teacher) is able to judge whether the novice's behaviour is appropriate, and accordingly, to teach the novice how things are supposed to be. Furthermore, animals lack an understanding of the mental state of other animals. In other words, they fail to recognise if their young or peers do not know something; consequently, there is 'no ascription of ignorance, no effort to teach' (Olson & Bruner, 1998: 12). These arguments may further suggest that, to be able to teach, models need to know what is appropriate to teach and identify what the novice does not yet know.

This basic principle can further be elaborated on and applied to teaching practices in human society. It implies that teaching requires two premises: the assumption of knowledge and the assumption of minds of learners. Corresponding to this principle, Hein proposes an educational theory. Hein's theory suggests that how people teach - the theory of teaching, depends on the association of the theory of knowledge - what is knowledge and how to

acquire it, and the theory of learning - how the learner's mind works (Hein, 1998). Hein's theory explains that different pedagogical styles come from different views of human beings, regarding the nature of their knowledge, and of learners and the way they learn. This assumption is often confirmed by fruitful studies in anthropology and psychology: anthropological literature has revealed a wide variety of teaching practices in different cultural settings; psychological research has also uncovered diverse thinking in different societies at the level of both the conscious and the unconscious.

In recent years, cultural psychologists Olson and Bruner (1998) have called for an 'anthropology of pedagogy' to link teaching behaviour with cultural beliefs. They propose a model of 'folk pedagogy' as an alternative way of analysing teaching. Basically, the notion of folk pedagogy is not far from that of Hein's theory. They both assume that pedagogy is a deliberated device based on a set of beliefs about learners and learning. However, unlike Hein's theory, which is based on more logical thinking such as theories of knowledge (epistemologies) and theories of learning, folk pedagogy is more concerned with people's intuitive assumptions about learners and learning. Significantly, these assumptions do not exist in a vacuum, but are fostered and defined within their socio-cultural context.

The insights of educational theory and folk pedagogy are crucial for understanding teaching and learning in different societies. They explain why some teaching approaches, such as object-teaching are favoured in some schooling contexts but are dismissed in others; or why some teaching resources such as museums, are overlooked by some societies but are popular in others. Taking these theories as a starting point, it is assumed that teachers who hold different educational beliefs may have different perceptions and expectations of using museums as educational resources. It is the aim of this study to explore and to compare what a museum visit means to British and Taiwanese teachers.

Methodology

In order to explore how teachers' museum agendas are developed in their schooling contexts, the study first chose one museum from each country. Then for each museum, three local primary school teachers, who conducted museum visits, were selected and their respective museum agendas were examined as a case study. In order to highlight the differences between British and Taiwanese schooling cultures, the museums were specially selected to be as comparable as possible. The Natural History Museum, London and the National Museum of Natural Science, Taichung were chosen for this purpose. Of particular interest to this study is that the teachers' museum agendas were interpreted not only by using the teachers' own accounts, but also according to the schooling contexts in which the agendas were formed. Therefore, this study employed the method of interviews with the teachers, in combination with fieldwork in the school settings. The methods used in the fieldwork included

participant observations, informal conversations and document analyses. The data from the fieldwork helps more thoroughly to understand the schooling contexts in addition to the teachers' own explanations.

The three British teachers who participated in the study were Rachel, Stella and Mark and the three teachers in Taiwan were Hwang, Lin and Chang. In addition to these main participants, other teachers involved in museum visits were also interviewed. Their opinions were compared to and supplemented those of the main participants in order to make the interpretations of the cases more complete.

Teachers' values and perceptions of a museum visit

The manifestation of primary ideology

The overwhelming finding of this study is the extent to which the teachers' entrenched educational ideologies can condition the values they place on a museum visit. Therefore, before discussing the teachers' museum agendas, it is necessary to briefly outline the educational ideologies held by British and Taiwanese teachers.

It is a prevalent belief in Britain that children learn from experience. This view is derived from the tradition of progressive education, which suggests that children are unique individuals who develop as organic beings, or grow like plants as a metaphor, by responding to their environments and by experiencing the world around them. In this sense, the teacher's role is more like that of a gardener who provides a rich and stimulating learning environment for children, allowing them to develop or to blossom in their own ways.

In Taiwan, learning is perceived very differently. As part of the Confucian heritage and Chinese culture, Taiwan's education is influenced by Confucianism, which assumes that children are like clay that can be moulded by external forces. Based on this assumption, it is believed that the best way for children to learn is through modelling behaviours, such as memorising, practising and habit forming. It is the teacher's duty to present himself/herself as a model worthy of imitation, both morally and intellectually. Furthermore, the teacher is supposed to present knowledge in a well-organised and systematic way, which is convenient for students to memorise internally or to practise repeatedly. By the same token, (s)he also needs to provide a disciplined and well ordered environment, as a model, which will enable children to form good learning habits such as concentration and diligence.

As ideas of teaching and learning are so different in Britain and Taiwan, they lead to divergent values and perceptions towards the use of museums among the British and Taiwanese teachers. This report will go on to discuss these differences.

Learning from experience vs. Learning from modelling

As British teachers assume that children learn from experience, increasing children's direct and first-hand experience of the world around them becomes their overriding educational concern. This aim is not only achieved by creating material-rich environments and offering physically engaging activities in the schools as observed in the case studies; it is also fulfilled by bringing children into contact with the outside world. Therefore, outings are highly regarded for their educational value. There is a substantial amount of research demonstrating that educational visits play a vital part in the life of British primary schools (Adams, 1990; Gardner Smith Associates, 1990; Keeley, 1993; Baxter, 1997). For example, Baxter's survey (1997: 114) on East Midlands' schools shows that 95% of 1284 schools responding agreed with the statement that, 'Day visits are an important part of school life', while 50% strongly agreed. This tendency explains the great value British museums place on their school audience. In Anderson's national survey (1997), schools were clearly identified as the highest priority audience by all types of British museums.

The findings from the three British case studies also confirm this tendency. In the three schools studied, educational visits appear to be a regular feature and an integral part of school life. They are encouraged either by special school policies or by supportive head-teachers.

For example, one participant teacher, Rachel, carries out school visits nearly every week. She emphasised that her enthusiasm for outings is also shared by other teachers in the school, which successfully forms a prevailing school ethos. Another teacher, Stella, said that she considers conducting visits to be a responsibility of teachers, depending on their teaching needs. Furthermore, although there is no explicit school policy regarding outings, the head-teacher is very supportive of them, and often suggests places for teachers to visit. The third participant teacher, Mark, claimed that carrying out educational visits is now a deliberate school policy because his school had once been criticised for insufficiently utilising outside educational resources. Mark also thought that the encouragement of educational visits is more than just an initiative at his school; it is also a recommended national policy: the National Curriculum clearly suggests that teachers should use outside resources, such as museums, to facilitate children's learning.

Among various places available for school visits, museums are definitely the first choice for teachers as far as providing active learning opportunities is concerned. The three participant teachers all pointed out that the chance for seeing real objects or physically doing things in museums is their main reason for conducting such a visit. This type of experience, as they all explained, is essential and invaluable to children's learning; it not only reinforces the memory of what they learned, but also helps them to understand abstract concepts in a concrete context. To Rachel, the first-hand experience is too valuable to be replaced by other ways of learning, as she stated:

'I just feel that the direct experience of going to see something in the museum or going to woodland to look at creatures and natural habitats or whatever it may be, you cannot actually substitute those experiences with books or me standing in front of the children giving lessons or telling them about it. For them to experience it, it's going to be real. I think it's going to be invaluable to the children'.

The great emphasis teachers place on first-hand experience is consistent with the findings of the OFSTED's study (Office for Standards in Education). The study demonstrates a strong conviction among British teachers, that 'learning by doing' is more effective than 'teaching by telling' (OFSTED, 1993: 8). To some British teachers, the need to give children such an experience seems to be even more crucial in today's social context, as Stella pertinently pointed out:

'I think that children learn best if they do things themselves....For these children, they spend a lot of time watching television, things literally go in one ear and out the other. They don't take them in unless they hold something, smell something, touch it or talk about it, all these practical things'.

The issue raised by Stella not only illustrates her personal belief in learning through sensory exploration, but also indicates the challenges most teachers are now facing in competing with the media for children's attention in order to give them practical experiences.

In contrast to the enthusiasm found in British primary schools towards outings, museum visits not only occur much less frequently in Taiwan, but also are less well understood for their educational values. As the case studies show, the school visits to the National Museum of Natural Science were not activities initiated by the teachers themselves, but annual events for all local primary schools under the requirement of the local educational authority. In fact, unless it is required by the authority, schools rarely conduct museum visits.

One of the main reasons behind the teachers' indifference to outings or museum visits is closely associated with the prevailing culture of using textbooks in schools. The use of textbooks is a distinctive feature at all levels of school in Chinese society. Particularly in primary schools in Taiwan, textbooks are extensively used for nearly every subject, even including art, music and physical education. This feature actually mirrors the traditional Chinese belief in learning from modelling. In Chinese, a common expression for 'teach' is Jiao Shu, which literally means 'teach books', and another expression of 'study' is Du Shu, which means 'read books'. Textbooks, which present knowledge in a systematic order, with elaborated texts and illustrations, have always been regarded as the ideal models for children to learn from. In addition, textbooks are also the best way for parents to monitor what teachers have taught in class and, after school, for children to practise what they have learned. Therefore, the textbook

is more than the display of knowledge; it is also an essential means of connecting learning in school and at home.

Because textbooks are so highly regarded, other educational resources are inevitably treated by teachers as dispensable or less significant. This attitude is explicitly expressed by one participant teacher, Tan, who, on behalf of the school, organises school activities including the museum visits. He frankly acknowledged that the main purpose of a museum visit is to enrich children's social experience. Other purposes, such as the facilitation of class teaching, is not a major concern for the school because 'teachers already have textbooks and equipment to teach the lessons, so it's not necessary for them to go on a visit for the purpose of teaching.' Another participant teacher, Hwang, also pointed out that the heavy dependence on textbooks often results in teachers' passivity to expand their teaching resources beyond books, let alone using museums outside school. As museums are not recognised as a necessary provision for teaching lessons, some teachers, as Hwang further commented, may even regard a museum visit as an extra burden on their already heavy workload.

Self-motivation and enjoyment vs. Discipline and hard work

British educational beliefs assume that children are unique individuals who develop through experiencing the world physically and mentally. In other words, learning is believed as a process of personal development, which is mainly dependent on the children themselves. Therefore, teachers are greatly concerned with motivating children to actively explore and interact with their surroundings. Cortazzi's study shows that British primary school teachers perceive that children's interest and enjoyment play a key role in the planning of their work (Cortazzi, 1991: 124). A comparative study of British and French primary schooling also found that more British teachers gave emphasis to the importance of intrinsic motivation in children's learning, while more British pupils expected their work to contain elements of fun or enjoyment (Planel, 1997: 363-364).

The affective side of learning is clearly valued by all three British teachers. Both Rachel and Mark emphasised that motivation is the key ingredient to successful learning and the underpinning of their teaching plans. Stella, who teaches in a Roman Catholic school and has a more formal teaching style, also stated that it is 'fantastic' if teachers can combine education with entertainment. The teachers' belief in the importance of self-motivation is evident in the way they decorate their classrooms. Their displays are enthusiastically set up and frequently changed to create a vibrant and cheerful atmosphere in order to engage the children's attention and increase their interest. Moreover, teaching is rarely practised by preaching the contents of textbooks, but more often by involving the children in various activities and using a range of resources.

In such an educational climate, it is not surprising to find that all three teachers claimed that igniting children's interest in learning is another deciding factor for their visits to museums, which are full of fresh and exciting stimuli for children. For example, Mark stressed that the whole experience of going on a trip, including the expectation of the coming visit, the excitement of the visit itself, and the enjoyable memory afterwards, can really increase children's enthusiasm in the subject they are studying. He further explained that self-motivation in learning is particularly important to his students who come from a poor area with little family support for education. Without this type of motivation, there is hardly any incentive for them to learn. Another participant, Rachel, also prioritised motivation as the main impulse for children's learning, even though her students are from an affluent area and have more supportive parents. She stated:

> 'They [children] get to enjoy it, they get to want to do it; you can make a child do it, but if they haven't enjoyed it and wanted to do it, they are not going to absorb as much information as they would do when they are enthusiastic about it.'

By comparison, Taiwanese teachers have a completely different viewpoint with regard to achieving successful learning. Children, according to Chinese beliefs, are malleable and can be formed by external forces or by their environments. Thus, teachers try to create an orderly and disciplined learning environment where children can form good learning habits. The establishment of these learning habits, such as self-discipline and self-regulation, not only helps children to concentrate on the teachers' instructions in schools, but also enables them routinely to practise what they have learned after school. In order to form certain habits, strict rules, fixed schedules and repetitive routines, these well-known features of Chinese schooling, are extensively exercised. The notion that 'school is a place for learning, not for fun' is instilled in children at an early age (Wu, 1996: 13). Cortazzi and Jin's study also shows that 43% of Chinese students expect a good student to be 'hard working' in comparison to only 6.6% who expect them to be 'well-motivated' (Cortazzi and Jin, 1996: 189).

The traditional ideas of how a child should behave and what an ideal learning environment should be, inevitably affect teachers' views of a museum visit. The best example to illustrate this point is the case of one participant teacher Chang. As a young teacher in her late twenties and with only three years of teaching experience, she nevertheless firmly upholds the traditional ideas about learning. She admitted that the atmosphere in her class was a bit tense because she deliberately instilled the habits of learning, such as concentration and diligence, into her students by imposing strict orders and rules on her students in the class. In contrast to the strict atmosphere in her classroom, she thought that a museum visit is more like a fun day out rather than a real opportunity of learning, as she explained:

> 'To me, a museum visit is like a fun day out in another form. It also lets

> children have an opportunity to relax, away from taking lessons in schools.... In a museum, children are allowed to move freely and to chat with their friends as long as they don't disturb others. This behaviour is permitted in the museum but not in a classroom. A classroom is a closed space. As soon as they enter the room, the children know how to behave themselves....I cannot stand noisy or loose discipline in my classroom.'

Chang's comment demonstrates that a museum visit has less educational values for her because this kind of informal learning, allowing free exploration in a relaxed, entertaining setting, is in complete contrast to her idea of an effective learning environment.

It is interesting to note that Chang's reaction to informal styles of learning is not unique. Howard's study also shows that Chinese teachers and students tend to regard interactive activities, such as holding stimulating conversations and role playing, as 'games', rather than 'serious learning' (Howard, 1990: 68). Based on these findings, it is fair to suggest that learning through playing, which many museums now try to encourage, is neither taken seriously nor appreciated by many Taiwanese teachers.

Individualism vs. Collectivism

As learning is regarded as a process of personal development mainly dependent on the children themselves, British teachers heed more individuals' needs, as well as the skills of self-directed learning. Planel's study found that, in comparison to French teachers, British teachers tend to encourage children to find out their own individual solutions to problems because teachers believe that 'everyone's idea will be different' (Planel, 1997: 357). Individualisation is often described as a typical feature of British primary schooling, though the trait of individualisation may have been weakened by the recent trend of whole-class teaching, which was a result of the Education Reform Act in Britain. Nevertheless, according to Galton's survey of several important studies across 20 years,[1] teachers' interaction with individual children was then and is now a dominant pattern of teaching in British primary schools (Galton et al., 1999: 57).

Examples of individualised teaching behaviour are often observed in the three participant teachers' classes, too. For example, the children are given more opportunities to work alone and choose how to do the task. To facilitate individual learning, all three classrooms have an open layout, a flexible seating arrangement, and an abundance of learning materials and equipment. Such a classroom design allows the children to have more freedom, in terms of moving around to get necessary equipment, talking with classmates or asking teachers for help. While the children are working alone, the teachers are either walking around to check their progress or interacting with individual children who queue up for help or comments.

The efforts to increase the children's independent learning is not limited to inside the classrooms but also extends beyond the school walls. Frequent outings, as seen in these case studies, are an important way of introducing children to a wide range of resources as well as training them to find out answers in a new environment. Museums, which present valuable information in various forms, such as objects, texts, figures, pictures and video, are one of the teachers' favourite choices for encouraging this type of learning. All three teachers emphasised that the fostering of children's independent learning skills, such as knowing how to use museums, raising one's own questions and finding out information by themselves, is another impetus for their museum visits.

Apart from the educational benefits, visiting museums is also seen as a good way of enriching children's life experience and broadening their horizons, in other words, of developing a child's social skills. It is interesting to point out that although the social aspect of a museum visit is recognised by both the British and Taiwanese teachers, the British teachers took it very seriously and regarded it as an indispensable element of school education. For example, Mark deliberately brought children out in order for them to experience things that they would not normally encounter in their daily life. He firmly believes that school education has a more important function than just as a distributor of knowledge, as he stated:

> 'Forget academics, school has a big role to play in the social development of those children.... You want them to have enjoyed their time at school, you want them to remember you as giving them those opportunities: "oh yes, we did that."'

The teachers' great concern for the children's social development is confirmed by the findings of both Broadfoot's (1987) and Planel's (1997) studies, which suggest that British teachers have a broader definition of their professional responsibility, in comparison to French teachers. British teachers tried to develop the child as a whole - socially, personally and academically, whereas French teachers often regarded their duty to be primarily the achievement of children's academic potential.

A similar comparison to the one shown above can also be found by examining the British and Taiwanese cases. Instead of stressing the development of individuality, the ultimate goal of Taiwanese schooling is to pursue a collective congruence. According to Chinese beliefs, although children may have different abilities and aptitudes, through diligent practice and training, everyone can achieve the same goal. In this sense, the educational priority of schools is not to cater for individual differences, but to set up a common goal, and then ensure that both teachers and students work hard towards this goal by imposing standard teaching targets, uniform teaching materials, identical learning environments, and recurrent school examinations.

Examinations have been the most prevalent means of monitoring the success

of the collective goal in Chinese society. In particular, Taiwanese schools are well-known for holding an excessive number of examinations, a phenomenon which has been described as 'exam hell' by foreign visitors (Sharma, 1997). Although the Educational Reform in Taiwan has tried to modify this intensive exam culture by encouraging primary school teachers to use multiple assessments to replace writing tests, examinations, either formal or informal, are still a major feature of school life and the main mechanism for assessing children's learning by the participant teachers.[2]

Such an exam culture seems difficult to overcome, especially when it is enthusiastically fostered by Chinese parents' zealous interest in academic achievements. In Taiwan, most primary schools will regularly hold whole school examinations two or three times a term. Parents will then be informed about their children's exam results as well as the average scores of the whole class. By comparing these two types of exam results, parents can easily assess their children as well as the teachers. Therefore, teachers in Taiwan are under tremendous pressure to produce good test results to satisfy parents. This is another reason for teachers' reluctance to conduct museum visits because the visit is normally irrelevant to class teaching, and its learning outcomes cannot be formally assessed. Consequently, visits receive little approval from parents. Teacher Hwang explained her concern about parents' attitudes as follows:

> 'Parents in Taiwan don't value educational visits very much. Although they are very concerned about their children's learning, they only put great emphasis on exam results. As to this kind of latent, imperceptible learning, they don't value it so much nor do they think outings are important. It is the common feeling for most parents. Some of them who are very traditional even think outings may interfere with the children's learning in schools.'

It is interesting to point out that although British primary school teachers are now also facing tremendous pressure from Standard Assessment Tasks and the announcement of league tables, the three British participant teachers did not mention that their work pressure comes directly from parents. In comparison, the Taiwanese teachers all expressed their serious concerns about parents' opinions. This phenomenon may be explained by the fact that Chinese parents have much higher expectations of teachers. According to Chen and Uttal's study (1988), 66% of Chinese parents, compared to only 19% of American parents, believed that teachers are more important than parents in influencing children's learning.

Because both parents and teachers in Taiwan place a strong emphasis on the collective academic outcome, consequently, they have a more restricted view about the educational responsibility of schools: the primary goal of school education is to maximize children's academic potential as well as the collective test outcomes of the whole class. As to cater for a individual child's learning or

development of interests, this is often left to parents to deal with this aspect. Learning in museums, which is more individual and affective-oriented, is often regarded as the parents' rather than the schools' responsibility, as Hwang commented:

> '...Most teachers would expect as few outings as possible, or they would prefer that parents will take their children out. In fact, I think that the use of educational resources outside the school should be mainly the responsibility of parents because children can get better instruction on a one to one basis....'

It is interesting to point out that the contrast of individualism and collectivism not only manifests itself in the educational value that teachers place on a museum visit, but also on their expectation of children's behaviour during a visit. Although both the British and the Taiwanese teachers recognised the social value of museum visits in the development of children's life experience in general, they, however, put a different emphasis on them. For example, Stella stressed that the social benefit of a museum visit was to train children to become more independent individuals, as she stated:

> 'The visit also develops children socially. You take them out of the classroom context and into the new situation, some of them seem to grow, they look more independent. They are in the place to meet the public, they show themselves more grown-up...they become more confident and more independent, it also gives them a chance to show their common sense a lot of times.'

On the contrary, in Taiwan, one specialist teacher Tsai, who also accompanies museum visits, thought that a school visit was a good opportunity for children to learn how to suppress their personal will and to follow the group rules:

> 'A school visit is different from a family visit....Children cannot act as they wish with a school visit because a school is a corporate identity; a school visit has its own agenda and rules which should be followed by all the children participating. Thus, the children cannot go somewhere or do something which is against the plan of the school.'

By comparing these two comments, it becomes clear that the influences of individualism and collectivism go far beyond academic learning, but extend into every aspect of school life including the shaping of children's social behaviours.

Teachers' expectations of a museum visit

Teachers' expectations of what a museum visit will be clearly reflect their educational preconceptions and values. For example, one of the main reasons

for the British participant teachers to initiate a visit to the Natural History Museum, London, is because of their belief in the value of the first-hand experience gained from the visit. Thus, the teachers all expected their children to closely look at exhibits in the museum. In order to enhance the children's observational skills, Rachel particularly asked the children to choose one or two fossils, which were fairly challenging, to draw them in detail. This activity was aimed at enabling the children to look at objects in greater depth. Furthermore, the British teachers expected their children to develop the investigative skills by finding answers for themselves in this new environment. For this purpose, Rachel and Stella designed worksheets for the children with open-ended questions so that the children had to draw information from various sources, as Rachel said:

> 'The questions weren't direct questions. For instance, where (in the museum) there were television screens, the children did not immediately turn on the screen and there was an answer. You have to actually listen to it and look at the next screen and gather information when you went along.'

Since the British teachers believe that learning primarily depends on the children themselves, they regarded their role during a visit to be more as a helper or facilitator, helping students by reading labels, giving directions, and raising discussions. Because their role was more like a helper than a knowledge provider, they were more confident about teaching children in the museum, even though they may not have been very familiar with the exhibits on display. The teachers' perceptions of the roles of learners and teachers also affect their way of viewing and using museums. For example, the Natural History Museum, as the British teachers perceive it, is more like a resource centre than an academic institution. Their main concern is whether the museum is friendly and accessible enough, so that children dare to touch things, freely explore and find out information for themselves. This expectation is clearly revealed when Stella explained why she chose to visit the Natural History Museum, London:

> 'The Natural History Museum is such a lovely museum, it is quite child-friendly. Whereas you go to some museums and they continually tell children to be quiet and frown at you if you make any noise....I have been to the Museum a lot of times and had really nice comments from people who work there saying how well the children work....I think they are encouraging towards children.'

On the other hand, although the educational aspect of a visit to the National Museum of Natural Science is not the major concern of the Taiwanese teachers, all the teachers in the case studies preferred the children to attend educational programs at the museum in order to learn information in a systematic and organized manner. Furthermore, they all expected the children to pay close attention to the talks given by tour guides or museum educators. These

expectations are profoundly influenced by the schooling culture in Taiwan, where the accumulation of factual knowledge is emphasized and a learner is expected to carefully follow the instructions of the model (teacher) who presents information in a well-ordered manner. Hwang's explanation of why she needed a guided tour clearly illustrates what she expects from the children during a museum visit:

> 'The age of our children was still very young. Without a guide to lead them around the museum, they may just hurriedly glance over objects without catching the essential points. If our children were old enough, such as junior or senior high school students, they would pay attention to and read the labels carefully. On the contrary, our children are still very young so sometimes they cannot fully understand the explanations on the labels as some of them are written with lots of terminology. If we have a tour guide, we can learn not only the superficial meaning of an object but also the in-depth information such as the background or the theory behind it.'

As learning is assumed to occur through modeling, teachers, consequently, are regarded as models who know the subject matter very well. However, in the case of museums, it is impossible for teachers to know about everything on display. That is why all the Taiwanese teachers in this study did not feel competent to teach in the museum. For example, the participant teacher Tsai had been to the National Museum of Natural Science more than ten times, but still felt unsure about teaching children in the museum. Another special teacher in the pilot study said that he felt he 'lost face' once when a student asked him questions in the museum that he did not know how to answer. Due to their lack of confidence, the Taiwanese teachers only considered their role in the museum to be as a safeguard, someone who looks after the children's safety, but not actively involved in teaching. Accordingly, they relied heavily on the museum to take charge of the teaching.

The perception of teachers as models or knowledge providers also affects the teachers' expectations and usage of the museum services. For example, their view of the National Museum of Natural Science, Taichung, is more like an academic institution, which would provide professional knowledge in its subject area. Therefore, all the Taiwanese teachers expected the museum to supply guided tours and educational services. As far as learning is concerned, they thought that attending these services was a more effective way of helping the children to learn, than allowing them freely to explore in the museum. On the other hand, the British teachers studied did not think that having tour guides or attending activities was a necessity during a visit. In fact, they preferred to use the museum in a more flexible way following their own agendas, and letting children look for answers by themselves rather than just being told by museum educators.

Conclusion

The aim of this paper was to identify teachers' museum agendas and explore how these agendas are developed. By comparing the British and Taiwanese teachers' museum agendas, this report has clearly demonstrated that their agendas are profoundly conditioned by the teachers' deeply-rooted educational beliefs embodied in the schooling contexts. In Britain, museum visits are an essential part of school life. British teachers enthusiastically conduct museum visits because their personal beliefs and school cultures correspond more closely to the principles of museum education, which emphasizes object-learning, self-motivation and self-direction. On the other hand, Taiwanese teachers seem to understand and appreciate less the educational merits of museums, because the museum pedagogy is totally different to that which teachers uphold in schools, stressing modeling, hard working, and collective congruence. Therefore, it is not surprising to find that Taiwanese teachers either have an indifferent attitude towards museum visits, or simply apply their usual classroom approaches to the new setting of the museum. In other words, a museum is used as another classroom, and its unique educational potential is generally neglected.

The result of this study suggests that what teachers perceive and expect from the museum may not necessarily fit with the museum's agenda, that is, the message the museum tries to convey and what it expects visitors to do. In this case, the teachers' experience in the museum will be more affected by their own rather than the museum's agenda because visitors are entitled freely to use museums in their own way. Therefore, if museums would like to change teachers' perceptions and attitudes to fit more closely with their agendas, museums need to know first where teachers' ideas come from and how deeply the ideas are rooted in their system. By doing so, museums can know how much they need to do, if the teachers' agendas are to change and lead to more successful use of museums.

Notes

1. The studies included in Galton's survey are ORACLE (Galton and Simon, 1980), PRISMS (Galton and Patrick, 1990), One in Five (Cross and Moses, 1985), School Matters (Mortimore et al., 1988), INCSS (Galton et al., 1998), PACE (Pollard et al., 1994; Croll, 1996).

2. According to the interview data, all participant teachers marking children' learning outcome are based on the following proportions: 50% of the results of formal examinations held regularly by schools, and 50% of multiple assessments, including informal tests, homework and class work, which are subject to their own decision.

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The Museum in Transition: Community Involvement in Northeast Taiwan
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Introduction

In 1967, the Anacostia Neighborhood Museum was established in the United States, successfully addressing community issues and arousing wide interest. Since then, much attention has been paid to the way in which the museum tackles social issues. In a similar vein, in 1972, the concept of the ecomuseum was introduced by Hugues de Varine at the annual conference of ICOM, and its pioneering ideas have since been practiced in many parts of the world and continued to influence the museum community at large (Davis, 1999). These two museological concepts were introduced into the museum community of Taiwan in the 1990's, a time during which Taiwan experienced very rapid social transformation followed by a process of democratisation. At that time, more than one hundred local museums were established in Taiwan, many of them housed in renovated historic houses, reflecting the rise of local culture as well as the dissolution of old authoritarian boundaries. The new museum development in Taiwan, although influenced by western concepts of the museum, has nevertheless transformed ideas and developed its own unique experience.

Under what circumstances were concepts of the community museum and the ecomuseum imported into Taiwan? How do they shape the discourse and development of museums in Taiwan? To explore this issue, this paper aims to discuss community museum practice in Taiwan through a case study - the Bai-mi Clog Museum. Contrary to the Anacostia Neighbourhood Museum, which is located in the black district of prosperous Washington DC, the Bai-mi Clog Museum is located in one of the most beautiful though poorest counties of east Taiwan, I-Lan. Suffering from industrial pollution and depopulation, the Bai-mi community tackled the community issue through the establishment of the clog museum. Without training from the museum profession, it was through the process of community empowerment that the Bai-mi community was mobilized, built its own community museum and shaped a vision of the Bai-mi ecomuseum of the future.

This discussion is mainly based on observation notes and documents collected during fieldwork carried out in March 2001. Interviews with museum staff, community residents and visitors also provide insights into understanding of the nature and culture of the Bai-mi Clog Museum. In this article, the literature of the community museum and ecomuseum will be briefly reviewed. After that, the paper will investigate the circumstances under which Taiwan has absorbed the concept of the community museum and ecomuseum and how these two concepts were connected and practised in the Bai-mi Clog Museum. Lastly, it will echo the concept of the post-museum proposed by Hooper-Greenhill to

see how this new museum practice is possible in a remote county of eastern Taiwan (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000).

Literature Review

The Anacostia Neighbourhood Museum is believed to be the first community museum in the world, established with the help of the National Museum of History and Technology in Washington (Hudson, 1987:179). Appointed as the first Director, Kinard documented the process of founding the Anacostia Neighbourhood Museum and explored the theory of the community museum. He believes that the museum should take more responsibility in tackling social issues by a new way of thinking (Kinard, 1985). Emphasizing the participation of local residents and the pivotal role of the environment, the concept of the ecomuseum expands the traditional definition of the museum from a building into an ecological area covering several villages, natural resources and all the people who live in the area. Though similar to the idea of the open-air museum which was first established in Skansen, Sweden, the ecomuseum emphasizes preserving the buildings, the natural resources and encouraging people to remain the original site instead of moving them and constructing an artificial site. The whole concept of the ecomuseum, breaking the traditional idea of the museum centering on collection and exhibition, is revolutionary and influential. As Hubert points out:

> 'The originality of the ecomuseum is the astonishing capacity it has shown for catching up with its own day, for confronting the present in order to offer it a new humanism over and above the image it reflects. The ecomuseum, like other kinds of the museum that came into being at the same time or a little earlier completely undermined the notion of the universal museum that is fixed in time and space' (Francois Hubert 1985: 189-90).

Under the definition of ecomuseum, any town, city or even a state could be an ecomuseum. The ecomuseum not only breaks the tangible walls of museum, but it also dissolves the intangible boundary between the museum professional and lay people. As is pointed out, to manage such a huge museum area requires the integration of various disciplines (Kjell Engstrom, 1985: 206-7). Through the engagement with the community residents from various backgrounds, the traditional way of management is being changed in the Bai-mi Clog museum.

The Introduction of the Ecomuseum to Taiwan

In the late 1980's, in response to the rapid growth of museums in Taiwan and the increasing demand for museum professionals, museum studies came under the national scholarship scheme supported by the government. Under this scheme, at least one student will be sent abroad to take museum studies

every year. In addition, senior museum staff gets the opportunity to study abroad sponsored by the Council for Cultural Affairs, Administrative Yuan. As a result, a number of scholars brought back the idea of the community museum and the ecomuseum in the early 1990s. In 1993, the first postgraduate school of museum studies was founded in Tainan, southern Taiwan with one scholar who had graduated with a Ph.D degree from the Department of Museum Studies of the University of Leicester and with others from the fields of art history and architecture. They exchanged museological ideas developed in the western world and introduced them to Taiwan through the 'Museology Quarterly' and the projects in which they participated. For example, in 1993, there was a special issue on 'The Museum and Community' in the 'Museology Quarterly' in which experiences drawn from Britain, Canada and United States were introduced and discussed (National Museum of Natural Science, 1993). As a major museum journal, the articles were widely read and circulated among the museum community in Taiwan.

Meanwhile, due to the extensive process of social transformation in Taiwan, there has been a rise in local culture in the late 1980s. Many cultural organisations and interest groups have started to promote the use of native languages and the creation of Taiwanese literature. Parallel to this cultural trend, the Council for Cultural Affairs, Administrative Yuan, launched a Community Empowerment Project in 1994. As the project leader, Chen, Chi-Nan pointed out: 'The main purpose of the project is to solve problems' (Chen, 1995). What are the problems to be solved? They are the consequences of rapid economic and political development. First of all, Taiwan has faced similar problems as other developing countries. That is, in order to pursue rapid economic growth, natural resources have been exploited and the traditional cultural heritage has been neglected. The process of rural to urban migration has caused the decline of many rural communities. While enjoying the fruits of economic growth, people in Taiwan have suffered from air pollution, environmental degradation and cultural neglect. Secondly, following the lifting of martial law in 1987, Taiwan has witnessed a process of democratisation, yet this has had little impact on the cultural milieu in Taiwanese society.

Influenced by the rise of nativism, the implementation of the Community Empowerment Project and the spread of the idea of the ecomuseum, a new concept of the local museum is emerging, which is changing both people's lives and the museum community in Taiwan. In the past, due to political suppression, people in Taiwan seldom had the opportunity to participate in political activities. However, along with the rise of nativism, people have become more and more enthusiastic about public affairs, and the local museum is a place for people of the area to engage with local affairs. Among them, the Bai-mi Clog Museum presents a very interesting example of how the local community has tackled social issues, and learned and applied the concept of the community museum and the ecomuseum to change their environment.

The Bai-mi Clog Museum: A Case Study
The Bai-mi Community

Bai-mi Community is a very small community in I-lan County- the northeast part of Taiwan. The population is only about one thousand and is decreasing steadily. Literally, Bai-mi means white rice. The community gained its name because it is abundant in limestone, which is nicknamed 'white rice'. Several mining factories (Plate 1) have been built in this area, including one of the biggest cement factories in Taiwan -The Taiwan Cement Company. The limestone resource has not only brought cement industries but also pollution to the community. The neighbourhood has experienced some of the worst dust pollution in Taiwan due to the transportation of limestone and the mining industries.

Plate 1: The mining factories in the Bai-Mi community

Furthermore, like many other small communities in rural areas in Taiwan, the Bai-mi community has also suffered depopulation and economic decline in the past two decades. Once a very beautiful valley surrounded with mountains is gradually becoming the site of a hopeless small town polluted by dust, noise and with only a few aged residents. In 1992, the Taiwan Cement Company started to provide environmental compensation of four million NT dollars, which is equivalent to eighty thousand pounds a year, to Su-ao Township, which

however did not allocate the money to the Bai-mi community. Realizing that they must claim their right, people established the Bai-mi Community Association whose main goal is to improve the environment. By successfully claiming the environmental compensation from the Taiwan Cement Company, the community residents have identified opportunities and have started to think about how to make their lives better by improving their environment.

In 1995, the Bai-mi community was chosen as the seed promotional point of I-lan County under the Community Empowerment Project. Subsidized by the project, community residents are encouraged to solve problems by cultural means. While negotiating with major cement factories in the community, Bai-mi community residents started to look for other means to improve their environment. As part of this process, community residents studied local history and rediscovered the lost tradition of clog making - wooden slippers that used to be worn by Taiwanese people. As the case study report of the Bai-mi community indicates, wooden clogs play an important role in local residents' childhood memories:

> 'For the residents of Bai-mi community in Su-ao Township, I-lan County, the most durable childhood memory is the cracking sound emanated from their wooden clogs. This cherished memory of wooden clogs becomes the inspiration for Bai-mi people to revitalize their declined community' (Chang, 2000).

To recover their childhood memories, they found old craftsmen to teach local people how to make wooden shoes and paint them. They displayed their works in Happy I-lan New Year Festival in 1996 and Community Renaissance in 1997. The exhibition attracted many visitors and thousands of clogs were sold during the fair. These successful experiences gave local people the confidence to regenerate the old craft tradition. The next stage was that the community residents started to think about how to collect and take care of the clogs they made.

A Home for Clogs

In the beginning, the community residents only looked for a home for clogs and they found a spare room in the offices of the Community Association. In addition to restoring clogs, in this small room, community residents also gathered and studied together to trace the history of the production and use of clogs. From this they learned, rather surprisingly, that the origin of wooden clogs is from ancient China not from Japan; and Japanese people only started to wear wooden clogs under the influence of Chinese culture in the Tang Dynasty, when Japan sent many students to China to study Chinese culture and literature. They also found from documents that Taiwanese people already wore wooden clogs in the Qing Dynasty, decades before the Japanese colonial period. What is more, they discovered that Taiwan had developed its own style

of wooden clogs during the colonial period, though it had been rejected by Japanese people and is almost extinct as a style now (Bai Mi Community Association, 1999: 13). This finding was very important to the community residents who not only regenerated an old craft tradition but also linked themselves to their cultural tradition by this means.

It is worth noticing that for community residents, there was initially no concept of such museum for them; a museum meant something very grand, academic and distant from their daily lives. As the director of the Community Association explained:

> 'Now our goal is that the whole community should become a museum. In the process, it was not self-evident that we wanted to set up a museum at the beginning. You could introduce the concept of a museum to this place, but no one would know what a museum was. The concept of the whole community as a museum only started about two or three years ago. It all started because we wanted to find a home, a temporary home for clogs ... Through that process, people gradually gained affection for and confidence in clogs, so we did hope to find a home for clogs. This home is called the Clog Museum and the vision is gradually emerging'.[1]

The concept of process and engagement is essential to the Bai-mi community. They did not set out to establish a museum; on the contrary, their starting point was the community's need and the issues it faced, and the museum was something that they did not expect in this little community. During the interviews, I found that many community residents had very little idea about running a museum. They were only working for the community to improve their lives and the museum was one of the outcomes of the process of this community engagement and empowerment. To sum up, instead of protests and political action, the community made use of the museum as an alternative way of tackling the problems they faced.

The Process of Building the Bai-mi Clog Museum

Three years into the development of the community empowerment project, the community founded the Bai-mi Clog museum in 1997 in the derelict accommodation of the Taiwan Compost Company. The choice of a derelict house was significant. Since the museum was founded for the community's sake, that is, to tackle the particular issues that the community had, so the choice of the museum site became a part of the project of community empowerment. Instead of building a new site, the community decided to house the museum in a derelict accommodation. One employee explained the reason for choosing a deserted house as a museum site as follows:

> 'The reason that we chose this place is first and foremost, we wanted to improve the environment. We rented this unwanted place; I should

say a place that nobody uses because it is still someone's property. We cleaned it and made it no longer an eyesore. Before, people used to go by throwing litter in. At least, now we have a place to use and we have also got rid of a dirty place'.[2]

The deserted house was also cleaned and modified by the efforts of the community. They not only tidied up the place, but, also, furnished and decorated it by themselves. They insulated the external walls with colourful tiles (Plate 2). As for the interior, they tried to collect all the material necessary to furnish the museum. During the refurbishment process, people with the profession of art design, painting and carpentry contributed their knowledge to the building work along with the help and support from many community residents. Since the museum was built and decorated by the community residents with very limited resources and budget, it remains quite primitive and unfinished in a sense. However, its unfinished nature gives it a touch of surprise. Visitors can easily find the mark of the local residents and sense the air of the Bai-mi community in and around the museum.

Plate 2: The external wall of the museum decorated with colourful tiles insulated by the community residents

The story of the Bai-mi community and its clog museum has been widely reported by television and newspapers, and attracts thousands of visitors every

month. To accommodate the growing demand from visitors and provide a better service, the community decided to expand its space and facilities. Soon after my first visit in March 2000, the community found and rented a neighbouring vacant house and renovated it as the Bai-mi Clog Inn, which provides food and drinks for visitors. In addition, the community also beautified the pavement in front of the museum, and made it into an arcade with seats and coffee tables for visitors as well as a place where community residents could rest and chat. To meet the increasing demand for a workforce, students in the community are paid for painting clogs and making coffee for visitors at weekends. By employing part-time students, it not only solves the shortage in the workforce, but also passes on the traditional handicraft to the younger generation.

The Theme and Design of the Bai-mi Clog Museum

The Bai-mi Clog Museum is very small in terms of size. The museum is housed in two neighbouring buildings. One is the old accommodation of the Taiwan Compost Company, which is the main body of the Clog Museum. At the entrance of the museum, there is a demonstration area where visitors can watch how the old craftsmen made clogs. It is like a mini factory with logs, equipment and partly finished products lying around. Next to the demonstration room, there is an exhibition room, which display one pair of king clogs made by the community in 1997, two pairs of traditional clogs, and about twenty pairs of clogs painted by children in the community. Unlike the traditional museum, most of the exhibits are exposed to the public. One member of the museum staff expressed her idea as follows:

> 'Our general impression of museums is that exhibits are in glass cases, and are untouchable. And all we can do is stand there and look at them. My idea is that the museum should be "touchable". In addition to appreciation, there should be an educational purpose... Because if you cannot touch it, you are unable to have strong feelings towards it'.[3]

So, in the Bai-mi Clog Museum, visitors hardly feel it is a museum because almost everything can be touched and they do not need to worry about breaking exhibits or making a noise. There are no museum rules in this museum. Many children especially like the pair of king clogs, which are approximately the same height as an eight-year old child. They like to play in and around them (Plate 3). In the third area, there is a museum shop, which displays various styles of wooden clogs that were all made and painted by community residents. Visitors can try them on and pick the colour of leather that they like, and one museum worker nails the leather on the clogs to suit the size of their feet.

The second building of the museum is called Bai-mi Clog Inn. In this inn, there are two rooms. One is the clog painting demonstration area. Here visitors can walk around and observe how the traditional painter decorated the clogs. Another room is the restaurant, which is decorated as a peasant dining room

and provides simple food and drinks for visitors. In addition, this restaurant is also a meeting place for community residents in the evening. In future, the community also plans to use this place as the reception room of the museum and show videos of the Bai-mi community and the Clog Museum in order to introduce their stories to a wider population.

Plate 3: The children play in and around the pair of king clogs, made and painted by the craftsmen

Community Participation

It is important to recognise that unlike the management of other types of museum, most of the changes and decisions about the direction of the museum are the product of discussion and negotiation among community residents, who work together on their projects. Scholars or museum professionals are only consultants; they never impose their ideas directly on the community residents. Instead, they provide training courses, and organize trips for community residents to visit other museums, where they can exchange ideas with museum professionals. It is through this learning process that the community residents reflect, meditate on, and decide their own route and future.

From my observations in the fieldwork, I found that the most significant feature of this museum was its people. They work together to maintain the museum in

the daytime, and many of them regard it as the centre of their life, especially the older residents. Only three of them are full-time paid staff and two of them are craftsmen who make and demonstrate the making of wooden clogs. With limited resources, how does such a small museum manage to engage local residents' participation and identification with its purpose and aims? To engage more community residents' participation and interest, the community co-operative was founded in 2000. The principle is simple: only local residents can join in the co-operative as a shareholder, and one share is NT 3000 which is equivalent to sixty pounds. The maximum number of shares per person is ten in order to guarantee equal participation. Supervisors and managers of the Bai-mi Co-operative are elected annually among the shareholders. Since its foundation, more than sixty residents have joined the co-operative, nine of them being elected as managers and supervisors. In my fieldwork, I met several managers and supervisors from the co-operative who showed considerable responsibility towards the running of the museum shop and are willing to assist in the management of the museum. Other shareholders who do not take on voluntary work, still drop into the museum on a regular basis to show their concern about its running.

During the fieldwork, I also had very good opportunities to observe how the community residents participate in, discuss and solve community issues. Apart from the daily routine, different groups of community residents gather in the Clog Inn to discuss community issues in the evening.[4] Though it is the Director of the Community Association, who calls most of the meetings, he does not force his own ideas upon the others. Everyone is free to express his/her own ideas.[5] Sometimes the decision is not perfect, but it is still carried out because it is the decision reached by the community residents.

Here I would like to illustrate the process of negotiation and decision-making by one example from my observations. On the first day of my fieldwork, I was invited to participate in their evening meeting concerning the alteration of the museum restaurant. To improve the layout of the Clog Inn, the community decided to change and alter the design and location of the restaurant bar. On that evening, the community Director invited Mr. Fu, the Head Manager of the Bai-mi Co-operative and Mr. Cho, who specializes in art and design, to discuss the alterations. The Director had a rather different idea about the design from the designer, Mr. Cho. The Director wished it to function as a bar as well as the entrance and reception area of the museum; Mr. Cho's opinion was that it would we impossible to combine these two functions in one corner. Eventually, they reached an agreement on the issue on that evening and set out a plan to carry it out.

Two weeks later when I came back for more data collection, to my surprise, the new restaurant bar had already been installed. The finished design was according to Mr. Cho's idea, which did not include the reception function of the museum. To build up a new bar, community residents were mobilised to collect logs and install them. Through the teamwork of the community, it showed an

unbelievable efficiency. Again, compared to those polished restaurants in most modern museums, it is fairly primitive and plain. This case demonstrates that every part of the museum is a product of the community residents' cooperation, from the formation of a proposal, discussion of the issues toward to the construction itself. The Director of the Community Association, who is the most important person to encourage local residents' involvement with community affairs, only works as an organizer rather than a decision-maker. Everyone's area of expertise is fully respected. It is the process of participation and teamwork that characterises the spirit of the Bai-mi community.

The Bai-mi Community as an Ecomuseum

The Bai-mi community has a vision now. Their vision of the future is that the whole community is a museum. From the interviewing data, I find that although the community leaders have received limited education, not to mention the community members, they have learned the concepts of the ecomuseum and expressed democratic ideas for the management of the museum. 'The establishment of the museum is based on two principles: First, it is based on the principle of democracy; second, it is based on the participation of everyone', said the Director of the Bai-mi Community Association.[6] With limited resources, the community residents are nevertheless equipped with ideas and have shown their ambitions to create the first ecomuseum in Taiwan.

How do they form such a vision? Learning from each other's experience is especially important for small museums in I-Lan. Aiming to build a comprehensive Lan-Yan museum in I-Lan in 2004, a preparation office has been established, which has engaged scholars and museum professionals for planning and consultancy work. In addition to the preparation work, the Lan-Yan Museum Preparation Office has organised the local museums, including private and school museums into a network. They also help small museums in I-lan in publishing leaflets, holding workshops, and providing a consultancy service. Many of the interviewees have never attended college and work as blue-collar labourers; nevertheless, they described to me their dream of the whole community as a museum.

After this successful experience, the community residents became more united and are ready to tackle other community issues. After setting a speed limit on lorry traffic, they are now proposing a new project to open a new road specifically for lorries. Since this project involves a great deal of work in negotiation with owners of factories, the community residents and the local government, it has not yet been carried out. The community residents however, are not discouraged by these impediments since they are more than confident and determined to deal with their environmental issues and improve their lives. At present, there are still noise and dust in the air, but a tiny but bright hope is emerging and growing.

Conclusion

Though most national museums in Taiwan are still traditional in terms of management, more and more newly founded local museums have been influenced by the concepts of the community museum and ecomuseum, and developed their own route to engagement with local communities. As the first community museum in Taiwan, the Bai-mi Clog museum still faces many problems. First, since it is located in the rural environment of a traditional village, in which the public affairs are usually regarded as men's business, the participation of women in the process of decision-making is rather limited. It is important to engage more women in the decision-making process and create equal opportunities for all community residents to shape their own museum, regardless of gender, ethnicity and age. Secondly, although there is an effort to engage young people in the museum through part-time work, there is still a serious generation gap since most of the young generation has moved to work in the capital. Therefore, how to pass on the traditional craft to the younger generation remains the most imperative issue. Lastly, as with many other community museums, there is also a danger that once the initial enthusiasm and interest of the community residents die out, without permanent support from public sector, the museum could diminish and disappear all together.

Unlike the national museum that is an unnatural permanent institution, the life of the community museum faces and experiences the life circle of growing and dying just as humanity does. For the Bai-mi community residents, the museum is not a place of permanent exhibition but rather a new concept to tackle social issues and solve problems that they face. Indeed, the collection and exhibition play a relatively minor role in the museum. The local people established and developed the museum according to their needs. It is an ongoing process and through this, the Bai-mi Clog Museum, first established as a community museum, is moving forward its vision as an ecomuseum. In other words, there are no established rules for them to follow. Although the western concepts of the community museum and the ecomuseum do play a part in the process, the Bai-mi community does not stick into any of them. They have appropriated, combined and transformed those concepts to satisfy their own needs.

Under these circumstances, at the turn of the century, there is a tendency to regard the museum as a means that enables people to dream in Taiwan.[7] The museum is applied as a powerful concept to change the environment and fulfil that dream. As more people devote themselves to the museum profession, the museum has emerged as a new way of thinking and a new way of living for people in Taiwan. In this respect, it echoes the post-museum proposed by Hooper-Greenhill, in which the museum is more about process and less about tangible material culture (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000). Furthermore, the museum grows and lives with the people who shape their ideas and dreams in it. Maybe it is time for us to re-examine the definition of the museum as a permanent institution for the purpose of collection and education. The case of the Bai-mi

Clog Museum therefore presents a unique experience of how the community residents applied the ideas of the community museum and ecomuseum, transgressed the traditional concept of the museum to trigger the whole process of local regeneration in Taiwan.

Notes

1. It is from the interview with the Director of the Bai-mi Community Association. The interview was carried out on 7th March, 2001.

2. It is from the interview with a female staff of the Bai-mi Clog Museum. The interview was carried out on 25th March, 2001

3. It is from the same interview with the only female staff of the museum on 25th March, 2001.

4. These different groups include community safety guards, study society, voluntary fire fighters and the club of the aged. The already existing community organizations are all engaged in the community affairs and take the Bai-mi Clog Inn as a meeting place for discussion.

5. Here I want to point out the supervision or manager posts are mostly held by men. Women are working in the Community Association as paid staff but they seldom take the posts of voluntary organization. During my participation of two of their evening meetings, I am the only female among them. Apparently, there is a gender issue here. It shows that most of the time, public affair is still the business of men.

6. It is from the first interview carried out in March, 2000.

7. In an informal conversation with Liu, Li-cheng, Director of the preparation Office of Lan-Yan Museum, expressed his idea of the museum as a means to enable people to dream.

Acknowledgements

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Asturian Museums. The Guggenheim: a model of regeneration of decayed areas.

Carolina Pelaz Soto

Introduction

This article is based on a Master Dissertation submitted in 2000 at the Department of Museum Studies, University of Leicester. The research aimed to evaluate the impact of new museums such as the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao (hereinafter the Guggenheim) in the local economy and society and assess what Asturian museums and governing bodies can learn from the Basque museum.

The contribution of the arts and cultural industries to urban regeneration has attracted political and social interest for various reasons: firstly, in the economic field, culture has brought new jobs by changing the perceptions of potential investors and by attracting new visitors; secondly, in environmental terms, the arts can improve the city's image; finally, due to their social, educational and entertainment values, cultural industries have a positive impact on the quality of life and the image of a place (Evans, 1996:9).

This article considers one of the major tourist attractions in the North-East of Spain: the Guggenheim (Plate 1). It demonstrates the impact of this museum regarding employment and urban regeneration; it also points out the immense potential of tourism as an economic development force.[1] The perception of museums as generators of jobs is directly connected to the notion of museums as magnets for tourists. Thus, 'cultural tourism' (Museums and Galleries Commission, 1993:12-13)[2] is becoming an important concern these days because it contributes to the economic development of a region. This article goes on to explore Asturias, a post-industrial region, whose governing bodies consider that tourism can be the source of the region's economic regeneration and growth. The situation of Asturias museums has also been evaluated, selecting three appropriate case studies: the Fine Arts Museum of Asturias, the Barjola Museum and the Jurassic Museum.

Before explaining what the Guggenheim has to offer Asturian museums, it is useful to describe the context of museums in Spain and which issues they face. Firstly, there are more than 1,300 collections and museological institutions in Spain. However, there are no technical regulations about the definition of museum and neither is there an administrative registration system, which could define them as museums. The typology of Spanish museums can be considered from two points of view: by museum management and by the subject (Table 1). Table 2 shows that City Councils and the Ministry of Culture represent public funding of 70%. In addition, the private patronage is 68%, represented by the Church and individuals. Table 3 classifies museums into unique and

shared management.[3] Most of the public museums are suffering funding problems due to lack of economic support from public institutions. Museums should develop other strategies in order to overcome these problems. Thus, sponsorship and partnership should be priorities for these museums. The question raised is whether Spanish museums should develop marketing strategies in order to increase their incomes, especially in Asturias. This would not mean that they were transformed into enterprises, but into well-marketed institutions.

Plate 1: The Guggenheim Museum Bilbao

Asturias is trying to overcome adverse circumstances such as depopulation, unemployment and economic recession, caused by the decline of the heavy industry. The new economic realities of Europe have removed places such as Asturias and the Basque Country, witnesses of past riches, from the new routes of wealth and economic success. Consequently, Spanish regional governments are increasingly launching proposals of new museums, considered as urban landmarks and potential visitor attractions. Accordingly, in measuring the value of the Guggenheim, we will consider its success in areas such as tourism, employment, wealth and revitalisation.

Finally, it is very important to evaluate and measure impacts of museums such as the Guggenheim, referred to as a fairground attraction, 'McGuggenheim' or 'Vasco Disney' (Reuben, 1999:148). This article will demonstrate that the Guggenheim should be borne in mind by all regional institutions, which believe that the arts have an important and essential role to play in the urban regeneration of declining areas.

Year 1992	No of museums	Percentage
Fine arts Museums	243	34.5
Archaeological and History Museums	160	22.7
Natural Science Museums	39	5.5
Ethnography and Anthropology Museums	70	9.9
Specialised Museums	99	14.0
Regional Museums	22	3.1
General Museums	51	7.2
Science and Technology Museums	21	3.0
TOTAL	705	100

Museums Total
Database of Spanish Museums, Ministry of Culture
Table 1. Typology of Museums

Year 1992	No of museums	Percentage
City Councils	217	30.8
Catholic Church	140	19.9
Ministry of Culture	77	10.9
Other Ministries and Institutions	59	8.4
Individuals	48	6.8
County Councils	42	6.0
Foundations	40	6.0
Autonomies	30	4.3
Private Entities	19	3.1
Board of Trustees	11	2.7
Enterprises	9	1.6
TOTAL	705	100

Museums Total
Database of Spanish Museums, Ministry of Culture
Table 2. Governing Bodies

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Year 1992	Shared %	Unique %
City Councils	12.9	87.0
Catholic Church	6.4	93.6
Ministry of Culture	13.0	87.0
Other Ministries and Institutions	15.3	84.7
Individuals	4.2	95.8
County Councils	7.1	92.9
Foundations	15.0	85.0
Autonomies	26.7	73.3
Private Entities	0.0	100.0
Board of Trustees	10.5	89.5
Enterprises	9.1	90.9

Museums Total

Table 3. Types of management

## Asturian museums: three case studies

In measuring how Asturias museums can apply what it is successful about the Guggenheim, it is vitally important to define clearly the geographical reference area that constitutes 'the local economy'. In this study, the reference area is the North-West of Spain,[4] which shares most of Basque characteristics such as post-industrial region, unemployment and decline of industry. The following sections contain case studies of three Asturian museums. They have been selected not only to display the diversity of problems but also to provide a view of a range of museum types.

Before analysing in detail those case studies, a quick view of legislative aspects will answer some questions about Asturian regulations for museums. Principado de Asturias is one of the only ten autonomies[5] that have legislation about heritage and specific regulations about museums. Museums are managed by public institutions such as city councils and the Ministry of Culture, which are directly dependent on governmental budgets. Competition for funding between institutions has led to the need to define clearly the concept of the museum.[6]

The Fine Arts Museum of Asturias (Museo de Bellas Artes de Asturias)[7]
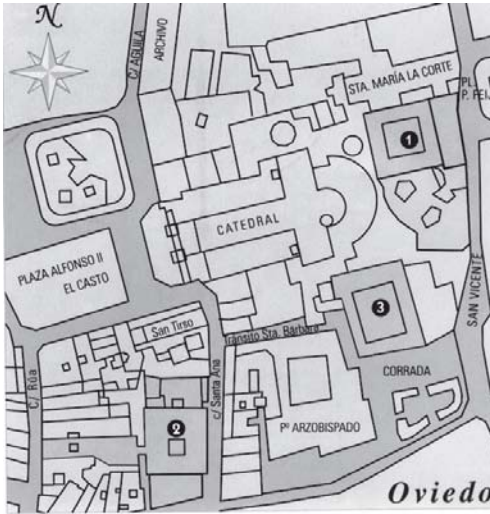
1 Museo Arqueológico de Asturias
2 Museo de Bellas Artes de Asturias
3 Museo de la Iglesia

Plate 2: Oviedo. The Fine Arts Museum of Asturias (2)

The Fine Arts Museum has been chosen because, 'it is considered a museological model for the rest of Asturian museums. It responds to the minimum standards in terms of finance, legal requirements and collections management'.[8] According to S. Reuben,[9] 'this museum is a model of museological clarity and focus'. It was opened in Oviedo in May 1980 (Plate 2) and it is an example of positive and productive collaboration between the Principado de Asturias and Oviedo City Council. This shared management sometimes allows the museum to undertake challenges such as the acquisition of works of arts. Moreover, its partnership with the National Prado Museum (Madrid) has had a positive influence on its exhibition programming.

However, the museum faces some problems such as excessive government support or public patronage, which make it excessively dependent on the governments. This and the lack of marketing strategy, restrict the range of possibilities for sourcing new funding or private patronage. Independent funding or private patronage would allow Asturian museums to operate with more autonomy and flexibility (Reuben, 1999:128).[10]

The Spanish administration maintains museums as well as archives and libraries because they are cultural institutions. According to T. Krens,

> 'If you are trying to make a budget balance with a 10% or 15% unemployment rate, culture is one of the first things you cut down, because the constituency for culture tends to be relatively small' (D'Arcy, 1998:37).

Plate 3: The Fine Arts Museum of Asturias

Asturian museums are used to public subsidies, which have restricted the search for other funding. Concerning this situation, partnership and sponsorship are real needs these days. At the moment, private patronage is limited to conservation of objects, temporary exhibitions and, rarely, acquisitions.[11] Mr. Marcos Vallaure emphasises: 'what the museum needs is more economic support, more money for completing some gaps of the collection. In addition, it would be possible to employ more professional staff'.[12]

The museum also faces a certain lack of attractiveness due to two reasons. Firstly, there is no publicity strategy. The museum fails in publicising and advertising. Thus, it is hardly recognised from outside. Plate 3 shows us the exterior of the museum where there is only a small panel with information about the opening hours. Secondly, there is no marketing strategy,[13] which can promote the museum. For example, a coffee shop would attract local visitors and tourists to the museum and would generate museum income.

Plate 4: The Fine Arts Museum of Asturias (main entrance)

Despite the fact that the Fine Arts Museum is the most visited museum, all these factors affect negatively the quality of museum, its communication and contact with the community and the visitors.

The Barjola Museum (Museo Barjola)

This case study raises a range of issues such as the political force behind the development of art museums in Spain; it also shows funding problems and gaps in collection issues and in the museological approach. The museum[14] (Plate 5) is dedicated to a single artist, Juan Barjola, who donated most of his artistic oeuvre to the institution. The permanent collection is housed in a restored building. This tendency to adapt historical buildings for museums has positive consequences such as preserving and communicating the cultural heritage and patrimony to as many people in the most efficient manner possible.[15]

Plate 5: The Barjola Museum (entrance)

Most of the museums dedicated to a single artist (such as the Barjola Museum), are practically unknown due to funding problems, lack of museological approach and other reasons. This museum receives all of its support from public institutions. So, the industrial crisis, which has affected Asturias since the 1980s, caused the cutting down of its public funding. Moreover, there is no initiative to search for private patronage through, for instance, sponsorship, which can support attractive public exhibitions.

Furthermore, the museum was criticised for not having a clear and focused collection.[16] The museum only displays the artist's richest artistic production: works of art from the 1960s. However, this museum should reflect all his production in order to exhibit the artistic development of the artist and communicate effectively with the audience.
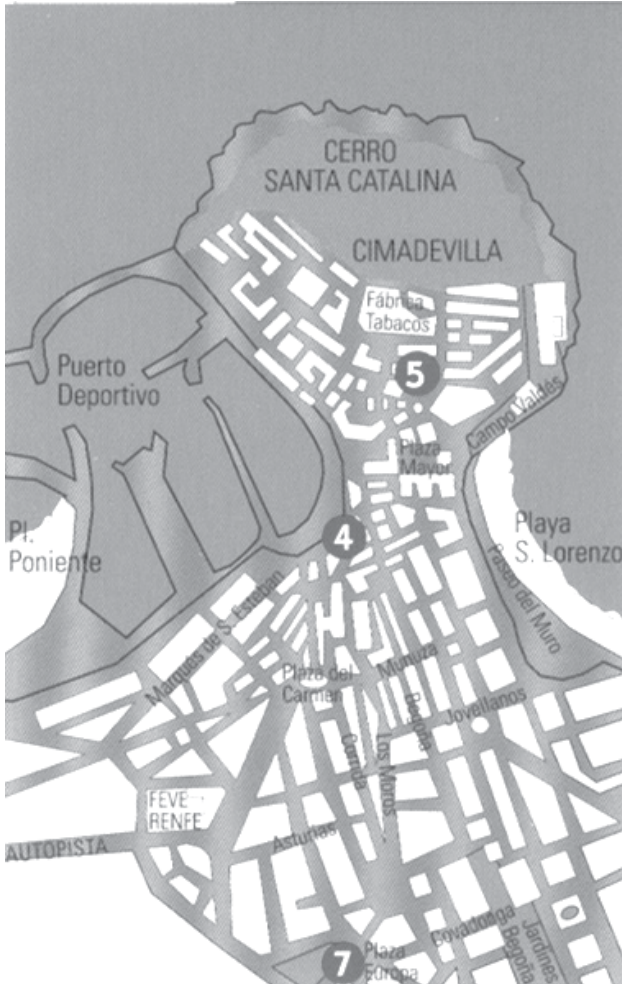
Plate 6: Gijón. The Barjola
Museum (4)

Moreover, museums, especially contemporary art museums, are becoming a common political 'weapon' these days. Thus, politicians have searched for a political rather than cultural profitability.[17] However, politicians have not taken advantage of the large and growing importance of the arts to the economy and to the regional development and regeneration. On the contrary, politicians have used the museum to justify their concern about 'cultural politics'.[18]

The Jurassic Museum (Museo del Jurásico)

The Jurassic Museum is under development. It will be built in Colunga (Asturias) and is expected to open in the summer 2002. This museum is a useful model to measure political influence, which affects cultural proposals. A descriptive analysis of the project is primarily important in order to understand the importance of the architecture as a rural landmark and visitor attraction. The collection will be housed in a completely new building, which will be built in San Telmo, an 18,000m² area. This project is inspired by a dinosaur footprint (Plate 7), which was found on the Asturian coast. The project was paralysed due to financial constraints in the regional treasury and, as a result, to some political embarrassment and confrontations.[19]
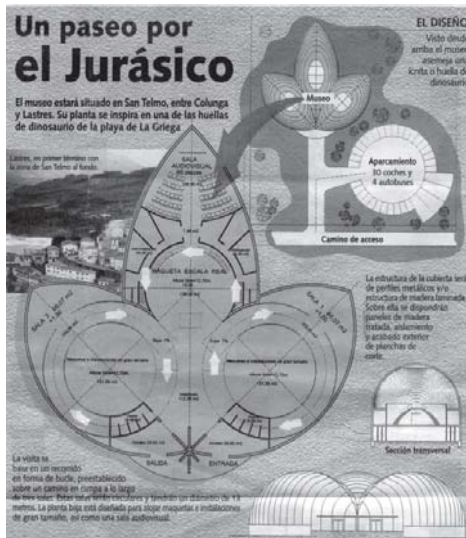

Plate 7: The Jurassic Museum (project design)

The Jurassic museum is an interesting case study to discuss the municipal initiative. Despite the fact that museums have received pressure due to the restraint on public funding, European Union programmes subsidises the creation of cultural institutions, which could counteract adverse situations such as depopulation, economic recession, unemployment and physical decay. However, after that subsidy, maintenance and profitability become a real problem for those museums. Moreover, the regional government sometimes cannot justify support to collections or museums, because they do not respond to the museum definition.[20] According to Mercedes Mingote, [21]

'We can program and plan our museums funded by public patronage. However, we cannot stop private initiatives. The only thing we can do is to check if the museum has museological and technical requirements. If it does not have them, then that "museum" will not participate in regional subsidies'.

European patronage should evaluate and measure its funding for the creation of museums and assure that those cultural institutions can survive after the first year. Moreover, partnership and dialogue between European Community and the regional governments would help to manage financial support more successfully and analyse the effectiveness of those institutions.

The Guggenheim Museum Bilbao

The Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao is undoubtedly one of the best and more recent case studies that discuss the role of museums in the regeneration of deprived urban areas. This article demonstrates by the use of economic data and statistics that museums have an extraordinary impact on their local economies. However, these cultural initiatives must be followed by a regional and economic strategy. Thus, the rest of the article will explore the emphasis that Basque Institutions have placed on tourism as a source of economic regeneration. Moreover, it will analyse how museums can engender a sense of regional identity and pride.

From the early 1980s, the Basque Country[22] experienced an industrial crisis, which has influenced negatively the shipbuilding, and the iron and steel industries (traditional Basque industries). Consequently, Bilbao has experienced economic decline, which contrasts with those testimonies of past riches. Moreover, the new political and economic realities of Europe and the launch of the European Community have found Bilbao far from the new routes of wealth. This is also true in Avilés (Asturias), Bristol, Glasgow, Liverpool and Hamburg. Thus, under this situation, the Basques institutions have developed an infrastructure plan, called *Bilbao 2000* (Leyva, 1999:33; Reuben Holo, 1999:53).

Plate 8: The Guggenheim Museum Bilbao (main entrance)

The Guggenheim is one of the major points of the development programme and architectural renaissance currently underway in the Basque city. In addition to the new museum, Bilbao is also completing a number of projects such as: a Congress House; a new subway system; and the waterfront development, which will include the conversion of a former shipyard (94,000 m²) into parks, apartments, offices and shopping areas.

The architecture of the museum also plays an important role in Bilbao. Thus, a brief analysis is important in order to understand what has been referred to as 'the effect Guggenheim'. The Guggenheim Museum Bilbao opened in October 1997 (Plate 8). Initial funding was provided by the Basque Country Administration. The Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation operates the museum and provides the core art collection. The museum occupies 24,290m² in the trade and warehouse district along the South bank of the Nervión River (Bilbao). Its design is influenced by the scale and the texture of the city of Bilbao, and it recalls the historic building materials[23] of the River Front. In this way it demonstrates a thoughtful response to the historic, economic, and cultural traditions of the area. The museum is directly accessible from the business and historic districts of the city. It marks the centre of a cultural triangle formed by the Bilbao Museum of Fine Arts, the University and the Old Town Hall.

The Guggenheim Foundation required gallery spaces to exhibit a permanent and temporary collection, and also, a collection of the works of selected living artists. In response to this requirement, three distinct types of exhibition spaces were designed. Its mission statement is,

> 'to collect, preserve, research and present works of modern and contemporary art, following the international perspective of the Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, fostering artistic education and the public's knowledge and understanding of arts as tolerance and opening values and symbol of the economical and cultural vitality of the Basque Country'.[24]

This museum has developed a new role as an urban landmark and a magnet for visitors. As Thomas Krens justified, 'seduction is my business' (Castro Morales, 1998:131). The ongoing phenomenon is part of the general museum-mania of the postmodern period with art museums. It is the era's prestigious building type. Accordingly, the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao becomes allied with the name of the designing 'star-architect', Frank Gehry. Thus, 'the spectacle of architecture has become a spectacle of architects',[25] as was the conclusion reached at the nineteenth Congress of the UIA (International Union of Architects), held in Barcelona. According to Dr. Frank Duffy,

> 'Architecture is the most public of all arts. Architecture and townscape, in fact the whole built environment is the framework within which we "live, rest and play" everyday of our lives' (Carmichael, 1996:23).

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The 'effect Guggenheim' is not only its architecture, the 'metallic flower', which attracts thousands of visitors, but also the positive effect over the quite damaged Basque economy. The focus on the economic impact implies considerations from several and diverse points of view: the analysis of visitors figures, which draw the involvement of local community; the impact of the museum on local employment rates and on the economic environment of Basque Country: gross domestic product (GDP) data and income-data from taxes such as value added tax (VAT) and personal income tax.[26] Nowadays, the Guggenheim is the most attractive cultural industry in the Basque Country. This can be seen from the Graphic 1, which gives the number of visitors in 1998 and 1999. It should be noted that the growth in visitor numbers in 1999 has increased from 880,624 (1998) to 1,060,000. This is the result of the publicity strategy, which covers principally local and national media.[27]

Graphic 1: Visitors per months.

Source: Guggenheim Museum Bilbao.
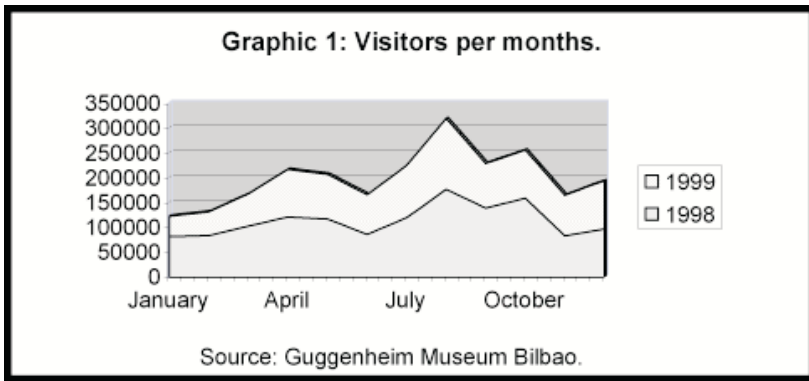
Furthermore, in 1999, the data also show an increase of visitors in April, July, August and October. According to a museum survey,[28] tourists travelling by themselves visit the museum in the summer, Easter and long weekends, whereas organised groups visit the Guggenheim Museum the rest of the year. The Graphic 2 shows the visitors per weekday. It suggests that visitors tend to visit the museum on holidays and days off during the week.

Graphic 2: Visitors per weekday

Source: Guggenheim Museum Bilbao.
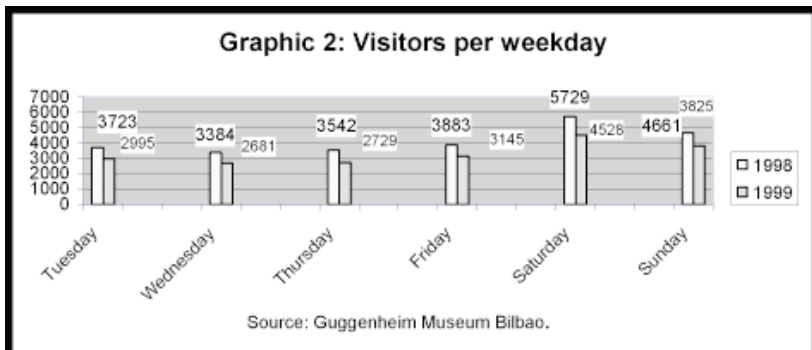
Although most of the visitors come firstly from the Basque Country and, secondly, from the rest of the nation, there is an increase on visitors from abroad (Graphic 3 and 4). Why does this happen?

Graphic 3: Visitors from Spain (%)

	1998	1999
Basque Country	39%	17%
Madrid	6%	6%
Catalonia	6%	11%
Others in Spain	22%	20%
Total Overseas Visitors	27%	46%

Source: Guggenheim Museum Bilbao.
Methodology: random survey at ticket desk.

Graphic 4: Overseas Visitors

	1998	1999
Britain	4%	6%
France	9%	13%
Germany	2%	6%
Italy	2%	4%
Portugal	1%	3%
U.S.A	4%	7%
Other	5%	7%

Source: Guggenheim Museum Bilbao.
Methodology: random survey at ticket desk.

A crucial issue in Basque Country is its cultural identity. From its inauguration, the museum has been seen as a foreigner inside the Basque cultural environment.[29] Thus, the museum is seen as an 'exhibition gallery for a museum that is actually in New York' (Llorens, 1998:37) or 'a museum without contents..., [that] aims to create an urban spectacle rather than exhibit works of art' (Calvo Serraller, 1998:37).

On the other hand, the increase of visitors from outside the nation is due to the

aggressive publicity strategy such as the live broadcast of the programme 'Today Show' (NBC channel) and, the 'Newsweek', which selected the museum among its ten recommended European cultural sites for this summer.

The economic development and flexibility of the Basque Country have now converted tourism into a key strategic sector of growth, the Guggenheim Museum being the new flag of the Basque Tourism. During the last five years, official researches reckoned that the sector has witnessed real growth of 23%, which ranks it as an increasing source of wealth and employment. Tourism now provides employment for 22,600 people, that is 17,000 direct jobs, and another 5,000 indirect jobs, which represents 3% of all the employment in the Basque Country.[30] According to EUSTAT (Table 4), a growth of the GDP (Gross Domestic Product) over 25,000 millions pesetas (£95.5 million) is expected. This generation of wealth meant that 5,083 jobs were maintained (0,67% of the total working population of the Basque Country). Table 5 suggests that the retail, catering services and accommodation are the most benefited sectors.

	19/10/97 to 19/10/98		19/10/98 to 21/12/99		2000	
No. Visitors	1,360,000		1,265,000		1,000,000	
Estimated impact		contribution		contribution		contribution
GDP	24043	0.47%	32029	0.62%	25027	0.49%
Employment	3816	0.51%	5083	0.67%	3972	0.53%
Income through taxes	4480	0.66%	5969	0.58%	4664	0.69%

Data in millions of pesetas, except employment
Source: EUSTAT

Table 4: Economic Impact of the Museum

Sectors	Million pesetas
Accommodation	6,550
Catering Services	10,550
Transport	1,800
Retail Spend	3,800
Museum Itself	3,800
Total direct visitors expenditure	31,000

£=270 pesetas
Source: KPMG survey

Table 5: Sector Benefits

Finally, is the museum economically worthy? It should be noted that subsidies and corporative members contributes more than half of the total museum income (Table 6). Thus, the direct museum income (admission fee and museum shop) only covers the expenditure on running costs (31,5%). Despite that the museum still depends on the Basque institutions, there is more and more presence of private patronage (Table 7), while the public support is slightly decreasing.[31] Hence, the Guggenheim Museum has launched the corporate members program, which aims to encourage the business world to collaborate with the museum. As a result, these companies (which are part of the program as patrons, corporate benefactors and associate members) receive in exchange public recognition and the use of the museum's image and space.

	INCOME	EXPENDITURE	
Entrance Admission	16.20%	Exhibitions	28.20%
Shop	18.20%	Salaries and loans	16.70%
Private Patronage	25.80%		
		Running costs	31.50%
Public Patronage	30.30%		
Other	9.5	Other	23.60%

Source: Guggenheim Museum Bilbao

Table 6: Estimated Budget 2000 (3,800 mill. pesetas)

INCOME			EXPENDITURE		
Entrance Admission	$707,000	11.20%	Exhibitions	$1,523,000	24.20%
Shop	$763,000	12.10%	Salaries and loans	$1,400,000	22.10%
Private Patronage	$1,748,000	27.60%	Shop goods	$347,000	5.50%
Public Patronage	$3,022,000	47.80%	Running costs	$2,950,000	46.60%
Other	$83,000	1.40%	Other	$103,000	1.70%
Total	$6,323,000		Total	$6,323,000	

Year 1998 $1-Pta.197

Table 7: Estimated Budget

Can a museum engender a sense of community identity, confidence and self worth? This question leads us directly to the non-economic impact: regional identity and pride. The investment in the museum is an attempt by the Madrid government to 'buy' peace from terrorist violence. We can compare this with the massive investment in cultural facilities in Northern Ireland. Moreover, the Basque Country and its nationalism justify the economic priority given to the culture as part of regional image (Reuben, 1999).[32] Finally, positive economic impact and the improvement of the quality of life have increased the regional pride of the local population and the visitors to the area, and thus, it has enhanced region's attractiveness.

A review of Asturian museums' needs.

Finally, the key question is what Bilbao does that sets a standard and useful approach for Asturias and what the Asturian museums and governing bodies can learn from the Guggenheim. It is undeniable that art business and local cultural industries create new opportunities for revitalising the local economy of a decayed area such as Bilbao or Asturias (Arts Council of Great Britain, 1989:5).[33] However, we cannot expect that the arts and tourism projects will solve problems, which are deeply rooted in the economy and the society. Thus, these projects should be complemented by other initiatives such as communication and transportation infrastructure and urban regeneration initiatives.

The idea of bringing together two regions, the Basque Country and Asturias, responds to the similarities of both areas: they have suffered an industrial crisis; they share adverse circumstances such as depopulation and high unemployment rates; and they believe in the contribution of the arts and cultural industries to urban regeneration. Asturian governing bodies consider Bilbao and the Guggenheim museum as models for the economic and tourist development of the region. Moreover, the Guggenheim has influenced Asturian projects in architectural terms: the new role of the museum as an urban landmark and as a magnet for visitors.

Asturian region cannot project a building such as the Guggenheim without a regional plan for the area and without attending its own reality. Since Asturias is an industrial region, industrial or mine museums would help urban sightseers to get some personal approach. They would also employ local qualified workers, who are interpreters of manufacturing displays and have first hand knowledge about it. At the same time, those museums would preserve old and historic buildings, industrial buildings and mines.

Asturias needs active cultural politics in order to avoid local interests or leadership, which can damage the clarity and focus of the museum. Thus, effective coordination between local authorities is essential in order to create strong initiatives and proposals for the economy's improvement. This partnership extends to the private sector.

Tourism is a source of economic regeneration and growth. Looking at the Guggenheim, Asturian governing bodies have turned to a tourism led strategy and they have confirmed the importance of culture for the regional image and pride. Asturian governing bodies should stimulate short and medium term tourism through museums and galleries. Consequently, extra jobs would arise in the arts and the service sector (restaurants, hotels, shops, etc.), which would enforce the regional economy.

The economic impact of the Basque museum has been largely discussed in this article. The focus here on economic aspects aims to determine which economic strategies are more suitable for Asturian museums. Thus, we will focus on, firstly, the large economic potential of sponsorship and partnership; secondly, the need for marketing; and finally, the lack of human resources.

The reality of a deeply recessive Spanish economy has decreased cultural budgets. It must be considered that museums do need stable financial support. Cultural profitability should justify the creation of a museum and its funding. Hence, this would guarantee viability and long-term maintenance, avoiding the idea of the museum as a mere political 'tool' such as the Barjola Museum. The solution to the economic problem of Asturian museums might come from a new spirit of developing economic strategies: sponsorship and partnership. These would allow museums to operate with more autonomy and flexibility and develop, also, efficient coordination among departments. This would lead to an effective management of the museums' resources and provide further savings and cross-marketing opportunities.

Moreover, marketing principles should be included in museums' strategic planning in order to set realistic objectives, evaluate museum performance, know the possibilities of market and product and communicate effectively with the market (Morris, 1991:7).[34] In addition, a publicity strategy about museum collections and exhibitions would bring popularity and visitors (both of the local community and tourists) to the cultural institution. The key is to achieve public awareness of the benefits of the museum experience and to make the museum as attractive as possible.

Another important issue is to increase the audience of tourists. Tourism benefits the retail, the catering services and the accommodation and it decreases unemployment by creating direct and indirect jobs. Furthermore, museums consume goods and services supplied locally. Moreover, visitor statistics from the Guggenheim showed that visitor tendency leads to holidays and days off during the week. Asturian museums should facilitate the affluence of visitors to museums, increasing opening hours at weekends, summer and holidays. Instead, museums cut opening hours due to scarce economic and human resources.

Visitors are influenced by the quality of the museum experience. There are several factors that affect negatively customers' experience such as access,

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parking, opening hours, coffee bar, shop and publicity. Today, the museum shop has become an essential revenue producer and it has been an extension of the museum, allowing visitors to bring home a souvenir (Leon Harney, 1994:135). However, Asturian museums have not taken advantage of this opportunity. In fact, the Barjola Museum does not have a museum shop; it only sells catalogues about previous exhibitions. The public is not attracted to this 'museum shop'. In recent years, some Asturian museums have established coffee shops such as the Mine Museum. However, cafés in Spanish public museums are on lease. (Evans, 1996:20-21).[35] The museum is not benefited by this 'concession' because the lessee often pays a very low fee.

No doubt, the gap in visitor services and the shortage of funding discourage an effective and positive visitor experience. The first and most important step in realising the potentials of the museums is to conduct a market research to visitors and non-visitors.

A range of management challenges prompted by building maintenance, conservation needs, storage provision, environmental controls and documentation explains why marketing does not occupy much of the management time. Moreover, as it was explained before, the scarce human resources have paralysed the development of marketing strategies and the improvement of visitors' services and customer care. Nowadays, there is no possibility of recruitment, training or development due to the scarce economic resources and the lack of self-management.

Conclusion

This article has analysed in detail the interaction of the Guggenheim with its locality. It is established as one of the main tourist attractions in the North-East of Spain. Over one million people visited it in its first year of operation. So far, it has successfully managed to utilise a tourism and leisure led strategy in order to revitalise Bilbao's economy and influence positively the quality of life and city's image.

The article suggests that the Guggenheim is also a generator of employment. This fact is due to a range of complex and interacting factors: for example, the whole regeneration plan (Bilbao 2000) in which the museum is the most important element and visitors' attendance. Visitors' expenditures have benefited sectors such as retail, catering services and accommodation. On this point, Richard Evans's idea about the importance of a 'regional perspective' should be considered (Evans, 1996:20-21).[36]

The particular set of economic, political and cultural factors, which led to the formation of the Guggenheim, is a unique phenomenon. Any attempt to create a museum with similar characteristics must be regarded with some scepticism. Therefore, Asturian governing bodies should not be blinded by spectacular proposals, trying to imitate the urban impact of the Guggenheim. On the

contrary, institutions should be very realistic about the region's possibilities and should consider the specific and unique region's identity. However, there are some elements in the Basque process, which can be useful for Asturian projects. Firstly, the value of sponsorship and partnership is a way of making museums less dependent on government. Secondly, it is clear that a wide range of professional skills is necessary for the management of the museum. Volunteers could solve temporarily the most urgent needs of Asturian museums. Finally, awareness of the museum markets and target audiences is crucial in order to achieve the museum objectives. Marketing strategy is becoming a new tool for museums. To compete successfully in the leisure market, museums should master marketing skills and invest resources in public relations.

Nowadays, there is ground for some optimism about the Asturian museums' future. New projects such as the Jurassic Museum try to link cultural institutions with the development of local economy. Proposals for regional expansion must be considered as an attempt to overcome problems and difficulties, which the region has faced since the early 1980s. Asturian museums play an important role in the regional development as communicators and as magnets for tourists. However, the 'effect Guggenheim' should be considered cautiously and evaluated in its specific social, economic and political context. This is not to say that every new museum project is a success.

Notes

1. Other scholars have come to study the close relationship between museum and development. For example P. Wireman has demonstrated museums' economic contributions. The author describes the economic role of museums through the following subtitles: museums spend money and support local business; museums provide jobs; museums enhance the quality of life, community pride, and public education and museums attract tourist (Wireman, 1997). In addition, J. Myerscough compares the importance of the arts with other national sectors such as fuel or vehicles and analyses the role of arts with other issues: the public, urban renewal and business. He demonstrates also their significance to the economy in earnings and the creation of jobs and in stimulating tourism (Myerscough, 1988).

2. In the UK, it is used to mean paintings, sculpture, performing arts. Ylva French, a Museums and Tourism consultant, comments, 'When it comes to promotion, heritage and culture are much the same thing. People who go to the heritage attractions are also likely to go to galleries, cathedrals, historic sites and museums of all kinds'.

3. Unique and shared management refer to governing bodies. When a museum is managed by a single body, then it is called 'unique'; on the contrary, if the museum is managed by two or more bodies, then it is a shared management.

4. Administratively, Asturias is part of the Spanish State; it is called 'Comunidad Autónoma del Principado de Asturias' (Autonomous Community of the Principado de Asturias). It is divided into seventy-eight municipalities and its capital is Oviedo.

5. 'Spain is divided into fourteen traditional regions. The approval in 1978 of a new constitution foresaw a reorganization of the state on the basis of autonomous communities. The regionalist trend that had prevailed during the 1970s had become counterbalanced by centralist forces that opposed any further transfer of powers to the regional governments'. From The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, 15th edn, 32 vols (London: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1986), XXVIII, p.3.

6. According to the ICOM definition, 'A non-profit-making, permanent institution, in the service of society and its development, and open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits, for the purposes of study, education and enjoyment, material evidence of man and his environment' (Ambrose & Paine,1994: 15).

7. The Fine Arts Museum of Asturias was opened in Oviedo, the administrative capital of Asturias. It was fruit of the first democratic elections in Spain held after the adoption of the 1978 constitution. The museum occupies three buildings in the medieval part of the city: the Palacio de Velarde, baroque building of 18th century; the Casa de Oviedo-Portal, palatial residence of 17th century and another adjoining building. The museum displays a large collection of Asturian paintings from the 18th to 20th century; Spanish paintings from 16th to 20th century; drawings, graphic works, photography and ceramics.

8. Personal interview with Emilio Marcos Vallaure, August 21, 2000.

9. 'It reflects a regional desire to reach a balance between the identity needs of its own geographic area and the needs of Spain as a nation-state through a powerful cultural symbol' (Reuben Holo,1999:119-120).

10. As cultural budgets have been scaled back, (primarily due to the decline of the heavy industry), economic and social problems are generated, such as economic recession, unemployment and depopulation, which have made the redevelopment of Asturias more difficult. This region has been, 'stereotyped as merely agricultural, political and industrial plagued'.

11. Such as the last purchase of the painting: 'Jovellanos portrait', by Francisco de Goya, in which a Hydroelectric Company contributed to its acquisition.

12. Moreover, the director of the Fine Arts Museum of Asturias underlines that private support makes museums' survival less dependent on the government. He sees positively the possibility of private contributions, through sponsorship: personal interview with Emilio Marcos Vallaure, August, 21, 2000.

13. However, Mr. Emilio Marcos, denounces that scarce economic resources do not allow employing a marketing specialist to assist with these matters.

14. This museum, funded by Conserjería de Cultura (Principado de Asturias), houses a permanent collection, which is composed of Juan Barjola's works of art, and a temporary exhibition, which pays tribute to contemporary artists. The permanent collection is housed in a restored elegant four-hundred-year-old palace and chapel, called 'Palacio de la Trinidad' (De la Trinidad Palace) in the old quarter of Gijón.

15. The preservation of the cultural heritage and patrimony has been largely discussed in published material such as M.A.Layuno Rosas & R. Hewison.

16. According to Javier Barón, 'There is not museological focus and clarity in the collection. When the Barjola Museum opened in 1988 confusion over leadership and activities agendas made running the museum nearly impossible. The Barjola Museum is not a museum, but an exhibition space. Thus, they have reduced the exhibition spaces, used by politicians in order to give a image of cultural efficiency'. The author explains that the lack of museological focus and clarity is due to the lack of a museum programme. Moreover, there is a gap in museum collection; Barjola's artistic production is not completely represented. J. Barón also denounces the Barjola museum that it is a space for exhibits, rather than a museum (Barón, 1988).

17. 'Museums are transforming themselves into exhibition spaces, whose reflection on the media allows politicians to show effective cultural management. However, in this case, the Barjola Museum's problems have demonstrated that politicians are not in contact with social reality'. From Javier Barón, 'Museo Barjola: un gran espacio de exposición y una colección desequilibrada', La Nueva España, 30 December 1988.

18. This expression has been defined as 'a structured set of conscious interventions in cultural environment by one or several public entities'. Or, according to the UNESCO, 1967, 'A set of social, conscious and deliberate interventions...in order to satisfy cultural needs through the use of all optima material and human resources, which a society has available that moment' (Fernández Prado,1991: 18-19).

19. The museum proposal was launched in 1995 by Ribadesella city council and it is expected to be built in Colunga (Asturias) and to open in summer 2002. The Asturian government was represented by the Right party, called 'Partido Popular' (Popular Party). However, the regional president did not consider the proposal at that time. This attitude allowed Villaviciosa and Colunga city councils to prepare museum proposals. Consequently, confrontations among three city councils led to hot political atmosphere. Moreover, the political rupture inside Popular Party complicated the situation and paralysed the project for about four years (García,1999: 16).

20. Thus, a new term has appeared in order to facilitate other institutions to benefit from public funding. Museological collection is defined as 'a collection or a set of cultural objects, which are conserved stably by a physical or legal person - individual, foundation, the church...The collection is exhibited for research, education and enjoyment to the public in permanent, logical and efficient way. However, it is not technically a museum due to several reasons such as limited funds or the individual does not have economic, material or human resources'.

21. Personal interview with Mrs. Mercedes Mingote, museums officer, August, 11, 2000.

22. The Basque Country (País Vasco or Euskadi) is a region, however autonomous, within the Spanish nation-stated sited on the North-East of Spain.

23. The major exterior materials of the Museum are Spanish limestone and titanium panels, with the rectangular shapes of the building clad in limestone and the more sculptural shapes of the building clad in titanium. Large glazed curtain walls provide views of the river and the surrounding city. The main entrance to the Museum is through a large central atrium, where a system of curvilinear bridges, glass elevators and stair towers connect the exhibition galleries on three levels.

24. 'Reunir, conservar y exponer el arte moderno y contemporáneo, en el marco de una obra emblemática de la arquitectura, dentro de la perspectiva internacional de la Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, y con el máximo nivel de calidad artística y orientación al público para educar a la sociedad en el arte como apoyo a los valores de tolerancia y apertura, sirviendo como símbolo de la vitalidad económica y cultural del País Vasco'. From the 'Strategic Plan 2000' (unpublished paper, the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao, June 2000).

25. 'El espectáculo de los arquitectos. The spectacle of architects', (1999). AV Monografias, 78-80: 186-187.

26. However, following the evaluation of R. Evans, the distinction also needs to be made between the direct economic impact of the museum where the control of the production, consumption and distribution is critical to maximising local economic influence. In addition, the indirect economic impact such as image enhancement and improved quality of life, due to its social, educational and entertainment value (Lorente,1996: 19). Finally, the non-economic aspect or, 'outputs', such as the encouragement of a regional identity, confidence, self-worth and pride (Johnson & Thomas,1992: 13).

27. In addition, in 1999, the Guggenheim Museum received awards and distinctions such as European Museum of the Year Award from the European Museum Forum, 1999 Illumination Design Award and 'Medalla de Oro al Mérito en Las Bellas Artes', which have increased the popularity of the museum.

28. 'Museo Guggenheim Bilbao. Balance del año 1999' (unpublished paper, Guggenheim Museum Bilbao, 1999).

29. Thus, new institutions were created in Bilbao, such as the Sala Rekalde or the Urazurratia Art Center, as intents of politicians to support internationalism would not preclude their support for Basque cultural identity reinforcement (Reuben, 1999). The Basques have been attracted by the powerful and attractive building rather than the collection.

30. www.euskadi.net/culture

31. As Thomas Krens affirms in an interview, 'sponsorship is a real need these days (...) Cultural budgets are being scaled back almost everywhere'. David D'Arcy, 'No populist, no colonialist-just loved by business', The Art Newspaper, 85, October 1998: 37.

32. At the beginning, the Guggenheim was seen as a threat. However, the creation of new institutions such as the Bullfighting Museum or the Diocesan Museum of Sacred Art, were meant to prove that the intent of politicians to support internationalism would not preclude their support for Basque cultural identity reinforcement. These projects were all intended to underline regional identity an enliven Bilbao's museological map- to create the kind of 'art scene' that would complement the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao.

33. According to the research study carried out by the Arts Council of Great Britain, 'the art acts as a magnet, attracting people, tourism, business and jobs to the area; enhances the visual quality of the build environment; provides a focal point for community pride and identity; help build self confidence in individuals and acts as a catalyst for

regeneration'. From, An urban renaissance. Sixteen case studies showing the role of the arts in urban regeneration.

34. He also defines marketing planning as 'a process, which helps an organisation to market itself successfully, encouraging a methodical of all the factors that can affect the organisation's effectiveness in relation to the market'.

35. It means that there is a legal agreement by which money is paid in order to use, in this case, part of the museum, for an agreed period of time

36. 'There is a further need to recognise that arts and cultural industries are invariably one element in a larger urban regeneration package and that each needs to complement the other (...) It is clearly unrealistic to expect arts and tourism projects to spearhead image proportion initiatives successfully without tacking many other facets of quality of life (...) building up a regional perspective (...) remain key challenges'.

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Interviews and conversations:

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Personal interview with Mrs. Mercedes Mingote, August, 11, 2000.

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Art smuggling and theft in Taiwan and China Dr.
Suliang Tseng

Introduction

Broadly speaking, there are countries which suffer from poverty, low-levels of education and political chaos, that are most likely to be subjected to loss of movable culture. In contrast, countries, which have a strong economy, social infrastructure and a stable political base, often play a significant role in buying such objects. A critical player in this relationship, the international art market, both circulates works of art and stimulates the social forces, which affect and underpin supply and demand.

Research recently conducted by the Macdonald Institute for Archaeological Research at the university of Cambridge showed that illegal art transactions continue to rise alarmingly. In 2000 the institute estimated the value of annual illegal transactions in the world to be between £150 million and £2,000 million (Chen Xilin, 2000a; Anon, 2000). Art smuggling and theft have occurred throughout Chinese history- particularly when one country conquered another. However, with a flourishing economy, rising cultural awareness and relatively stable politics, Taiwan in the late twentieth century has acquired those key characteristics, mentioned above, which mean that it is an importer of cultural objects. This article examines the situation in Taiwan and the motives, operations and impacts of involvement in this illegal trade.

Art plundering and theft in Taiwan

During the period of occupation by Japan (1895-1945), the Japanese government sent anthropologists to do fieldwork in Taiwan. It was at this time, as they looted and plundered the Taiwanese countryside, that Taiwan lost its own indigenous cultural materials. Most of these are now housed in museums in Japan such as the National Anthropological Museum in Osaka, which has more than 3,000 indigenous Taiwanese cultural objects and the National Museum in Tokyo, which houses over 1,000 such objects (Chen Oinyu, 2000: 23). But even after their loss of power in 1945, the Japanese continued to take advantage of Taiwanese poverty and ignorance in collecting (Cao Mingzong, 1999).

With its focus on economic development, the Taiwanese government has continued to ignore the country's indigenous culture. Consequently, objects that reflect this aspect of Taiwanese history and life have disappeared due to insufficient research and protection. Although the authorities have more recently been working hard to salvage cultural sites, many, such as the Benan culture in Taidong, Shisanhang in Taipei County, Yuanshan in Taipei and so on, have suffered serious plundering and destruction (Yang Chongsen, 2000).

Ironically, Japanese and some western collectors have maintained an interest in indigenous Taiwanese cultural objects. Some westerners began collecting much earlier than the Japanese. For example, recent research has revealed that a Canadian priest, G. L. Mackay, who arrived in Taiwan in 1872 and died there in 1901, collected a significant amount of this material (Chen Xilin, 2000a). Deeply influenced by Japanese taste, some Taiwanese collectors also began to purchase indigenous objects. Later still, as Nativism surfaced in Taiwanese society in the 1970s, the desire for this material increased significantly. To meet this high demand, numerous objects were plundered from archaeological sites. For example a Taiwanese author, Zhong Zhaozheng, stated in his book, *Benan Plain*, that hundreds of stone coffins over 2,000 years old had been plundered in the archaeological burial site of Beinan in Taidong (Han Xiu, 1995: 17).

As Nativism has become the main cultural attitude in Taiwanese society, a retrospective atmosphere has filled the air. To meet the demand from collectors, the growing number of antique shops have focused their business on Taiwanese cultural objects such as religious sculptures, old furniture and so on. 20-30 years earlier - the era of the KMT Chinese tradition - had been ignored by ordinary people. Since the 1980s theft has increased to meet demand (see Appendix). Many heritage sites or old houses have been plundered. In 1991, when I was in charge of the Yonghan Art Centre, a commercial gallery in Taipei, a stranger came to the gallery and showed me a series of photos of excavated indigenous artefacts including beads, pottery and jade. As these cultural objects are categorized as national property, it is forbidden to sell them. The stranger asked if the gallery could buy or sell them for him. In another incident, staff of the preparatory office of the National Prehistoric Culture Museum found a suspect who had taken advantage of the Chinese New Year vacation to unearth ancient artefacts in the early morning from the site of Beinan culture. Staff also found that he had taken away some artefacts including some pottery (Lin Kuncheng, 2000). In 1993, for instance, a thief stole an old cartwheel and a mortar over three-hundred-year old from the National Museum in Taipei (Chen Fenglan, 1993). And while many heritage sites in Taiwan were destroyed in the unprecedented earthquake disaster of 21 September 1999, countless cultural objects were not only buried in the rubble but also stolen by thieves (Li Rulin and Zhang Liangxin, 1999; Lin Wanyu, 2000). On 13 February 2000, a number of cultural objects, including a stele and a wooden tablet, were stolen from the old house of Lin Guanghua, Head of Xinzhu county (Oiu Gaotang, 2000). Lin Ciling, an official of the Home Office in Taiwan, said that the theft was undertaken by an organized gang of thieves that was plundering old temples in Taiwan. She appealed to the public for cooperation with the authorities (Ding Rongsheng, 2000).

Theft has risen in museums, galleries, archaeological sites, collectors' residences or artists' studios, but the awareness of staff and artists of this risk has grown slowly, and in many cases security measures remain inadequate. For example, the National Museum of History and Taipei Fine Arts Museum

have lost paintings and a sculpture by Zhu Ming (Wang Yuehua, 1991: 115). Most thefts from museums occur while works are on display. For instance, on 19 August 1998, the National Dr. Sun Yatsen Memorial Hall in Taipei reported that it lost nineteen paintings and calligraphies including thirteen calligraphies by Sun Yatsen, the founder of the Republic of China. They were in the exhibition, 'Historical Objects of Sun Yatsen'. Museum staff admitted, 'Although the museum keeps many cultural objects, its security measures are rather loose' (Zhang Yanwen, Zhang Fuging, Zhang Oiqiang and Zhang Baipo, 1998).

In April 2000, the media revealed that the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts had lost a stone sculpture, 'A White Horse Saying Farewell to the Prince', which dated back to the Northern Wei dynasty (386-534 AD). It had been on display in the museum. The stone sculpture, which was 26cm high and weighed just 5kg, had been displayed in a blind spot to the CCTV system;[1] there were also no security guards.[2]

Thieves have also targeted other public institutions. For example, three out of ten paintings by older generation artist, Cheng Jin, displayed in the Faguangsi (a temple in Taipei) were stolen by a thief on 16 September 1999. The staff of Faguangsi noted that interior repairs provided a good opportunity (Tai Nai, 1999a: 16). Modern art has also been targeted. A glass-fibre sculpture by Chen Yinjie, 'A Thinker', displayed on the campus of the National Chenggong University in Tainan, was also stolen by thieves in November 1998.[3]

Commercial galleries with their clear indication of prices were also targeted.[4] Thieves often disguise themselves as customers. In 1994, after a succession of six gallery thefts in the district of Daan in Taipei, the owner of one of the galleries wrote a letter to seek help from the head of the police force in Taiwan (Wang Huanzeng, 1994). Another example, in 1997, a stone sculpture by artist, Yang Zhengduan, was stolen from the Venus Gallery, a commercial gallery, in Hualian, when it was on display at its entrance. The gallery manager said that the sculpture was so heavy that he had supposed no thief would try to steal it (Anon, 1997: 128).

Thieves have been selective in their choice of objects. A number of well-known Taiwanese artists such as Lin Yushan, Zheng Shanxi and others, whose works were attracting high prices are now particularly favoured. The studio of Zheng Shanxi has been raided three times within one month (Hua Kequan, 1999: 103; Li Yuling, 1993). In October 1990, nine important paintings by Xu Beihong, Zhang Daqian and the former first lady, Song Meiling were stolen from the house of Huang Junbi, a noted Taiwanese artist, in Taipei (Wang Yuehua, 1991: 113-115). In September 1995, over 50 paintings by the renowned artist, Ou Haonian were also stolen from his studio in Taipei (Wu Jiaquan and Tian Yanxin, 1995).

Famous Taiwanese collectors were also targeted by thieves. In Sept. 1993, for example, a thief stole a group of paintings and calligraphy by Yu Youren, Dong

Zuobin and Shen Gangbo from the house of the famous academic, Shen Gangbo (Ma Xiping, 1994). In 1996, a collector's cabinet in Zhanghua was raided and two oil paintings by Li Shiqiao worth at least 10 million NT$ (£211,980) were stolen (Huang Baoping, 1996a).

Even if their collections were stolen, some collectors were not willing to report the loss to the police. For example, having been robbed and threatened by thieves, an anonymous Taiwanese collector said,

> 'Why should I report a case of theft to the police? If I report a case of theft to the police, it may attract more thieves. Moreover, even if the police can catch the thief, they can not guarantee me for sure to recover all my collections' (Hua Kequan, 1999: 103).

On the other hand, some collectors are the recipients of this material and therefore need to be secretive about what they have. Undoubtedly, collectors' attitudes not only make research related to art theft more difficult, but also make art theft less controllable by the police.

The task for the police is difficult. He Mingzhou, the leader of the Fourth Squad of the Taiwan Criminal Investigation Bureau, who is in charge of dealing with cases of theft, states,

> 'The theft of antiquities is the most difficult for the police to handle, partly because modern thieves are equipped with high-tech devices, partly because the disposal of stolen goods is very secret, and partly because the victims are not willing to report a case of theft to the police' (Shi Ye, 1999: 101).

He Mingzhou suggests that art thieves are particularly sophisticated and well informed about the works they take. Some are art school graduates (Shi Ye, 1999: 102; Hua, 1999: 103). For example, in an early morning raid in the Gudao Art Centre in Taizhonng in 1993, thieves stole over 100 Chinese seal stones worth 30 million NT$ (£635,940). The staff indicated that the thieves seemed to be professionals regarding Chinese seal stones, because they not only picked the more valuable seals, but also left fakes untouched. They entered the centre and fled with their loot in less than seven minutes (Ma Yuanpei, 1993).

With organized gangs involved in the operation, the means of disposing of stolen paintings have become particularly efficient. Groups of thieves manage thefts and control the distribution of stolen goods. Some art dealers are aware of these groups, but will not expose them. One anonymous art dealer expressed a wider concern:

> 'There is no point in uncovering them, as they will stay in jail for only two or three years. Anyway, most of those professional thieves will return

to stealing after they are discharged from prison. Our business policy is always to find an excuse so as to refuse the purchase of their stolen goods but not to offend them' (Hua, 1999: 103).

At the heart of these theft groups are buyers who drive the whole enterprise (Shi Ye, 1999: 101). One anonymous connoisseur, who is suspected to be a chief instigator of art theft, told a journalist that thieves can steal works of art to meet certain collectors' demands and those collectors will give plenty of time to allow the thieves to finish the job (Hua, 1999: 104). This seems to be the reason why some thefts are of particular pieces only. In the case of the Ou Haonian raid, thieves took away only his paintings and left other valuable paintings untouched (Lin Nanyue, 1995).

To avoid investigation from the police, thieves always sell stolen works of art as quickly as they can. The buyer of the theft group will pick up the most valuable goods and leave anything inferior. As He states, 'Normally, the police in Taiwan can only recover works of art which are of inferior quality including fakes, as thieves can sell valuable works of art in less than 24 hours' (Shi Ye, 1999: 101). For instance, although the police did recover some works of art stolen from Zheng Shanxi's studio, unfortunately, those recovered goods were of inferior quality. All of the paintings valued by the market had been rapidly disposed of by the thieves (Hwa Kequan, 1999: 103).

This illicit traffic in works of art is very difficult to terminate, as even the thieves do not know the people who really run the business network. Indeed, thieves do not care who they are. As He states, 'The illicit traffic of works of art is actually like a black hole. Thieves only know to throw booty into that black hole' (Shi Ye, 1999: 101). In a detailed study, Barelli found that,

> 'the professional criminal works at crime as a business; he/she makes his/her living by it; he is recognized and accepted by other professionals in his class as a professional; he subscribes to the code of behaviour long established for professionals in his group; he has status and is known within a considerable circle of other professionals' (Barelli, 1985: 152).

Therefore, in most situations an art thief tends to obey the code in his group and reveal nothing to the police. However, as long as the black hole exists, thieves find it easy to return to stealing after they are discharged from prison (Shi Yen, 1999: 101).

One method of disposal for stolen works is to transport them across an international border. As Elia states, 'what makes the art market so remarkable is its transformation of looted artefacts into legal art: objects that are illegally acquired and transported out of one country end up being offered for public sale by legal businesses in another' (Elia, 1995: 245). This makes stolen works difficult to track down. For example, part of a group of paintings and calligraphy

worth 17 million NT$ (£360,366) stolen from the Taiyang Gallery Taipei found their way to Hong Kong where they were sold. A Hong Kong art dealer was suspected as an accomplice (Wang Shocheng, 1993). This may explain why the recovery rate of stolen works of art in Taiwan is so low. Evidence shows that local theft groups seem to have connections with international theft groups, particularly those groups in Chinese areas such as Hong Kong, Singapore, China and elsewhere.

Thieves sometimes disguise themselves as a collector or an art dealer when visiting a gallery or a collector's cabinet in order to find out more information about a collection and the security system (Hua, 1999: 104). Sometimes the roles of art dealer and thief are present in the same individual. According to a report from CTS News in 1999, the police found a dealer thief who had focused on the retired congressmen living in the Central Village in Taipei County. As he was an art dealer capable of identifying works of art, he had gathered antiquities and works of art worth more than 10 million NT$ (£211,980).[5]

Sometimes, certain collectors or art dealers when confronted with an opportunity make an impulsive decision to commit a theft (Ni Zaiqin, 1993). For instance, a man stole a valuable western painting hanging on the wall of the Sherwood Hotel in Taipei and put it in his own flat for his own appreciation. Afterward, staff of the Hotel arrested him and his girlfriend while they visited the Hotel and tried to steal another painting (Wang Rucong, 1998). In 1996, a thief stole the oil painting, 'The Woman', painted by Bueffe, a French artist, while it was on display at the Elegant Gallery in Taipei (Huang Baoping, 1996b). Nearly four years later, on 11 April 2000, the gallery received a phone call from a man who said that he was sorry to have stolen the painting and he would like to send it back. The gallery staff said that the painting was sent back later by a commissioned taxi driver (Chen Xilin, 2000b).

Art plundering and theft in China

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, due to the unrest of society in China, many works of art have suffered either loss or plundering.[6] Many have been sold to foreign collectors, especially in western museums. Even the last emperor of the Qing dynasty, Pu Yi, stole works of art from the palace in Beijing and sold them.[7] Numerous cultural objects were dug up and smuggled out of China to the western art markets before the Chinese authorities began their own systematic archaeological excavations (Shi Shuging, 1990: 168).

With the increasing interest in Chinese culture, consumption has been increasing since World War ?. Hong Kong formed a convenient outlet for this material.

> 'The Hollywood Road is Hong Kong's cross between London's Portobello Road and Cork Street. Pre-handover, it was a Mecca for

> tourists and a haunt of the well-heeled, in search of that fine Chinese
> piece, a Qing dynasty figure, perhaps, or a Ming dynasty sculpture'
> (Morris, 2000).

Melikian writes:

> 'At the root of the problem lies the very phenomenon that has turned
> Chinese art into a huge commercial success story in the last 25 years.
> Around 1980 a stream of bronzes, ceramic vessels and jades from
> Neolithic times to the 14th century began to pour into the western
> markets via Hong Kong' (Melikian, 1999: 20).

London and New York became important Chinese art markets in the world. A
huge number of looted works of art ended up in their showrooms. For instance,
in 2000, a 10th century sculpture worth 500,000 US$ (£312,000) was discovered
at Christie's Auction house in New York. At the moment, Chinese and US
authorities are working together to track down the smugglers who brought the
sculpture to an art gallery in Hong Kong, a common route to western markets
for objects stolen from imperial tombs (August, 2000).

With Taiwan's growing affluence and a people who share the same blood and
cultural origin as people in China, there were many collectors who favoured
Chinese painting, calligraphy, jade, porcelain and so on. To meet this increasing
demand, Taiwanese art dealers desperately tried to find ways to import Chinese
cultural objects, which resulted in conspiracy with plundering, theft and
smuggling groups in China (Zhang Boshun, 2000).

Before the government of Taiwan lifted the ban in 1987, which at last allowed
Taiwanese people to visit China, most Taiwanese art dealers and collectors
used to go in great numbers to look for Chinese treasures in galleries, antiquities
shops or auctions in Hong Kong or Macao. However, in the early 1980s a few
Taiwanese dealers and collectors took advantage of the political separation
and began their business in China. For example, Wang Ruqin, a Taiwanese
art dealer, has smuggled a great number of fine antiquities from China since
1980. From the late 1980s he became one of the most important art suppliers
to Taiwanese and western dealers and collectors (Tai Nai, 1999b: 16). This
situation not only made the competition between local art dealers intense, but
also encouraged more illicit trafficking of antiquities out of China since 1980
(Anon, 1991).

The price of paintings or antiques in Hong Kong and Macao remained fairly
high due to consumer demand and the ability of the dealers to control the
market. Competition between Taiwanese art dealers and their western and
Japanese counterparts was intense in Hong Kong and Macao. At the same
time, Taiwanese collectors' taste was getting more discriminating and they
were no longer content with ordinary works of art. Therefore, after 1987, many
Taiwanese art dealers, and even collectors, went directly to China to seek for

objects. Some began to involve themselves in illicit traffic. With the art market boom in Taiwan, these Taiwanese dealers and collectors in China rapidly became a formidable power purchasing all kinds of cultural objects, which encouraged more theft and plundering. For example, as Taiwanese collectors increasingly favoured stone sculptures in the early 1990s, particularly Buddhist sculptures, so Taiwanese art dealers began to offer a relatively higher price to purchase them in China. As stone sculptures can seldom be found in private collections, people in China are tempted to plunder or steal stone sculptures from heritage sites such as old houses, ancient temples and so on (Liu Junvao, 1992). According to a report of United Daily News, a Song dynasty (960-1279 AD) 12-metre high Buddhist pagoda in Shanxi province, which presents over 3,500 Buddhist sculptures in high relief, was smuggled into Taiwan. After over three-month investigation, the police of China eventually recovered this object (Anon, 2000).

Taiwanese art dealers have swarmed into Chekiang and Fujian provinces after 1987 to purchase large quantities of precious seal stones such as Qingtian, Tianhuang, Chicken-blood and so on. They also bought thousands of 'Duanyan', rare ink-stones, in Guangdong province and all kinds of Zisha teapots, in Jiangsu province. Then, to avoid either examination by the Customs or import duty, they followed the example of Hong Kong dealers and cooperated with local smugglers in China in order to develop their business network and to smuggle their goods to Taiwan. Since 1990, a number of bazaars, flea markets and fairs, in which stalls and shops sell all kinds of cultural objects from China, have emerged in most main cities in Taiwan such as Taipei, Taizhong, Tainan, Jiayi, Kaohsiung etc. As Jiang stated in 1994,

> 'As a result of the economic interaction between both sides, Chinese ancient cultural objects have become the mainstream in the art market in Taiwan. Particularly so after the economic reforms in China since 1978, smuggling of cultural objects has increased to a larger scale enterprise. Most fine cultural objects have been flowing into the Taiwanese art market' (Jiang Yanchou, 1994: 100-101).

Smuggling into Taiwan from China

In fact, the smuggling of goods from China to Taiwan has been going on for a long time. However, large-scale smuggling of cultural objects did not occur until the art market boom started in the 1980s. As for methods of smuggling cultural objects, Lin Junzhe, a noted connoisseur in Taizhong, states,

> 'Basically, there are four channels for the Chinese cultural objects flowing into the Taiwanese art market: cultural objects can be exported by art dealers directly from China; be purchased at wholesale in Hong Kong or Macao; or be purchased by tourists themselves; or can be smuggled by means of fishing boats' (Zhao Musong , Huang Yuanliang , Li Shiwei and Zhang Liren, 1991: 26).

Taiwanese art dealers have been taking advantage for some time of fishing boats, which can easily contact and trade with fishing boats from China. In this way all kinds of cultural objects such as paintings, calligraphy, porcelain and other objects are smuggled from China to Taiwan. 'On Dayong Road alone in the fishing port of Wuqi in Taizhong County stand over 200 shops selling all kinds of goods from China, in particular calligraphy and paintings' (Zhao MuSong, Huang Yuanliang , Li Shiwei and Zhang Liren, 1991: 26).

Mobility of fishing boats means that smuggling is very successful. Mr. Liu, the owner of the Pushiyuan in Taipei, who used to be a poor sailor, took advantage of these boats to smuggle a great many precious seal stones to Taiwan in the early 1980s, from which he made a fortune.[8] These smugglers have devised many ways to avoid detection. For example, since 1990, Taiwanese art dealers have smuggled a great number of ancient stone sculptures out of China by fishing boat. These are seldom found by the marine police, as the sculptures are trailed below the sea on metal wires (Liu Junyao, 1992).

Smugglers deal with paintings and calligraphy differently. According to on-the-spot coverage by journalists of China Time Weekly, Taiwanese art dealers put them in a waterproof packaging and fix an electronic device inside. When the fishing boats approach Wuqi Port, fishermen throw the packages into the sea. The electronic device gives off a signal, which permits smugglers waiting at the port to detect them and gather them one by one (Zhao Musong, Huang Yuanliang , Li shiwei and Zhang Liren, 1991: 27). Old furniture, by contrast, is dismantled and packed in waterproof packaging before being loaded into fishing boats. After arriving at the port in Taiwan, the furniture is reconstructed as well as repaired in workshops (ibid.).

As a result of remittance restriction imposed by the authorities of China, Taiwanese businessmen working in China are forbidden to completely remit all profits back to Taiwan. Some of them, therefore, make use of their company in China to collect valuable works of art as a way to keep their profits safe. Likewise, in order to purchase more fine works of art from China, many Taiwanese art dealers and, even some collectors, adopt this method of setting up an office or agency in China in order to gather art treasures, which they then find a way to smuggle out. In most cases, their collections will be transported to Taiwan as cargo. For example, Pan Siyuan, former President of the Regent Hotel in Taipei, started his collecting in China in 1979. He recalled that he had transported 27 containers of antiquities to his property in the U.S.A. To deal with the huge amount of cultural objects, he even built an extra storehouse to keep them (Zhao Musong, Huang Yuanliang , Li Shiwei and Zhang Liren, 1991: 32).

In most cases, smugglers try to disguise their goods as legally exported goods. They may, for example, mix ancient porcelain with new artefacts, and, then, falsify documents to pass through Customs. Generally, they need to bribe the Customs officials and even the local police in advance to avoid examination.

Old furniture may be dismantled and disguised as new furniture by coating it with new paint.[9] In some cases, diplomats of China are suspected of using their diplomatic immunity to smuggle cultural objects into Hong Kong (Shi Shuqing, 1990: 209-210).

At present, smuggling groups in China, which are equipped with modern technology and even weapons, have developed their nationwide connection with local art dealers, officials and even police. They have become even more organized. Some groups have over one hundred members. Each member takes charge of different activities such as tomb robbing, gathering, transportation and smuggling. They are equipped with motorcycles, cars, mobile phones, wireless communication devices and even guns. They also have electronic drills, rock saws and even explosives. It is also believed that some members are very skilful in excavation, as they have been trained in archaeological units Jiang Yin, 1992: 13). Some smugglers make use of 600 horsepower high-speed boats to illegally transport goods from China to Hong Kong (Zhao Musong, Huang Yuanliang , Li Shiwei and Zhang Liren, 1991: 24). Some even bring them into Hong Kong or Macao by swimming (Lu Jia, 1992: 16).

Normally, customers from other countries such as Taiwan, Hong Kong or Macao may place an order for goods with members of a smuggling group in China, who usually make use of groceries or barber shops as a cover for the gathering of cultural objects (Lu Jia, 1992: 15). An investigation by Lu Jia showed that most cultural objects are transported either by car or train to the collection point in Kwangtung. Also, some objects are parcelled and sent by mail (Lu Jia, 1992: 15).

Having received these cultural objects, smugglers will send them to Hong Kong by container lorries, which transport all kinds of goods back and forth between Hong Kong, Macao and the Zhuhai area in Guangdong. The police in Guangdong province found 404 cultural objects including Tang dynasty pottery, Tibetan antiquities and dinosaur eggs in a lorry coming from Zhuhai and heading for Macao.[10] Similarly, 718 precious cultural objects, including Neolithic painted pottery, Han dynasty (206 BC- 220 AD) Green-glaze pottery and Five Dynasties Period (907-960 AD) Changsha ware, were found in a Hong Kong registered container lorry by the police in Guangdong. Police also found 128 rare cultural objects, including Neolithic painted pottery, in a container lorry driven by a Hong Kong driver (Lu Jia, 1992: 15).

However, in 1987 the authorities in China decided to strengthen their controls and consequently rates of detection have risen. Consequently, some smugglers failed to pass successfully. For instance, in the first half of 1992, officials in Guangdong province found cultural objects in 95 parcels (ibid). In 1994, a Taiwanese businessman was arrested by Xiamen Customs on a charge of smuggling, as he made use of his company, which was merely a front for smuggling cultural objects out of China. 378 stone sculptures dating back to

the Ming dynasty (1368 AD - 1644 AD) and Qing dynasty (1644 AD - 1911 AD) were confiscated (Anon, 1994).

Most Taiwanese art dealers or collectors do not want to risk passing through Customs in China. To meet overseas customers' requirements, an illegal delivery service run by art dealers in China, so called 'Pay for goods in China, take delivery of goods in Hong Kong', was introduced in the early 1990s (Zhao Musong, Huang Yuanliang , Li Shiwei and Zhang Liren, 1991: 27). Customers just need to pay part of the money for goods as a deposit in advance after they have seen the goods in China and made a decision. Local dealers in China can help them to smuggle the goods to the hotel that they will stay at in Hong Kong as well as collect the rest of the money for the goods from the customer. Normally, only those very rare cultural objects are smuggled out of China in this way, as smugglers have to take more risks and consequently require more money to pass through the Customs. In most cases, they need to bribe the Customs officials and the police in China to escape inspection.

Of course, some cultural objects are rather small. This makes them ideal for a suitcase. Some Taiwanese art dealers or collectors take a chance and smuggle them out of the country. It is forbidden by domestic law to export such items over 100 years old out of China, but some art dealers make a fortune by doing so. For example, Zheng Wuxong, an art dealer from Kaohsiung in the south of Taiwan, successfully took a Ming dynasty Blue-and-White from China and sold it to the Hongxi Museum in Taipei in 1991.[11] However, other art dealers had their goods confiscated by Customs. Some were jailed and fined. In 1995, Customs officials detained Ma Xianxing, Professor of the History School at the Chinese Culture University, as some forbidden cultural objects were found in his luggage. These included pieces of bronze from the Han dynasty (206 BC - 220 AD), which he had bought in China. These items were confiscated.[12] In 1996, Customs arrested Mr. Yi, an art dealer of the Zhenghe antique shop, as he carried some important cultural objects with him and tried to pass through Customs. He was put in jail and fined a considerable amount.[13]

From the late 1980s, in addition to the area including Guangdong, Macao and Hong Kong, dealers also exploited smuggling routes through Thailand and Vietnam where border controls were much looser than other places in China. It is believed that some Blue-and-White from the Yuan dynasty (1279 AD - 1368 AD), which is very rare and expensive, has arrived in the art market via this route. When working for 'My Humble House' in 1989 I was dispatched with the general manager to Thailand and Vietnam to arrange the acquisition of Chinese artefacts.[14] Ma Chengyuan, Director of the Shanghai Museum, indicated at the 1994 conference in Taipei, entitled 'Museum Interaction and Prospect between Taiwan and China',[15] that a priceless work of textile dated back to the Yuan dynasty (1279 AD - 1368 AD) was smuggled out of China across the border with Nepal and ended up in Britain. He appealed to scholars for further research on the subject of smuggling routes (Lai Suling, 1994).

Since about 1990, art dealers in China have become very heavily involved in the Taiwanese art market. Although the police keeps an eye on them, most of them hold a Macao passport and can enter Taiwan legally. Many try to obtain a residence permit of Macao or Hong Kong. In this way they can take advantage of Macao or Hong Kong as locations, where smuggled cultural objects are concentrated from the entire country, in order to export all kinds of cultural objects to Taiwan (Zhao Musong, Huang Yuanliang , Li Shiwei and Zhang Liren, 1991: 33).

Conclusion

Collectors' taste is a key mechanism driving the art market and has great implications for its illicit aspects such as smuggling and faking as well as playing an important role in museum expansion. With the growing economy in Taiwan, Taiwanese collectors' interests not only formed waves of collecting fashion in the local art market, but also internationally encouraged illegal traffic and art faking. Being strongly influenced by political and cultural changes, Taiwanese collectors' interests and concepts of artistic value actually reflected not only the social development in Taiwan but also the interaction with China.

By the 'Act of Preservation of Cultural Heritage' the authorities in Taiwan restrict cultural objects over 100 years old from being exported, but allow objects to be imported into Taiwan (Lai Suliang, 2000). Therefore, with the flourish art market in Taiwan and China, it is no doubt that the smuggling and theft will increase significantly. This has resulted in not only cultural destruction but also debates in museum sector. Issues related to smuggling and theft should be further discussed on the governmental basis and cooperation between Taiwan and China need to be operated as soon as possible.

Notes

1. CCTV= Closed Circuit Television

2. CTS News on 20 April 2000 reported that the Kaosiung Museum of Fine Arts had lost a Northern Wei Stone Sculpture. See also Zhao Jing, 2000.

3. CTS News (News of the China TV Station), 27 Nov. 1998.

4. In 1990, the Apollo Art gallery in Taipei lost a watercolour by Hong Ruiling while it was on display. The Han Art gallery in Taipei lost a bronze sculpture as a group of workers was installing a new air conditioning system at the gallery. See Wang Yuehua (1991: 115).

5.   Central Television Service News (CTS News), 26 April 1999.

6. In 1911, the Qing dynasty was terminated by Dr. Sun Yatsen. The Republic of China was established in 1912. At the same time, the civil war between the KMT and Communist Party began. In 1949, the KMT was defeated and withdrew troops to Taiwan.

7. These stolen works sold by Pu Yi are termed 'Dongbeihuo ' by dealers. See Han Xiu, 1995: 19.

8. Personal communication with Mr. Liu, an owner of the antique shop, Pushiyuan on Yanji Street in Taipei, in 1990.

9. Once furniture arrives in Taiwan, furniture can be reconstructed and experts can remove the paint from the furniture in order to recover the furniture's original lustre. See Shi Shuqing (1990: 211).

10. An international news report of China Central Television Station (CCTV) in China on 20 Aug. 1999.

11. Personal communication with the Taiwanese art dealer, Zheng Wuxong, in Hong Kong in July 1991.

12. Personal communication with professor Ma Xianxing on 23 Dec. 1995.

13. Personal communiacation with the Taiwanese art dealer in Taipei, Huang Bangguang, on 12 Dec. 1996.

14. Having contacted smugglers in Thailand and Vietnam in May 1989, a Ming dynasty lacquer Buddhist 15 sculpture and a Blue-and -White jar were transported back to Taiwan one month later.

15. Museum Interaction and Prospect between Taiwan and China.

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Appendix : List of important art theft in Taiwan since 1949

Date	Place Stolen	Object	Source
Feb. 2001	Taizhong.	Works of bamboo art.	China Times, 26 Feb. 2001
9 Feb. 2001	Zhonghe City, . Taipei County	A Tang dynasty glazed horse.	China Times, 9 Feb. 2001
29 April 2000	Old house in Alian village. and so on.	A bronze, old furniture, old stone grinder	China Times, 29 April 2000
20 April 2000	The Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts.	A stone sculpture dated back to Northern Wei dynasty.	People Daily News, 21 April 2000 CTS News, 20 April 2000
16 Sept. 1999	Faguangsi.	Three paintings by Chen Jin.	Chinese Art News, No. 2, Oct.1997, p.16
March 1999	Studio of Lin Zhizhu, a noted Taiwanese artist in Taizhong.	50 sketches and 5 colourful ink paintings by Lin Zhizhu.	China Times, 19 March 1999
26 Nov. 1998	The campus of the Chenggong University in Tainan.	The glass-fiber sculpture, 'A Thinker', by Chen Yinjie.	CCT News, 27 Nov.1998
10 Nov. 1998	Collector, Mr. Lai's cabinet.	Oil painting by Li Shiqiao, oil painting by Chen Jinrong, ink painting by Li Mingjiu, calligraphy by Wu Hufan.	Chinese Art News, No. 28, Dec. 1999, p. 70
July 1997	The Venus Gallery in Hualian No.	Stone sculpture.	Chinese Art News, 2, Oct. 1997, p.128
22 March 1999	The Xihua Hotel.	An antique western oil painting.	United Daily News, 22 March 1998
12 June 1996	Elegant Gallery.	A woman, Oil painting by Bueffe.	Mingsheng Daily News, 13 June 1996
27 March 1996	Collector, Mr. Xu's cabinet in Zhanghua.	Two oil Paintings by Li Shiqiao.	Mingsheng Daily News, 7 April 1996
26 Sept. 1995	Studio of the artist, Ou Haonian, in Taipei.	Over 50 pieces of paintings by Ou Haonian.	China Times, 27 Sept. 1995
10 June 1994	The Mulan Village Taipei. and gold worth 50 million NT$ (£1,058,870).	Chinese seal stones jewels, diamonds	United Evening in News, 10 June 1994

1994	Six commercial galleries at the district of Daan in Taipei.	Antiquities and paintings.	China Times Evening, 6 Jan. 1994
17 Dec. 1993	The National Museum in Taipei.	A stone mortar and a cart wheel.	China Times, 18 Dec. 1993
11 Oct. 1993	The Gudao Art Centre in Taizhong.	Over 100 Chinese seal stones worth 30 million NT$ (£635,322).	China Times Evening, 12 Oct. 1993
24 Sept. 1993	The house of Shen Gangbo, noted scholar, in Taipei.	18 pieces of works of art including calligraphy by Shen Gangbo, Yu Youren and so on Painting by He Zhaohwa.	Central Daily News, 26 Jan. 1994
22 August 1993	The Taiyang Gallery.	Chinese paintings and calligraphy worth over 17 million.	China Times Evening, 7 Dec. 1993 China Times, 7 Dec. 1993
1993	Mingren Art Gallery in Kaohsiung.	Over 20 ink paintings by Fan Zeng, renowned Mainland China painter.	Ni Zaiqin (1993)
1993	Studio of the artist, Zheng Shenxi, in Taipei.	A group of ink paintings by Zheng Shenxi	United Evening News, 21 Nov. 1993
1990	Han Art Gallery in Taipei.	Bronze sculpture.	Art Monthly, Jan 1991, p.115
1990	Apollo Art Gallery in Taipei.	A watercolour by Hong Ruilin.	Art Monthly, Jan 1991, p.115
Oct. 1990	House of the noted artist, Huang Junbi, in Taipei.	Nine important paintings by Xu Beihong, Zhang Daqian and so on.	Art Monthly, Jan 1991, p.113
July 1986	House of Yao Zhaoming, Professor of Chinese Culture University.	Over a hundred paintings by Pu Ru were Stolen and Yao was found killed by thieves.	Renmin Daily News, 4 August 1986
1981	Changliu Gallery in Taipei.	A group of important ink paintings by Zhang Daqian, Qi Baishi and so on.	Art Monthly, Jan.1991, p.113

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New museological concepts in Portugal during the 1960s

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During the 1960s the regime known as the *Estado Novo*, a dictatorial regime that began in the early 1930s, faced serious internal and external political difficulties. The dictator, Salazar (prime-minister between 1938 and 1968), was an old man with old ideas, who was incapable of facing progress. In post-war democratic Europe, the Portuguese dictatorship was an exception. Museums in Portugal always had served the ideological and propagandistic goals of the regime. However, during the late 1950s and the early 1960s museum professionals in Portugal increased their contacts with colleagues all over Europe; Portugal became a member of ICOM; new legislation (in 1965) changed very important concepts and introduced modernity in the Portuguese legislative corpus concerning museums. In this paper I will try to explain this apparent contradiction, between an old regime and new legislation.

After the end of World War II, an event that disturbed the plans of Salazar for the economic recovery of Portugal,[1] the *Estado Novo* had to face two serious difficulties. On one hand the internal resistance against the dictatorial regime grew stronger and became more effective; on the other hand, international political trends resulting from the war were not favourable to a non-democratic[2] colonialist regime such as the Portuguese. The *Estado Novo* reacted by reaffirming its ideological options, by exerting even stronger political repression and by increasing its propaganda.[3] Museums and temporary exhibitions were used as means to promote and to disseminate this ideological propaganda.

During the 1930's the *Estado Novo* issued new legislation on the role of propaganda and on the organisation and objectives of museums, thereby connecting the two. The ideological use of museums and of temporary exhibitions became more and more evident during the first years of the regime (end of the 1920s and the 1930s). Furthermore, the *Estado Novo* assumed isolated positions in terms of international economy and of its geo-strategic interests. The regime firmly maintained its policy concerning the Colonial Empire i.e. denying any possibility of political independence to the territories considered as essential parts of Portugal. Museums and temporary exhibitions had a particular and very important role in this strategy. As a consequence, during the 1950s and the 1960s the *Estado Novo* became an old regime ruled by an old man, where museums had a significant importance in terms of ideological and political propaganda.

Nevertheless, in an apparently paradoxical way, museological policies did not follow this process of ageing. In two main aspects the *Estado Novo* produced legislation that enabled certain modernity in the museum field. One of those aspects was the training of museum staff; the other was a significant change in the official concept of 'museum'. In both cases, the regime was affected by

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external influences, primarily brought from abroad and introduced by museum professionals who were in touch with their European colleagues.[4]

However, some of the main guidelines of museums' usage adopted by the regime prior to the Second World War were kept unchanged: the intense propagandistic use of museum and temporary exhibitions; the display of museum objects with ideological goals; and the organisation of temporary exhibitions aimed exclusively at political objectives, became even more important for the regime that was feeling increasing pressure, both from inside and outside its borders.

Two major laws concerning the policies and training of museum staff were enacted.[5] The first one, in 1953,[6] changed and improved the training of curators; the second one, in 1965,[7] established a national course for curators. This program was very demanding both in terms of theoretical and practical preparation. It was the result of the 1953 decisions, and was influenced by the international contacts of Portuguese museum directors and curators. The law of 1953 demanded a significant effort from the candidates to curatorial positions, particularly in terms of theoretical subjects that were to be followed in the Faculty of Arts and in the Superior School of Fine Arts. All practical training was developed inside the National Museum of Ancient Art considered the national 'school museum'. Another important influence on these changes was the Portuguese participation in ICOM, which contributed to the discussion of contemporary museum practices in Portugal.[8] The law of 1965 was the logical result of this new environment, and only formalised the options that had been taken in 1953. Also in 1965 the Portuguese Museum Association was created, again suggesting that museums were an important issue in Portugal during this period.

Perhaps even more important than the decisions concerning professional curatorial training included in the 1965 law, were the changes in the definition of the concept of 'museum'. Contrary to the trend to the maintenance of old political ideas, as was the case of the *Estado Novo* in the 1960s, the definition of museum concepts and museums role in Portugal suffered a significant change due to the 1965 law. This legislation acknowledged two main roles for the museum, first keeping the objects and second exhibiting, researching and making those objects available to the public. Under this law, museums were expected to perform not only a scientific and artistic mission, but an educative and social mission as well. The law clearly stated that if the museum was only recognised as a 'keeper' of objects it could be considered as a necropolis. The solution, it was said, was to make the museum perform a cultural task serving the community. These were, indeed, revolutionary statements in the Portugal of the 1960s, as almost all Portuguese museums were then practically no more than reliquaries.[9]

The way museums should perform that cultural service to the community was also the object of analysis in the 1965 law. The legislator was aware that

museums had been open to the public since the 18th century. However, the kind of public that attended museums was only the elite. The law stated that by the end of the 1920s that situation was beginning to change; nevertheless, museums were not the place of the common people. Therefore, they could not perform their cultural mission. In order to change all that, the law of 1965 established new tasks and new responsibilities for Portuguese museums. The new public that museums were expected to attract was a public with specific needs in terms of cultural background. The legislator stated that it was known that this public (the manual worker, the student, the non-connoisseur) needed much support from the museum in order to understand art and history. Without a significant role in terms of interpretation performed by the museum, the visit - for this public - would not result in significant cultural gains. The conclusion was very straightforward: museums had new and important responsibilities.

These new responsibilities raised a number of difficulties and the legislator of 1965 was aware of them. In general, Portuguese museums were not ready to receive these new publics and to respond to their demands. In order to (at least partially) solve this difficulty, the law established a central department that would help museums develop new educational skills and new ways of exhibiting their collections. The aim was to transform Portuguese museums into more attractive institutions, capable of attracting the curiosity of the public, and, as a consequence, to bring people to the exhibitions. Another concern of the legislator was to produce a clear definition of the museum's tasks. As stated in this law, museums had to perform five major objectives:

1.   Keep and conserve the collections, and to acquire in the fields of art, history and archaeology;

2.   Exhibit the parts of the collections that would better serve the purpose of educating the public;

3.   Undertake research activities and produce results that could be used by other researchers;

4.   Assume the role of active centres of cultural dissemination, attracting the public and satisfying its needs.

Museums should, therefore, conserve, acquire, exhibit, research and publish. Portugal was following the international trend in this matter.[10] However, the paternalistic way in which manual workers were referred to demonstrates that museums were still conceived as elitist institutions, and not as culturally democratic ones. Another important issue was the role of museums as institutions that were expected to cooperate with schools. This was recorded in the 1965 law, but as 'schools' were considered primarily Universities and the Superior School of Fine Arts, not secondary or primary schools. As a consequence, the goal of cooperating with schools was only partially achieved. And, as the number of the Portuguese school population studying at University

was a very small percentage of the total population, the actual number of students who could benefit from this cooperation between museums and schools was very limited. Nevertheless, some Portuguese museums received an impressive number of school visits.[11]

The conclusion of the 1965 law was very clear in terms of its intentions: museums should be 'alive organisms' that should be able to attract elites as well as the general public. These intentions were often merely intentions. The Portuguese museums of the period were not those 'alive organisms' and they were really not able to attract the public.

However, what is under analysis in this paper are the changes in the legislation. In terms of key concepts, Portuguese legislation changed significantly in this domain and those changes were to be kept for a few decades. As far as museums were concerned, the *Estado Novo* did not assume a conservative attitude. Its tendency to resist all novelty in the fields of politics, economics and even culture did not apply to museum theory. After the Second World War, the regime accepted, at least from a theoretical and legislative perspective, the new aims and objectives that were being established internationally for museums.

During the 1950s and the 1960s the *Estado Novo* exerted a very strong pressure against trade unionism, against new political ideas, against students' political organisations, in fact against all that could represent some kind of change and that could therefore challenge the balance of the regime. On the contrary, where museums were concerned, the *Estado Novo* adopted new paradigms and did not stay 'proudly alone'.[12] A possible explanation for this is the clear understanding by the regime of the importance of museums and of temporary exhibitions for political and ideological propaganda. Since its beginnings the *Estado Novo* acknowledged such importance and invested money and effort in museums and temporary exhibitions, using them to forward political ideas and ideological messages. Although temporary exhibitions normally performed well in terms of immediate propaganda, museums had to face the problem of the small number of visitors. This does not mean that museums were not effective as loci of propaganda, but the perspective of having more of the public inside museums would certainly please the regime. The 1965 law established as a main objective increasing the number and variety of visitors to the museum, but this was not a democratic conceptualisation of the museum. On the contrary, the *Estado Novo* wanted to keep absolute control over the message the museum was able to put forward. And that message was to be the same politically and ideologically imbued message museums had always performed under the regime of Salazar.

However, the legislation of 1965 profoundly changed the conceptual framework of the museum profession in Portugal. New ideas about the organisation of the exhibits, recognition of the importance of the public, and the urgent need for professionals working in museums were present in this legislation. Museums

were still seen as places where treasuries of art, history and archaeology would find a place to be taken care of. But new goals were assigned to museums. Educational and social services were amongst them and this fact would prove to be of major importance. Furthermore, this new legislation established the basis of new demands concerning professionalism in museums. For the next decades, even after the end of the regime in 1974, the law of 1965 became the key legislation ruling that issue.

Notes

1. Salazar predicted ten years to recover economically from what he considered the disaster the First Republic (1910-1926) had been. He also predicted another ten years of enrichment, after that recover. See his speeches of 1936 in SALAZAR, António de Oliveira (1945) Discursos e notas Políticas - 1935-1937. Coimbra Editora, 2ª ed.: p. 145.

2. On the main aspects of the *Estado Novo* history and policies see MATTOSO, José (dir.) - História de Portugal, Lisboa, Ed. Estampa, vol. 7.

3. On this matter see Lira, Sérgio (2001). 'Politics and Propaganda in Portuguese Museums and Temporary Exhibitions During the *Estado Novo.*' Museological Review, vol. 7: 42 - 55 and Lira, Sérgio (1999). 'Exposições temporárias no Portugal do *Estado Novo*: Alguns exemplos de usos políticos e ideológicos'. Paper presented in Colóquio Nacional da APOM, 'Balanço do Sécul', Lisboa, 1999.

4. As examples, the contacts of the director of the National Museum of Ancient Art and of some of the curators of that museums with other European museums, as well as the presence in international conferences of Portuguese museum directors and curators.

5. On this mater see Lira, Sérgio (1998). 'Linhas de força da legislação portuguesa relativa a museus para os meados do século XX: os museus e o discurso político' in Actas do V Colóquio Galego de Museus, Consello Galego de Museus, pp. 69-98 and Lira, Sérgio (1999). 'Portuguese legislation on museums during the *Estado Novo*: from the First Republic inheritance to the changes of the sixties.' Museological Review, vol. 6, 1999.

6. See decree nº 39116 (27/02/1953).

7. See decree nº 46758 (18/12/1965) known as Regulamento Geral dos Museus de História Arte e Arqueologia..

8. The role of João Couto, director of the National Museum of Ancient Art, was decisive on this matter.

9. About the Museum of Alberto Sampaio (a regional museum) the local news paper - Comércio de Guimarães - affirmed in 1955 that its director, Drª Maria Emília dos Santos Silva Amares Teixeira, achieved the very important task of gathering historical and artistic objects - that were considered lost - in the wonderful reliquary the museum was.

10. It is important to remember the ICOM 1974 definition: 'A museum is a non-profit making, permanent institution in the service of society and of its development, and open to the public, which acquires, conserves researches, communicates and exhibits, for purposes of study, education and enjoyment, material evidence of man and his environment'.

11. As examples, the National Museum of Popular Art and the National Museum of Ancient Art.

12. Salazar referring to foreign policy, on what concerned the colonies, used this expression.

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