Into the Politics of Museum Audience Research

Cinta Esmel-Pamies

Preface[1]

This study, considered a piece of 'resistance', should be understood as the written reflection about an ongoing exploration into the politics of museum audience research. Through the identification of the key issues addressed in academic literature on the political nature of the 'museum' and on the development in the field of Visitor Studies, this work aimed to examine how the overlap between museum audience research and the current cultural policy in Britain affects the Tate's approach to visitor research. Originated from the personal experience of myself as a Tate Encounters' co-researcher, this study was grounded in the light of a few vague and initially unconnected 'subjective' considerations and enquiries about the contradictory ['democratic' and 'oppressive'] dynamics of the museum. Aiming not to betray the personal essence of this piece, 'reflexivity' was embraced as the methodological experiential activity to generate grounded analysis on the subject of research. This study acknowledges art museums' attempts to mediate between their intrinsic contradictory dynamics, reshape their relationship with citizens and challenge views of their traditional *power*, however, it remains sceptical about their success on reformulating themselves as responsive 'listeners'.

The key objectives of the paper are:

1. Identify the key issues addressed in academic discourse on the political nature of the museum
2. Consider the development in the field of Visitor Studies
3.a. Identify the overlap between audience research in museums and the current British cultural policy
3.b. Examine how this overlap affects the Tate's approach to visitor research
4. Reflect on the politics of museum audience research

---

[1] This paper is derived from my BA dissertation of the same title (submitted in May 2009) and is based on research data gathered prior to this date. It does not therefore necessarily reflect current cultural policy or Tate figures at the time of this publication.

Introduction

This exploratory study is linked to the activities of an explorer (Adams and Schvaneveldt 1991 cited in Saunders et al. 2003:97) (see Chapter Two: Methodology). Although this piece was written with the concern of not being able to attain 'an end' to the journey, an 'answer' for those initial queries, it was gradually understood that the research was progressing on a theme, and that the theme had to develop as the journey continued (Naipaul 1989:22 cited in Saunders at al 2003:97). Originated from my experience as a Tate Encounters'[2] co-researcher, this study was grounded in the light of a number of vague and initially unconnected considerations and enquiries:

1. The tradition of aesthetics in the Western world, which is still present in contemporary treatments of beauty and truth, was established by the German revolutionary political thinker and philosopher Immanuel Kant[3]. In 1790, one year after the start of the French Revolution, he wrote *The Critique of Judgement* (*Kritik der Urteilskraft*), also known as *The Third Critique.* Kant claimed that judgments of taste are both subjective and universal. Aesthetic judgments are subjective because they are experiential responses of pleasure and validation which do not involve necessarily any claim about the properties of the object itself; in other words, it is the subject who constructs the aesthetic harmony, meaning and unity of the object. On the other hand, Kant preserved aesthetic judgments as universal because in a crucial way they must be *disinterested*. Kant considered the aesthetic judgment as a disinterested and non-coercive consensus in which *the beautiful and the sublime* is immediate and represented without domination. Therefore, arguably, the Kantian discourse does not implicitly exclude anyone, based on distinctions of *habitus[4]* or competence, from the possibility of art appreciation or knowledge (Grenfell and Hardy 2007:37-39; www.rowan.edu; www.iep.utm.edu).

   Subjective   This work builds on the scepticism about Kant's conception of aesthetic judgment as universal, the 'pure gaze', and the implied misrecognition of power and privilege embedded in the concept. This paper surmises that the aesthetic experience is a by-product of socio-historical changes and conditions, the 'sociological gaze' (Grenfell and Hardy 2007:43,198)

2. The aesthetic response for Kant is characterized by a degree of 'separateness' between the pure gaze and the everyday, the latter including the economic necessities of life. In direct opposition to Kant and the implication of his position, part of Bourdieu's[5] aim was to challenge the Kantian

---

[2] Tate Encounters is a three-year research project funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council through the Diasporas, Migration and Identities Programme. The Project started in April 2007 and involves three collaborative institutions: Tate Britain, London South Bank University and the Wimbledon College of the Arts. See www.tateencounters.org

[3] (1724 – 1804) German philosopher regarded as one of the most influential thinkers of modern Europe and of the late Enlightenment.

[4] In Bourdieu's work, *habitus* can be defined as a system of durable and transposable schemes of perception, thought and action (*dispositions*) that individuals develop in response to an encounter with determining structures such as class, family, and education (Grenfell and Hardy 2007:28-31,45)

[5] (1930 - 2002) French sociologist and writer

aesthetics through an attack on the 'separation' on which it was founded. Bourdieu (1979) argued not only that Kant's criterion of the disinterestedness of the aesthetic gaze is essentially a middle class phenomenon, but also that Kant's aesthetics represented an experience that is the product of an elevated class *habitus* and scholarly leisure. Bourdieu's idea of aesthetic judgments is not based on innate qualities of the objects, but rather on cultural specifics as well as individual and unequal interpretations. For him, the reflection on *things*, which is the origin of the 'refined' aesthetic or 'good taste', is only possible by a distance from *things*, which is produced by the status of the bourgeois classes in juxtaposition to manual productive labour (Grenfell and Hardy 2007).

| **Oppression** | The root of this study is the feeling of oppression with regard to class background experienced by me during encounters with art at public museums and galleries. |

3. In *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (1964), Marshall McLuhan[6] proposed that it is the media itself, not the content it carries, which should be the focus of study; he said that a medium affects the society in which it plays a role not only by the content delivered over the medium but by the characteristics of the medium itself. In this book he coined the phrase "the medium is the message", meaning that the form of a medium embeds itself inevitably into the message, creating a symbiotic relationship by which the medium influences how the message is perceived (Marchand and Postman 1998, McDonald G. 1992, Porter 1996 and Witcomb 1997).

| **Museum** | As "a light bulb creates an environment by its mere presence" (McLuhan 1964:8), in this study it is understood that not only the artwork but also the museum is the origin of my subjective discomfort and feelings of oppression and inadequacy. |

4. Cultural Studies, a term coined by Richard Hoggart[7] in 1964 when he founded the University of Birmingham's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS), is not a unified theory but a diverse (interdisciplinary) field of study encompassing many different approaches, methods and academic perspectives to study cultural phenomena and how those relate to matters of ideology, nationality, ethnicity, social class, and/or gender. It has since become strongly associated with, among others, Raymond Williams[8] and Stuart Hall[9].

Firstly published in Norman MacKenzie's *Conviction* in 1958, Williams' *Culture is Ordinary* wrests culture from that privileged space of artistic production and specialist knowledge into the common experience of the everyday**.** Williams worked to deconstruct the opposition between high and low

---

[6] (1911-1980) Canadian educator, philosopher and scholar. His work is viewed as one of the cornerstones of the study of media theory
[7] British academic and public figure, his career has covered the fields of sociology, English literature and cultural studies, with a special concern for British popular culture
[8] (1921 - 1988) Welsh academic, novelist and critic
[9] Cultural theorist and sociologist

culture, the "apparent division of our culture into, on the one hand, a remote self-gracious sophistication, on the other hand, a doped mass" (1958a/2001:24).

In *Culture and Society 1780-1950* (1958) and *The Long Revolution* (1961) Williams argued for the democratisation of culture through the reform of cultural institutions. Both works marked his prescient commitment to what it is now called the politics and dynamics of representation, the ways in which when "we examine actual relationships, we start from the descriptions we have learned" (1961:89). Williams' notion of culture amounts to "a criticism of what has been called the bourgeois idea of society" (1958b), challenging what he perceived as the slow but steady erosion of the concept of *participatory democracy* in post-war Britain, that according to Williams was in danger of being replaced by a *class democracy* in which "democracy [would] merely describe the processes by which a ruling class conducts its business of ruling" (1958b:45)

Democracy   This study expands upon the uncertainty about both the role of museum as ratifier of the *extra-ordinary* culture, and the extent to which the contemporary British democracy is participatory and community-based. At the core of this work remains my subjective feeling of *exclusion* – oppression in the name of *social inclusion* – democracy.

5. From the 1970s onward, Stuart Hall's pioneering work created an international intellectual movement with a complex understanding of *hegemony* as a form of political leadership. This involves a complex set of relationships between various groups and individuals which always proceed from the immanence of power to all social relations (Hall 1992,1996). Hall's notion of hegemony owed much to the study of Marxist philosopher Antonio Gramsci[10]. He called for greater level of community 'conscientiation', which advocated raising the self-reflexive awareness of the people rather than educating or indoctrinating them. Gramsci's notion of cultural hegemony, and subsequent cultural domination, are relevant for understanding museums. Gramsci, in his emphasis on cultural hegemony, considered that a culturally-diverse society can be ruled by one of its social classes through the imposition of shared *cultural norms* (institutions, practices, beliefs) and *common sense*. Gramscian notion of hegemony, as an ongoing process of ideological struggle, describes the process of establishing cultural dominance not by brute force but by voluntary consent to the values and meanings of the dominant order (Procter 2004:25-26, 49, 67, 79). Gramsci suggested that prevailing cultural norms must not be perceived as either natural or inevitable, but rather rooted in societal domination and used as the foundation for complex systems of political, social, and economic domination (Bocock 1986, Crooke 2008:38-39, Hubbard 2004:161). Hall makes clear that hegemony is not simply given, it is a site of continuous struggle; "it has to be won, worked for, reproduced, sustained" (Hall 1977/1993:30-45), and therefore the relationship between dominant and subordinate is based in an ongoing process of resistance, incorporation and negotiation (Procter 2004: 88-92).

---

[10]1891-1937

Resistance	Explicitly and implicitly combining media theory, museum studies, sociology, visitor studies, philosophy and political philosophy, this extended paper is considered a piece of *ritual resistance*. Using and adapting the academic setting inevitably connected to the imposition of shared cultural norms, this piece aims to increase reflexive awareness of the fundamental sources which cause the previously stated feelings of exclusion and oppression upon entering an art museum.

The above lines of enquiry established at the commencement of this odyssey became in a piecemeal fashion more focused through the serendipitous 'encounters' with texts, people and situations that the author experienced over the course of her journey. Gradually, it was possible to identify the political nature of the museum and its strong link with cultural policy as sources of personal discomfort. A specific activity judged to encompass different practices towards which this study has endeavoured to *ritually* subvert is 'visitor research'.

1. Museums, Politics and Audiences: A review

1.1. The New Museology for the New Museum

In 1985, in the journal of the International Council of Museums, Pierre Mayrand wrote about the emergence of a *New Museology*, a critical movement aiming to revitalize techniques of display, exhibition and communication, and ultimately to alter traditional relationships between the museum and the public, and prioritise the social mission of the museum. The same year, Mayrand co-founded the International Movement for a New Museology (MINOM[11]), an affiliated committee of the International Council of Museums (ICOM).

As a result of "widespread dissatisfaction with the *old* museology", predominantly concerned with "how to" matters, in 1989 a group of British museum specialists and cultural studies scholars led by Peter Vergo[12] published *The New Museology*, a collection of essays ranging from the status of museum objects to novel ways of experiencing them. The previous year, Robert Lumley's[13] *The Museum Machine* had adopted a similar "critical stance vis-à-vis the old museology" (1988:4). The *New Museology* was not only to become the discipline studying the history of the museum and the transformation of its orientations and practices in space and time, but also to embrace the examination of "the audiences at whom the efforts of the museum are supposedly directed" (Vergo 1989:1). The New Museology emerged as a theoretical or humanistic discipline re-examining the role of museums within society. According to Sharon Macdonald[14] (2006:2) the three main points of departure from the 'old museology' were: the comprehension of the meaning of museum objects as situated as contextual

---

[11] *Mouvement International pour la Nouvelle Muséologie* in the original French
[12] Reader in the History and Theory of Art at the University of Essex
[13] Professor of Italian cultural history at the University College of London
[14] Professor of Social Anthropology in the School of Social Sciences at the University of Manchester

rather than inherent; the attention to commercialism and entertainment; and the consideration of the visitor as an active agent.

In line with this new way of thinking, in 1999 Paule Doucet, President of MINOM, stated that New Museology (as science and practice of museums) has renewed the debate about museums by recognising that, holistically, "a museum is an actor of change" working in partnership with other stakeholders. Moreover, she pointed out that New Museology's symbolic logic attempts to mediate between complementary and contradictory tendencies now present in the museum reality. Currently, more theoretically and empirically informed Museum Studies build on the insights of new museology and return to some of the "how to" concerns of the old museology (Macdonald 2006:2,6).

Museums in transition

In a reflection on the recent history of museums[15], Kenneth Hudson[16] wrote: "One can assert with confidence that the most fundamental change that has affected museums… is the now almost universal conviction that they exist in order to serve the public" (Hudson in Kotler 2000:167; in Weil 1999a:30). Over the last few decades, recognising that they cannot function independently within the social context in which they sit, art museums have been extending their public dimension as well as reformulating and broadening their missions in an effort to connect more directly with their audiences. Some of the academics that have critically examined the recent transformation of the museum are Anderson (2004), Barker (1999), Fraser (2004), Hein (2000), Hooper-Greenhill (1999,2006), Marstine (2006), McClellan (2003), McDonald (2006), McLean (1997,1999), Rogoff & Sherman (2004), Schubert (2000), Watson, MacLeod & Knell (2007b), Weil (1997,1999a,1999b,2002), and Witcomb (2003).

As Stephen Weil[17] pointed out in 1997, the museum was originally created "by the high for the low", "to *raise* the level of public understanding, to *elevate* the spirits of its visitors, and to redefine and 'uplift' the common taste. The museum's prime responsibility was to its collections, not to its visitors. The museum was established to 'do'; what was to be 'done' was the public". Weil (1997:196) acknowledged that museums' mission have been transformed since the 1980s "from one of mastery to one of service". In conjunction with the fierce competition to attract funding and real pressures for museums to provide evidence on how they can contribute to social cohesion and enhance public value (McClafferty 2006), "the bankruptcy of the underlying ideologies upon which [the museum] was funded" is, according to Weil (2002:203), the greatest single factor contributing to the loss of the museum's formerly commanding position.

Theoretically, the museum has been gradually dismantled as "an ivory tower of exclusivity" towards the construction of a more socially responsive cultural institution in service to the public. This

---

[15] Written for the fiftieth anniversary issue of the UNESCO magazine *Museums International*
[16] (1916 – 1999) Industrial archaeologist, museologist, broadcaster and author
[17] (1938 – 2005) Scholar emeritus at the Smithsonian Institution's Centre for Education and Museum Studies

symbolises what Gail Anderson[18] (2004:1) describes as the museum's paradigmatic shift from "collection-driven institutions" to "visitor-centred" organisations (Figure 1.1.). The public is no longer considered the passive body of those to be 'done'. Museums still 'do', but this time it is the public, conceptualised as plural and active with their own agendas, that determines what they 'do' (Weil 1997:213). The centrality of the object has been replaced, as acknowledged by Eileen Hooper-Greenhill (1999:260-261), by the centrality of the encounter with the visitors; the emphasis is on using rather than increasing collections. According to Fraser (2004:142-147), museums, traditionally defined by function (object-based activities), have become gradually defined by purpose (the intent, vision or mission to serve society), and its development by means of study, education and enjoyment.
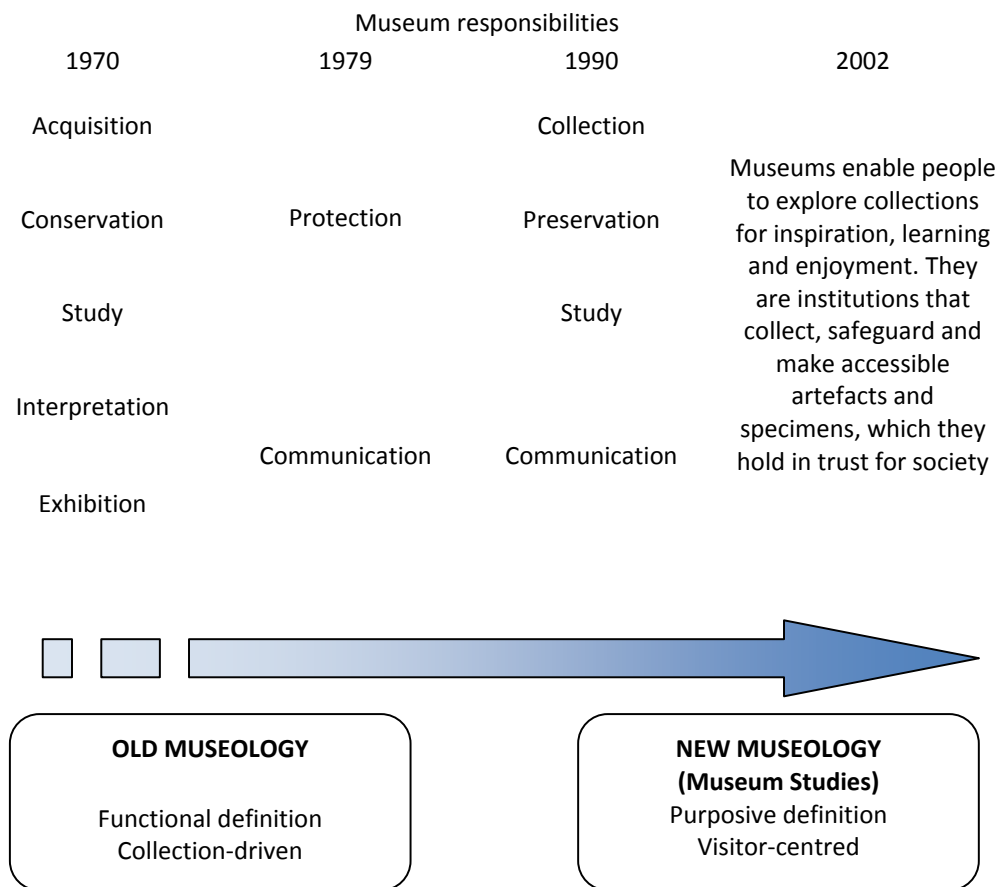
Museum responsibilities

1970	1979	1990	2002
Acquisition		Collection	Museums enable people to explore collections for inspiration, learning and enjoyment. They are institutions that collect, safeguard and make accessible artefacts and specimens, which they hold in trust for society
Conservation	Protection	Preservation	
Study		Study	
Interpretation			
	Communication	Communication	
Exhibition			

OLD MUSEOLOGY

Functional definition
Collection-driven

NEW MUSEOLOGY
(Museum Studies)
Purposive definition
Visitor-centred

Figure 1.1   Museums' paradigmatic shift from "collection-driven institutions" to "visitor-centred" organisations

Working within this context in which the visitor has been repositioned into one of the museum's core responsibilities, it is not surprising that, as argued by several academics such as Bennett (1998), Dodd (1994,1998) and Witcomb (2003), one of the most critical issues facing museums today is their relationship with audiences. In this regard it is crucial to underline the numerous and internationally influential publications by researchers from the Smithsonian Institute[19] and the Department of Museum Studies at Leicester University; one prominent example is the prolific academic Eileen Hooper-Greenhill, former professor of Museum Studies at Leicester University, who has produced several

---

[18] President of Gail Anderson & Associates (GA&A); museum management consulting firm
[19] The Smithsonian Institution is an educational and research institute and associated museum complex, administered and funded by the government of the United States. Most of its facilities are located in Washington, D.C. (http://www.si.edu/)

influential works such as *Museums and their Visitors* (1994), *Medium, Media, Message* (1998) and *The Educational Role of the Museum* (1999). Other prominent works in this area of study are *Learning in the Museum* by George E. Hein (1998), *The Engaging Museum* (2005) by Graham Black, *The Responsive Museum: Working with Audiences in the Twenty-First Century* (2006) by Lang, Reeve & Woollard, and *Museums and their Communities* (2007a), edited by Sheila Watson.

The Museum as a Social and Political Technology

As Hilde Hein[20] (2000:77) states, museums are "in transition", suspended between past practices and future prospects. In the broadest philosophical context: museums have given up on "the singularity of truth" for "the promotion of multivalent plurality […] in a world that affirms the global while denying the universal". Contemporary museology, or Museum Studies, not only acknowledges that the museum is not neutral, rather being an "invention" or "social technology" (Preziosi 1996) that delivers messages, makes arguments and packages culture for consumption, but also becomes responsible for deconstructing this packaging and what is implicit and explicit in it.

As museum theorist Donald Preziosi[21] (1996:97) asserted, "museums are one of the central sites at which our modernity has been generated, (en)gendered, and sustained" over two centuries. Furthermore, according to Janet Marstine[22] (2006:1), museums "*frame* our most basic assumptions about the past and about ourselves". *Framing*[23] should be understood in this context as the metaphorical process that creates a vision of the past and future based on contemporary needs (Marstine 2006:4). *Frames* not only set boundaries, they provide an ideologically-based narrative context that colours people's understanding. In fact, rather than isolating a work from the wider world, *framing* links the two. As Carol Duncan[24] examines in *Civilizing Rituals* (1996), art museums function as ritual settings and as cultural artefacts that are much more than neutral shelters for art. They engage their visitors in the performance of ritual scenarios and, through them, communicate and affirm ideas, values and social identities. Considering both the explicit and the implicit, Museum Studies critically explore the museum as a 'framing device' that links its content with the world. Some representative examples of the current scrutiny and deconstruction of the museum and its practices are: *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (1991), edited by Ivan Karp[25], in which the authors challenge museums as biased intermediaries regarding the 'multiculturalism' issue; *Museum Culture: Histories, Theories, Spectacles (1994)*, edited by Irit Rogoff[26] and Daniel Sherman[27], a collection of essays that seek to unmask the "structures, rituals, and procedures by which the relation between objects, bodies of knowledge, and processes of ideological persuasion are

---

[20] Resident scholar at the Brandeis Women's Studies Research Center, where she researches philosophy and museum theory

[21] Emeritus Professor of Art History at the University of California, Los Angeles

[22] Founder and Director of the Institute of Museum Ethics at Seton Hall University

[23] Philosopher Jacques Derrida (1930-2004) first appropriated the concept of framing for cultural theory in his essay *"The Parergon"*, printed in his 1987 book *The Truth in Painting*

[24] Professor of Art History at Ramapo College (New Jersey)

[25] Professor of Liberal Arts at Emory University

[26] Professor of Visual Cultures at Goldsmith's College (University of London)

[27] Professor of Art History at the University of North Carolina

enacted"; Staniszewski's[28] exploration of museum installation design and its ideological implications in *The Power of Display: A History of Exhibition Installations at the Museum of Modern Art (1998); Contemporary Cultures of Display (1999)*, edited by Emma Barker[29], in which institutional issues regarding the practices of museums, galleries and exhibitions, and the experience of the spectator since the mid-twentieth century are explored; and Timothy W. Luke's[30] approach to the museum as site of "ideological controversy and political conflict" in *Museum Politics: Power Plays at the Exhibition* (2002).

Michel Foucault and Museum Studies

The French philosopher Michel Foucault[31] provides a foundation for engaging critically with some fundamental assumptions about the museum's presumed impartiality. Foucault (1984) examined the way in which power operates throughout society to provide "official or dominant knowledge which imparts power to those who know and speak them". Although Foucauldian readings of the museum have proved limited to theorists such as Andre Witcomb[32] (in Marstine 2006:22), who argues that the Foucauldian analysis portrays audiences as "manipulated pawns without agency", in fact his ideas have been particularly influential in museum studies since the end of 1980s, as in Rogoff and Sherman (1994). Eileen Hooper-Greenhill's *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (1992) is an explicit example of the use of Foucault's ideas in museum studies. With reference to Foucault's *The Order of Things* (1966), about the implications of systems of classification, she considers systems of framing and taxonomies socially constructed. Concerned about how objects have been known and understood, Hooper-Greenhill considers that the meanings and interpretations of objects – many, variable, fragile and inconstant – are constructed; therefore, they can be endlessly deconstructed and rewritten subjectively.

As Hooper-Greenhill pointed out in 1992, until that moment there was a noticeable lack of critical examination and interrogation from any theoretical perspective of how taxonomies within the museum relate to the rational possibilities that they might enable or prevent, and the relation to the way this ordering interrelates with the individual (visitor or not). As pointed out by this academic (1992:20), previous works in the field, such as Alexander (1979), Bazin (1967), Murray (1904), Taylor (1948), Van Holst (1967), and Wittlin (1949,1970), were just uncritical attempts to produce chronological descriptions of the general development of museums.

For the first time Foucault's epistemes [33] or systems of knowledge were used to interrogate the formation and identity of the museal institution (see Figure 1.2.). Acknowledging 'knowledge' as the

[28]Associate Professor at the City University of New York
[29]Lecturer in art history at the Open University
[30]University Distinguished Professor of Political Science at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
[31](1926 - 1984) French philosopher, historian, intellectual, critic and sociologist
[32]Research associate professor, Faculty of Arts and Education at Deakin University
[33]Foucault's concept of episteme explain how certain meanings and ways of thinking gain credence at particular times (Mason 2006:23)

commodity that museums offer, and that this is contingent upon other power practices, Hooper-Greenhill focused on when and how museums in the past changed, and in which way and why longstanding practices were ruptured and abandoned. Hooper-Greenhill understands that museums have been constituted according to the prevailing epistemological context, and have, therefore, enabled different 'possibilities of knowing' according to the rules and structures in place at the time. She analyses the major shifts and reorganisations of the museum and, moreover, the structure of rationality that informed museums in the three epistemes.

Renaissance episteme	Knowledge shaped by the secret, enclosed, circulating structures
Classical episteme	Knowledge shaped by limited frames of reference and classificatory table of difference
Modern episteme	Knowledge structured through a three-dimensional, holistic experience which is defined through its relationship to people.

Figure 1.2. Foucault's epistemes

Australian Cultural Studies scholar Tony Bennett, in *The Birth of the Museum* (1995), applies ideas about knowledge, power and spatial relations and provides a politically focused genealogy for the modern public museum. Like Hooper-Greenhill, Bennett's work adopts a Foucauldian paradigm. However, whilst Hooper-Greenhill proposes a genealogy of the museum concerned with its internal transformations, Bennett reviews the museum's formation in relation to the development of external, and apparently disconnected, institutions not only involved in the practice of "showing and telling" (Bennett 1995:6), but also concerned in the regulation of the performative aspects of their visitors' conduct. Bennett (1995:17-58) reports on Foucault's understanding of 'disciplinary power'[34] in application to museums as, for him, the public museum exemplified the development of a new 'governmental' relation to culture in which works of high culture were treated as means for the "reshaping [of] general norms of behaviour". Bennett (1995:89-108) used Foucault's writings on prisons as an account of the respects in which many aspects of contemporary museum policies and politics have been generated out of the discursive co-ordinates that governed the museum's formation as part of strategies of the liberal government, aimed at producing a self-monitoring and self-regulated citizenry.

Lumley (1998:2) considered the museum "a potent social metaphor and a means whereby societies represent their relationship to their own history and to that of other cultures". According to Bennett the implicit and explicit articulated combination and organisation of representations, routines and

[34]A form of surveillance which is internalised aiming to produce docile bodies

regulations of museums, which functioned as cultural technologies (or machines) of progress, not only programmed visitors' behaviour but also "their cognitive horizons" (1995:10). Bennett (1995:109-162) analyses how "the people" might be represented in the display practices of a broad variety of museum types (not only public) and how representations of the past are appropriate to the interest and values of different groups in the community. Bennett refers to the ambiguous role played by the "empiricotranscendental doublet of man" depicted in *The Order of Things*. Foucault's *man* appears to be in an "ambiguous position as an object of knowledge and as a subject that knows". Bennett sustains that the museum constructs *man* in relation to both subject and object to the knowledge it organizes. The tension between the universality of *the man* and its social construction embodied in museum displays, sustains, according to Bennett (2003:181; 1995:7-9), the demand to secure in exhibitionary practices the parity of representation for groups, cultures and values of different sections of the public.

1.2. Cultural Democracy and Cultural Policy

Over the last decade, British public museums and galleries have worked in line with government policy demands which stress the need to make public culture more socially accessible and inclusive. The argument has been that publicly-funded cultural organisations should attract as well as reflect the diversity of the British population. British cultural policy changed from stressing excellence in the 1950s, to welfare, access, democratization and participation in the 1960s and 1970s, to market oriented service provision and economy promotion under Thatcher in the 1980s. The Conservative Government came to power in 1979 with a heavy agenda and represented a "turning point for the arts", since "the basis of funding […] changed significantly and governmental relationship with, and interest in, the arts change[d] accordingly" (Quinn 1998:165). Thatcher's impact on the arts amounted to a dramatic shift in emphasis from the arts themselves to the management of the arts. Arts institutions were exposed to free market economics, as public subsidy was regarded unnecessary. Luke Rittner (in Aspden 2007), then secretary general of the Arts Council, made it clear: "There's going to be lots of blood, guts and gore before this transition is over". Differing reports of the major changes which occurred in British cultural policy during that period are given by, among others, Bennett O. (1995,1996,1997), Bradley (1998), Gray (1996), Hewison (1995), Jowell (2004), Lee (2005), McGuigan (1996), Power (1994,1997), Quinn (1998) and Selwood (2001,2002b,2004). Particularly relevant for those interested in museums is Nobuko Kawashima's project report[35] *Museum Management in Time of Change: Impacts of Cultural Policy in Britain 1979-1997.*

Attempting to understand the instrumental roots of British public policies for culture since the 1990s, Belfiore (2002,2003) concludes that the "previous emphasis on the need to subsidise the arts for their positive contributions to the national and local economy has now [since Labour's victory in the 1997 general election] been placed side by side with notions of the positive role that the arts can have in bringing about social inclusion and cohesion". The incoming Labour administration renamed the Department of National Heritage (DNH) as the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) and

---

[35]Project undertaken under a research partnership between the University of Warwick and the Midlands Art Board

in 2004 merged The Museums & Galleries Commission and the Library & Information Commission to become a new body called the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA) (www.culturalpolicies.net). The hallmark of Labour's approach to arts and culture in Britain was the idea of 'creative industries'. The book *Creative Britain*, published in 1998 by the Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport, Chris Smith[36], set out the four key themes under which 'New Labour' sought to cultivate a cultural democracy within a competitive economic environment: access, excellence, education and economic value. Smith (1998:2,3) presented these four themes as mutually supportive principles that predicted a "democratic agenda" for the arts. As clearly stated by Smith, Labour's principles, which recognised the crucial role of the arts in an egalitarian society, attempted to remove the high and low culture dichotomy from cultural policy. The publication of *Creative Britain* represented a step forward comparable in relevance to Jennie Lee's[37] White Paper on the Arts: *A Policy for the Arts*. This was published in 1965, the same year that responsibility for the grant-in-aid to, among others, the Arts Council of Great Britain and the National Museums was passed from the Treasury to the Department for Education & Science (Obelkeich and Catteral 1994; www.culturalpolicies.net). However, whilst Lee's policy arose from class difference, *Creative Britain* aimed to sidestep such division and focus on cultural diversity, regarding race and ethnicity (Smith 1998). Some relevant examinations of cultural policy in Britain under the Labour Government include Hughson and Inglis (2001), Lang, Reeve & Woolard (2006) and Victoria Alexander (2007), who discusses how the Labour Party continued many of the same strategies instituted previously by the Conservatives.

Governmentality

Key academic writers on the topic of cultural policy, such as Lewis[38] (1990,2003) and Miller[39] & Yúdice[40] (2002), identify the emergent phenomenon of placing 'policy' into cultural studies in direct correlation with Michel Foucault's notion of state power and his model of 'governmentality'. Authors such as Burchell, Gordon & Miller (1991), Dunaher, Schirato & Webb (2003), McKinley & Starley (1998) and Simons (1995) have given an account of the Foucauldian idea of governmentality. Historically referring to the period of The Enlightenment and the evolution of the nation-state in Europe, the Foucauldian concept of governmentality focuses upon "the way in which governments began to worry about individuals" (Foucault in Miller & Yúdice 2002:3) and refers to the "contact between the technologies of domination of others and those of the self" (Foucault in Simons 1995). It represented a new form of governance where government practice shifted from external concerns (protection of territorial boundaries) to internal processes and regulations (the disposition of the state's inhabitants) (McKinley & Starley 1998). The fundamental objective of this shift was to nurture a strong, reliable and disciplined 'citizenry/workforce' able to secure a productive economy for the state (Dunaher et al. 2003:64-65). Thus, as stated by Foucault (in Burchell et al. 1991:101-102), management techniques to secure orderly conduct became at the core of political objectives. To avoid

---

[36]Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport between 1997 and 2001
[37] Minister of the Arts (1964–1970) under Harold Wilson
[38]Professor of Communication and Head of the Cardiff School of Journalism, Media and Cultural Studies
[39]Professor in the Departments of English, Sociology, and Women's Studies at the University of California Riverside
[40] Professor of Latin American & Caribbean Studies and Social and Cultural Analysis at the New York University

undesired discontentment in the population, a consequence of imposed mechanisms for social control, the management techniques employed by the state to secure orderly conduct became more subtle. Discipline was to be operated as a set of understated forces through which citizens contract themselves of their own free will.

According to Lewis (1990, 2003) and Miller & Yúdice (2002), as it intends to indoctrinate and instil allegiance in the public, cultural policy is one of these "subtle techniques". Cultural policy is both a mechanism for producing a sense of belonging and cultural national identity for the population and a means of social control. Under the guise of doing good for the citizenry, cultural policy acts as a *tacit law* or *intra-law* that subtly manifests itself in different sites, such as public museums, to regulate and monitor the individuals' conduct and make them more serviceable and amenable to the government control. In summation, sites of production of cultural citizenship operate to produce self-compliant citizens who learn self-governance in the interest of the state. As Lewis (2003:3) and Miller & Yúdice (2002:16) stated, the division between *popular culture* (pleasure) and *high culture* (enlightment) is a fundamental feature of governmental involvement in culture. In fact, the state gets involved with culture only when the market for *high* culture fails to sustain itself and becomes at risk by the *vulgar* capitalist market. The notion of "ethical incompleteness" of the citizen, premised on instilling a drive towards perfection and the assumption that individuals are unable to determine their own faith in terms of taste, is, as stated by Miller & Yúdice (2002:13-15), a core principle for the legitimisation of cultural policy. Therefore, the state justifies its actions in culture on the grounds of its contribution to the "ethical perfection" of the citizenry, or, as Miller & Yúdice (2002:15) point out, "to preserve ways of being a person". Merging governmentality and taste, cultural policy produces subjects via the formation of repeatable styles of conduct (Miller & Yúdice 2001:12). As stated by Miller & Yúdice (2004:147), the nineteenth century's proliferation of public art museums as cultural technologies was directly related to a new duty for the visual arts as agents of civilizing discipline. A complete account of the museum's transformation from a symbol of arbitrary power into an instrument to not only serve the collective good of the state but also regulate individuals' conduct can be found in Bennett's work (1988b,1995,2003).

Art and Distinction

When analysing the demand for equal access to museums, Bennett (1995:163-176) draws on the arguments of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu and explores the relationship between the display practices of museums and patterns of their social usage. Bourdieu's works threw light on the contradictory dynamics of the museum, in particular the art gallery. Although notions of access and equity legitimate public expenditure in museums, it is sustained that art galleries remain the least publicly accessible of all "public collecting institutions" (Bennett 1995:10).

Bourdieu's work attempted to understand museum visiting in its broader socio-political role, placing great emphasis on the importance of the socialisation of the individual as an explanatory factor. Originally published in 1966 and revised and expanded in 1969, *The Love of Art: European Art*

Museums and their Public (Bourdieu and Darbel), was a wide-ranging project aimed at defining the principal characteristics of museum visiting and the social conditions of its practice. As in other surveys it was found that museum visiting was generally restricted to the better educated, and that the groups most represented in the general population were least represented in the museum public. The cultural strand of his research was developed and culminated in the publication of what is considered one of the most important sociological books of the 20th century regarding the study of cultural operation and accessibility, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (1979[41]). The subtitle of the book itself reveals allusions to and critique of the Kantian aesthetics. Bourdieu offers a sociological analysis concerned with the understanding of the mechanisms whereby class-based power and privilege are reproduced, arguing that aesthetic appreciation is socially determined. While the gallery is theoretically a public institution open to all, according to Bourdieu it has been typically appropriated by ruling elites as "a key performing site for those performances of *distinction* through which the *cognoscenti* differentiate themselves from *the masses*" (Bennett 1995:11) (see Figure 1.3.). Published in 1993, *The Field of Cultural Production* is a collection of papers written by Bourdieu between 1968 and 1989 in which he discusses the function and purposes of museums, and museum visiting. Bourdieu made clear his understanding of museums as sites of transaction between *fields*[42], where certain forms of capital can be reconfigured into, or exchanged for, other forms of capital[43] (see Figure 1.4).
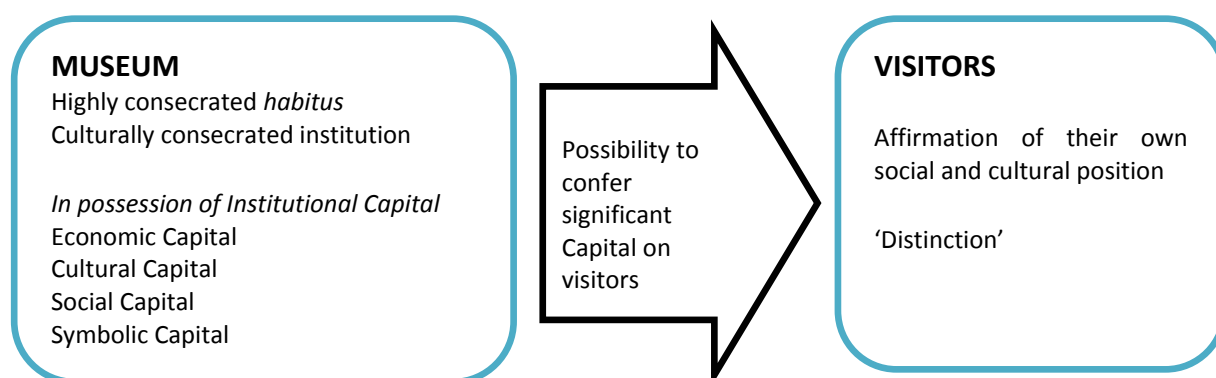

MUSEUM
Highly consecrated *habitus*
Culturally consecrated institution

In possession of Institutional Capital
Economic Capital
Cultural Capital
Social Capital
Symbolic Capital

Possibility to confer significant Capital on visitors

VISITORS

Affirmation of their own social and cultural position

'Distinction'

Figure 1.3. The museum as a key performing site of 'Distinction'

Social Capital	Bourdieu (1986) defines Social Capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition". Although such relationships and networks are symbolic and a neutral resource, Social Capital acts to amplify the efficiency of both Economic and Cultural Capital (Grenfell 2007:30).
Economic Capital	Perhaps the most material form of capital. It is the command over economic resources (financial wealth or possessions) (Grenfell 2007:30).

---

[41]Originally published in France in 1979 and translated into English in 1984

[42]According to Bourdieu a *field* is a social arena in which people manoeuvre and struggle in pursuit of desirable resources (Grenfell 2007:29-31)

[43]For Bourdieu (in Harker 1990:13), capital acts as a social relation within a system of exchange. The term is extended "to all the goods material and symbolic, without distinction, that present themselves as rare and worthy of being sought after in a particular social formation". Capital only has initial value because it is scarce and because it is recognised by others, whether they possess it or not (Grenfell 2007: 44)

Cultural Capital	Cultural Capital "acts as a social relation within a system of exchange that includes the accumulated cultural knowledge that confers power and status" (Barker 2004:37). Cultural Capital has symbolic value in the way it 'buys' social distinction (Grenfell 2007:44).
Symbolic Capital	Resources available to an individual on the basis of honour, prestige or recognition. This form of capital is perceived through socially inculcated classificatory schemes and it is a crucial source of power (Grenfell 2007:30).

Figure 1.4.. Forms of Capital according to Bourdieu

While authors such as Heinich (1988) have agreed with Bourdieu and still point out the importance of power and class relations in the production and consumptions of culture, others, such as Merriman[44] (1989), have criticised his work for emphasising class distinction to the exclusion of other explanatory factors. Of significant relevance to the present paper are the special issues of *Cultural Trends* on *Cultural Capital* and *Social Exclusion* (2004, 2006) which revealed the interconnections between cultural, social and economic inequalities, and *Art Rules* (2007) by Michel Grenfell[45] and Cheryl Hardy[46], which not only offers a clear and concise analysis of Bourdieu's works on aesthetics and sociology but also applies his theory to the field of museums.

The Contradictory Dynamics of the Museum

Museums in Britain have given priority to expanding their audiences. This effort has been successful in increasing the number of visitors yet, however, less effective in broadening the distribution of their public across socio-economic categories. According to Davies (2005), referring to the period 1994-2004, "museums and galleries might [have] maintain[ed] their audiences but they [have] not [been] expanding them or broadening their social appeal". In other words, there has been a change in the scale of attendance of museum-going but not in the characteristic *habitus* of its audiences, remaining indelibly middle class (Bunting et al. 2008:16-21; Davies 2005; Grenfell and Hardy 2007:105). The middle class are, according to Bourdieu, the only ones equipped by means of education with the ability to appreciate the works of art and to enjoy the freedom of free access to art museums (Bennett 1995:11; Hein H. 2000:21; Marstine 2006:25).

Established as a means of sharing what had previously been private, the public art museum calls upon democratic rhetoric and metamorphoses into an accessible space of public discussion. However, as a pedagogic site it still functions in a disciplinary way to forge public manners. "A contradiction ensues between exchange and narration or reciprocity and imposition", which results in tension between what a museum is in theory, collectively owned, and in practice, "a mise-en-scéne of constitutive exclusion" (Miller & Yúdice 2002:148,150). The demand for the museum's theoretical equal access to all sections of the population, implicit in the conception of the modern museum as

---

[44]Director at the Manchester Museum and former reader of Museum Studies at the University College London
[45] Professor at the University of Southampton
[46]Principal Lecturer at the University of Winchester

public, remains ambivalent. Though now objectively available to all, art museums still maintain the value system of the privileged few (Hein H. 2000:2); while *museum visiting* is a cultural right which all citizens in democracy are entitled to claim, museums, in fact, work in the interest of the state or society as a whole, reaching specific sections of population (see Figure 1.5.).
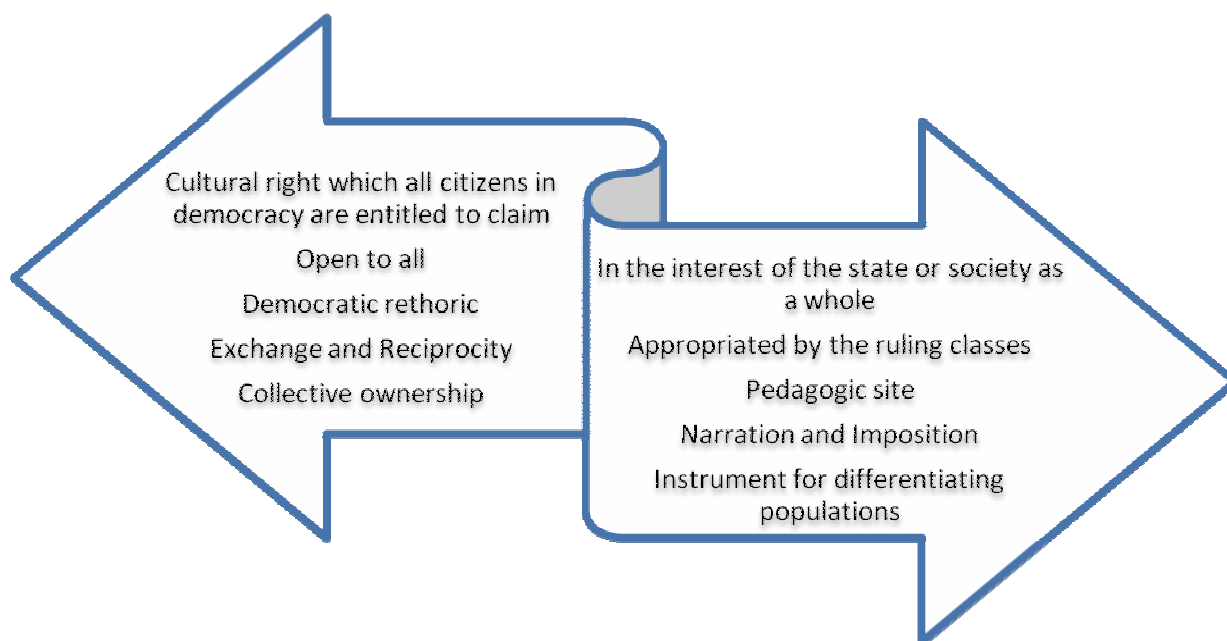

Figure 1.5.. The contradictory dynamics of the museum.

Although there is a predominant challenge to the political implications of the systems of power and authority validated by museums in academic literature (see, among others, Bennett (1995), Duncan (1996), Grenfell and Hardy (2007), Hein (2002), Hooper Greenhill (2001), Miller & Yúdice (2002), MacDonald (1998), Marstine (2006), Prior (2003), Sandell[47] (2002,2007a), Watson (2007b) and Witcomb (2003)) this is not accepted by all. Appleton (2001:16), for example, considers not only is the application of Foucauldian theories to the museum to be "pernicious" and damaging to museum professionals' confidence in scholarship and the pursuit of knowledge, but also that reconfiguring museums for 'the people' had led the sector to 'dumb down'. As Grenfell and Hardy (2007:105) acknowledge, there are still those, for instance Cuno (2003), who sustain the need to preserve the museum's aura of exclusivity and social consecration. This implies the necessity to continue marketing themselves as culturally consecrated institutions and seeking funds (from government, visitors or sponsors) in order to fulfil their mission regarding collection, documentation and interpretation, thus further increasing their artistic legitimisation and Cultural Capital.

1.3. Visitor Studies Research

It is increasingly the case that museums require data about visitors for a multiplicity of reasons: to present the case for government support, to assess efficiency in relation to governmental objectives,

---

[47] Deputy head of the department of Museum Studies at the University of Leicester

to inform decision making, to establish, develop and evaluate policies, to identify trends. It is not therefore surprising that currently there is considerable audience research[48] available regarding museums and galleries. Sources of information may include academic research, governmental research, research from the leisure industry and research generated within the arts community or particular organisations.

This audience research has been actively engaged by the rapidly evolving Visitor Studies discipline, "concerned with the study of visitors in leisure and informal educational settings" such as museums and galleries (VSA 1993). Although a comprehensive, updated and critical account of the history of museum Visitor Studies has yet to be written, a summary of the development of Visitor Studies up to the 1980's can be found in Ross Loomis' book *Visitor Evaluation: A New Tool for Management* (1987:16-33). This work shows how early Visitor Studies in both America and England were firmly rooted in the conviction that audience evaluation and research could help to develop the educational function of the museum; more recent studies, such as Kelly (2002) or Hooper-Greenhill (2006:363-364), agree with the idea that in many museums Visitor Studies are still sited within that area. Descriptions of the different nature and detail of the history of Visitor Studies and audience research in museums can be found in Bitgood and Loomis (1993), Bitgood (2002), Hein (1998), Kelly (1998,2002), Morris Hargreaves McIntyre (2005), Rentschler (2002), Schiele (1992) and Shettle (1989).

According to Bennett (1995:8), the development of statistical surveys, which have made visible the social composition of the visiting public, is closely related to the development of clearly articulated demands for making museums accessible to all sections of population. From the 1830s, crude visitor statistics were available in a form which allowed gross visitor numbers to be collated with days of the week or times of the year (Bennett 1995:8). The earliest political use of these figures was to demonstrate the increased numbers of visitors in the evenings, Bank Holidays and Sundays; such figures were seized by reformers, such as Francis Place or Thomas Greenwood, as measurable evidence of the museum's *civilizing influence*. Studies of the demographic profile of museum visitors demonstrating different patterns of use, arguably concerned with improving access to museums on the grounds of cultural rights, were ignored until much later. In fact, powerful ideological factors militated against the acquisition of this type of data. For example, Edward Edwards (1869), an important figure in the establishment of free libraries in the United Kingdom, considered irrelevant the collection of data regarding the occupation of their users (cited in Bitgood 2002).

The earliest recorded visitor study is by Higgins (cited in Bitgood 2002), who, in 1884, observed different types of visitors. By the time of the First World War, in 1916, Gilman documented some basic visitor responses to museums, such as 'museum fatigue' (Gilman 1916, cited in Rentschler 2002). Between the 1920's and 40's, Visitor Studies were heavily influenced by the move to make museums public institutions accessible for *the masses* rather than for exclusive interest groups. It was in that period when Gibson (1925) did her pioneering study on measuring results of a school visit in a museum of art. Building on these early studies and applying observational methods, the first

---

[48]Audience research is defined in the glossary for visitor studies terms as the "study of actual and potential audiences of an institution through the use of a variety of methods" (VSA 1993)

systematic major research was conducted by Robinson (1928) and Melton (1935) at Yale University. Their research primarily focused on how the physical design of the museum environment influenced visitor behaviour, and secondarily on the learning of school children in museums (Melton et al. 1936).

Few dispersed studies were conducted during the two decades following Robinson and Melton's work, mainly with educational focus. Murray (in Loomis 1987) researched what visitors may have learned during their visit and Nielson (1942) depicted a technique for "studying the behaviour of museum visitors". The same decade, Wittlin (1949) wrote studies about the museum's attitudes towards the general public. Acknowledged as the first systematic visitor surveys undertaken in museums are those carried out in the 1950s by Abbey and Cameron (in Rubenstein and Loten 1996) at the Royal Ontario Museum in Canada. Audience research in the 60's and early 70's focussed on two main streams of Visitor Studies that are still dominant today: visitor surveys to determine visitor profiles and attendance patterns, and research into museums as learning environments. Works by Shettel (1968) and Screven (1969, 1974, 1975), looking at ways of measuring museums as learning environments, became prominent in that period.

If the period from the mid-1960s to late 1970s was the era when the basis of cultural policy was "social access" (McGuigan 1996:54), in the following years this changed to 'value for money'. As stated by Robert Hewison[49] in "Culture and Consensus" (1995:258), cultural activities became 'the product', the audiences 'consumers', and the language of subsidy turned into the language of 'investment'. For the first time, museums were challenged to prove their public relevance, relating their public funding to the number of visitors using their services. The prevalence of "market reasoning and managerialistic rhetoric" (Kawashima 1997:1) manifested itself in a focus on selling, and therefore the need to gather data on spend per head (Morris Hargreaves McIntyre 2005). Within this context, audience research in museums experienced an explosion, and visitor evaluation and research, which until that decade was primarily conducted by outside professionals, started to become an internal process (Bitgood 2002). Under the leadership of Miles, Alt and Griggs (1979), The Natural History Museum became the first British museum to adapt an internal, systematic approach to visitor evaluation.

During that period, the number, variety and level of sophistication of audience studies increased with works focussed quite heavily on methodology and audience surveys, as well as behavioural and experimental studies (Kelly 2002). This resulted in the development of theoretical advice for exhibition design in line with a 'transaction approach' to exhibit development (Seagram et al. 1993). Becoming prominent during this time were: works on exhibit effectiveness by the Lawrence Hall of Science at Berkeley (Sneider at al. 1979); Borun's work (et al. 1983) in visitor learning at the Franklin Institute of Science, Philadelphia; Falk's series of studies on factors influencing field trip learning by school groups (et al. 1982); and Wolf's (1980) holistic approach to the evaluation of the museum experience. Since the late 1980s, not only did the number of investigators to join the Visitor Studies movement and the amount of research increase dramatically, but there was also an increase on the diversity and complexity of the approaches applied (cognitive developmental, information processing, behavioural,

---

ethological etc). In 1992 previous research on visitor patterns was collated and discussed by John H. Falk and Lynn D. Dierking in their celebrated book *The Museums Experience*. In this period Visitor Studies started to become a distinct field or discipline, with the subsequent development of a specific but still not well organised body of knowledge (Bitgood 1989,2002).

The 1990s, and in particular the arrival of the Labour Party into power in 1997, brought a deeper understanding of visitor experiences and motivations (Doering 1999; Thyne 2001), the social barriers of accessibility (Merriman 1989) and the visitor learning process (McManus 1993), together with more sophisticated studies considering methods of segmentation such as lifestyle and psychographic profiles (Todd and Lawson 2001). Culture was moved to the heart of social inclusion and the educational process, and museums and galleries were regarded as key players. If in the 1970s and 1980s education and Visitor Studies were practiced unconnected to the financial imperative, in the 90s they became central in addressing Government policy and monitoring museums' performances against targets regarding social and economic impact (Morris Hargreaves McIntyre 2005).

Visitor Studies gradually widened its focus beyond organisations and actual visitors. *Cultural Diversity: Attitudes of Ethnic Minority Populations towards Museum and Galleries* by Desai and Thomas (1998) is an example of the developed work on multicultural audience research and non-visitor studies. Moreover, the evaluation of multimedia applications and museum website usage has become a relevant trend, as confirmed by the annual international conference for culture and heritage on-line *Museums and the Web*[50]. While Visitor Studies have increased in number and scope, these, according to Hooper-Greenhill (2006:365), still tend to be more concerned with the development of a critical explanatory framework than to produce policy-related information.

Challenging Audience research

The need to undertake audience research is broadly acknowledged; see Anderson (2004), Bicknell (1994), Davies (1994, 2005), Fraser (2004), Hood (1983), Hooper-Greenhill (1994a;1994b;2006), Kelly (1998), Komatsuka (2006), Kotler and Kotler (2000), Lord and Lord (1997,2002), Munley (1986), Reussner (2003), Savage (1996), Sellers (2002), Tobelem (1998) and Wells and Butler (2002). However, it is relevant to point out that with the exception of the study by DiMaggio (1978) into the quality and impact of arts audiences studies and Reussner's examination (2004) into the best practices of audience research, there has been very little systematic study into the subject of audience research effectiveness and how to bridge 'the applicability gap', i.e. "the failure to get into practice ideas that are generated from research" (Rubenstein 1989).

Crucial to the nature of this research, concerned as it is with the overlap between audience research and cultural policy, are the works developed by John Holden and Sara Selwood, both professors at

---

[50]Organised by *Archives and Museum Informatics* (www.archimuse.com)

City University, London. Holden (2004,2006), Demos'[51] Head of Culture until September 2008, has developed critical work around the topic of 'cultural value', challenging ways of researching and measuring it. Selwood's work as independent cultural analyst and editor of *Cultural Trends*[52] has largely focused on the relationship between policy, funding and the public's consumption of the arts; moreover, he has extensively researched the uses and abuses of cultural statistics within the subsidised cultural sector in England (2002, 2003).

2. The Agenda of Audience Research

2.1. Audience Research and Cultural Policy: The preoccupation with accountability and the pressure to pursue 'evidence'

Although the uses of audience research extend beyond simply demonstrating a certain number of visitors in order to tick a box on a service level agreement, this section focuses on the increasing need for publicly funded organisations to provide real evidence of the 'impact' of their services and how this affects the audience research they undertake. According to Foucault (in Simons 2004:39), the government is interested in population and welfare only in so far as they contribute to the state power. Making the individual politically useful to its strength, the care of the individual becomes a duty of the state through mechanisms such as cultural policy. Foucault claimed that the modern art of government is the consequence of combining the pastoral thinking inherent in police and the 'reason of state', which relies on knowledge about citizens (data and statistics) to measure its success. An emphasis on the importance of the individual as the recipient of public services has existed in both Conservative (1979-1997) and Labour (1997-) governments for the last thirty years; however, the effectiveness of these services has been measured differently (Lang et al 2007:21).

Until *New* Labour came to power and established the DCMS in 1997, the collection of cultural data was driven by the top-down demands made to the sector by successive Conservative governments via OAL[53] and the later DNH[54]. During that period there was an emphasis on the role of "consumer, customer and citizen" (Lang et al 2007:21), the sector was identified as wealth creator, and its subsidies justified in economic terms. Since the establishment of the National Audit Office in 1983, national museums and galleries became assessed in relation to 'the three E's': efficiency, effectiveness and economy (Selwood 2001:19-24; Lang et al 2007:24). In addition to demonstrating 'value for money', performance indicators were introduced in 1988 to monitor organisations' progress in achieving their aims and objectives.

---

[51]A think-tank focused on power and politics (www.demos.co.uk)
[52]A journal that "champions the need for better statistical information on the cultural sector"
(www.tandf.co.uk/journals/titles/09548963.asp)
[53]Office of Arts and Libraries
[54]Department of National Heritage

From the beginning of the 1990s access came to be a mainstream political issue. As John Major stated (cited in HoC 1996: v) "I would like to see everyone in the country share in the opportunities that were once available only to the privileged few". Reports such as *People Taking Part* (DNH 1996) concentrated on the accessibility of the arts, with a particular emphasis on marketing, information technology and audience development (Lang et al 2007:22). This focus on access became prompted through marketing and customer services, and was closely associated with the development of data gathering to collect 'evidence' of who was and who was not accessing subsidised cultural provision. Data findings culminated in the realisation that it was important to remove the 'barriers' which were assumed to inhibit access to the arts; moreover, it promoted the causes of 'cultural pluralism' and 'diversity' within the mainstream (Selwood 2002:27-28). As a way of further scrutiny of its NDPBs[55], in 1996 the DNH introduced the 'funding agreements', intended to clarify "what sponsored bodies [would] secure for the grant-in-aid that the taxpayer provide[d]" (HoC 1996 in Selwood 2002:22). According to Anne Whitelaw (1997), when the desire for 'profit' merged with pressure from social movements for inclusion in the museum ideology, quantitative evaluation (accounting both revenue and representativeness) was undertaken in search of what she called "statistical correctness".

When the Labour government came to power in 1997 the means to prompt access changed and education became the focus (Lang et al 2007:22). Partially derived from Matarasso's finding in *Use or Ornament? The Social Impact of Participation in the Arts* (1997)[56], the Social Exclusion Unit[57] was set up, and specific 'good practice guidelines' such as *Museums for the Many: Standards for Museums and Galleries to use when Developing Access Policies* (1999) and *Centres for Social Change: Museums, Galleries and Archives for All. Policy Guidance on Social Inclusion for DCMS-funded and Local Authority Museums, Galleries and Archives in England* (2000) were published. The educational and social role of museums became not only articulated but also measured by government. Figure 4.1. illustrates the evolution of audience research in relation to the governmental changes depicted in this section, and also to a certain extent to the recent evolution of Visitor Studies presented in the Literature Review. As Morris Hargreaves McIntyre's model (2005) makes evident, museal visitor

---

[55] Non-Departmental Public Bodies

[56] This was a large research project which explored the social impact of the participation in the arts, and looked at how cultural bodies in the UK measured the social impact of their work (Matarasso 1997: 18)

[57] The Social Exclusion Unit was launched by the Government in December 1997. In 2006 it was succeeded by the Social Exclusion Task Force (http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/social_exclusion_task_force.aspx)

research has headed in a unique direction, the measurement of the sectorial "impact on society".
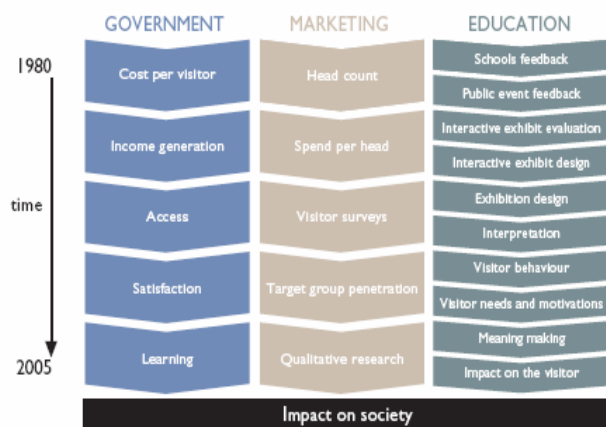

Figure 2.1. Evolution of Visitor Research.

From its establishment in 1997, the DCMS devised what Selwood (2002:37) defined as "a reforming approach to investment in culture" in which the Department urged for measurable outcomes for any investment made. Within a context of an 'evidence-based policy', the DCMS (2007) insisted on the need for robust evidence to demonstrate the 'value of culture' and its contribution to wider social and economic development. Since 1998 the DCMS' will to enforce accountability on its funded organisations was articulated via its Public Service Agreement (PSA)[58]. As subsidised institutions were now expected to 'meet targets' and produce evidence of their social and economic impact, the monitoring of the efficiency of those organisations publicly funded became central to the Department's activity (Selwood 2002:15,32).

Although, as has been explained, quality-assured 'evidence' (data) on participation, attendance, attitudes and related factors across the museal sector has been acknowledged for the last decade as crucial to underpin and illustrate arguments for public funding, one of the weaknesses of the sector is still the lack of consistent and comparable evidence of its 'value' and 'social impact'. Hence, the DCMS and MLA are encouraging and facilitating the development of common standards for data collection and evidence-building across the sector (see Appendix 2). For instance, the Tate has worked closely over the last few years with the National Museum Directors' Conference (NMDC) and the DCMS to generate consistent data reporting across the sector.

Although not exclusive to the museal sector, two public initiatives have been undertaken recently to improve understanding on how and why people engage (or not) with the arts: the *Taking Part survey*, and the *Arts Debate*. In order to ensure a high degree of quality that facilitates more sophisticated comparative studies of the place of museums in society, the *Taking Part survey*, the fieldwork of which is conducted by BMRB Social Research[59] and is produced in line with the National Statistics

---

[58]Public Service Agreements (PSAs) set out the Government's aims, objectives and key outcome-based targets (DCMS 2008)
[59]The British Market Research Bureau (BMRB) is an independent agency specialising in social research (http://www.mybmrbsurvey.co.uk/)

protocols[60], provides quantitative 'evidence' on participation and attendance across the DCMS sectors and its Non-Departmental Public Body (NDPB)[61] partners. The *Arts Debate*, meanwhile, is one of the largest programmes of qualitative research and consultation into the arts and their funding conducted to date in Britain. The information elicited has provided a wealth of qualitative evidence-based insight[62] on why and how people engage with the arts, their motivations and barriers to engagement. The scope of both researches provides the opportunity to combine data sources more comprehensively and systematically than has previously been the case (see Appendix 3).

By conducting these quantitative and qualitative studies the British government has 'asked' the citizens and potentially developed a more sophisticated understanding of art's social value and impact. As a result, it is now in a position to 'listen to the evidence' and develop more responsive policies, and moreover to establish strategies to bridge the "applicability gap" (Rubenstein 1989). What should be recognised as a premise is that data or 'evidence' cannot generate engagement by itself - if the museal sector aims to change its visitors' demographics, this should be done through the museums' programme (Davies 2005).

2.2. Tate[63] and Audience Research

Tate, a sponsored national museum

The Tate is one of fourteen national museums and galleries that the DCMS directly funds through Grant-in-Aid[64]. Although in the past five years the Tate has only increased its Grant-in-Aid income by 7.5% compared to a 40% increase in its self-generated income over the same period, this still represents a 40% of its total income [65]. As stated in the DCMS' website[66], the "stewardship of its sponsored museums is on the 'arm's length' principle. The Department does not intervene in their day-to-day business operations". The boundaries and responsibilities of the relationship between the Department and the sponsored national museums are set out in the Management Statement and Financial Memorandum for each museum. According to this document, Tate's statutory duties and priorities, in particular its contribution to the achievement of the Department's PSA objectives and targets, are reflected in its Funding Agreement with the Department.

---

[60]http://www.culture.gov.uk/reference_library/research_and_statistics/4867.aspx

[61]"NDPBs are our Non-Departmental Public Bodies. These public bodies have a role in the processes of national government, but are not a Government department or part of one. They accordingly operate to a greater or lesser extent at arm's length from Ministers". Examples of these bodies are Arts Council England, and the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA) (http://www.culture.gov.uk/reference_library/research_and_statistics/4869.aspx)

[62]The arts debate involved over 200 members of the public, over 80 artists and arts managers representing a variety of genres and around 30 stake holder organisations, such as local authorities, charities and health and educational institutions. There were more than 1,200 contributions to the open consultation in the form of written submissions or posts on the arts debate website, and around 150 representatives of the arts community at the final Open Space event. See http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/artsdebate/

[63] See Appendix 1 as basic background information on the institution

[64]Grant-in-Aid from Parliament, provided through the Department for Culture, Media and Sport

[65]http://www.tate.org.uk/about/tatereport/2008/

[66] www.culture.gov.uk/what_we_do/museums_and_galleries/3383.aspx

Tate's Funding Agreement

In the Tate's funding agreements with the DCMS, the negotiated budget is linked to targets set for a period of three years. Although the agreement is monitored by different means, relevant to the nature of this research are the following methods of examination:

A. Assessment of the agreed targets' achievement in reference to pre-established Key Performance Indicators
B. Assessment of the effectiveness of projects which support PSA 3
C. Performance against the Tate's Delivery Plans and related measures

A. In the light of Tate's own strategy and the DCMS' policy, the specific Key Performance Indicators and quantitative targets to be met for the last funding agreements (2003-2006 and 2005-2008) were as follows:

	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06[67]	2005-06[68]	2006-07	2007-08
Number of actual visits [69]	5,1000,000	4,900,000	4,900,000	6,000,000	6,000,000	6,000,000
Number of children aged 15 and under visiting the gallery [70]	700,000	700,000	700,000	840,000	840,000	840,000
Number of adult UK visitors (aged 16 and over) from NS-SEC socio-economic groups 5-8 attending the gallery [71]	500,000	550,000	600,000	619,000	619,000	619,000
Number of unique users visiting the website [72]	2,000,000	2,100,000	2,200,000	6,000,000	7,000,000	8,000,000
Number of children aged 15 and under in on- and off-site	140,000	140,000	140,000	220,000	220,000	220,000

---

[67]According to the 2003-06 agreement www.tate.org.uk/about/governancefunding/tatefundingagreement.pdf
[68]According to the 2005-08 agreement www.tate.org.uk/about/governancefunding/funding/fundingagreement060001.pdf
[69]In the 2003-2006 agreement: Total Number of visitors
[70]In the 2003-2006 agreement: Numbers of Children Visitors
[71]In the 2003-2006 agreement: […] from socio-economic groups C2DE attending the gallery.
[72]In the 2003-2006 agreement: Number of website hits (unique users)

organised educational sessions [73]						
Number of venues in England to which objects from the Collection are loaned	40	40	40	No Key Performance Indicator	No Key Performance Indicator	No Key Performance Indicator
Net self-generated income (Net trading income, admissions, corporate hospitality)	No Key Performance Indicator	No Key Performance Indicator	No Key Performance Indicator	£10,500,000	£8,100,000	£8,100,000
Efficiency savings	No Key Performance Indicator	No Key Performance Indicator	No Key Performance Indicator	£1,575,000	£1,940,000	£2,190,000

---

[73]In the 2003-2006 agreement: Number of children in organised educational programmes both on-site and outreach

Although the specific targets for the current funding agreement[74] (2008-2011) have not been publicly published, their performance indicators confirm their quantitative nature:

Access	1. Number of visits to the museum/gallery (excluding virtual visitors)
	2. Number of unique website visits
Audience Profile	3. Number of visits by children under 16
	4. Number of visits by UK adult visitors aged 16 or over from NS-SEC groups 5-8
	5. Number of visits by UK adult visitors aged 16 and over from an ethnic minority background
	6. Number of visits by UK adult visitors aged 16 and over who consider themselves to have a limiting long-term illness, disability or infirmity
	7. Number of overseas visits
Learning/ Outreach	8. Children • Number of facilitated and self-directed visits to the museum/gallery by children under 16 in formal education • Number of instances of children under 16 participating in on-site organised activities • Number of instances of children under 16 participating in outreach activity outside the museum/gallery
	9. Adults • Number of instances of adults aged 16 and over participating in organised activities at the museum/gallery • Number of instances of adults aged 16 and over participating in outreach activities outside the museum/gallery
Visitor Satisfaction	10. Percentage of visitors who would recommend a visit
Income Generation	11. *Self generated income* • Admissions • Trading • Fundraising
Regional Engagement	12. Number of UK loan venues

B. The DCMS also assesses the effectiveness of projects which support PSA 3. This is done with the intention to encourage sponsored organisations to pursue particular programmes and promote partnerships aimed at encouraging participation from 'priority groups', which museums define as people with a long-standing limiting illness or disability, people from lower socio-economic groups and people from black and minority ethnic groups. In 2008, the target for the national museums was to increase by 2%[75] the number of people from priority groups accessing their collections and attending their outreach services (DCMS 2008)[76].

C. Finally, the agreement is monitored against the Tate's Delivery Plans and related measures. As in the previous agreement (2003-2006), one of the priorities identified by Tate for the period 2005/06-2007/08 was 'Audiences'. In its funding agreement was stated: "We will undertake

---

[74]www.culture.gov.uk/images/publications/Tate_Signed_Funding_Agreement.pdf
[75]http://www.culture.gov.uk/images/publications/taking_part_psa3.pdf
[76]For more details on current DCMS PSA targets see
www.culture.gov.uk/about_us/our_priorities_and_targets/default.aspx/

research to understand our audiences better; we will initiate projects to reach a broader socio-economic and ethnic mix; and we will take steps at each gallery to improve the quality of the visitor experience". The main elements of the Tate's delivery plan for the period covered by the funding agreement regarding audiences were:

Strategic Objective	Primary Activities	Deliverables/ Outcomes
Audiences: We want to understand our audiences better, to broaden their socio-economic and ethnic mix and to improve the quality of the visitor experience	**Understanding:** We want to improve the quality of our market research. We will invite several agencies to tender for this piece of work, aiming to have a new contract in place by the end of 2005. As part of the brief we will include the development of a training programme which will enable us to use our own staff to carry out research into our audiences, their interests and needs	• Better and more in depth information about our audiences • Expertise to carry out audience research in-house
	Visitor experience: Implement key recommendations of major Visitor Audit carried out in 2004 in order to improve the quality of the visitor experience. We have engaged a design agency to create and implement a new in-gallery communication plan. We will also deepen and improve our relationship with Members	• A new in-gallery communications plan implemented by September 2005 • Set of agreed Visitor Service Principles for all staff working with the public with implementation overseen by cross-Tate Visitor Experience Group
	Diversity: We have been successful in attracting a broad socio-economic and ethnic mix with visiting school groups and through our education programme. The task for 2005–8 is to build on this success in order to attract a similarly diverse audience in our non-educational visits. To achieve this, we will produce a Diversity Strategy by 2006, making recommendations and setting targets for wider engagement with the Tate by ethnic minority communities in terms of employment, programmes and visits	• Implement a diversity strategy in 2006 • PSA3 *(as explained above)*
	Access: To provide well maintained, safe, secure buildings for visitors, staff and artworks; making improvements in visitor facilities and ensuring an effective delivery of services to all users is maintained, so that Tate is compliant with all relevant regulations regarding H&S and DDA	• Compliance with DDA • Maintain visitors' satisfaction levels

As has just been shown, the DCMS performs a regulatory role in the provision of public funding which is related to the demonstration of the institutional achievements of specific goals. In the implementation of auditing practices the Tate must demonstrate its work in relation to the set goals, most importantly through the presentation of visitor research findings.

Tate's Audience Research

As stated in the funding agreement 2005/06-2007/08, the Tate intended to "improve the quality of [its] market research". The commission and supervision of this research is the responsibility of the Tate's Marketing Team. This team's role is to communicate the Tate's programme effectively, attract new visitors, encourage repeat visits and maximise visitor numbers to all four galleries**.** Tate[77] knows their visitors' profile through regular audience research conducted three times a year around the exhibition programme (Spring, Summer and Winter). Because the visitors' profile varies from exhibition to exhibition, audience research mainly deals with the visitors' profile of the special exhibitions.

Although the Tate organises its own visitor research, it is not involved in the collection or analysis of data. Until 2006, audience data collection and analysis was undertaken by BDRC[78], a research consultancy specialising in key service sectors in consumer and business markets - financial services, hotels & hospitality, telecoms, travel & tourism. Since that year these tasks have been undertaken in their totality by the research agency Ipos MORI[79], part of Ipsos Group, a market research group dedicated to five research specialisms - Advertising, Loyalty, Media, Marketing and Public Affairs. MORI's research findings were regarded by all interviewees as the main source of information on the institution's visitors. This research is complemented by an in-house Customer Research undertaken by the Visitor Services department, the findings of which are disseminated monthly. However, this limited research merely gives a 'quantitative sense' of visitor comments (including complaints, observations, or questions).

As explicitly stated in the Tate's website and annual reports, the findings of this visitor research represent the foundation for the activity of the marketing department. Furthermore, these are considered instrumental to refine the Tate's policy and programming as well as its audience development strategy. Importantly, this research is also estimated as 'an institutional performance snapshot' which generates crucial data for the financial and development department regarding their duty of reporting to sponsors and public funders.

Access to unpublished documentation revealed that the Tate's regular visitor research tracks:

Demographics *
Visitor Segments *(as explained below)*
Efficacy of the marketing communications used
Frequency of visits
Satisfaction overall
Satisfaction regarding value for Money
Visitor attitudes *(Overall satisfaction + Value for Money)*
Reasons for visiting

---

[77] Tate Britain and Tate Modern
[78] http://www.bdrc.co.uk/about-us/
[79] http://www.ipsos-mori.com/

	*Demographics
Actual behaviour (facilities visited or used)	Gender
Likelihood of recommending	Age
Suggested improvements	Origin (nationality)
Awareness of sponsors	First time/repeat visitor
Purchasing behaviour	NS-Sec
Differences in visitor profile between Tate Britain and Tate Modern	Ethnicity

For Tate recognising the diversity of visitor types and finding out their needs and interests is essential in order to programme and market the institution effectively. Aiming to have this necessary deep understanding of current visitors, the Tate's audience research includes psychographic research[80] focused on lifestyle and environmental factors. *Tate Through Visitors' Eyes: An Anatomy of a Visit* (2004) is the study by Morris Hargreaves McIntyre[81], an arts management and research consultancy in the UK specialised in audience and organisational development, which informs the Tate's psychographic research. Quantitative and qualitative data was collected, analysed, interrogated and modelled with the aim not only to analyse the ways visitors construct their experience in the museum, but also to understand their motivations, attitudes, perceptions and reactions in relation to Tate Britain and Tate Modern.

Considering that a product-focused approach would not help to see the Tate "through the visitors' eyes", and that taking a visitor-focused approach would create too complex a picture, this research looked for patterns and trends, and clustered similar visitors together with discerning shared characteristics (Morris Hargreaves McIntyre 2004). It was found that visitors could be divided into discrete 'segments' that share more similarities than differences. Each segment was understood as a group of people with shared needs, which were not usually determined by basic demographics but by three other factors that framed their experience: key drivers for visiting (spiritual, emotional, intellectual and social); whether they are bringing children; and whether they are academically or professionally involved with art. Together these factors produced the following eight segments: Aficionados, Actualisers, Sensualists, Researchers Self-improvers, Social Spacers, Site Seers and Families. This segmentation system, which now informs the Tate's strategic planning and audience development strategy, *Closer to Tate* (Figure 2.2.), forced the organisation to think about their audiences in a more challenging and inspiring way.

---

[80]Psychographic research involves supplementing conventional marketing data with informed assumptions about personality traits and human behaviour gleaned from disciplines like psychology, sociology, and probability theory. Systematically linking individual psychological factors with characteristic patterns of consumer behaviour, psychographics can take demographic data about consumers and expand upon it, offering more comprehensive information (http://www.leapfroginteractive.com/lfiuniversity/pdfs/pyschographicsWP-012309.pdf)
[81]http://www.lateralthinkers.com/projects/index6.php

Figure 2.2. Closer to Tate. Tate's Audience Development Strategy

The actual reliability of the Tate's audience research should be recognised as limited. For instance, this only records adults and families, ignoring those under eighteen visiting in groups or by themselves. Moreover, findings only include data about those visitors able to answer the visitor's questionnaire in English[82]. These two factors can affect the research reliability, especially in demographic terms.

3. Concluding observations

Mediating between their intrinsic contradictory dynamics and reshaping their relationship with citizens (visitors as well as non-visitors), art museums may have attempted, for the last few decades, to challenge views of their traditional *power*; however, they have failed to reformulate themselves as responsive 'listeners'.

1. Under the Labour governments there has been an increasing instrumentalisation of cultural policy, which over the last decade has been considered capable of solving the problematics of deprivation and exclusion. Museums and cultural institutions have been frequently recognised as 'actors of change' and charged with instituting social developments that other areas of government policy have failed to achieve. While museums' missions have gradually become defined by 'purpose', conversely their activities have been explicitly steered by public funders into becoming instrumental over citizens.

The tension between theory and practice, mission and activity, is patently apparent when the Tate aims to assess its own performance. Considering the institution's high number of visitors and the fact that it is consistently exceeding its governmental targets, it could be easy, or even beneficial,

---

[82]   Although Tate's annual report stated that the organisation carries out foreign language questionnaires since 2006, aiming to gain deeper knowledge of their growing international audiences, the Head of Visitor Services & Operations at Tate Britain, did not acknowledged this fact.

for the Tate to misconceive 'popularity' as indicative of an increase in "public knowledge, understanding and appreciation of art", which is the basis of the organisation's mission. This is the case in the following statement by Morris Hargreaves McIntyre (2004): "The popularity of its galleries is testament to the fact that [the] Tate is already very effective at realising its mission". This assertion makes clear that a misunderstanding is currently occurring, potentially biasing not only the organisational approach to audience research, but also, more importantly, the programming and governance informed by the research's findings.

Subjective Museum	The museum, understood as a medium, is a subjective piece of social engineering. While museums collect and conserve, classify and display, research and educate, they also engage in the production and delivery of messages and arguments. More importantly, they acquire, conserve, study, interpret and exhibit not only objects and collections, but also segments of population.

"We wish to make the best available to everyone and to do it not by making rhetorical speeches but by enforcing funding agreements that require arts institutions to reach out to the communities around them. Isn't that what any civilised society should aspire to do? And if the arts are a civilising influence shouldn't we seek to extend this to every housing estate, every primary school, and every old people's home? That seems to me an entirely appropriate function of government in a modern democracy"
(Smith 1999:14)

2. Marxian and Foucauldian critiques promote an understanding of the dynamics of the museum as a neo-liberal institution with a series of disciplinary functions. Museums not only inculcate 'the norm' as a universal value, but also aim to civilise the 'docile body' of "those who cannot be governed through the technologies of seduction of the market" (Simons 1995:40) for whom the disciplinary and panoptical power analysed by Foucault are now reserved (Bauman 1992:5,14). Museums *frame*, at least implicitly, the politics of uplifting the 'common taste'; moreover, they reshape and impose "modes of behaviour on *the poor*" (Merli 2002:112-113 cited in Selwood 2002:46). Building on the 'incompleteness', failure or cultural unworthiness of specific segments of the population that often coincide with what are regarded as 'priority groups', museums implicitly recognise dominant values and provide a biased ideologically-based frame that influences citizens' identities and understandings.

According to Hooper-Greenhill (1999:266), national art galleries exist within a network of social relations where influential interest groups are able to use their power, wealth and status to maintain their own class positions, and furthermore to increase their 'capital'. As "it is not enough for the bourgeois aesthete to possess what others cannot [and] also take possession of common objects and actions as a sign of their complete mastery over both the vulgar and the refined" (Grenfell 2007:42), museums, as representatives of this bourgeois interest, currently aspire to

'possess' not only objects but also targeted segments of the population as a sign of their mastery over them. The fact that public museums are urged to reach specific audiences, detaching them from their everyday lives, can be understood as a governmental twofold effort: firstly, to secure an orderly citizenry, assimilating the 'uncivilised' population into the 'civilised' – those in possession of the idealized 'pure gaze'; and secondly, to preserve specific "ways of being a person" (Miller & Yudice 2002:15). Entangled in an endogamic loop, museums have become responsible for 'breeding' a uniform society willing to engage with museums.

"[DCMS] will give direction; [DCMS] will set targets and chase progress; and where appropriate [DCMS] will take direct action to make sure that [its] objectives are achieved"

(DCMS 1998)

As pointed out in the DCMS consultation paper *Understanding the Future: Museums and the 21st Century* (2005), the museal sector has sometimes seemed reluctant to work with the government to develop indicators and statistics potentially useful to prompt and inform policy. This possibly reflects a sectorial distrust and dislike of the need to quantify its performance and value. John Holden's *Capturing Cultural Value: How Culture has Become a Tool of Government Policy* (2004) proposed ways of valuing culture other than the instrumental. He argued that the paradigm of evidence-based, target-driven decision-making is based on a technocratic world view which, amongst others, concentrates on product and outcomes rather than process. Following the current paradigm, the DCMS gives explicit and implicit policy directions to the Tate, which responds by doing 'things' and then measuring the outcomes to demonstrate their compliance with the DCMS' wishes. As pointed out by David Haynes Associates (2002, in Selwood 2002:53), sponsored organisations engage in the production and report of statistics and other forms of evidence profoundly conscious of the political agendas that they need to satisfy. This can be seen as indicative of the politics involved in the collection of evidence through audience research. Moreover, market research agencies create an even more complex picture of the politics implied in this practice, as in the case of the Tate, the audience research of which is undertaken in its totality[83] by external agencies.

It is key to understand that audience research in museums is not neutral. The questions asked, the information determined to be useful, the means used to gather data and the way the information is organized and presented all depends on the social views of those who orchestrate it. In the same way that the 'top-down targets' are designed to conform to the way the government construes and envisions the state, visitor research activities are designed, carried out and assessed in the light of a specific 'belief-system' supported by the status quo. The fact that the questionnaires that the Tate use to collect data about visitors only include *closed* questions,

---

[83]As it has been stated, one of the primary activities for the period 2005/06-2007/08 was to train the Tate's staff in audience research. Although a cross-departmental training (marketing, curatorial, visitor services…) mainly about observation techniques took place in that period what was learned has been very rarely utilised and the organisation relies on external agencies to gather and analyse audience data.

thereby making it impossible for respondents to give their own answers, even in response to questions about 'suggested improvements', makes this research not only limited in scope but also biased. Although the information it collates could appear initially complete and comprehensive for a study of this sort, the total absence of 'open answers', its exclusively quantitative nature and its limited reliability positions it very close to what could be described as an extended and methodologically sophisticated version of the basic *head count*. Boxes and categories were created and *heads* were counted and classified in relation to them, to be finally professionally recounted and analysed. It should be acknowledged, then, that the Tate's audience research, the findings of which are the only ones regularly and officially presented to the whole organisation, is meaningless with regard to assessing the achievement of the organisation's mission. This research shows signs of being designed to gather useful information intended to inform the governmental strategy on how to achieve its objectives and meet its targets; moreover, to monitor the penetration of governmental ideology within society, especially within the 'uncivilised' segments.

In the case of the Tate, the fact that museal audience research is currently conducted under pressure to satisfy a government eager for 'evidence' showing the progress on its will to 'civilise' the state favours the promotion of bias in its findings. Acknowledging that the citizen has very limited control over governmental objectives, the museum visitor becomes conceptualised as 'a tick in a box' and regarded as subsidiary, becoming a body "to be done" (Weil 1997:196) according to pre-established parameters. This prevents the practice of audience research from having any possibility to genuinely confirm, beyond academic speculation, whether art museums have developed into institutions at the service of the society or remain governmental buildings of mastery filled with what it is regarded as 'art'.

 According to Morris Hargreaves McIntyre consultancy (2005), national measures and performance indicators favoured by funders are "too reductive"; "how many curators are inspired by, challenged by, or even interested in, their performance indicators?". However, when this consultancy conceived *Tate Through Visitors' Eyes*, a report claiming to use models and tools especially designed to go beyond standard visitor research into "real visitor insight", the indicators established within it to measure organisational success and effectiveness mirror many of those established by the DCMS, deemed by Morris Hargreaves McIntyre as "too reductive"

> Maintaining levels of visitor satisfaction at 92%
> Increasing the number of C2DE visitors
> Building the number of website visits
> Maintaining visits around 5 million over all 4 sites
> Increasing trading income
> Maintaining paid admissions

The fact that the measures to monitor the Tate's progress towards its own goals reproduces governmental performance indicators means that questions arise about to what extent the Tate

has a distinctive 'personality' and mission, or whether it is just a standardised political commodity located in specific buildings and filled with particular artworks.

The regular research conducted by the Tate, designed not in theory but in practice to monitor 'consumer, customer and citizen' behaviours, could be understood as a strategy supportive to governmental agendas and commercial interests, the intrusion of which is currently threatening the independence of the Tate's cultural production and circulation. The fact that to a large extent public accountability is questioned by the government and answered by the institution in quantitative terms reaffirms that a 'commercial logic' is operating and potentially transforming cultural goods into political and commercial commodities. An apparent shortage of qualitative research means that "the tyranny of numbers goes uncontested" (Hooper-Greenhill 1988). Moreover it reduces the 'visitor-citizen' to a unit of currency between the museum and its funders, the latter of which are crucial players in the Tate's complex institutional *field* positioning (see Appendix 4).

Subjective Oppression	The call for museums to meet specific targets could be understood as a means of social control that feeds the dynamics of inequality, and therefore oppression. Even if adopted in order to promote equal opportunities, this call structurally reproduces hierarchical beliefs and its results perpetuate not only social fragmentation, but also social subjugation of those initially targeted as implicitly less serviceable to the society, unable to understand by themselves the value of *high-civilising culture*.

3. In a democratic society citizens should have the right not only to access but to confidently communicate with publicly funded organisations such as museums. Since even the simplest act of communication entails an intention on the part of the communicator to produce an effect on the receiver, and furthermore some activity or change as a result of the process (Spencer 2002:375), that 'right to communicate' implies the need for means to measure any 'change or action', so-called 'impact', resulting from a communicative process. The importance of audience research lies in the fact that feedback from visitors is a fundamental and unique source of information. It represents a major opportunity for museums to explicitly 'ask and listen', and consequently to become democratic and responsive institutions at the service of the public.

In addition to the audience research already examined, the Tate also undertakes a number of special, ad hoc research projects, such as those focused around school programmes These works, often related to the evaluation of specific projects or activities, use more qualitative methods of data collection and are clearly intended to 'inform change'. However, any 'conscious act of change' relies on the implicit knowledge about 'current and factual reality'. In other words, even the Tate's ad hoc qualitative audience research, aimed to truly communicate and "inform

change", implicitly builds from the findings of limited market research, and is thus potentially influenced by its bias and politics.

To find the means to assess more qualitatively and impartially the social impact of museums is one of the most substantial challenges facing the sector. According to Holden (2004), a paradigmatic change on capturing 'cultural value' would challenge the way that the 'funders' and the 'funded' work together and engage with the public. Funding and policy organisations would need to "re-examine the processes and criteria through which they take decisions and their implicit assumptions about evidence and impact, from a completely different perspective, and then to involve a wide constituency in their redesign" (Holden 2004). Equally important, funded organisations would need to scrutinise themselves on the basis of what multiple sources of feedback can tell them about their own ability to enact their goals and challenge rooted assumptions about who decides what is valuable; moreover, who 'speaks' and who 'listens'.

Subjective Democracy	The means to understand, demonstrate or measure museums' 'public value' and 'social impact' should take into consideration not only the intrinsic contradictory dynamics of these institutions and their contexts, but also the essence of democracy. The monitoring and regulation of visitors' conduct and behaviour in relation to an agreed 'common norm' and ratified *extra*-ordinary is characteristic of autocratic practices; the analysis on how museal commodity, power/knowledge, is biasedly imparted to some and imposed onto others within the everyday of an unequal society would be symptomatic of genuinely visitor-centred museums.

"... true wisdom was to be found not in the ivory towers of academe but in the marketplaces and streets where ordinary men and women plied their trades and practised their craft"
(Wetheim cited in Kelly:1998)

4. Audience research can be an unwelcome opening in the museal political machinery from which the bankruptcy of its foundational ideologies could become publicly exposed; moreover, it could become a vehicle for the free articulation of visitors' own ideological agendas and "cognitive horizons" (Bennett 1995:10), transforming exclusive 'ivory towers' into popular 'marketplaces and streets'.

Subjective Resistance	My 'uncivilized' self may not be able to communicate on equal terms with the museum, thereby genuinely resisting its potential 'disciplinary power'; however, I am occasionally able to subvert the 'belief system' that this seeks to impose upon the segment of population I belong to. As it was said in the introduction, this work should be read as a personal subversive act, articulated through an everyday practice, of

	someone who resists consuming what has been *packaged* as an act of democracy.

Although following academic and methodological constraints this research is only the written testimony of a personal explorative odyssey. Entirely dependent on the fortuitous and unique "accidents along the way" (Naipaul 1989 cited in Saunders at al 2003:97), this piece does not provide any definitive 'answer' or any 'good practice' guidelines. This piece should be understood as the written reflection about an experience at the present stage of an ongoing personal exploration.

"*The successes of history belong to those who are capable of seizing these rules, to replace those who had used them, to disguise themselves so as to pervert them, invert their meaning, and redirect them against those who had initially imposed them; controlling this complex mechanism, they will make it function so as to overcome the rulers through their own rules"*
(Foucault 1977)

REFERENCES

Books

Alexander, E. and Alexander, M. (1979) *Museums in motion: an introduction to the history and functions of museums*, s. l., American Association for State and Local History and SAGE. Extended edition 2007.

Anderson, G. (ed.) (2004) *Reinventing the museum: historical and contemporary perspectives on the paradigm shift*, Walnut Creek, (California): AltaMira Press.

Appleton, J. (2001) *Museums for 'the People'?* London: Academy of Ideas Ltd.

Aspden, P. (2007) 'Out of adversity', in Mann, E. (ed.) *Barbican 25*, London: Newdesk Communications Ltd.

Barker, C. (2004) *The SAGE dictionary of cultural studies*, London: SAGE.

Barker, E. (ed.) (1999) *Contemporary cultures of display*, Yale (Connecticut): Yale University Press.

Bazin*, G. (1967) *The museum age, Brussels: Desoer, S.A. Publishers.*

Bennett, O. (1996) Cultural policy and the crisis of legitimacy: entrepreneurial answers in the United Kingdom, University of Warwick (Coventry): Centre for Cultural Policy Studies.

*Bennet*t, T. (1988a) 'Museums and the people', in Lumley, R. (1988) *The museum time-machine: putting cultures on display*, London: Routledge.

Bennett, T. (1995) *The birth of the museum: history, theory, politics*, London: Routledge.

Bennett, T. (2003) 'The political rationality of the museum', in Lewis, J. and Miller, T. (ed.) (2003) *Critical Cultural Policy Studies: a reader*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Bicknell, S. (1994) 'Here to help: evaluation and effectiveness', in Hooper-Greenhill, E. (ed.) *Museum, media, message*, London: Routledge.

Bitgood, S. (2002) 'Environmental psychology in museums, zoos, and other exhibition centers', in Bechtel, R. And Churchman, A. (ed.) *Handbook of environmental psychology*, London: John Wiley and Sons.

Black, G. (2005) *The engaging museum; developing museums for visitor involvement,* London: Routledge.

Bocock, R. (1986) *Hegemony*, London: Routledge.

Bourdieu, P. (1979) *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste*, London: Routledge. Translated into English in 1984

Bourdieu, P. (1986) 'The forms of capital', in Richardson, J. E. (1986) *Handbook of theory of research for the sociology of education*, Westport (Connecticut): Greenwood Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1993) *The field of cultural production: essays on art and literature*, Oxford: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, P. and Darbel, A. (1969) *The love of art: European art museums and their public*, Cambridge: Polity.

Bradley, C. H. J. (1998) *Mrs. Thatcher's cultural policies, 1979-1998*, New York: Columbia UP.

Burchell, G., Gordon, C., and Miller, P. (ed.) (1991) *The Foucault effect: studies in governmentality*, Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Crooke, E. (2008) *Museums and community: ideas, issues and challenges*, London: Routledge.

Cuno, J. B., McGregor, N., de Montebello, P., Lowry, G. D. and Wood, J. N. (ed.) (2003) *Whose muse?: art museums and the public trust*, Princeton (New Jersey): Princeton University Press.

Davies, S. (1994) *By popular demand: a strategic analysis of the market potential for museums and art galleries in the UK*, London: Museums and Galleries Commission.

Derrida, J. (1987) *The truth of painting,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Desai, P. and Thomas, A. (1998) *Cultural diversity: attitudes of ethnic minority populations towards museum and galleries*, London: Museums and London Galleries Commission.

Dodd, J. (1994) 'Whose museum is it anyway: Museums education and the community', in Hooper-Greenhill, E. (ed.) The Educational Role of the Museum, London: Routledge

Dodd, J. and Sandell, R. (1998) *Building Bridges: Guidance for Museums and Galleries on Developing New Audiences*, London: Museums and Galleries Commission.

Dunaher, G., Schirato, T. and Webb, J. (2003) *Understanding Foucault*, Delhi: Motial Banarsidass Publishers.

Duncan, C. (1996) *Civilizing rituals: inside public art museums*, London: Routledge.

Edwards, E. (1869) *Free town libraries: their formation, management, and history in Britain, France, Germany and America*, London: Trubner & Co.

Falk J. and Dierking L. D. (1992) *The museum experience*, Washington D. C.: Whalesback Books.

Foucault, M. (1978) 'Governmentality', in Burchell, G., Gordon, C. and Miller, P. (ed.) (1991) *The Foucault effect: studies in governmentality*, Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Foucault, M. (1992) *The order of things: an archaeology of the human sciences*, London: Routledge. Published in 1966.

Fraser, P. (2004) *Arts marketing*, Boston: Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann.

Gillham, B. (2008) *Research interviewing: the range of techniques*, New York: Open University Press.

Grenfell, M. and Hardy, C. (2007) *Art rules: Pierre Bourdieu and the visual arts*, New York: Berg Publishers.

Hall, S. (1980) 'Encoding/Decoding', in Harrington, L. and Bielby, D. (ed.) (2001) *Popular culture: production and consumption*, Malden (Massachusetts): Blackwell Publishers.

Hall, S. (1983) 'The problem of ideology: marxism without guarantees', in Hall, S., Morley, D. and Chen, K. (ed.) (1996) *Stuart Hall: critical dialogues in cultural studies*, London: Routledge.

Hall, S. (1992) 'What is "black" in black popular culture?', in Hall, S., Morley, D. and Chen, K. (ed.) (1996) *Stuart Hall: critical dialogues in cultural studies*, London: Routledge.

Hall, S. and Jefferson, T. (1977/1993) *Resistance Through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain*, London: Routledge.

Harker, R., (1990) 'Education and cultural capital', in Harker, R., Mahar, C. and Wilkes, C. (ed.) *An introduction to the work of Pierre Bourdieu: the practice of theory*, London: Macmillan Press.

Hein, G. (1998) *Learning in the museum*, London: Routledge.

Hein, G. (1999) 'Evaluation of museum programmes and exhibits', in Hooper-Greenhill, E. (ed.) *The educational role of the museum*, London: Routledge.

Hein, G. (2002) *Learning in the museum*, London: Routledge.

Hein, H. (2000) *The Museum in transition: a philosophical perspective*, Washington D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Heinich, N. (1988) 'The Pompidou Centre and its public: the limits of a utopian site', in Lumley, R. (ed.) *The museum time-machine: putting cultures on display*, London: Routledge.

Hewison, R. (1995) *Culture and consensus*, London : Methuen

Higgins, H. H. (1884) 'Museums of natural history', in Higgins, H. H. (ed.), *Transactions of the literary and philosophical society of Liverpool*, Liverpool: Literary and Philosophical Society.

Hood, M. (1983) 'Staying away: why people choose not to visit museums', in Anderson, G. (ed.) (2004) *Reinventing the museum: historical and contemporary perspectives on the paradigm shift*, Walnut Creek (California): AltaMira Press.

Hooper-Greenhill, E. (1988) 'Counting visitors or visitors who count?', in Lumley, R. (ed.) *The museum time-machine: putting cultures on display*, London: Routledge.

Hooper-Greenhill, E. (1989) 'The museum in the disciplinary society', in Pearce, J. (ed.) *Museum studies in material culture*, Leicester: Leicester University Press.

Hooper-Greenhill, E. (1992) *Museums and the shaping of knowledge*, London: Routledge.

Hooper-Greenhill, E. (1994a) *Museum, media, message*, London: Routledge.

Hooper-Greenhill, E. (1994b) *Museums and their visitors*, London: Routledge.

Hooper-Greenhill, E. (1999) *The educational role of the museum*, London: Routledge.

Hooper-Greenhill, E. (2000a) *Museums and the interpretation of visual culture*, London: Routledge.

Hooper-Greenhill, E. (2006) 'Studying visitors', in McDonald, S. (ed.) *A companion to museum studies*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Hooper-Greenhill, E., Moussouri, T., Hawthorne, E. and Riley, R. (2001) *Making meaning in art museums 1: visitors' interpretive strategies at Wolverhampton Art Gallery*, Leicester: University of Leicester.

Hubbard, P., Kitchin, R. and Valentine, G. (2004) *Key thinkers on space and place*, London: SAGE.

Kant, I. (1790/1978) *The critique of judgement*, Oxford : Clarendon Press. ('Kritik der Urtheilskraft' originally published: Berlin : s.n., 1790).

Karp, I. (1991) *Exhibiting cultures: the poetics and politics of museum display*, Washington D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Kawashima, N. (1997) *Museum management in a time of change. Impacts of cultural policy on museums in Britain, 1979-1997*, University of Warwick (Coventry): Centre for the Study of Cultural Policy.

Komatsuka, C. (2005) 'Expanding the museum audience through visitor research', in Sandell, R. and Janes, R. (ed.) (2007) *Museum management and marketing*, London: Routledge.

Kotler, N. and Kotler, P. (2000) 'Can museums be all things to all people? Missions, goals, and marketing's role', in Anderson, G. (ed.) (2004) *Reinventing the museum: historical and contemporary perspectives on the paradigm shift*, Walnut Creek (California): AltaMira Press.

Lang, C., Reeve, J. and Woollard, V. (2006) *The responsive museum: working with audiences in the twenty-first century*, Farnham (Surrey): Ashgate Publishing.

Lewis, J. (1990) *Art, culture and enterprise: the politics of art and the cultural industries,* London: Routledge.

Lewis, J. and Miller, T. (ed.) (2003*) Critical cultural policy studies: a reader*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Loomis, R. J. (1987) *Museum visitor evaluation: new tool for management*, Nashville (Tennessee): American Association for State & Local History.

Lord, B. (1997) *The manual of museum management*, London: Stationery Office.

Lord, B. and Dexter Lord, G. (2002) *The manual of museum exhibitions*, Walnut Creek (California): Alta Mira.

Luke, T. W. (2002) *Museum politics: power plays at the exhibition*, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.

Lumley, R. (1988) *The museum time-machine: putting cultures on display*, London: Routledge.

Marchand, P. and Postman, N. (1998) *Marshall McLuhan: the medium and the messenger: a biography,* Cambridge (Massachusetts): MIT Press.

Marstine, J. (2006) *New museum theory and practice: an introduction,* Malden (Massachusetts): Blackwell.

Mason, R. (2006) 'Cultural theory and museum studies', in McDonald, S. (ed.) *A companion to museum studies*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Matarasso, F. (1997) *Use or ornament? The social impact of participation in the arts*, London: Comedia.

May, M. (2002) 'Exhibition ideas: integrating the voices of communities and audiences', in Lord, B. and Dexter Lord, G. (ed.) *The manual of museum exhibitions*, Walnut Creek (California): Alta Mira.

McClellan, A. (ed.) (2003) *Art and its publics. Museum studies at the millennium*, London: Blackwell.

McDonald, G. F. (1992) 'Change and challenge: museums in the information society', in Karp, I., Kreamer C. M. and Lavine S. D. (ed.) *Museums and communities - the politics of public culture,* Washington D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

McDonald, S. (ed.) (2006) *A companion to museum studies*, Oxford: Blackwell.

McGuigan, J. (1996) *Culture and the public sphere*, London: Routledge.

McLean, F. (1997) *Marketing the museum*, London: Routledge.

McLean, K. (1999) 'Museum exhibitions and the dynamics of dialogue', in Anderson, G. (ed.) (2004) *Reinventing the museum: historical and contemporary perspectives on the paradigm shift*, Walnut Creek, (California): AltaMira Press.

McLuhan, M. (1967/1994) *Understanding media: the extensions of man*, Cambridge (Massachusetts): MIT Press.

Melton, A. W. (1935/1988) *Problems of installation in museums of art*, Washington, D. C.: American Association of Museums.

Melton, A. W., Feldman, N. G., and Mason, C. W. (1936/1988) *Experimental studies of the education of children in a museum of science*, Washington, D. C.: American Association of Museums.

Merriman, N. (1989) 'Museum visiting as cultural phenomenon', in Vergo, P. (ed.) *The New Museology*, London: Reaktion.

Miles, R. et al. (1982) *The design of educational exhibits*, London: Allen & Unwin.

Miller, T. and Yudice, G. (2002) *Cultural policy*, London: SAGE.

Murray, D. (1904) *Museums, their history and their use*, 3 vols. Glasgow: Maclehose & Sons.

Obelkevich, J. and Catterall, P. (1994) *Understanding post-war British society*, London: Routledge.

Porter, A. E. (1996) *Museums in motion: an introduction to the history and functions of museums*, Walnut Creek (California): Rowman Altamira Press.

Power, M. (1994) *The audit explosion*, London: Demos.

Power, M. (1997) *The audit society*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Preziosi, D. (1996) 'Brain of the earth's body: museums and the framing of modernity' in Duro, P. (ed.) *The rhetoric of the frame: essays on the boundaries of the artwork*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Prior, N. (2003) 'Having one's Tate and eating It: transformations of the museum in a hypermodern era', in McClellan, A. (ed.) *Art and its publics. Museum studies at the millennium*, London: Blackwell.

Procter, J. (2004) *Stuart Hall*, London: Routledge.

Quinn, R. M. (1998) *Public policy and the arts: a comparative study of Great Britain and Ireland*, Farnham (Surrey): Ashgate.

Rand, J. (2000) 'The visitors' bill of rights', in Anderson, G. (ed.) (2004) *Reinventing the museum: historical and contemporary perspectives on the paradigm shift*, Walnut Creek (California): AltaMira.

Reussner, E. M. (2003) 'Strategic management for visitor-oriented Museums', in Sandell, R. and Janes, R. (ed.) (2007) *Museum management and marketing*, London: Routledge.

Rogoff, I. and Sherman, D. (ed.) (1994) *Museum culture: histories, discourses, spectacles*, London: Routledge.

Sandell, R. (ed.) (2002) *Museums, society, inequality*, London: Routledge.

Sandell, R. (ed.) (2007a) *Museums, prejudice and the reframing of difference*, London: Routledge.

Sandell, R. and Janes, R. (ed.) (2007b) *Museum management and marketing*, London: Routledge.

Schubert, K. (2000) *The curators egg*, London: One-off Press.

Screven, C. G. (1974) *The measurement and facilitation of learning in the museum environment: an experimental analysis*, Washington D. C.: Smithsonian Press.

Sellers, K. (2002) 'The role of market analysis', in Lord, B. and Dexter Lord, G. (ed.) *The manual of museum exhibitions*, Walnut Creek (California): Alta Mira.

Selwood, S. (2001) *The UK cultural sector: profile and policy issues,* London: Policy Studies Institute.

Shettel, H. H., Butcher, M., Cotton T. S. et al. (1968) *Strategies for determining exhibit effectiveness*, Pittsburgh: American Institutes for Research.

Simons, J. (1995) *Foucault & the political*, London: Routledge.

Smith, Chris (1998) *Creative Britain,* London: Faber and Faber.

Staniszewski, M. A. (1998) *The power of display: a history of exhibition installations at the Museum of Modern Art*, Cambridge (Massachusetts): MIT Press.

Taylor, F. H. (1948) *The haste of angels: a history of art collecting from Ramses to Napoleon*, Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

Tobelem, J. M. (1998) 'The marketing approach in museums', in Sandell, R. and Janes, R. (ed.) (2007) *Museum management and marketing*, London: Routledge.

Van Holst, N. (1967) *Creators, collectors and connoisseurs: the anatomy of artistic taste from antiquity to the present day*, London: Thames & Hudson.

Vergo, P. (1989) *The new museology*, London: Reaktion.

Watson, S. (2007a) *Museums and their communities*, London: Routledge.

Watson, S., MacLeod, S. and Knell, S. (ed.) (2007b) *Museum revolutions: how museums change and are changed*, London: Routledge.

Weil, S. (1997) 'The museum and the public', in Weil, S. (ed.) (2002) *Making museums matter*, Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Weil, S. (1999a) 'Transformed from a cemetery of bric-a-brac', in Weil, S. (ed.) (2002) *Making museums matter*, Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Weil, S. (1999b) 'From being about something to being for somebody', in Weil, S. (ed.) (2002) *Making museums matter*, Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Weil, S. (2002) *Making museums matter*, Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Williams, R. (1958a) 'Culture is ordinary', in Higgins, J. (2001) *The Raymond Williams Reader*, London: Wiley-Blackwell.

Williams, R. (1958b) 'Culture and society. London: Chatto and Windus', in Higgins, J. (2001) *The Raymond Williams Reader*, London:Wiley-Blackwell.

Williams, R. (1961/2001) *The long revolution*, London: Broadview Press.

Witcomb, A. (2003) *Re-imagining the museum: beyond the mausoleum*, London: Routledge.

Wittlin, A. S. (1949) *The museum: its history and its tasks in education*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Wittlin, A. S. (1970) *Museums: in search for a suitable future*, Cambridge (Massachusetts): MIT Press.

Articles

Alexander, V. (2007). 'State Support of Artists: the Case of the UK in a New Labour Environment and Beyond,' *Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society*, 37:3: 185-200.

Belfiore, E. (2002) 'Art as a means towards alleviating social exclusion: does it really work? A critique of instrumental cultural policies and social impact studies in the UK', *International Journal of Cultural Policy* vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 91-106.

Bennett, O. (1995) 'Cultural policy in the United Kingdom: collapsing rationales and the end of a tradition', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 199-216.

Bennett, O. (1997) 'Cultural policy, cultural pessimism and postmodernity', *International Journal of Cultural Policy,* vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 67-84.

Bennett, T. (1988b) 'The exhibitionary complex'*, New Formations*, no.4, spring.

Bitgood, S. (1989) 'Introduction: visitor studies – 1988', *Visitor Studies*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 5-8, Available: http://www.informalscience.org/researches/VSA-a0a1m9-a_5730.pdf [January 2009].

Bitgood, S. and Loomis, R. (1993) 'Introduction: environmental design and evaluation in museums', *Environment and behaviour*, vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 4-6.

Bourdieu, P. (1980) 'The aristocracy of culture', *Media, Culture and Society*, vol. 2.

Davies, S. (2005) 'Still popular: museums and their visitors 1994-2004', *Cultural Trends*, March, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 67-105.

Davies, S. (2007) 'Commentary 2: one small step taking part and museums', *Cultural Trends*, vol.16, no. 4, December, pp. 361–371.

Doering, Z. D. (1999) 'Strangers, guests, or clients? Visitor experiences in museums', *Curator*, vol. 42, no. 2, pp. 74−87.

Falk, J. And Balling, J. (1982) 'The field trip milieu: learning and behaviour as a function of contextual events', *Journal of Educational Research*, vol. 76, no 1, pp. 22-28.

Gibson, K. (1925) 'An experiment in measuring results of 5th grade class visits to an art museum', *School and Society*, vol. 21, no. 5.

Gilman, B. I. (1916) 'Museum fatigue', *Scientific Monthly*, vol. 12, pp. 62–74.

Gray, C. (1996) 'Comparing cultural policy: a reformulation', *International Journal of Cultural Policy* vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 213-222.

Hooper-Greenhill, E. (2000b) 'Changing values in the art museum: rethinking communication and learning', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, vol. 6 no. 1, pp. 9-31.

Hughson, J. and Inglis, D. (2001) ''Creative industries' and the arts in Britain: towards a third way in cultural policy?', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, vol. 7, issue 3, September, pp. 457-478, Available: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10286630109358156 [February – April 2009].

Mayrand, P. (1985) 'The new museology proclaimed', *Museum*, vol. 37, no. 4, pp. 200-201.

McClafferty, F. (2006) 'Turning Data into Insight', *Different type/roles for Museums from the perspectives of management,* ICOM 2006 Annual meeting and conference, Available: http://www.intercom.museum/Taiwan2006a.html [January 2009].

McManus, P. (1993) 'Memories as indicators of the impact of museum visits', *Museum Management and Curatorship*, vol. 12, no. 4, pp. 367−380.

Merli, P. (2002) 'Evaluating the social impact of participation in arts activities. A critical review of Francois Matarasso's *Use or Ornament*?', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 8(1): 107-118

Nielson, L. C. (1942) 'A technique for studying the behaviour of museum visitors', *The Journal of Educational Psychology*, vol. 37, pp. 103-110.

Reussner, E. (2003) 'Strategic management for visitor-oriented museums', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 95-108, Available: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1028663032000089868 [Januray 2009].

Reussner, E. (2004) 'Best practices in audience research and evaluation. Case studies of Australian and New Zealand museums', *Visitor Studies Today*, vol. VII, issue II, Available: http://historicalvoices.org/pbuilder/pbfiles/Project38/Scheme325/VSA-a0a6b1-a_5730.pdf [February 2009].

Rubenstein, R. (1989) 'Bridging the applicability gap between research and planning', in Bitgood, S., Roper Jr., J.T. and Benefield, A. (ed.) *Visitor Studies: Theory, Research, and Practice*, vol. 2,

Schiele, B. (1992) 'Creative interaction of visitor and exhibition', in Thompson, D., Benefield, A., Shettel, H. and Williams, R. (ed.) *Visitor Studies: Theory, Research, and Practice*, vol. 6, Jacksonville (Alabama): Center for Social Design, pp. 54-81.

Screven, C. G. (1969) 'The museum as a responsive learning environment', *Museum News*, vol. 47, no. 10, pp. 7-10.

Screven, C. G. (1975) 'The effectiveness of guidance devices on visitor learning', *Curator*, vol. 18, no. 3, pp. 219-243.

Seagram, B. Patten, L. & Lockett, C. (1993) 'Audience Research and Exhibit Development: A Framework', *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 12, 29-41.

Selwood, S. (2002a) 'What difference do museums make? Producing evidence on the impact of museums', *Critical Quarterly,* vol. 44, no. 4, pp. 65-81.

Selwood, S. (2002b) 'Beyond statistics? The politics of data collection in the English cultural sector', *International Symposium on Culture Statistics*, Montreal, October.

Selwood, S. (2004) 'The politics of data collection: gathering, analysing and using data about the subsidised cultural sector in England', *Cultural Trends*, no. 47, London: Policy Studies Institute.

Sneider, C., Eason, L. and Friedman, A. (1979) 'Summative evaluation of a participatory science exhibit', *Science Education*, vol. 63, no. 1, pp. 25-36.

Thyne, M. (2001) 'The importance of values research for nonprofit organisations: the motivation-based values of museum visitors', *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing*, vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 116−130.

Todd, S., and Lawson, R. (2001) 'Lifestyle segmentation and museum/gallery visiting behaviour', *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing*, vol. 6, no. 3, pp. 269−277.

Whitelaw, A. (1997) 'Statistical imperatives: representing the nation in exhibition of contemporary art', *Canadian Journal of Cultural Studies TOPIA*, vol. 1, pp. 22-41, Available: https://pi.library.yorku.ca/ojs/index.php/topia/article/viewFile/27/13 [January 2009].

Wolf, R. (1980) 'A naturalistic view of evaluation', *Museum News*, vol. 58, no. 1, pp. 39-45.

Documents

Arts Council England (2008) *Arts audiences: insight*, London, Arts Council England, Available: http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/publications/publication_detail.php?sid=4&id=629 [February 2009].

Arts Council of Great Britain (1984), *The glory of the garden: the development of the arts in England. A strategy for a decade*, London: Arts Council of Great Britain.

Aust, R. and Vine, L. (ed.) (2007) *Taking part: the national survey of culture, leisure and sport. Annual report 2005/6*, London: DCMS.

Belfiore, E. (2003) *Auditing culture: the subsidized cultural sector in the new public management*, Policy and politics international conference, Policy and politics in a globalised world, Bristol, Available: http://www.bristol.ac.uk/sps/papers/stream2/belfiore.doc [February 2009].

Borun, M., Flexer, B., Casey, A. and Baum, L. (1983) *Planets and pulleys: studies of class visits to a science museum*, Washington, D. C.: Association of Science Technology Centers.

Bunting C., Wing Chan, T., Goldthorpe, J., Keaney E. and Oskala A. (2008) *From indifference to enthusiasm: patterns of arts attendance in England*, London, Arts Council England, Available: http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/publications/publication_detail.php?sid=4&id=611&page=2 [March – April 2009].

Creative Research (2007) *The arts debate: findings of research among the general public*, London: Arts Council England.

David Haynes Associates (2002) *Strategic Review of Statistical Requirements*. London:Resource

DCMS (1999b) *Museums for the many: standards for museums and galleries to use when developing access policies*, DCMS.

DCMS (1998) *A new cultural framework*, London: DCMS.

DCMS (1999a) *Museums for the many,* DCMS.

DCMS (2000) *Centres for social change: museums, galleries and archives for All. Policy guidance on social inclusion for DCMS-funded and local authority museums, galleries and archives in England*, DCMS.

DCMS (2005) *Understanding the future: museums and 21st century life. The value of museums*, DCMS.

DCMS (2006) *Understanding the future: priorities for England's museums*, DCMS.

DCMS (2007) *How we make a difference*, October, London: DCMS, Available: http://www.culture.gov.uk/images/publications/howwemakeadifference.pdf [April 2009].

DCMS (2008) *Autumn Performance Report 2008. CM 7518*, DCMS, December.

Department of National Heritage (1965) *A Policy for the arts*, Department of National Heritage.

DiMaggio, P. et al (1978) *Audience studies of the performing arts and museums: a critical review*, Washington: Research Division Report National Endowment for the Arts, Available: http://eric.ed.gov/ERICDocs/data/ericdocs2sql/content_storage_01/0000019b/80/3f/16/e8.pdf [Jan. 2009].

Doucet, P. (ed.) (1999) *Ecomuseology and social museology: international bibliography*, Ottawa: MINOM and ROPFO, Available: http://www.minom-icom.net/PDF/MINOM-CHANG.pdf [March 2009].

Harris, A. and Bewick, K. (2009) *Tate visitor research*, London: Ipsos MORI.

HoC, National Heritage Committee (1996) Third Report. Session 1995-1996. *The Structure and Remit of the Department of National Heritage.* Report together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence and Appendices. London: HMSO

Holden, J. (2004) *Capturing Cultural Value: How Culture has Become a Tool of Government Policy*. London: Demos.

Holden, J. (2006) *Cultural value and crisis of legitimacy. Why culture needs a democratic mandate*, London: Demos, Available http://www.demos.co.uk/files/culturalvalueweb.pdf [March – April 2009].

Jowell, T. (2004) *Government and the value of culture*, DCMS.

Kelly, L. (1998) *Separate or inseparable? – Marketing and visitor studies*, Paper presented at Museums Australia Conference, Albury Fringe benefits: Community Culture and Communication.

Kelly, L. (2002) *A brief Introduction to audience research for small museums*, Australian Museum Audience research centre, Presentation notes given at Museum & Galleries Foundation workshop, Coffs Harbour.

Lee, H. (2005) *Rethinking arts marketing in a changing cultural policy context*, London: Cultural and Creative Industries, School of Humanities, King's College London.

McIntyre, A. (2006) 'Meaningful measures', in Baker Richards Consulting (ed.) *Museums and galleries Marketing Day 2006. Because we're worth it – strategies and tactics for proving value,* Cambridge: Arts Marketing Association, Available: http://www.a-m-a.co.uk/images/downloads/ MMG06Report.pdf [February – April 2009].

MINOM – ICOM (2007) *Changes & developments in the international movement for a new museology*, MINOM – ICOM, Available: http://www.minom-icom.net/PDF/MINOM-CHANG.pdf [March 2009].

MORI (2001) *Visitors to museums and galleries in the UK*, London: MORI/Resource.

MORI (2004) *Visitors to museums and galleries 2004*, London: MORI/Museums, Libraries and Archives Council.

Morris Hargreaves McIntyre (2004) *Tate Through Visitors' Eyes: An Anatomy of a Visit.* Manchester: Lateralthinkers

Morris Hargreaves McIntyre (2005) *Never mind the width feel the quality*, Museum and Heritage Show, Manchester: Lateralthinkers.

Rentschler, R. and Reussner, E. (2002) *Museum marketing research: from denial to discovery*, Deakin University.

Robinson, E. S. (1928) *The behaviour of the museum visitor,* Washington D. C.: American Association of Museums.

Rubenstein, R. and Loten, J. (1996) *Cultural heritage audience studies: sources and resources*, Rubenstein and associates for Heritage Policy and Research division.

Savage, G. (1996) *The power of the audience*, North Sydney: Environmetrics Pty Limited Available: http://archive.amol.org.au/evrsig/pdf/savage96.pdf [October 2008 – April 2009].

Smith, C. (1999) 'Government and the Arts'. Lecture at the RSA, London 22 July 1999, in Wallinger and Warnock (eds.) *Art for All. Their policies and our culture*. London: Peer, 14-15

Tate (2002) *Tate Management Statement and Financial Memorandum*, London: Tate, Available: http://www.tate.org.uk/about/governancefunding/funding/tatemsfm.pdf [January – April 2009].

The Arts Task Force (2007) *A new landscape for the arts*, Submission to The Shadow Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport, The Arts Task Force, Available: http://www.artstaskforce.co.uk/type1.asp?id=43&type=1 [April 2009].

The Board of Trustees of the Tate Gallery, *Annual Accounts 2004-2005*, London: Tate.

The Board of Trustees of the Tate Gallery, *Annual Accounts 2006-2007*, London: Tate.

The Board of Trustees of the Tate Gallery, *Annual Accounts 2007-2008,* London: Tate.

Victoria, D. A. (2007) *State support of artists: the case of the United Kingdom in a New Labour environment and beyond University of Surrey Year 2007*, Surrey: Pre-prints from the Department of Sociology.

Witcomb, A. (1997) *Museums and the web: an international conference*, Los Angeles (Califonia), March 16 – 19.

Websites

British Market Research Bureau, [online], Available: http://www.mybmrbsurvey.co.uk/ [March 2009].

Cabinet Office (2009), *Social Exclusion Task Force*, May, [online], Available: http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/social_exclusion_task_force.aspx [March 2009].

DCMS, *"Taking part": England's survey of leisure, culture and sport*, [online], Available: http://www.culture.gov.uk/reference_library/research_and_statistics/4867.aspx [Jan. – April 2009].

DCMS, *Frequently Asked Questions*, [online], Available: http://www.culture.gov.uk/reference_library/research_and_statistics/4869.aspx [February 2009].

Department for culture, media and sport, *sponsored museums and galleries*, [online], Available: http://www.culture.gov.uk/what_we_do/museums_and_galleries/3383.aspx [February – April 2009].

Morris Hargreaves McIntyre, [online], Available: http://www.lateralthinkers.com/whoweare/ [February – April 2009].

Museums, Libraries and Archives Council, [online], Available: http://www.mla.gov.uk [January – April 2009].

National Museum Directors' Conference, [online], Available: http://www.nationalmuseums.org.uk [Februaryl 2009].

Tate, [online], Available: http://www.tate.org.uk [October 2008 – April 2009].

The Visitor Studies Group, [online], Available: http://www.visitors.org.uk [January – April 2009].

Visitor Studies Association, [online], Available: http://www.visitorstudies.org [January – April 2009].

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

TATE

<u>History</u>

The Tate Gallery was founded at Millbank London in 1897. Although officially known as The National Gallery of British Art, it was commonly called the Tate Gallery after Henry Tate, with its name finally being officially changed in 1932. During the early and mid twentieth century the original building at Millbank was added to as Tate's Collection grew and expanded to include modern works.

The last two decades of the twentieth century saw considerable expansion of Tate with the Clore Gallery, housing the Turner collection opening in 1987 and Tate Liverpool opening the following year. Tate St Ives opened in 1993 and in March 2000 the Tate Gallery Millbank site was rededicated as Tate Britain. Tate Modern opened to the public in May 2000.

<u>Background</u>

From its foundation in 1897 until 1917, the Board of Trustees of the National Gallery administered the Tate Gallery. A separate Board of Trustees for the Tate Gallery was first established by Treasury Minute of 24 March 1917, although all works of art remained vested in the Trustees of the National Gallery, whose Director remained responsible for the financial affairs of the Tate Gallery.

The Tate Gallery was established as an independent institution by the National Gallery and Tate Gallery Act, 1954. A new Treasury Minute of 5 February 1955 defined the scope of the Tate Gallery Collection and vested in its Board of Trustees the responsibility for the Collection and for the management of the Gallery.
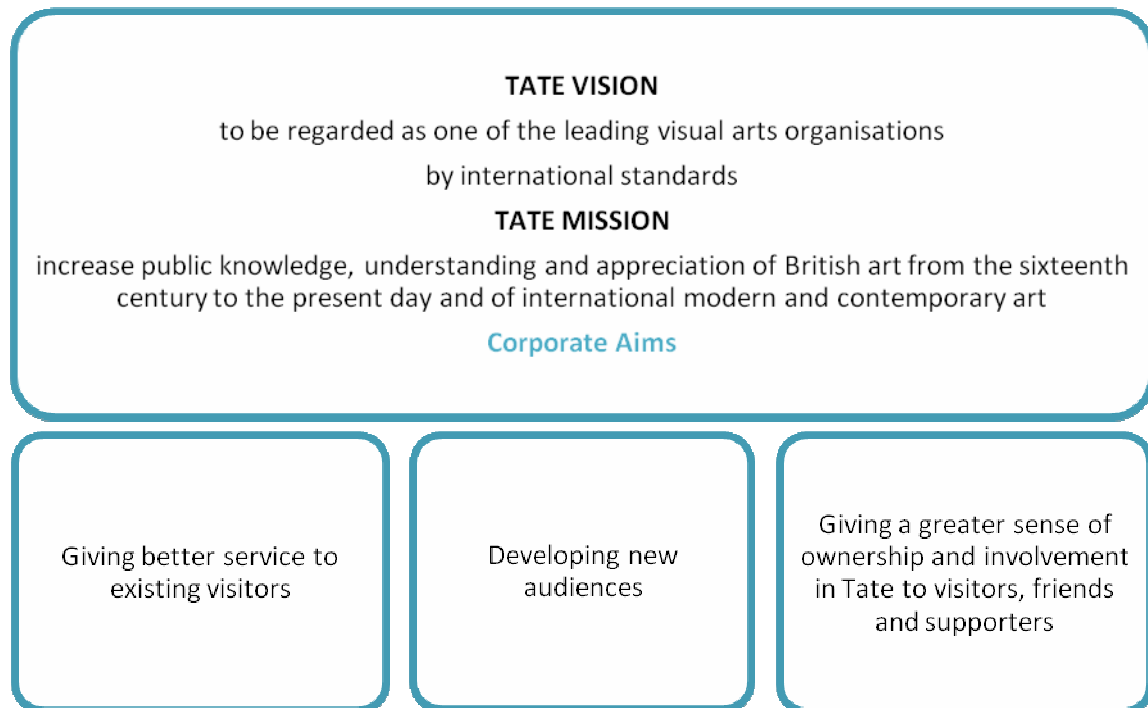
The Museums and Galleries Act, 1992, which repealed the 1954 Act, established the Board of Trustees of the Tate Gallery as a corporate body and added it to the list of exempt charities under the 1960 Charities Act. An Order in Council enabling the new Act was issued on 1 September 1992.

In March 2000 the Trustees launched a new organisational identity, re-branding the Tate Gallery as Tate. For statutory purposes the corporate body remains the Board of Trustees of the Tate Gallery.

Tate is a non-departmental public body (NDPB) under the auspices of the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS). Tate is an exempt charity.

Mission Statement

Tate's mission is drawn from the 1992 Museums and Galleries Act[84], and is to increase public knowledge, understanding and appreciation of British art from the sixteenth century to the present day and of international modern and contemporary art.

TATE VISION
to be regarded as one of the leading visual arts organisations
by international standards

TATE MISSION
increase public knowledge, understanding and appreciation of British art from the sixteenth century to the present day and of international modern and contemporary art

Corporate Aims

Giving better service to existing visitors

Developing new audiences

Giving a greater sense of ownership and involvement in Tate to visitors, friends and supporters

Source: www.tate.org

APPENDIX 2

DCMS's priorities over the next decade:

1. Museums will fulfil their potential as learning resources	2. Museums will embrace their role in fostering, exploring, celebrating and questioning the identities of diverse communities	3. Museums' collections will be more dynamic and better used	4. Museums' workforces will be dynamic, highly skilled and representative	5. Museums will work more closely with each other and partners outside the sector
Museums will be embedded into the delivery of education in every school in the country	The sector needs to work with partners in academia and beyond to create an intellectual framework supporting museums' capacity to tackle issues of identity.	Government and the sector will find new ways to encourage museums to collect actively and strategically, especially the record of contemporary society.	Museums' governing bodies and workforces will be representative of the communities they serve.	A consistent evidence base of the contribution of all kinds of museums to the full range of public service agendas will be developed.
Understanding of the effectiveness of museum education will be improved further and best practice built into education programmes.	The museum sector must continue to develop improved practical techniques for engaging communities of all sorts.	The sector will develop new collaborative approaches to sharing and developing collections and related expertise	Find more varied ways for a broader range of skills to come into museums	There will be deeper and longer lasting partnerships between the national museums and a broader range of regional partners.
The value of museums' collections as a research resource will be well understood and better links built between the academic community and museums.			Improve continuing professional development.	Museums' international roles will be strengthened to improve museum programmes in this country and Britain's image, reputation and relationships abroad.

Source: DCMS (2006) Understanding the future: priorities for England's museums, DCMS.
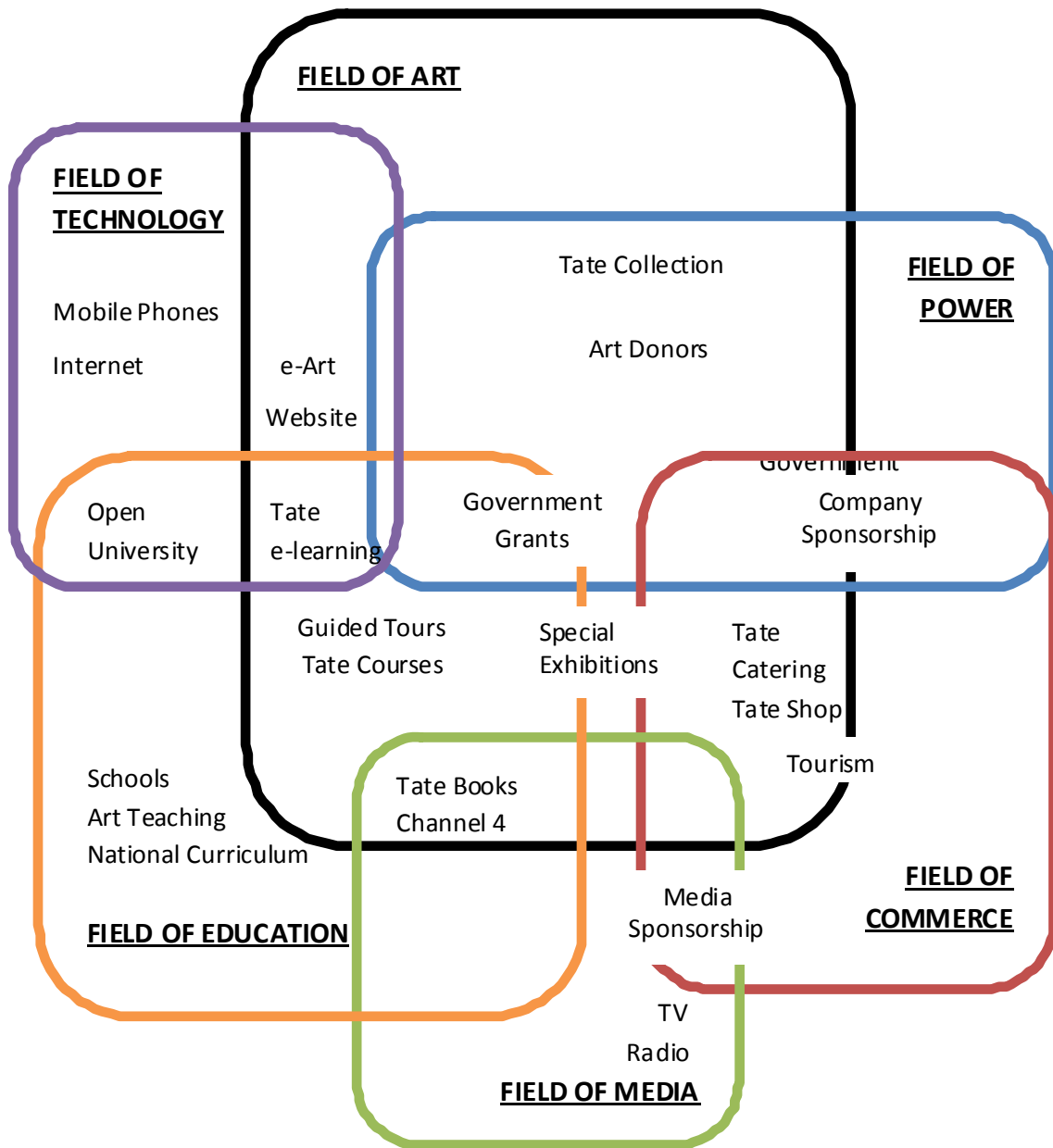
APPENDIX 3

Examples of public (governmental) research relevant to the museal field

Cross-Year Leisure Activities. *(gathered during The General Household Survey)*	Inter-departmental survey carried out by the Office for National Statistics (ONS)	1973 - 1997	A cross-time study of changes in leisure activities in Great Britain
Digest of Museum Statistics (DOMUS)	Conducted by the former Museums and Galleries Commission (MGC) of museums* (*Currently MLA)	1993 - 1999	Annual survey aiming to address the need for accurate statistical data about the museum sector, an analysis of the market potential for museums and art galleries
ONS Omnibus Survey (*also known as Omnibus)*	Sponsored by Arts Council England (ACE), Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA) Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS)	From 1990	Monthly multi-purpose survey. Set up originally to meet the needs of government departments. It has greater statistical reliability than private sector omnibus surveys and a properly designed random sample.
Time Use Survey	Carried out Office for National Statistics and co-sponsored by DCMS	2000	Large-scale household survey to measure the amount of time spent by the UK population on various activities. Although it is a generic study, there are relevant datasets regarding museums and galleries.
Monthly museum & gallery visits figures	Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS)	Ongoing since 2004/05	Number of visits to DCMS sponsored museums and galleries on a monthly basis.
Taking Part: The National Survey of Culture, Leisure and Sport	Commissioning by the DCMS in partnership with ACE , Sport England, English Heritage and the MLA	Ongoing since 2005	Annual in-depth survey aiming to improve the current knowledge base of users and non-users by gathering quality-assured data on participation, attendance, attitudes and related factors.
The Arts Debate	Arts Council	2008	The first-ever public value inquiry. A large-scale programme of qualitative research and consultation into people's attitudes to the arts and their funding.

FIELD OF ART

FIELD OF TECHNOLOGY

Mobile Phones

Internet

e-Art

Website

Tate Collection

Art Donors

FIELD OF POWER

Open
University

Tate
e-learning

Government
Grants

Government

Company
Sponsorship

Guided Tours
Tate Courses

Special
Exhibitions

Tate
Catering
Tate Shop

Tourism

Schools
Art Teaching
National Curriculum

Tate Books
Channel 4

Media
Sponsorship

FIELD OF
COMMERCE

FIELD OF EDUCATION

TV
Radio

FIELD OF MEDIA

Based on Grenfell and Hardy 2007:94)