

# **Reinterpreting the Museum: Social Inclusion, Citizenship and the Urban Regeneration of Glasgow**

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## Abstract

This thesis considers the contemporary work of the museum in the post-industrial setting of Glasgow. It interprets and understands how the museum as a space gives voice to New Labour's concepts of social inclusion and citizenship whilst being embroiled in the wider process of urban regeneration and city enhancement. This research has been conducted using a mixed methodology incorporating policy analysis, participant observation and interviews, engaging with policy documentation, museum professionals and museum users in its goal to understand how the museum has been and is positioned within society. In exploring how museums have sought to become more socially inclusive, the research examined four different programmes in detail. These included two outreach projects; one working with adult learners and the other with different religious groups in the city. The research has also followed the contribution of a group of volunteers and finally it has engaged with the on-going processes surrounding the building of the city's latest museum.

The research findings have highlighted a complex and entangled set of power relations in the attempts to articulate social inclusion policy through the museum. This suggests, building upon the work of Foucault, that the museum embraces a soft-disciplinary power in relation to citizens. Specific programmes of the museum service targeting social inclusion reveal the benefits the individual may enjoy through participating in cultural events from which they might otherwise feel excluded. Yet, the reach of such programmes question the extent to which they are able to address social inclusion in the city. Recent developments – the production of the city's newest museum as part of the riverside regeneration in particular – reveal how the installation of the iconic museum is closely allied to the wider project of urban economic regeneration. The planning of the Riverside Museum, however, has been attentive to the social inclusion agenda, particularly through the questions of access. Finally, the research shows how the city's dominant growth agenda has resulted in a changing role for curators, shifting their agency away from a more traditional practice in which they were key gatekeepers, coordinating what museums displayed and how they did so, and towards a role that reflects a more scrutinised form of managerial control.

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## Author's Declaration

I declare that except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this thesis is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

**Signature** .....

**Printed Name**

## Abbreviations

CDA - Critical Discourse Analysis

CSG – Community Sport Glasgow

CSL – Community Sport and Leisure

DCMS – Department of Culture Media and Sport

DC(S)B – Draft Culture Scotland Bill

GCC – Glasgow City Council

GL – Glasgow Life

GMRC - Glasgow Museum Resource Centre

GoMA – Gallery of Modern Art

HLF – Heritage Lottery Fund

LA – Local Authority

MGS – Museums and Galleries Scotland

MLA – Museums, Libraries and Archives Council

SE - Scottish Executive

SG – Scottish Government

SJS – Social Justice Strategy

SMC – Scottish Museum Council

SNP – Scottish Nationalist Party

SP – Scottish Parliament

## Chapter 1 – Introduction

Museums, galleries and archives, with their unique collections, represent one of the most significant cultural resources in the community, and provide a valuable resource for lifelong learning. They can play a role in generating social change by engaging with and empowering people to determine their place in the world, educate themselves to achieve their own potential, play a full part in society, and contribute to transforming it in the future (Department of Culture Media and Sport (DCMS, 2000a:8).

Access to cultural heritage is a matter of rights and citizenship rather than a privilege, then the imperative for museums and art galleries to be socially inclusive is a matter of **justice** rather than welfare (Scottish Museum Council (SMC, 2000:4).

Whilst the ‘cities of culture’ have in the past been associated with the centres of empires, city-states, trading and industrial towns and cities, the urban renaissance which incorporates culture as a consumption, production and image strategy is evident now in towns and city-regions in developed, lesser developed, emerging and reconstructing states; in historic towns and new towns; and in cities seeking to sustain their future in the so-called post-industrial age (Evans, 2001:2).

The three quotes above give an interrelated entry point to the tensions created by attempts by the state to specifically reposition the museum for different vantages in society. The quotes create differing understandings of the purposes of both the contemporary museum and the role culture has within society in (primarily) the urban environment. The three quotes are not necessarily opposed but their differing aims and understandings do create tensions in their implementation.

The first quote is taken from the Department for Culture Media and Sport’s (DCMS) guidelines for museums and exemplified how they envisage the museum’s position. Here the museum is a centre for bringing people together in order to educate and empower them towards them being able to take a full part in society. This links directly to the objectives of social inclusion which formed a key governmental policy for New Labour. The term social inclusion, controversial and debated in itself, was seen by New Labour as a way of creating ‘a level playing field’ for society where everyone has an equal opportunity through primarily learning and access to employment. The concept of empowerment is central to this conception of inclusiveness where the museum’s purpose is to develop social and cultural capital (Scott, 2006). This was underpinned by the conceptualisations of Giddens (1998) who desired to create a redistribution of opportunity over welfare in society. For others, such as Le Grand (2003), Levitas (2005), and Fuller and Geddes (2008), social inclusion policy looked suspiciously more like a policy that

sought to rollback the welfare state and renegotiate the relationship between state and citizen.

The second quote, from the Scottish Museums Council (SMC), deals more directly with the issue of citizenship in relation to fostering a socially inclusive museum. Here the focus is upon access for all to such institutions and how this should be seen as a constituted right rather than a privilege. The quote also reflects the context in which it was written within post-devolution Scotland where during this period direct connotations to cultural citizenship were being discussed, culminating in the 2005 report by the Cultural Commission. Their report called for the integration of a cultural dimension to citizenship in which the cultural industries, such as museums, had a key role in propagating access to all.

The third quote from Evans (2001) is slightly different as it is not from a policy document but rather is a commentary on the growing role and use of culture in the urban setting. Evans denotes the proliferation of different locations using cultural infrastructures to promote and create place whilst attempting to ensure economic benefit. He also describes the shift from industrial to post-industrial as cities attempt to deal with changes in the global economy (Jessop, 1998) in which city economies have attempted to structurally adjust from industrial production towards an entrepreneurial service economy (Harvey, 1989). Essential to this change has been the construction and the management of a city's image. This adjustment is still on-going despite having begun around forty years ago beginning initially with shift from Fordism to Post-Fordism. Over this period such structural changes (deindustrialisation) within urban locations have become more and more competitive (Harvey, 1989) as cities have needed to compete for investment. The development of cultural infrastructure within cities has been a prime example of such competition taking place and has been hastened by commentators such as Florida (2002), by arguing (with some influence) that economic growth is tied to a strong cultural economy. Hence the governance of culture becomes a key facet in constructing the post-industrial city. The museum is therefore one such location within the city that allows local authorities to invest in and showcase their cultural provision to both the local population and tourists. For some commentators (see Paddison, 1993; Boyle and Hughes, 1994; or MacLeod, 2002) the use of place promotion is merely a method of covering over the persistent inequalities that cities create in order to present an attractive sanitised image which in turn can aid the flow of economic investment.

The first two quotes therefore come from a similar perspective as both attempt to stipulate the potential the museum can have in benefitting society, whereas the third seeks to show the growing importance of culture in the creation of place. Within Glasgow these three

central strands can be seen to be playing out in and around the museum, hence affecting the development of Glasgow Museums (GM). These agendas influence how the service develops its museological practice in relation to how objects in the collection are interpreted and how each of the city's differing museums attempt to interact with the surrounding population.

## 1.1 – Tracing Tensions

This research therefore aims to comprehend the positioning of the museum within contemporary society in relation to the concepts of social inclusion, citizenship and urban regeneration using GM as an example. The following research questions address this aim:

### **Research Questions:**

1. How in the present day has the (local) state sought to develop Glasgow Museums to meet the ambitions of social inclusion and the wider project of citizenship?
2. How has Glasgow Museums sought to give expression to these policy objectives? How are these policy ambitions, particularly of social inclusion, 'read' by participants of such schemes?
3. How do these issues relate to the dominant goal of the local state in terms of urban regeneration and the enhancement of the city's competitive position?

The three questions therefore seek to outline and trace the tensions created by the multi-faceted use of museums within Glasgow and to understand how the key concepts are put in place and what their implementation means for both staff and participants. This thesis' main aim in drawing out these tensions is to examine how different systems of governance play out through the museum in the contemporary setting, to consider how the museums of Glasgow enhance the city's competitive image, and to comprehend how museum users 'read' these initiatives.

The development of the research questions were built upon investigating the museum from a specific epistemological positioning with a desire to understand how wider state

policy is integrated on the 'ground' or, more precisely, within the museum. Essential to this thesis, then, is to develop a theoretical understanding as to how the state embodies its power within the museum and how this is then understood by the individual/citizen/employee/visitor in the production of the museum space. Key to my understandings of power and the relationship between the state and society has been the work of Michel Foucault and his theories relating to ideas of discipline and governmentality (1977, 1980b and 2007). Foucault suggests that governance attempts to produce citizens that best follow its policies by using processes of internalisation and control, in order to legitimate certain behaviours and ideas within society through the deployment of various political discourses. Therefore, this thesis will consider both the top-down policy perspective from national and local state institutions but then also the bottom-up 'user/museum' perspective. The policy perspective and that of those within positions of power give one shaping to the role of the museum as a social agent, but it is also crucial to understand how the individual interacts with this process. Essential to this comprehension is therefore an understanding of the micro-practices of the people in the museum and to comprehend the extent to which the museum embodies a sense of social control in the implementation of governmental strategies.

In order to grasp the processes of power as according to Foucault, it is necessary to consider both perspectives, and this suggests a well defined structure. The concept of top-down/bottom-up, though, is considerably more fluid in how these relationships play out. Therefore, using the work of Sharp et al (2000), I feel it could be helpful to think of the museum as an 'entanglement of power' with differing power geometries (Massey, 1993) affecting what is actually done within the museum.

## **1.2 – The Position of Municipal Museums in Glasgow**

Glasgow has the largest municipal museum collection in the UK which is spread across thirteen different sites within the city (See Figure 1.1). As part of the municipal authority GM is subject to the local control of Glasgow City Council (GCC<sup>1</sup>) but, with recent structural changes in the provision of Culture at the local level in Glasgow, GM position has been removed from the control of GCC, as an arm's length organisation. In 2007 the city sought to reorganise its means of cultural provision with the creation of Culture and Sport Glasgow (CSG), now recently (2010) rebranded as Glasgow Life (GL). The restructuring placed GM within a wider Community Interest Company (CIC) where GCC's cultural assets are leased and placed in the trust of CIC. Thus it is no longer directly reliant on its budget from GCC as GL is semi-autonomous from the council. However,

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<sup>1</sup> GCC has been a staunch Labour council throughout most of its history and is currently under Labour control.

within the hierarchy of GL there are various council members who sit on the organisation's board of trustees, showing that there are still strong links.

Added to this, GM is also influenced by the wider policy agendas of the devolved Scottish Government as well as the UK Government and by membership of influential bodies such as Museums Galleries Scotland (MGS)<sup>2</sup>. This is especially true in the shaping of discourses surrounding conceptualisations of social inclusion and citizenship before it is filtered down to the local level. Together, these organisations collectively set the wider framing in which GM works, along with discourses within the professional development of museum practice, which has a huge part to play in the training and on-going development of different types of curator and other museum staff<sup>3</sup>.

### 1.3 – Mapping out the Thesis

In developing the broad brushstrokes in which this doctoral study is positioned, the following section will now map out the path taken in order to fully answer the key research questions. The initial chapters will consider the conceptual leanings of this thesis before leading to the empirical findings. Hence Chapter Two will open with a discussion surrounding museums' theoretical positioning in the city drawing from the work of Lefebvre (1991). This will then lead into further discussion of the historical and theoretical positionings of the museum as the chapter will draw from the rich history of the museum, using the literature surrounding this to unpick precedents to some of the contemporary issues that arise from placing objects in a museum. Issues of social inclusion and citizenship did not exist until the more recent history of the museum but, in giving a comprehension to the history, we see that changes to the museum's purpose since the mid seventeenth century have at times raised similar debates. Issues surrounding access in the contemporary inclusive museum have created changes that resonate with historical museological thinking (Witcomb, 2003). For example, the early museums relied heavily on the use of spectacle to impress the viewer where disparate objects were placed next to each other. Within the narrative approach (Weil, 1999) of orientating the museums to the people that visit it with a large focus on social history, the curator has again been freed from taxonomical pressures to use spectacle to impress and to be more creative with how they group objects. The chapter will therefore cover further historical developments that have had key influences such as the development of the eighteenth/nineteenth century public museum and its links to social inclusion. The concurrent development of world fairs at this time also had a strong influence upon the presentation of objects in museums and

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<sup>2</sup> Which was previously Scottish Museum Council (SMC).

<sup>3</sup> An example of this would be the role of the University of Leicester's School of Museum Studies, which is a key site in the training of museum professionals.

their influence upon shaping the viewer's gaze and in Glasgow it is essential to comprehend the nineteenth century legacy of museum thinking in the present day. Following this, the discussion will then move to consider debates surrounding the development the 'heritage industries' in 1980s (Hewison, 1987) which created a further shift in role of the museum. Finally, the chapter will then consider the more contemporary positioning that New Labour attempted to give the museum by considering the vision New Labour created for the museum.

Chapter Three will then move to consider directly the concepts of 'social inclusion' and 'citizenship', looking at how these terms were developed by New Labour whilst in power. It will begin by adding to the theoretical framing given by Lefebvre as it will discuss these strategies from a Foucauldian perspective. This will then lead to a discussion of the concepts of social and cultural capital and how they offer a potential link within New Labour discourse (Scott, 2006) in which the museum can have most effect in creating a socially inclusive society through the promotion of cultural citizenship. The chapter will then focus upon 'social inclusion' by unpacking the term and its meaning within the New Labour discourse before discussing the academic critique of the application of the concept. A strong theme that develops from the critique of 'social inclusion' within the New Labour discourse is the importance placed upon gaining paid employment. Following on from this, there will be a discussion of how citizenship has been linked into conceptions of a socially inclusive society and the importance of the rise of active citizenship and the cultural dimension of citizenship in Scotland.

Chapter Four will focus upon methodological issues which will show how this research project has been undertaken in order to investigate the key conceptual concerns. The chapter will detail the choice to use a case study methodology and then consider the selection of research methods for this thesis such as documentary analysis, in-depth interviews and participant observation. This will lead into the empirical section of the thesis in which chapter five will develop the Glasgow setting for the museum. Firstly, it will consider the framing created by policy generated outside Glasgow through a critical discourse analysis (CDA) of key texts at the UK and Scottish levels. Secondly, it will move to consider policy developed by Glasgow itself before using interview data to show the context in which GM works and the way the museum management and staff have sought to develop and implement strategies of social inclusion and citizenship within a city infrastructure that is highly geared to using museums for the promotion of place.

Chapter Six will delve into findings of three empirical case studies. It will report the results from looking at three differing areas of museum work that seek in different ways to deal with issues of social inclusion and citizenship. These areas concern outreach work,

exhibition creation and volunteering in which the section seeks to comprehend how participants of such projects 'read' their participation and what they gain from having taken part. The chapter follows two lines of argument; the first following Foucauldian thought in which such strategies are seen as governmental techniques of control through a process of soft-disciplinary power, whereas the second argument will suggest an alternative outcome of such power relations to be taking place.

The penultimate chapter will move to consider the inner workings of museum development and production, as during my research time at GM the on-going process of creating the latest museum for the city has been taking place. The Riverside Museum, which is to replace the Museum of Transport, is a new £80 million museum to regenerate a currently barren site<sup>4</sup> along the River Clyde towards the west of the city (see Figure 1.1). The museum's creation has been heavily pushed by the council and in its early conception has been largely a political endeavour. Hence this chapter aims to show how such a politically pressured urban regeneration project influences the processes of creating an accessible and inclusive museum. This will be achieved, firstly, by looking at how the museum professionals embarked on such a project and gave voice to such conceptual issues and, secondly, by seeing the effects and tensions this created in the implementation of such project goals.

Finally, Chapter Eight will provide a summary to the key empirical findings and the implications this has for the formulations and implementation of a social inclusion agenda. The discussion will reflect upon this in relation to the constructs of citizenship created but also in terms of Glasgow as a post-industrial city which is always keen to manage its image in a positive light.

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<sup>4</sup> Was previously a ship building yard.

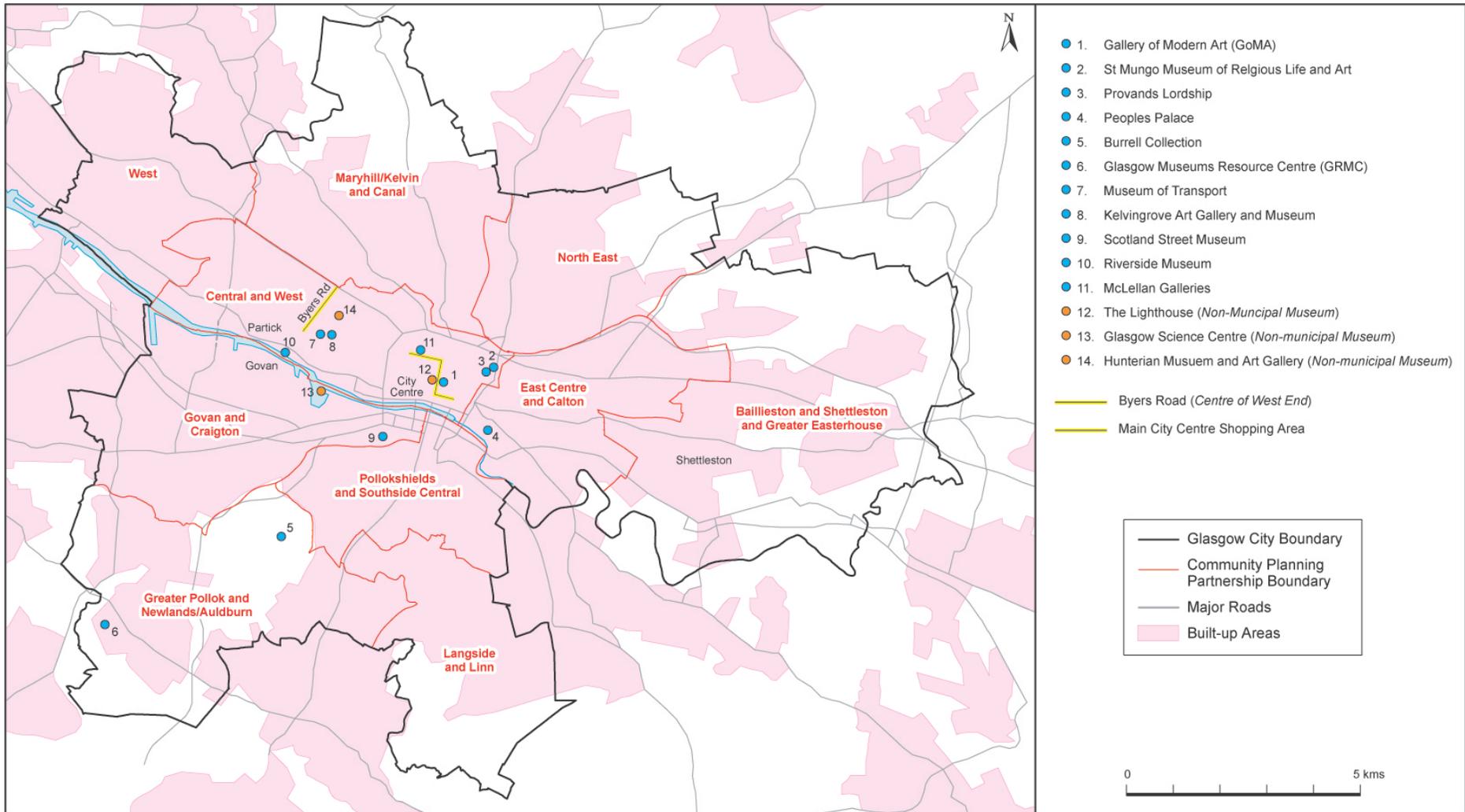


Figure 1.1 – Map Showing Glasgow and its Museums

## Chapter 2 – The Museum and the City

### 2.1 - Introduction

This thesis is concerned with the uses of the museum in the urban environment focusing specifically on Glasgow. Since the late eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century public museums in the UK have been and still are key pieces of city infrastructure. This chapter aims to consider the museum in both historical and theoretical terms which will then link to the contemporary challenges that the museum faces through governmental influences. The first section will consider the historical contexts in which museums have developed, outlining the key concepts that have driven museum development. It will look into why such institutions came into existence and how, or the extent to which, they have changed since their inception. The second section will follow three historical examples as to how museums have developed and have been constituted theoretically. These three examples aim to show the central influences upon social practices in the museum and that, although the influences upon these practices have changed, their usage has often been reworked to suit contemporary concerns. The third and fourth sections will then consider some of the contemporary debates that surround the museum's existence today. They will consider both the academic and governmental positions as to how they have chosen to shape the museum as an active agent – firstly, through a discussion of relevant museum literature and, secondly, by an assessment of UK and Scottish policy that is seeking to shape the museum's position within society.

The chapter intends to place the museum at the centre of all debates raised as it attempts to investigate how the museum has been and is positioned within varying levels of governance. It also provides the context to the following empirical chapters and to illustrate that although on the surface museums may seem relatively simple institutions (collecting, preserving, displaying), they are in fact exceptionally complicated and contested locations within the city that warrant further investigation. In moving beyond its traditional and still primary role as a collector, preserver, and displayer, the museum has had many other possibilities placed upon it throughout its history and into the present day which this chapter wishes to fully consider.

Finally, in order to develop a theoretical frame in which to base later empirical chapters, this chapter and subsequent chapters will begin to develop the theoretical framing for this thesis. This will be done by taking a 'rag-picking' approach to theory. Gilloch (2002:236) suggests this as an approach to use in relation to the work of Benjamin and, although this

thesis does not address that work specifically, the term rag-picking is still a useful terminology. It denotes the way in which this thesis will more broadly utilise theory in order to build an appropriate theoretical frame. Thus, the thesis will select a variety of theoretical sources to work with, using philosophical thought in such a way so that it is applied in terms of what works, or what is good to think with at certain points during the thesis. It will not present an overall theoretical architecture in which all discussions will be held.

### **2.1.1 – The Museum's Space within the City**

Why did museums become major spaces of civic investment and why has this continued into the present with their role in urban regeneration projects? Cities across Britain in the eighteenth century and then continuing in the nineteenth century were expanding rapidly as industrial centres and their populations were expanding at an unprecedented rate (this also included Glasgow: see Section 2.4). It is in the explosion of capitalism during the industrial revolution that the quest for spaces of cultural enlightenment within metropolises became apparent, establishing a legacy that remains a significant component of the contemporary urban cultural infrastructure. Although the reasoning behind the establishment of early public museums differs in some respects to that of contemporary museums, important similarities still remain, notably the urge to showcase civic achievement. This discussion of how museum space is created by capitalist production serves as a starting point from which other reasons for their creation can be developed.

Talking of cities in the eighteenth century, Foucault (1991:239) suggests 'I only meant to say that in the eighteenth century one sees the development of the reflection upon architecture as a function of the aims and techniques of government of societies'. Foucault went on to suggest that for the first time cities had to consider 'what the order of society should be, what a city should be, given the requirements of the maintenance of order: given that one should avoid epidemics, avoid revolts, permit decent and moral family life and so on'. It is at this point where the museum becomes such a cultural institution that it became plausible to make a specific architectural statement that can engender a disciplinary role upon its visitors. Within UK cities at that time arguments towards creating museums started to be made. The arguments for museums revolved around discourses surrounding social, medical, moral and economic concerns that were part of the wider strategies of dealing with the consequences of industrialisation and urbanisation<sup>5</sup>. With the placing of the museum as a space of reform it is fulfilling a specific role within the city, but further to this Harvey suggests the production of the museum and other forms of city infrastructure are there to aid the function of capitalism:

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<sup>5</sup> Along with hospitals, parks, mental asylums, swimming pools, concert halls *et cetera*.

The totality of physical structures houses, roads, factories, offices, sewage system, parks, cultural institutions, educational facilities and so on ... capitalist society must of necessity create a physical landscape—a mass of humanly constructed physical resources—in its own image, broadly appropriate to the purposes of production and reproduction ... the built environment can be divided conceptually into *fixed capital* items to be used in production (factories, highways, railroads, offices and so on) and *consumption fund* items to be used in consumption (houses, roads parks, sidewalks and the like) (1976:9).

For Harvey, museums like other forms of city infrastructure are spaces that are required for capitalist accumulation to take place. Hence the museum is a produced space within the city that is part of the physical framework of the city, facilitating cultural consumption to take place. It is during the nineteenth century that, as cities expand, the need is identified for museums to give citizens access to cultural provision. This was framed within the intention to move citizens away from less favourable pursuits such as drinking, that could have negative impacts upon the economy, but also to help build a sense of civic pride in a location that could help retain a workforce. This is also reflected in contemporary debates surrounding the museum where it is also used to promote governmental agendas and to enhance the image of the city in order to attract investment.

### **2.1.2 – The Social Production of Space**

In unravelling the relationships between capitalism, the city and the museum, the work of Lefebvre (1991) and his book *The Production of Space* serves as an important guide. For Smith, Lefebvre's work:

Seeks to decode representational spaces – socially produced spaces imbued with more or less structured social meanings that are directly lived – and to critique specific conceptualisations or representations of space, but above all he seeks to inform and develop critical *spatial practices* via which social space is perceived and via which social difference could be dramatically re-asserted ... The production of space is not just the powerful accomplishment of capital and the ruling classes but the ambition as well as means of libratory reconstruction of the social world (1998:54).

Lefebvre creates a spatialised form of Marxism that attempts to comprehend how and why cities develop under capitalism. Here Lefebvre's goal in his intervention within Marxist thought was to focus upon the actual production of space. Thus to Lefebvre, '*space is neither a 'subject' nor an 'object' but rather a set of social relations and forms*' (1991:116) and, as Smith argues above, it is a desire to decode and critique the dominant practices in the production of space that lies at the centre of the dialectical triad that Lefebvre uses to describe this formation. The triad attempts to '*account for both representational spaces, and representations of space, but above all for their interrelationships and their links to social practice*' (1991:116). When using these terms, Lefebvre defines each as:

1. *Spatial practice*, which embraces production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial characteristics of the each social formation. Spatial practice ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion. In terms of social space, and of each member given society's relationship to that space, this cohesion implies and guaranteed level of competence and specific level of performance.
2. *Representations of space*, which are tied to the relations of production and to the 'order' which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes, and to 'frontal' relations.
3. *Representational spaces*, embodying the complex symbolisms sometimes coded, sometimes not, linked to the clandestine or ground side of social life, as also to art (which may come eventually to be defined less as a code of space than as a code of representational spaces) (1991:33).

Lefebvre's conceptual triad hence gives this thesis a useful starting point to understand the museum's role both in the historical and in the contemporary setting. This is because in attempting to understand the museum's position as an institution within the city, Lefebvre's triad denotes a theoretical description that can be applied to the production of museum space in order to comprehend how this takes place. Taking firstly *social practice*, Lefebvre uses this to describe various flows both physical and material that happen in and across space. This includes people, groups, and commodities, suggesting that specific arrangements create the means by which social life is produced and reproduced through the structuring and organisation of social relations. Hence specific sites are used to fulfil certain roles in the city where such social practices can take place, which in turn conditions their use of space. This is then reflected in how people interact with others in such spaces, which relates to all the sites Harvey listed above as necessary to the functioning of the city. The museum is one such space in city where such interactions take place. Zieleniec further describes this as:

People's understanding of their social reality conditions their usage of space, in respect of how they interact with others in specific places for particular reasons (i.e. for work, leisure, consumption etc). This understanding also includes how one negotiates the spaces between sites, for example areas to avoid at different times of the day or night, routes to work or favourite places or family and friends' homes (2002:23).

Secondly, Lefebvre's representations of space focus upon those who retain positions of power and knowledge in the urban environment and have the ability to impose their vision through technocratic knowledge onto the landscape. Lefebvre describes this as:

Conceptualised space, the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic sub-dividers and social engineers, and of a certain type of artist with a scientific bent – all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived ... This is the dominant space of society (1991:38-39).

This is the point where discourse comes to play upon space, as ideological codes of practice are deployed through expert knowledge. This is where knowledge is positioned, by the specific use of language (Merrifield, 1993) that allows for control to be maintained over space. In the context of the museum, this includes the curators, managers, planners, councillors and council officials but also the various academic commentators who explore and help shape the production of both internal and external museum spaces.

Thirdly, representational spaces represent the lived spaces in which ‘inhabitants’ exist. In relation to the museum, this is the experience of being within the museum (either visiting or working). As Nicholson (1991) determines, this as the space of the everyday where individuals exist in a lived space. It is therefore the space in which individuals interpret the various signs and symbols that have been constructed around their lived world. It is in this space that the symbolic objects that surround people are, as Zieleniec suggests, ‘*subject to rationalisation, codification, measurement, intervention and usurpation*’ (2002:25). Representational spaces are hence the arenas in which social practices and representations of space come to bear on our daily lives. As Lefebvre continues to explain about space in the city:

Space as directly *lived* through its associations and images and symbols, and hence the space of ‘inhabitants’ and ‘users’, but also some artists and perhaps more of those, such as a few writers and philosophers, who *describe* and aspire to do no more than describe. This is the dominated – and hence passively experienced – space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate. It overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects. Thus representational spaces may be said, though again with certain exceptions, to tend towards more or less coherent systems of non-verbal symbols and signs (1991:39).

It is within this space where the complexity and the messiness of the everyday, as Nicholson suggests, intertwines with the social practices and the spaces of representation. Zieleniec sees this as ‘*the imagined/utopian spaces produced from cultural and social forces associated with ritual, symbol, tradition, desire, dreams etc*’ (2002:25). Adding to this, Harvey refers to this as the discourses on space, suggesting that they:

Are mental inventions (codes, signs, ‘spatial discourses’, utopian plans, imaginary landscapes and even material constructs such as symbolic spaces, particular built environments, paintings, museums and the like) that imagine new meanings or possibilities for social practices (1990:218-9).

Harvey suggests that this space is as much a construction in an individual’s mind as a reaction to the space in which they live. And, as Zieleniec stated earlier, it is the multitude of potential outcomes to those symbolic cues that results in whether the intended social

practices created by the representations of space are accepted or rejected by inhabitants in their everyday lives, as it is at this point that the potential for resistance or domination to take place. Finally, Harvey interestingly names the museum as such a space or a space where symbols are used to create mental constructs within visitors and to generate a specific response. Sometimes such symbolic messages in museums are comprehended and at other times they are missed, and it is this, the interplay of what Lefebvre's describes, with his conception of representational space that part of this thesis desires to investigate. How does the 'everyday' nature of museum practice shape the experiences of users?

Lefebvre's conceptual triad therefore acts as the starting point to understanding the museum's position in the city. It gives a three-way dialectical understanding as to how space is produced in the city, where none are consistently dominant or passive but all come together to produce space, leading to a multitude of potential outcomes. In using this as the theoretical beginning to the thesis, Lefebvre's work over the course of this chapter and the next will be built upon to further understand both the interplay of his triad and the more micro mechanisms that go on in the production of and the use of museum space.

## **2.2 – Historical Precedents to Contemporary Observations**

Across the history of the museum various historical precedents in museological thinking have been fundamental in the development of the museum as a public institution. The following section will discuss in further detail such precedents that have been central in comprehending on-going processes that are still taking place in the museum today. The way the museums today choose to interact with visitors has changed and the agendas that shape that interaction are also different, but often the agendas shaping interaction have been applied by reworking many of the concepts and processes that have existed in the museum previously. For example, an agenda such as social inclusion represents something very different to that of Victorian social reform but they both rely on similar processes (social practices) within the museum to implement their specific intention. Thus, this section attempts to highlight the most pertinent (to this thesis) historical social practices of the museum, the representations of space that the museum has created and finally, the third part of Lefebvre's triad, the representational spaces themselves, in order to further understand what could be termed the micro practices of power which the museum has been involved with and still is.

### 2.2.1 – *The Public Museum and Modernity*

The modern institution of the museum grew most directly out of sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth-century princely collections. These collections, which were often displayed in impressive halls or galleries built especially for them, set certain precedents for later museums (Duncan, 1995:22).

As Duncan suggests, the past left its influence upon the development of the museum, but during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries other strong influences come through to change the concept of the museum and to reshape practices of display and interpretation. One of the earliest examples of a public museum in the UK was the British Museum (est. 1753)<sup>6</sup> even though it was not public in the sense that museums are considered today. Access to them was very much restricted; one could not just walk into a museum, rather it was necessary to apply for a ticket to gain entrance. This was usually gained by an application in writing to the museum, effectively excluding the illiterate (who in the eighteenth century were the majority). What constituted the ‘public’ at this early stage was very much defined by the museum itself. Even if, as Abt (2006:126) highlights, there was some debate between government and trustees about what comprised an acceptable ‘public’, museums ultimately controlled the rights of access. For Bennett (1995:27), this represented the maintenance of bourgeoisie control over the museum as a space of *polite and rational discourse*, not a space for popular assembly. The museum at this point operated an exclusionary politics through discourse and expected behaviours in such a location. Bennett uses the work of Stallybrass and White to further his point, suggesting it formed:

... part of an overall strategy of expulsion which clears a space for polite, cosmopolitan discourse by constructing popular culture as the “low-Other”, the dirty crude outside to the emergent public sphere (Stallybrass and White, 1986:87).

Bennett (1995:28) adds to this by suggesting that this expulsion formed a ‘*bourgeois public sphere*’ which was then set against the creation of a ‘*negatively coded other sphere*’. Therefore, by not conforming to the bourgeois public sphere one was immediately excluded from taking part in such activities:

If the institutions of the public sphere compromised places in which members could assemble and, indeed, recognize themselves as belonging to the same public, this was only because of the rules which excluded participation by those who – in their bodily appearances and manners – were visibly different (Bennett, 1995,28).

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<sup>6</sup> Earlier museums such as the Ashmolean did exist but this was a university museum.

During this period, which Bjurstrom (1993:28) claims was born out of *'the ideals of physiocratism and the Enlightenment in eighteenth century Europe'*, the majority of museums were largely created upon the bequests of wealthy collectors, leaving their collections to the state. For example, it was out of pragmatism in dealing with such collections that the British Museum came into existence, as the British Government negotiated a deal with Hans Sloane to acquire his lifetime's collection. This allowed them to also tie in the acquisition of the Harleian Collection<sup>7</sup> and fix the poor conditions of the Cottonian Library<sup>8</sup>. Thus, by act of parliament the British Museum was created and was to be funded by public lottery where it would *'function as a public repository for objects and texts'* (Abt, 2006:126). The Louvre Museum was the first to differ from this<sup>9</sup>, representing the first truly open access museum, opening its doors in 1793, significantly a few years after the start of the French Revolution. The desire was to mirror the principles of the Revolution; liberty, equality and fraternity (Duncan, 1995 and McClellan, 2003). In 1793, the revolutionary National Assembly opened the Grand Gallery with a selection of objects seized from the monarchy, which were shown for all to see, making as Abt (2006:128) claimed a *truly public space*, and one which McClellan suggests was visited by all strata of French society in Paris:

Elegant men and women of the world rubbed shoulders with artists and simple countryfolk, some proud to be there, others hoping to learn and some content to be seen (1994:12).

It was not until well into the nineteenth century that the example of access given by the Louvre becomes more widespread and that access to museums became more universal. Over this period the museum and their obtained collections gradually became integrated into the ownership and apparatus of the state. Waterfield (1993) comments that this was not something that happened overnight, as public spending upon museums and particularly art museums was still something of a rarity, for the vast majority of financial donations and exhibits came from private sources or from the vast collections of the monarchy.

The key change during this time of the early 'museum' from princely cabinets of curiosity to a public service was the onset of enlightenment and modernist thinking to the practices of museum production. The onset of enlightenment thinking upon collectors changed irrevocably the practices of collecting and displaying:

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<sup>7</sup> Some 20,000 manuscripts (Abt, 2006:126).

<sup>8</sup> The private collection of Sir Robert Bruce, a keen bibliophile gifted to the government in the early 1700s.

<sup>9</sup> This represents a very different setting to Britain at this time but the French example is pertinent because it sets a precedent for making museums more accessible.

Diversity, which had been a characteristic valued and promoted for its own sake, no longer exerted a special appeal to the purposeful collector and increasingly it manifested itself as mere micellaneity. The concept of curiosity, too, lost its distinctively positive connotations as the long slide of the cabinet into the realms of whimsy gathered momentum (MacGregor, 2006:30).

Enlightenment thinking heralded a slow change in these processes of collecting and display; it is at this time, late eighteenth century and moving into the nineteenth century, that a movement to a more classificatory system of collection and display comes to prominence (see Foucault, 1989). Here there is a desire to dispense with the anomalous object and to show how an object fits within a wider taxonomical definition of representation. Hetherington (2006) also notes a shift in the *regime of curiosity*<sup>10</sup> suggesting an epistemological move between desires to present *infinity* towards one that wishes to illustrate *totality*. It is also in this time that there are the beginnings of collections moving from what could be considered ‘private’ collections<sup>11</sup> to more ‘public’ arenas, and within Enlightenment thinking there are the beginnings of the institution of the public museum coming into a wider existence as it begins to embrace the concept of modernity in the Victorian era. As Hooper-Greenhill (2004:559) suggests, ‘*museums are creations of the Enlightenment, institutions that came into being in the period that we now characterise as the Modern period*’. Added to this, for those early museums that had already come into existence, it becomes apparent as to how enlightenment thinking shaped their *regimes of curiosity* and how concepts of modernist thought begin to shape the way the museum attempted to constitute knowledge within its walls. This created changes to the internal production of museum spaces and greatly influenced the practice of curators. However, during this time the museum also took on another purpose beyond scientific exploration and display, the museum became to be seen as a space that had a wider benefit to society. The following section will now consider the museum as a space of reform in the Victorian era.

### **2.2.2 – A Space for Reform**

In understanding the slow appropriation of museum collections into state control in Britain, various influences have an effect upon government thinking at both national and local levels. Within the Enlightenment thinking of progress, the worries of successful revolutions (in England, USA and France) were developed. As Arnold (2006) claims, a sense arose of a consensus towards the concept of the *public good* that needed to be attended in order

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<sup>10</sup> This is what Hetherington terms as the ‘shaping discourse’ which influences the collecting and displaying choices made by museums.

<sup>11</sup> Cabinets of curiosity were often available to view either through invitation or by paying a small fee but access were largely controlled along class distinctions.

to maintain control of the population. It is in this context that Bennett suggests that museums became a space of citizenship:

From the early modern period, museums have been places in which citizens – however they might be have been defined – have met, conversed, been instructed, or otherwise engaged in ritual through which their rights and duties as citizens have been enacted (2006:263).

The reasoning for this change can be seen by looking at the wider picture of the Victorian era, set against the back-drop of the Industrial Revolution and growing urban populations. The rapid social upheaval of the time created various social problems for the government, and prompted governments themselves to act and influence the lives of individuals in ways it had not done so previously, and successive public health acts, poor laws and other forms of population management example this taking place:

Museum policy in Britain was driven by unprecedented challenges arising from the industrial revolution. An explosion of urban populations teetering on the edge of poverty, immorality and anarchy prompted the need for new social controls and systematic education (McClellan, 2003:7).

Hence with the government's growing control of museums they too came under this umbrella of institutions that could help contribute to the *public good*. This meant from the perspective of government, the museum went through a reconceptualisation of purpose, as McClellan delineates further, quoting from a Parliamentary report of 1853:

The desire to control and civilize the masses was all the more pressing as successive political reforms gave voting rights to larger segments of society. Together with state schools and libraries, it was hoped museums would contribute to moral and intellectual refinement of 'all classes of the community' and the formation of 'common principles of taste' (2003:8).

For Bennett (1995) the development of the museum during this period represented it becoming a tool of governmentality and discipline<sup>12</sup> wherein the concept of culture became recognised as a tool for governing. Hence the government aspired to impress upon the working classes, through museum visiting, a bourgeois morality which constituted at that time, a more desired form of behaviour:

To be rendered serviceable as a governmental instrument, then, the public museum attached to this exemplary didacticism of objects an exemplary didacticism of personage in arranging for regulated mingling of classes such that the subordinate classes might learn, by imitation, the appropriate forms of dress and comportment exhibited by their social superiors (Bennett, 1995:28).

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<sup>12</sup> This is directly related to the work of Foucault and will be discussed further in Chapter Three (Section 3.2).

Here the museum becomes opened up as a space of education for the working classes, where the expectation was to not only to learn about the objects held in the museum but also to come under the 'panoptic' gaze of the museum. This is reflected in the architecture of museums built at this time; large foreboding entrances often echoing some form of antiquity in their design, giving a sense to the visitor of smallness and insignificance when confronted with such an epic edifice. They were no longer merely placed for display purposes but they had a further function. Duncan (1995) calls this the *civilising ritual* of the museum where the ritualistic (and secular) process of viewing objects in the museum (art in the case of Duncan) instils within the visitor a sense of civility. The intention was that by giving access to this space they can see and learn the necessary etiquette of the middle classes, which would contribute towards social improvement. Further to this, through governmental strategies of social improvement, these new functions to the museum sought to make the population *a useful resource for the state* (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992:182). The public sphere of the museum therefore, during this period, is still a space controlled and managed by bourgeois ideals but is considered to have positives for the working classes in needing to make them more useful and in effect, docile:

Yet however imperfectly institutions in which the working classes – provided they dressed nicely and curbed any tendency towards unseemly conduct – might be exposed to the improving influence of the middle classes was crucial to its construction as a new kind of social space (Bennett, 1995:28).

Hill also stresses that, although it might have been the intention of government at this time to use the museum for betterment of the working classes, the museum was still very much a middle class space and was highly important in the forming of this class's distinctiveness during this time:

It is my argument that although the new public museum was partly developed, predominantly by the middle class, as a cultural asset for the improvement of the working class, it was equally part of a reorganisation of urban cultural provision which allowed the middle class to demonstrate authority, stamp their own values onto culture, and provide suitable leisure for themselves (2005:36-37).

McClellan shows that the relationship of attempting to reform can be seen in the intentions of museums at that time when looking through their mission statements, as they attempted to create museum visitors from the working classes:

During the Victorian era and beyond, the museum was commonly represented as an idealized projection of what liberal politicians and social critics would become. The rhetoric of aspiration informed official discourse and mission statements and tells us more about what a museum aimed to do for its visitors than what it actually did (2003:7).

The interventions by the bourgeois elites onto the working classes in Victorian Britain also represented a wider desire to imbue a sense of morality onto the working classes through high forms of cultural activity. There was a great fear of the working classes during this time due to the potential for revolution but also for what was perceived to be their unrestrained sexual deviancy, drinking and godlessness (Wilson, 2007). These less favoured expressions of urban living were seen as a threat to the middle classes. Arguments for building museums in cities at this time were made through various differing discourses that sought to deal with the moral dysfunction caused by urban squalor. The museum from this period onwards was hence seen as a method for improving the population through what potentially could be seen as paternalistic methods of social control. Thus high forms of culture such as art were seen to have a civilising effect and, as Duncan (1995) suggests, this motivated reformers during this period:

Reforming politicians were not only concerned with the utilitarian benefits of art. They also believed that culture and the fine arts could improve and enrich the quality of national life. To foster and promote a love of art in the nation at large was political work of the highest order (1995:43).

Duncan discusses this as taking place at the national scale as method of using museums to promote national and moral identity for the country. She focuses primarily upon the national museums in London although similar arguments were being formed across the Britain at the local level as municipal authorities (see Section 5.2 for the case of Glasgow) sought to furnish their city with greater museum provision. Thus the museum's purpose moved from solely a self-affirming projection of bourgeoisie etiquette and society to a governmental projection of civility, with a utilitarian purpose for the improvement of the working classes. This was not something that was happening in museums alone but was widespread across Victorian society at that time. Within other forms of government and civic infrastructure at that time there was a real zeal for implementing and finding reforming activities as Fraser describes:

There seems little doubt that some activities brought in were part of an exercise in social control, in the sense that many of the initiators of activities aimed at the working class had fears of unregulated popular pursuits. Social reform groups were at the forefront of providing alternative leisure activities (1990:251).

The museum, through symbolism, was a representational space where such interventions of social control could be made. The museum's space of representations at this time was shaped by reformers who wished to use art and artefacts in the museum to create a space for the contemplation of art for all. Central to this, was developing the desired social practices of British Victorian morality, which could keep the 'easily' influenced working

classes away from 'deviant' activities. Bennett suggests this takes place through ways in which objects and visitors are positioned within museum experience:

They concern the respects in which the functioning of museums as civic institutions has operated through specific regimes of vision which, informing both the manner in which things are arranged and seen and the broader visual environment conditioning practices of looking, give rise to particular forms of 'civic seeing' in which civic lessons embodied in those arrangements are to be seen, understood, and performed by the museum's visitors (2006:263).

Hence the *regimes of vision* in place are what shaped a prescribed civic gaze. This was reflected in the reformers of the time who wished to see the museum have disciplinary function. The following section will move to discuss this further but to also highlight how other ways of looking have shaped disciplinary features of the museum.

### **2.2.3 – Shaping the Visitor's Gaze**

In the introduction to his book *The Birth of the Museum*, Bennett (1995) links the beginning of the museum to that of travelling fairs. He does this by using the work of Foucault (1986) arguing that they both, in essence, represent variants of the same thing. They are both based around the concept of spectacle, where an object is viewed that is placed outwith that of time and space. This means from this standpoint both can be termed as *heterotopias*, as both spaces to a certain extent suspend reality and attempt to stop the effects of time upon their locations. The traditional travelling fair with its peculiar attractions aims to create a break from the mundane lives of the many, as the fair exists in a temporary site for only a temporary period of time. Therefore, for the majority of the time, the site of the fair is an empty space only coming into existence a couple of times each year. Thus the fair never truly has a defined location in which it inhabits, it is always *travelling*. The museum differs from this with its desire to collect, preserve and display objects statically within a building, yet similarities are generated as the museum also suspends space and time within its walls, in that its objects are all divorced from both their original spatial and temporal settings.

The museum attempts (in theory) to make a general collection of 'everything' and then in some way catalogue and organize its objects in order to study and preserve them. As was exemplified in the 'museums' before the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries methods for doing this (primarily focusing on display) were conducted in a very different manner. They were very much a mismatch of artefacts placed in no particular order, with no reasoning as to how objects were displayed except that they sought to display their individuality and the desire to create spectacles for their audiences in order to entertain or shock. However, as museum theory progressed through the eighteenth and towards the end of the

nineteenth century, it became more appropriate for museums to become far more specific in their methods of display. Bennett (1995) exemplifies the criticisms of Greenwood (1888) and Murray (1904) in how they saw various museum displays of the time and the faults they viewed them to have: the crux of their complaints being the lack of scientific rigour in the production of museum displays. Such criticisms helped lead to changes in how museums ordered their displays. Moving from what might be considered a myriad of objects jumbled together, displays changed; they became much more defined, objectified and scientific:

Attribution of a rationalizing effect to the democratic influence of a citizenry was, in truth, somewhat rare, especially in the British context. For it was more usually science that was held responsible for having subjected museum displays to the influence of reason (Bennett, 1995:2).

This meant that although an object had been removed from its specific place and time, it at least in some way had to apply to its original context. Added to this, the surrounding exhibits also had to follow some form of reasoning in order to ensure that the layout of the museum made some form of 'rationalized sense'. The museum therefore became an ordered space rather than just an aesthetically displayed jumble of objects, with its only intention being for the optical delights of the visitor. Both Foucault and Bennett argue that, following this time of spectacle, what comes to dominate within museums is not the spectacle as such but science, as the museum becomes largely associated with the practice of modernity. Therefore, although museums and fairs may have had similarities in the beginning, they became diametrically opposed, to the extent that Foucault claims the fair became the antithesis of the museum: the fair associated with fun and reckless abandonment and the museum associated with science, education and learning.

Museums and libraries have become heterotopias in which time never stops building up and topping its own summit, whereas in the seventeenth century, even at the end of the century, museums and libraries were the expressions of an individual choice. By contrast, the idea of accumulating everything, of establishing, a sort of general archive, the will to enclose in one place all times, all epochs, all forms, all tastes, the idea of constituting a place of all times that is itself outside of time and inaccessible to its ravages, the project of organizing in this way a sort of perpetual and indefinite accumulation of time in an immobile place, the whole idea belongs to our modernity (Foucault, 1986:26).

Therefore for Bennett and Foucault the overriding theoretical feature of museums is that of modernity. For them museums represent entities that are always attempting to be progressive in their outlook, always wishing to expand collections, improve displays, to encompass within their walls as much of the 'outside' as is physically possible and to preserve all of this for future generations, by placing those objects into rationalised and ordered system.

Hetherington (2006) uses the example of the Great Exhibition of 1851 to highlight how individuals were turned into consumers through changes in the practice of display. For Hetherington, the Great Exhibition represented a turning point in British society in terms of how spectacle was utilised by exhibitions. As was previously mentioned, there was a shift from displays of infinity to those of totality, which attempted to remove curious object and to (re)place it within a scientific rationale which reflected the influence of modernity. Hetherington suggests that the exhibition is one example that embodies this change and in doing so created the Victorian commodity culture which had arisen from the increasing availability of products. Henning further discusses the relationship between the museum and the market, using department stores in the 1850s as an example of this taking place:

The department stores which first opened in the 1850s took inspiration from museum in their interior decor. Museums were amongst the few places in which the majority of people could experience luxurious surroundings (2006:30).

She links the two together, through the work of Leach (1989:128), as part of a *'powerful institutional circuit through which merchandising ideas were given aesthetic taste'*. Hetherington goes on to suggest that the use of world fairs, exhibitions and department stores etc<sup>13</sup> all link together through what Foucault termed a *surface of emergence*, and that together the subject-object relationship of this time had the effect of producing a way of seeing for consumers:

The exhibition was not driven principally by the desire to sell commodities but it had the effect of selling the idea of the commodity, not simply as a thing that could be consumed but as a way of seeing and as an expression of subjectivity (Hetherington, 2006:22).

Hence the use of spectacle becomes essential in shaping the consumer's eye and the museum becomes entangled within this wider world of consumption due to its use of *spectacle* as its main method of communicating with the visitor. It is during this period that the display of objects moves into a public realm. With this, examples such as the Great Exhibition (the precursor to world fairs, international exhibitions, EXPOs *et cetera*) and museums begin to attempt to present progress in a totalising form through the concept of spectacle. This could be used as a method to drive consumption, masking the processes of capitalism through developing an appreciation for the commodity in the consumer's gaze. Greenhalgh (1988) argues that international exhibitions of this time had a profound effect upon how objects were used to present wider narratives and this influenced the way in which museums also chose to present their objects albeit on a smaller scale. They also

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<sup>13</sup> Hetherington (2006:22) suggests that 'the Crystal Palace was a hybrid social space composed of elements from the theatre, fair, winter garden, greenhouse, warehouse, museum, gallery, fantasy palace, bazaar, stocktaking and catalogue.'

fitted with the governmental agendas of the time and therefore mirrored changes in the way museums displayed, as they attempted to present the highest forms of civilisation. As Greenhalgh (1988:27) states, *'They were a principal means whereby government and private bodies presented their vision of the world to the masses'*. In these exhibitions very strong narratives were developed that attempted to denote how the world was positioned and often used an evolutionary narrative to describe imperial power and human development. The evolutionary narrative had the purpose of placing the host of the exhibition at the top of an evolutionary pyramid, the purpose being to show the civilised and moral upstanding of such an imperial power and to help sell the concept of Empire to the public, as Greenhalgh precisely makes clear in context of the Great Exhibition:

Imperial achievement was celebrated to the full at international exhibitions ... Empire was to be 'naturalised' for the British public, settled into their way of life in order to make them feel comfortable with the thought of Africa, Asia and India ... artificially generated to facilitate governmental policy abroad, the Great Exhibition can be seen as one of the earliest and most effective examples of this (1988:52-53)

Added to this, Merriman (2004) depicts how the exhibition was also used to showcase Victorian morality to the world. The Exhibition desired to make a statement again through use of evolutionary narratives about the progressive and modern nature of British society in comparison to 'other' cultures. As described in Section 2.2.2, like the museum, the Exhibition was also a disciplinary space of reform that was reacting to what the dominant middle classes viewed as deviant behaviour. It attempted to shape the viewer's gaze towards what was deemed 'decent' behaviour and, in the methods it used to showcase objects and create symbolic language of display in Victorian Britain, it had a profound effect upon the practices of display in museums.

Thus, key to the development of museums, exhibitions and department stores at this time, which Leach terms the *'powerful institutional circuit'* (1989:128), is the way in which such spaces have the ability to incept ideas and to shape the visitor's gaze as they walk around the exhibits. Whether this is to deepen subject-object relationships through building on the fetishisation of goods or to present ideas of the nation and empire, the governmental role in using objects is truly comprehended during this period.

### **2.2.4 – Looking Back to Look Forward**

The previous historical precedents considered the development and role of public museums in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The following section will now move to consider a highly influential change in the way the museum is positioned in British cities. This revolved around the concept of heritage to promote urban locations, a practice

that became prominent in the 1980s set against a backdrop of urban decline. The context of a developing Heritage Industry in the UK both influenced museological thinking and practices of display and, further to this, in repositioning the museum as a space for heritage it more directly linked the museum into practices of place promotion and economic restructuring. In moving to this depiction in the 1980s there is a considerable jump in time from the nineteenth century. This is because, for the most part, the regimes of curiosity shaping the museums through this time were mainly formed by scientific rationale. It is not until the critique of such practices in the 1980s, from new museological perspectives (see Section 2.3), that this began to change.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett describes heritage as *'a mode of cultural production in the present that has resource to the past'* (1998:7). This neatly describes the concept of heritage as a method of harnessing the past to serve some form of function in the present. Samuel (1994:158) suggests this has an even earlier history in the UK dating to the 1960s and terming it as a *'historicist turn in national life'*, arguing that it was at this point that the *'museums movement got underway, and that projects for 'folk' museums, or 'industrial parks,' were widely adopted by county and municipal authorities'*. This said, it is not until the 1980s that for Hewison (1987) and Wright (2009<sup>14</sup>) this comes to have a stark economic purpose that moves beyond a collective sense of nostalgia. It is during this period that the deployment of heritage becomes an industry in its own right set against the backdrop of economic upheaval in Thatcher's Britain. Hoelscher's definition of the deployment of heritage strategies is useful here because it gives a more comprehensive sense as to how heritage was used in the 1980s and into the present day:

'Heritage' refers to the present-day uses of the past for a wide variety of strategic goals, some economic and some more a matter of identity (2006:202).

In their seminal texts, both Hewison and Wright lambast the use of heritage for economic purposes. Hewison is much more critical of heritage in its entirety as he aims to critique this practice in what he sees as an attempt at the time to use the past as place to dwell in order to escape the vagaries of the present. Hewison discusses in the initial chapter the development of Wigan Pier<sup>15</sup> to sum up his arguments towards the use of heritage where *'the past has been summoned to the rescue of the present'* (1987:21) and *'As Wigan Pier's consultant recognised, the conservation movement, as producer and consumer, answers a profound cultural need: it is this that makes the past such a tourist industry'* (1987:28). For Hewison, Wigan Pier is a prime example of a change that took place in

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<sup>14</sup> Original text 1985.

<sup>15</sup> Wigan Pier opened as a Heritage Museum in 1986 and sought to depict Wigan's industrial past at a time when almost all industry in Wigan had left.

1980s in the UK to the way history was packaged and presented to the public. In describing and critiquing the development of the heritage industry, Hewison identifies museums as a prime site for this taking place, denoting a 'museum explosion' where around 2000 museums opened in the UK over a fifteen year period. Hewison takes a dim view of this development, suggesting that:

When museums become one of Britain's new growth industries, they are not signs of vitality, but symbols of national decline (1987:84).

In describing the development in the 1980s of the heritage industry he also denotes two important changes in the positioning of the museum. Firstly, the museum again becomes a focus for civic and national pride to be invested in:

They are objects of pride and prestige; numbers are increasing because they create a focus for civic or national identity. In the twentieth century museums have taken over the function once exercised by church and ruler, they provide the symbols through which a nation and a culture understands itself (1987:84).

This echoes that of the building of Victorian museums but the difference in this context is that the museum becomes a space that can give economic benefit to its location. The 'economic benefit' is then derived from a visual reinterpretation of the landscape (usually from a previously industrial landscape, especially in the case of Wigan Pier) which reminisces upon its previous usage in order to attract visitors. Therefore heritage and the presentation of a collective 'history' are essential in the construction and rebranding of previously industrial locations. This makes the museum a specific strategic tool for enhancing and changing the image of places, as it acts as both a visual focal point for external change and an internal space for historical and cultural interpretation. Thus they become sites that allow for a collective remembering for what once happened in that place and, as Hewison suggests, a remembering that attempts to escape the problems of the present.

Hewison's arguments here reflect the time in which they were made. As mentioned, the rise in the heritage industry also culminated during successive Thatcher governments which created great economic change. Wright also makes this connection to the Conservative policies of de-industrialisation in the 1980s and the use of heritage giving a deeper depiction of this process than Hewison. Wright suggests that the Conservative Party's approach to heritage represents an 'othering' and a disjuncture from the present so that it can become a place for tourism and entertainment. By doing this, heritage spaces then become representations of antiquated spaces that prop up arguments of modernisation and fiscal restructuring:

Thatcher responded to the 1984/5 miners' strike by accusing Scargill of wanting to plunge Britain into a 'museum society'. This sort of accusation is simple enough: to be 'historical' is not to be part of the national glory so much as it is to be 'old-fashioned,' and to be 'old-fashioned' is to be an impediment to social recovery (2009:137).

Thatcher's accusation of a 'museum society' was not to suggest that museums or heritage spaces were themselves 'bad' or 'old fashioned' but that the desires of the coal miners and Scargill were of the past, not part of Britain's future and should be consigned to history. Therefore the creation of museums and heritage sites on former industrial locations<sup>16</sup> acted as a symbolic method to show how such industries were now to be considered antiquated. Thus during this time heritage was both a 'coping strategy' for such change, as noted in the context of Wigan Pier, where the past becomes a space to escape the present and, as Wright suggests, it also became a space to firmly place an economic activity or industry into the 'past'. In this context heritage was used as a method through sites such as museums to aid economic restructuring:

Priorities that successfully utilized British heritage to bolster support for deeply controversial political and economic restructuring (Hoelscher, 2006:208).

For the Conservative Party, this became a process of purposefully historicising certain activities and locations in order to make them seem antiquated. The purpose to this was to progress people and places towards their economic vision for the future of Britain.

Further to this the rise of heritage also reflected a wider cultural change, with the influence of a 'post-modernist' society beginning to burgeon (Moore, 1997). These changes taking place concurrently had profound effects on museums; firstly, they created an expansion in the number of museums (the second museum age) and, secondly, the use of heritage, the rewriting of history for the present, led to changes in the way museums collected and displayed objects (see Section 2.3.1). The growth of post-modernist thought in museums partly through the use of heritage meant an ability to be more direct in dealing with more mundane and everyday objects in museums. This broke from Victorian conceptions of culture and the role of the museum. The growth in the heritage industries in the UK was key to this change. For Hewison (1987:139), this change represented a backward, inward and narcissistic turn due to its failure to critically engage with the histories that heritage produced, producing 'bogus histories' to serve the needs of the present.

Post-modernism and the heritage industry are linked in that they both conspire to create a shallow screen that intervenes between our present lives, and our history (Hewison, 1987:135).

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<sup>16</sup> For example; Wigan Pier, the Ellesmere Port Boat Museum, Liverpool's Albert Dock, the Scottish Mining Museum.

Urry (1990:112) describes this as an ‘artificial history’ that distorts through visual interpretation, where ‘*social experiences are necessarily ignored or trivialised, such as war, exploitation, hunger, and disease.*’ For others, this pessimistic view is to be countered due to the opportunities heritage can create in its production. Macdonald (1997:156) immediately frames it as ‘*intentionally, a cultural explicating device*’, and for Ray (2001) this gives it creative possibilities in the production of history rather than just distorting it. Hoelscher (2006) also sees positives in the use of heritage that he sees Hewison missing, depicting a very different purpose to heritage. Hoelscher suggests that Hewison fails to make appropriate distinctions in his work ‘*between the scholarly museum and the heritage site, on the one hand, and amusement parks that utilize motifs, on the other*’, therefore missing how the ‘*activities of documenting and preserving the past enjoy enormously important popular bases that reach across lines of class, race and gender*’ (2006:209). For Hoelscher the use of heritage, managed and presented properly by institutions such as museums, has the opportunity to create dialogue and bring individuals together through a common interest in the past. This is not necessarily one that can ever be entirely inclusionary, but in his final summation Hoelscher explains his optimistic approach to heritage and its wider purpose:

It could not be otherwise, for the concerns of heritage, by their very nature, are exclusive and exclusionary. Indeed, awarding some possession, while excluding others, gives heritage its primary function. Heritage, therefore, is a faith, and like all faiths it originates in the deeply human need to give meaning to temporary chaos, to secure group boundaries, and to provide a symbolic sense of continuity and certainty that is so often lacking in everyday life. As a way of apprehending, ordering, and displaying the past, heritages future looks bright (2006:216).

Newman and McLean (1998) also highlight that the use of such practices within urban regeneration projects can lead to both inclusionary and exclusionary potentials. For them such outcomes depend upon how embedded principles of inclusion are used in heritage to promote an area:

The place of such initiatives within a broader strategy designed to combat multi-faceted problems of social exclusion will make heritage much more relevant and useful to local communities ... The economic and social elements need to be closely linked where the concentration of projects on infrastructure alone often alienates the communities they were designed to help. This requires more than just piecemeal initiatives or, from a cynical viewpoint, adopting a ‘social exclusion’ philosophy in order to obtain funding (Newman and McLean, 1998:109).

The discussion of heritage in a UK context is useful because it has been a prominent influence upon the use of museums in society and has had a lasting influence upon the practices of display and collection. This is because it allowed the museum to move away

from solely being a space of 'high culture' to one that could be more pluralistic about what it deemed fit for display. More importantly to this thesis, however, was the realisation that the museum could be used as a focus for civic investment. The growth of the heritage industry highlighted the potential of museum locations to reinvent and promote place in order to create economic benefit and to aid economic restructuring, especially in the urban setting. It is during this period that there is a boom in museum building, as they became a key investment for city elites in the creation of post-industrial cities. Museums could create new spaces that could replace lost industries but, as Hewison and Wright suggest, they could also become spaces that could 'plaster over' and historicise the past as 'backward and antiquated' for conceptions of progress in the present.

## **2.3 – Towards the New Museology**

In bringing this chapter towards the contemporary setting that the museum is currently placed within, there are some further examples of influences in the latter part of the twentieth century that need to be further considered. Before that, however, what the previous 'histories' wish to suggest is that although those events, ideas, individuals all happened in the past, they still to a lesser or greater extent resonate in contemporary practice. Many of the debates have not disappeared but form a 'baggage' that the museum negotiates in its on-going work. Relationships between object and the constitution of knowledge, the museum as a disciplinary space, the aesthetic principles of art, the need for democracy and community in the museum all still exist today, but there have been many attempts to readdress these issues and to expand the horizons of the museum. The following section will now consider those influences in the later part of the twentieth century and show how they have been central in further shaping the contemporary museum which this thesis wishes to debate through empirical research. This also links with Lefebvre's conception of the *representations of space* as this section considers (academic) voices that have shaped the direction of museum policy and strategy through the development of technocratic knowledge primarily through the discipline of museology.

### **2.3.1 – The Birth of a New Museology**

In order to bring the history of the museum up to the present day, there is need to consider firstly what constituted a change in museum practice and thought that allowed the museum in some respects to break from its modernist past. Secondly, this section will consider how more recent literature on the contemporary museums has evaluated those

attempts to theoretically reposition the museum in society and what this has meant for the collecting and display practices.

For the vast majority of the twentieth century, the museum sat within a modernist discourse. It attempted to give a progressive sense to history and science, where collectors and curators attempted to place a totalising order upon the collections they were responsible for, largely influenced by their institutional training. This though was soon to start to change (or at least be re-thought) and was initiated from two converging influences; academic critique and the rise of post-modernist thought meeting with a rise of material and popular culture. A third later influence also arose from a desire in government (in the UK with the election of New Labour in the late 1990s) to find a further purpose for the museum by linking it with the wider policy goals of social inclusion and citizenship development.

From the 1970s and through to the 1990s there were the beginnings of changes to the ways in which the museum was thought of, as there began an attempt to question and pull apart those modernist foundations that had been so entrenched. Ross regards the New Museology as follows:

The introduction of theoretical perspectives to museum studies but also the wider changes in the museum world. These include the changing character of museum work that is evident in a climate of institutional reflexivity that has emerged since the 1970s. The new Museology ... refers to a transformation of museums from being exclusive and socially divisive institutions (2004:84).

This was partly driven by societal changes but also by academic fashions in critique of the time. From this, a 'loosely banded' school of thought formed and assembled under the banner of the 'New Museology' (Moore 1997:8). The New Museology sought to reconceptualise the museum and its history from a multitude of differing theoretical positions. Various papers sought to reinterpret the museum in post-marxist terms initially and then broadened into other critiques ranging from structuralist accounts to post-modernist and post-structuralist depictions (examples being Pearson, 1982; Bennett, 1988, 1995; Hooper-Greenhill, 1988, 1992). Although the museum profession to begin with easily side-stepped these critiques, slowly they began to be taken more seriously as (some) museum professionals took on board the various critiques that had been generated by academic voices. Therefore during this period the professional development and theory that informed new curators changed as they sought to take on board these critiques and to produce a different kind of museum experience (Moore, 1997). One of the key changes was to start to think more carefully about who actually visited museums, why they visited and how best to improve their experience. Here there is a shift in museological thinking that meant understanding visitors as far from homogenous in their

appreciation of displays and that their museum experience was far more complex than the previously understood didactic relationship of earlier museums. Hooper-Greenhill (1988) critiques the lack of research in Britain into visitor's understandings of museum displays and, following this lead, Wright (1989) and Merriman (1989) attempt to argue that understanding a museum's 'public' was as important as interpreting the objects in the collection for display.

Alongside this came the development of post-modernist influences (previously touched upon in relation to heritage), combining with the rise of material culture and the wider dissemination of popular cultures through the expanding role of the media in society. As Hooper-Greenhill laments:

Society is changing. The modernist structures that we inherited from the 19<sup>th</sup> century are under attack. Many of the challenges to traditional values challenge the core values of the museum, and the art museum in particular. The post-modernist, post-colonial world has meant a review of social organisations, and one of those is the museum (2004:563).

This indirectly affected collecting practices and methods of display; as what began to constitute an appropriate object that could be considered to be culturally significant became questioned. This therefore created disruptions in the notions of high and low culture that had so fervently controlled collection policies, meaning that museums also had to consider other more popular items for display. Moore explains his reasoning to this:

One might argue that public museums exist for the whole of society, and therefore museums should reflect the history and culture of all. The use of the term popular culture implies that its opposite, high culture, is unpopular, not relating to or appealing to the mass of the population, who fund the public museums (1997:4).

The dissemination of postmodernist thought helped to question and change what constituted an appropriate exhibit for display in museums and that it was no longer necessary to make such judgements in terms of high and low or between what is *aesthetically and historically significant* and what is not. Therefore in post-modern terms such questioning becomes pointless: *'What to one person is art, to another is kitsch and vice versa'* (Moore,1997:5). Therefore with the new museology came a desire to break through those old regimes and to produce a museum that could speak to as many people as possible in society. This meant, to a certain extent, curators having to rethink who their audiences were and what is actually pertinent to them rather than just following their own discipline-specific beliefs. Thus the museum had to begin to embrace ideas of plurality.

Finally, over this time period, moving to the period of time that this thesis is particularly interested in researching is the attempt by New Labour strategists, who sought to change the role the museum plays within society through governmental policies (see Chapter Three for further discussion). As such, this relates back to the museum's function as a disciplinary space of governmental control (see Section 2.2.2), as government set about reassessing, in its terms, the museum's ideological function. That to a large extent fitted with some of the new museological thinking but at the same time troubled it, as Stam suggests:

The political sense, the potential mission of museums according to the New Museology is enlarged, even glorified, to include fostering of social justice. But at the same time, the potential social role of museums seems diminished by the negative tone of New Museology rhetoric. Attempts to define new missions seem riddled by doubts about the possibility of knowing in any meaningful sense, of communicating effectively, or of presenting a message that is untainted by class or personal interest (2005:61).

Stam represents the difficult position raised by the conception of a new museology, based upon a critique of the very museum practice within which it found itself positioned. It attempted to wrestle with its belief in critiquing museum practice whilst concurrently attempting to envision a more outward looking and active museum in society that could be mediated without following the inherent symbolic violence<sup>17</sup> of the past.

Hence, adding to the historical accounts in section 2.2 of this chapter, Bennett (1995:90) explains the museum's political rationality, in that *'the museum too, of course has been constantly subject to demands for reform'*. For Bennett this represents a never ending discourse of reform that is maintained due to its failure to live up to its *rehabilitative rhetoric*, reflected by Message's (2006a,b) belief that the museum is always embroiled in a process of constant 'reinvention'. Bennett therefore suggests that this emanates from the public museum's two principle *discourses of reform*, which he claims have not changed over the last century, those of:

... the principle of public rights sustaining the demand that museums should be equally open and accessible to all; and second that, the principle of representational adequacy sustaining the demand that museums should adequately represent cultures and values of different sections of the public (1995:90).

Bennett goes onto suggest that such goals are juxtaposed:

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<sup>17</sup> A symbolic act of violence is used by Bourdieu (2008) to describe a process through which different individuals or groups are excluded from specific spaces. It is created through symbolic capital which can be used by those that hold it to create societal barriers that unconsciously maintain their position of domination.

While it might be tempting to see these as alien demands imposed on museums by their external political environments ... they flow out of, are generated by and only make sense in relation to the internal dynamics of the museum form (1995:90).

Bennett therefore sees this as a juxtaposition that goes to the heart of the museum and the governmental concern for it as a never ending space for reform which, in its mismatch, guarantees demands that are unquenchable.

### ***2.3.2 – Academic Considerations***

One of the key concerns in later museum studies has been, despite the early critique presented by the New Museology, to ensure that a place for a reconstituted museum can be found in society. Some commentators like Wark (1992) have suggested that the concept of the museum is dead, advocating that it is no longer relevant for society; to others, however, the museum still offers a world of enrichment to society in a multitude of ways. The following section will now consider how some have sought to rethink and to rationalise the museum's place in society; this will also be discussed in more depth in the following chapter but there will be a brief outlining to some of the key perspectives here first.

Janes (2007) makes a passionate plea for the museum as a public service, to interest itself in the broader development of society, suggesting that museums have a unique positioning within society that allows them to intervene in the key problems that face humankind. Then, moving on from this plea within the wider museum literature, there is a potential identified for the museum to promote a critical or even radical agenda that potentially ends up questioning the Enlightenment principles upon which the majority of museums have been built. Lord (2006) argues this line through a rethinking of Foucault's (1998) placement of the museum as a heterotopian space, arguing that this notion of 'heterotopia' creates an opportunity for the museum to (re)embrace its Enlightenment principle of critique, providing that there is the intention to rupture the typical Enlightenment relations of power that search for universalist total histories.

Following a more policy grounded approach, the work of Sandell (2002 and 2007) has been a strong voice in calling for museums to be placed at the centre of societal debates, issues, and contestations where it can be entrained in addressing issues of inequality. Sandell highlights the potential positive effects for the individual:

Here the potential outcomes are wide ranging, from the personal, psychological and emotional (such as enhanced self-esteem or sense of

place) to pragmatic (such as the acquisition of skills to enhance employment opportunities) (2002:5).

Similarly, he identifies such effects at a community level as well, claiming:

... it appears that cultural organisations, in comparison with other agencies, might be uniquely positioned to act as catalysts for community involvement and as agents for capacity building (2002:7).

For Hooper-Greenhill (2000) the potential of the museum is that it can be used to place objects in such a way that their political meaning can be drawn out in order to bring a community together through discussion. Hence in understanding their placement in the museum they can be used to tackle issues of difference and social equality:

The ways in which objects are selected, put together, spoken of and written about have political effects. These effects are not those of the object per se; it is the use of these objects and their interpretive frameworks that can open up or closes down historical, social and cultural possibilities. By making marginal cultures visible and by legitimating difference pedagogy can become critical pedagogy (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000:148).

Therefore museums offer a communicative strategy that can allow visitors to make their own meaning, although, as Hooper-Greenhill (2000) makes clear, this construction of meaning does not always reflect the curator's intended message and can often respond in a multitude of ways. She stipulates that this should not stop museum professionals from attempting to engage in this process with the visitor:

The task for communicators – or, in the museum, curator, educators and exhibition developers – is to provide experiences that invite visitors to make meaning through deploying and extending their existing interpretive strategies and repertoires (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000:139).

Sandell (2007) also depicts a further role for the museum in society, where it can act as a democratic and pluralist centre point for the reframing of difference in society. The museum for Sandell, due to its multiple facets of communication, has the potential to be a democratising force in society that avoids its didactic traditions by embracing different voices and allowing them to speak.

An area that still seems to gain criticism is that many museums are still not inclusive enough (Sandell, 2002), in that in the pieces they choose to exhibit and in the narratives being told, arguments are made that various 'hidden voices' are lost. This suggests that for the large part the white, western, able-bodied, heterosexual male dominates the interiors of most western museums. Examples of such alternate narratives not being told and their need to be told can be seen in the writings of Vanegas (2002), who

demonstrates the failure of museums to represent lesbian and gay men correctly, and also within the work of Delin (2002:84) with the failure to depict disabled peoples, suggesting that:

The absence of disabled people as creators of arts, in images and in artefacts, and their presence in selected works reinforcing cultural stereotypes, conspire to present a narrow perspective of the existence of disability in history.

Therefore criticisms towards museums implementing such inclusive policies are often generated by groups who feel that they are not represented or are misrepresented. This reiterates the difficulty of making a museum inclusive to all and further reflects the inner tension that Bennett talked about, which places the museum as a reforming institution constantly needing to change in order to meet different demands.

Bennett (2006) developed the concept of 'civic seeing' (discussed in Section 2.2.2) which was produced during the Victorian period by the museum. In bringing this concept to the contemporary setting he suggests how this singular vision of the civic has now been pluralised in the museum:

The terms in which 'civic seeing' are now posed typically stress the need for exhibitions to be arranged so as to allow multiple possibilities in terms of how they are both seen and interpreted (2006:278).

For Bennett it is the question of identity in the museum that has been central to this change as the relationship between that of the visitor and object has become far more complicated:

New approaches to difference, whether ethnicity, sexuality or gender, which stress their unfixed, relational, constantly mobile nature, have called into question the taxonomic approaches to difference which characterized museum practices throughout the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth (Bennett, 2006:278).

This leads Hetherington to follow on from this position to suggest that it is now a case of comprehending the museum through '*multiple optics rather than a singular trained one*' (2002:192). Hetherington takes this concept of the ocular in an era aimed at accessibility one step further, in comprehending how the visually impaired fit within this regime of seeing:

They are not just another category of difference demanding that they be recognised and catered for, from the start they are Other to the principles of the museum as a space of vision and conservation (2002:195).

Bennett therefore considers that for the museum to fully move away from 'eye-centred programs' of its past, it has to find ways '*to engage a broader range of senses*' (2006:279).

Thus the arguments discussed begin to build a sense that the museum should be attempting to specifically engage with the widest possible span of society. This means using the practices that museums have always been committed to, collecting and displaying, but to realign them to produce a different set of knowledges for the visitor. In this context such realignments include ideas that relate to social inclusion. As such, the literature stresses the need to make museums more socially aware, in terms of using the museum as a space to address issues of ethnicity, sexuality, gender and disability in order to help build a more inclusive approach. These new approaches have created various changes within museums, not only changing methods of display through increased access, both physically and intellectually, but also reworking from the 'top down' the attitudes and practices of staff working in the museum<sup>18</sup>. One effect is to refocus the roles of those working in the museum; an obvious example being how the work and the role of curators<sup>19</sup> have changed. For curators, having to implement this agenda means that only socially 'relevant'<sup>20</sup> objects should be collected and preserved, but then they must also be displayed in a manner that allows the widest possible proportion of the population to be able to interact with them. This means that the curator must be greatly aware of their surrounding populations and must always have them in mind when conducting their work, thereby shifting their way of thinking from being focused solely upon the objects held within collections to taking in the people who will view them or, as Weil (1999:229) states, from *being about something to being for somebody*. Thus, in terms of displaying and categorising objects, this has meant a move away from following a specific disciplinary (ie. archaeological, artistic, botanical, etc.) interest and instead to break down these practices and to re-present objects so that they follow a particular theme or narrative (this is an approach that has been greatly pioneered within Glasgow Museums) where the narrative is largely driven by the social history surrounding that object. The aim is therefore to allow the viewer to observe the collection and (hopefully) identify with it, negating the need for any discipline-specific prior knowledge before entering the museum (Roberts, 1997). In some respects this has freed the curator who no longer has to fit displays into taxonomical form but can create different more lateral and interactive links between objects (Witcomb, 2006). Key to this has been research that seeks to gain alternative perspectives with regards to interpretations of objects. A large focus of curatorial work is now taking

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<sup>18</sup>These policy ideas have also been resisted by some; see Sandell (2003) and following paragraph.

<sup>19</sup>The traditional 'manager' of a museum's collection from preservation and collection to presentation and display.

<sup>20</sup>This term in itself is highly contentious in its meaning, especially when considering 'relevant' to whom.

accounts from people as to what specific objects meant to them and how they view them in relation to their own lives (see Green (2007) for the use of oral histories) but also research has been taken to understand how the visitor understands the exhibits they view (see Hooper-Greenhill (2006) for methods of studying visitors). Further to this, museums have also sought to engage with their wider communities proactively rather than just relying on visitors coming through the doors. Outreach schemes have been a key tool in museums attempting to access those who would rather avoid such institutions, as is shown by Bruce *et al* (2000) and their implementation of a social justice programme that at times purposefully sought to take museum practices beyond the museums walls.

Though this is not to say that all these ideas have been implemented universally across museum services, and there are resisting voices to such changes. Ryan highlights the difficulty that many have in departing from their disciplinary perspectives:

When the new elite say we must tackle ‘social exclusion’, such a statement could mean a lot of different things ... although the precise meaning is unclear, there is never a doubt as to what the new language intends. The artistic director, who is concerned with the merit of his work, when he hears that he must tackle social exclusion, knows that he is being warned. Perhaps he is thinking too much about the art and not enough about The People (2000:17).

Therefore, the extent to which the academic critique of modernist museums and the agendas posited by the New Museology and government agendas are accepted depends entirely upon the institutional setting that the museum sits within and the attitudes of museum professionals. For Ryan (2000) the older agendas of the modernist museum and maintenance of professional expertise is essential, but Sandell (2002) lambasts this view as for him a museum that does not concern itself with society is in risk of becoming entirely irrelevant.

## **2.4 – Repositioning the Museum for Governmental Concerns**

In developing context to the present day social practice of the museum, the chapter has considered the historical and academic perspectives that have been shaping the museum. The following section will move to consider the way in which governmental concerns are also involved in shaping the contemporary museum. It will therefore discuss how government at different scales has attempted to influence the practices of museum; this will be done by a critical investigation into museum and cultural policy that focuses upon the agendas of social inclusion, citizenship and urban regeneration. It will give a brief outline as to how policy has attempted to instil such practices into the museum (which will

be built upon in Chapter Three) and will split into two parts; firstly, how it has been linked to social inclusion (which is closely linked to citizenship) and, secondly, how its role is defined with regards to cultural regeneration. Thus it will follow the key policy directions during New Labour's period of office and focus upon the key conceptual themes with which this thesis is concerned.

### **2.4.1 – For Social Inclusion**

The election of New Labour in 1997 began a transformation in the policy documentation produced by the government in the UK with regards to the museum's position in society. This began in their first term in office, for they no longer wished to see an inwardly facing elitist institution (of the past) but a vibrant, outward looking and socially engaging organisation (for the future). This led to the creation of policy documents that sought to open the museum up to all, where access on all possible levels was given priority and where the potential of the museum to be a space of transformation for both the individual and society was argued for. These changes reflected a wider positioning towards 'culture' during this period, where New Labour sought to introduce ideas of social inclusion into cultural policies (McCall, 2010). This meant existing cultural infrastructure (such as museums) became involved in forms of 'welfare' provision. This moved away from an 'arms-length principle' (Boylan, 1988) in regards to funding public cultural institutions towards a requirement for such institutions to directly articulate their social worth (Gray, 2007). For policies surrounding museums, this pattern can also be seen. The following section will now sketch out how this was initially expressed in policy documents.

In 1999, the first policy documents were produced linking the museum to ideas of social inclusion and citizenship. The first was produced by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS): *Museums for the Many* (1999) which attempted to deal with issues of access to museums, and began the decision to make all public museums free to access (granting in the first instance free access to children and the elderly). This document nonetheless also identified four other different forms of barriers that can affect access which move beyond just the financial. These included physical and sensory, intellectual, cultural, and attitudinal barriers – their removal was essential to the making of a more inclusive museum. What is interesting about these five criteria is that it is these barriers and their removal that have partly driven the future policy directions but also instigated many changes in museum practice. Further to this, for the first time museums were expected to engage with their surrounding populations rather than just looking inward upon their own collections; and hence to

Carry out research about their visitors and users (and about those who don't visit or use the museum at present) using means appropriate to the size of the institution (DCMS, 1999:6).

Building on this in 2000 was the publication of *Centres for Social Change: Museums Galleries and Archives for All* (DCMS, 2000a). The document delineates the reasons why museums should be involved with the building of a more integrated society and offers policy guidelines to all museums. Firstly there is a definition as to what is meant by the term *social exclusion*, which the DCMS defines as:

A shorthand term for what can happen when people or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health, poverty and family breakdown (DCMS, 2000a:7).

This definition has been used across numerous different policy documents relating to various issues (not just museums) and is used to describe the multifaceted nature of how people can become excluded socially through a varying set of potential problems. Social inclusion has an interesting etymology as a term (see Sandell, 2003:45) within policy documents, frequently rotating around exclusion, inclusion or justice. Section 1.7 of the paper gives the reasoning to the unique and useful position that museums occupy, suggesting why they should be involved in the promotion of such matters:

Museums, galleries and archives, with their unique collections, represent one of the most significant cultural resources in the community, and provide a valuable resource for lifelong learning. They can play a role in generating social change by engaging with and empowering people to determine their place in the world, educate themselves to achieve their own potential, play a full part in society, and contribute to transforming it in the future (DCMS, 2000a:8).

The above quote highlights various issues; it gives the government's aims for museums but also highlights the policy goals of New Labour. The UK government wishes to use museums for their potential and their positive attributes, for the benefit of society. They also attempt to integrate museums into wider policy ambitions, with the use of the term *lifelong learning*. A second document, *The Learning<sup>21</sup> Power of Museums* was also produced in 2000 (DCMS, 2000b) and this further tightened the position of the museum as a space of learning within society.

The emphasis on learning in these documents exemplifies the importance of the 'Third Way' in policies at this time. The notion of the 'Third Way' policies are now defunct in UK politics, but arose as an attempt to change how New Labour negotiated the relationship

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<sup>21</sup> The use of the term 'learning' represents a movement away from the museum being a place of 'education' this will be discussed later on in the chapter.

between government and citizen in terms of social rights and obligations<sup>22</sup>. This meant that the citizen was no longer to expect help to the extent previously received, through the more traditional forms of tax relief or benefit, subsequently meaning that by giving those who were considered to be socially excluded the opportunity to help themselves, they could break their direct dependence upon the state (Fuller and Geddes, 2008:260). Policies surrounding *lifelong learning* were crucial here in that, firstly, through creation of learning opportunities for citizens, it gave the citizen the ability to improve and better themselves, so they would be better able to access the job market and to move away from the use of benefits. The above quote reinforces this view, as it places the agency for change within the individual, with museums acting as a space to give opportunity. Secondly, by instilling this concept of learning throughout life it was hoped that the UK could develop a highly flexible labour market that could respond quickly in an ever changing global economy, seen as a necessity in order for Britain to remain competitive in an ever more fierce global knowledge economy. In this light policies surrounding inclusion are then focused upon assimilation (back) into the labour market (Levitas, 2005).

Thus, the learning potential of the museum could be drawn into this process. Essential to this was for those managing the museum to understand who was marginalised in society so that they could then go and find ways to engage them. This meant that the museum could no longer just concern itself with those who chose to enter; it had a wider remit to reach those who would or could not visit. In doing this the museum then became a space for an inclusionary politics framed by New Labour and in order to provide this provision to society, the museum had to find methods to implement such policy desires. Added to this, the museum also had to find ways to articulate to government that it was also actively engaging with such concepts; Scott (2002) highlights the importance of measurement in museum as a primary mechanism for the state, ensuring that museums are in fact delivering on such policy guidelines.

During this period a further key policy document was also concurrently released that gave a wider framing to New Labour's vision. It incorporated the work collected by the Policy Action Team 10 (PAT 10) which focused specifically on the role of culture and sport in relation to building social inclusion. This was one of eighteen different PATs which had been created to map out New Labour's policy vision for the UK, to produce what was termed 'joined up government', where all departments would be moving towards similar aims. The focus for all the action teams was to understand how their specific areas of interest, in this case art and sport, could make a difference at the neighbourhood and

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<sup>22</sup> The Third Way politics of New Labour wished to change the emphasis on how it provided for its citizens, desiring to replace or roll back access to welfare provision by replacing it with what is termed 'opportunity' or the opportunity for the citizen to help themselves through their active role in achieving a redistribution of opportunities (see Giddens, 1998).

community levels. Thus, the document attempted to map out New Labour's vision for culture and sport in order to set the agendas that the DCMS would follow, and wished to see followed, by Local Authorities, as the initial statement from the then Culture Minister Chris Smith states:

This report shows that art and sport can not only make a valuable contribution to delivering key outcomes of lower long-term unemployment, less crime, better health and better qualifications, but can also help to develop the individual pride, community spirit and capacity for responsibility that enable communities to run regeneration programmes themselves (DCMS, 2000d:2).

PAT 10 therefore strongly argued that art and sport was an essential but often neglected part of the wider regeneration of communities and the elimination of social exclusion. Central to the document's plans, as can be seen in the comment above, and evident in the rest of the document, is the importance of gaining participation in such projects. The document specifically focuses upon the need to get citizens involved in their own 'regeneration' in order for it to be a success:

The focus of this report, however, is on the benefits of participation. By this we mean creative expression, co-operative teamwork or physical exertion: leisure, tourism, museums and galleries have much in common with arts and sport in that participation in them, and provision of services to support participation, demonstrate many of the same benefits as those outlined in this report for arts and sport. This can help address neighbourhood renewal by improving communities' 'performance' on the four key indicators of: a. Health, b. Crime, c. Employment, d. Education (DCMS, 2000d:21-22).

In this context the use of art and sport was seen as mechanisms for producing more active citizens, by giving opportunities to volunteers within society and to use the experience from such participation to help themselves in other parts of their lives. For PAT 10 and New Labour it was the very nature of art and sport participation that lent it so well to fitting with what it wished to term 'community development', as the following three statements highlight, there was a strong emphasis on trying to create policy that builds stronger communities so that they:

Lend themselves naturally to voluntary collaborative arrangements which help to develop a sense of community. Help communities to express their identity and develop their own.

Self-reliant organisations. Relate directly to individual and community identity: the very things which need to be restored if neighbourhoods are to be renewed.

Recognising and developing the culture of marginalised people and groups directly tackles their sense of being written out of the script (DCMS, 2000d:30).

Such policies therefore meant change was necessary for a variety of reasons within arts and sports organisations in order to prevent barriers to ‘neighbourhood renewal’. Therefore for institutions such as museums, the inference was made that such ideas had to be placed at the centre of their work, as two of the listed barriers suggest:

Arts and sports bodies tend to regard community development work as being both an ‘add-on’ to their ‘real’ work and as a lesser form of activity.

Other bodies involved in regeneration tend to regard arts and sport as peripheral; regeneration projects tend to focus on changing the physical environment, and to pay insufficient attention to building individual and collective ‘self-help’ capacity building within the community (DCMS, 2002d:34).

Therefore PAT 10 tried to place the emphasis upon arts and sports organisations; to change how they worked with citizens so that they became involved and ‘empowered’ by the process of their own neighbourhood renewal. Here, art and sport was seen as a potential catalyst for this to take place, where individuals could take ownership of their own ‘community development’ and through doing this benefit both individually and collectively. Thus the documents suggested a shift towards a ‘technology of the self’ (Foucault, 1988) (see Section 3.2.2 for further detail on this) where emphasis was placed upon the individual to enact both their own personal and community transformation. This reflected the wider renegotiation of the relationship between the citizen and the state by New Labour, as they attempted to role the state back towards a facilitator of opportunities rather than a provider of welfare (Fuller and Geddes, 2008). Here, the museum (as was stated in an earlier quote) was seen as one such space that the potential for self-transformation could be initiated by those working in such institutions and realised by citizens participating in cultural activities. It is this policy guidance that can be seen to be taken forward in the following policy documentation on museums. Consequently, PAT 10 led to a full policy review for museums, as a further DCMS document explained: ‘libraries, museums, galleries and archives policy guidance has been followed up with a cross-sectoral policy review and action plan’ (2001b:4), showing the importance PAT 10 had for the museum sector, and the keenness New Labour had to link the museum with wider governmental strategies.

### **2.4.2 – Scottish Museums - Social Justice, Learning and Access**

Having given a brief introduction to the UK level, it is also important to consider how this was then expressed in Scottish Policy<sup>23</sup>. In the development of Scottish Museum policy at a national level the first policy document produced was in 2000 which sought to reposition

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<sup>23</sup> Essential given that this time period represents the move into post-devolution Scotland.

the museum. This was published by the Scottish Museums Council (SMC, now MGS), titled *Museums and Social Justice*, the document follows a similar policy direction to those at the UK level but again there are some interesting differences that can be observed. The shift from social inclusion to social justice is one such example. From 2005 to 2006 three more relevant policy documents were produced which wished to further define the role of Scottish museums<sup>24</sup>. Each of these documents leads on and progresses the ideas presented in the 2000 document, giving more detailed explanations to museum professionals. All these documents fit within the same discourse of museum development in Scotland, they place ideas of social justice, access and learning at the centre of all the work the museum does. Hence this has created substantial changes in the practices and the positioning of the museum.

The SMC (2000) document was complementary to that of a previously-mentioned DCMS's paper<sup>25</sup>, as the SMC wished to put in place many of the guidelines set down by the DCMS within Scottish museums. The SMC thus offers a very practical guide for Scottish museums<sup>26</sup> as it attempts to change the role of the museum within society. Central to this was the desire to make the museum a place of 'empowerment' for citizens which is tasked with contributing to the breaking down of the multiple cycles of exclusion<sup>27</sup> through cultural provision. This immediately links with Cruikshank (1999) who sees the 'will to empower' as a direct 'technology of citizenship' thus linking such goals to a disciplinary agenda. Added to this, the SMC categorically states that access to cultural provision should take the form of a right, not welfare, and therefore should be provided to citizens as a matter of justice:

Access to cultural heritage is a matter of rights and citizenship rather than a privilege, then the imperative for museums and art galleries to be socially inclusive is a matter of justice rather than welfare (SMC, 2000:4).

Leading from this, the SMC advised museums to develop a three-year plan in order for museums to become more socially engaging with their communities. This plan included the identification of those excluded, finding a means to engage with them, through the means of a Social Justice Strategy (SJS) and then, finally, assessing through measurement the extent to which museums have indeed made the desired impact. Through their SJS, museums are expected to understand and connect better with their surrounding communities and citizens through the use of educative practices in order to

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<sup>24</sup> These were *A National Learning and Access Strategy for Museums and Galleries in Scotland* (SMC, 2005), *A National Collections Development Strategy for Museums and Galleries* (SMC, 2006a), and *A National Workforce Development Strategy for Scotland's Museums* (SMC, 2006b).

<sup>25</sup> Centres for Social Change: Museums Galleries and Archives for All.

<sup>26</sup> This is the main role of the SMC, which is to support and give guidance to Scotland's museums.

<sup>27</sup> See again the definition of social inclusion which is also re-stated in this document.

help concurrently at individual and community levels. Hence, the aim is to use the museum as a space to discuss and express a multitude of social issues with the purpose being twofold; to increase awareness around such issues and to include those that are considered to be marginalised in the museum:

Museums can contribute to a more inclusive and tolerant society by arranging exhibitions, events and education programmes which address current issues of concern, particularly for excluded groups (SMC, 2000:14).

Further to this, the SMC and DCMS wished to see change generated from within museums, across the museum profession, meaning that developing an 'Outreach Scheme'<sup>28</sup> would not be sufficient alone but that institutional attitudes of staff would have to change in order to break down what is termed in the document the *Barriers to Inclusion*. There are eight of these in total, with six most pertinent listed in the box below:

**Barriers to Inclusion:**

- Inappropriate staff attitudes and behaviour
- Direct and indirect discrimination
- Charging policies which disadvantage those on low incomes
- Acquisition, exhibition and cataloguing policies which do not reflect the needs or interests of the actual or potential audiences
- Lack of a sense of ownership and involvement by the community
- Lack of adequate provision of services or facilities for people with disabilities (SMC, 2000:8)

The 'Barriers to Inclusion' represent how far ranging into museum practice the agenda of social justice and inclusion intended to be in its implementation. This approach not only intended to change methods of display through increased access both physically and intellectually, but also wished to rework from the 'top down' the attitudes and practices of staff working in the museum. One effect is to refocus the roles of those working in the

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<sup>28</sup> An Outreach Scheme would perhaps take the form of the museum 'going out' into the community specifically to engage with local people; possibly through some form of collaboration to develop an exhibition or by taking objects out of the museum to another location.

museum; an obvious example being how the work and the role of curators have changed. For curators, having to implement this agenda means that only socially 'relevant' objects should be collected and preserved, but then they must also be displayed in a manner that allows the widest possible proportion of the population to be able to interact with them. This means that the curator must be greatly aware of their surrounding populations and must always have them in mind when conducting their work.

Thus policy developed at the Scottish level follows the discourses of those at the UK level and again shows the wider goal of New Labour's conception towards museums and, more widely, culture. That is the desire to see museums take on a welfare role; this means realigning museums practices towards engaging the marginalised and making collections as socially relevant as possible. As the two quotes by the SMC suggest the museum's role in society is to aim to provide a cultural service for all:

Involve everyone: be a central part of every citizen's cultural entitlement, place current and potential learners in all their diversity at the heart of museum activities and management (SMC, 2005:4).

And:

The Scottish Executive has signalled its appreciation of collections and the central role it perceives for museums in providing opportunities for people to participate in cultural activity as a fundamental entitlement (SMC, 2006a:6).

This reflects what Gray (2007) suggests represents an instrumental (cultural services can create change in society) turn in cultural policy in Scotland where cultural institutions have been expected to become more involved in wider policy concerns. This policy trajectory can also be seen in the Scottish Executive's National Cultural Policy (2000, 2001, 2002, 2003) that pinpointed capacity in cultural services to engage marginalised groups, although, as McCall highlights, culture in the Scottish context has always been considered in a reflective light:

The Scottish Government defines culture as something that is produced by and reflects society, not something that can be used to create change (2010:171).

Therefore this creates a contradiction in the implementation of such policy for cultural services such as museums, as a large proportion of policy attempts to position the museum as an instrumental service that can enact change for communities. For McCall (2010), however, the construction of 'culture' in the Scottish context is better defined as 'constitutive':

Cultural symbols have the power to shape cultural identities at both individual and societal levels; to mobilise emotions, perceptions and values; to influence the way we feel and think. In this sense, culture is generative, constructivist' (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000:13).

The complexity of constructing definitions of culture in the Scottish policy context therefore creates a confusing set of definitions and relationships for those attempting to implement the guidelines laid down by SMC in museums. Hence in the context of this thesis, seeing how curators and museum professionals negotiate this path, and seeing how they give voice to such policy concerns in their practice, will be central to answering the research questions.

### **2.4.3 – For Cultural Regeneration**

The urban renaissance which incorporates culture as a consumption, production and image strategy is evident now in towns and city—regions in developed, lesser developed, emerging and reconstructing states; in historic towns and new towns; and in cities seeking to sustain their future in the so-called post-industrial age (Evans, 2001:2).

Having shown how culture has been linked with welfare, the following section will now consider how culture has also been linked into urban regeneration agendas. The quote from Evans represents how important the practices of cultural reinvention have become in the urban settings, suggesting that in the post-industrial era they have become crucial to regeneration policies. Evans also argues that the role of culture in celebrating the city is not a new one, and that it has a long history, something Hall (1998) also notes. However, what has changed with regards to the 'cultural' being used by post-industrial cities is the manner in which it has become much more '*self-conscious and self-styled*' (2001:212). This has given city administrators greater power to determine their own local or regional strategies (Balchin *et al*, 1999) and has led to cities being able to express, celebrate and cultivate their own unique cultural identities based upon their hereditary of a collective heritage. This approach has been taken in order to 'sell' the city to an 'audience' of investors and the local community (Kearns and Philo, 1993) as it is seen as an essential policy in order to survive in an ever competitive global market. Central to this incorporation of culture into the fabric of the city is the focus upon the importance of image in the built environment. This is seen as key in order to procure economic investment for the city. This process in the post-industrial city began in the early 1980s and relates directly to the arguments that were developed in Section 2.2.4 where heritage acted as a catalyst for incorporating museums into processes of regeneration and image reinvention. This is a process that was continued and promoted by New Labour and can be seen in their policy documentation.

Within UK policy documents, one paper stands out as key in representing the governmental aims for cultural regeneration. DCMS (2004a): *Culture at the Heart of Regeneration*<sup>29</sup> sets out what the government sees as a direct link between the role of culture and how it can be harnessed to regenerate both social and economic conditions of an area, primarily at the city level. At its core, this document sets out an instrumental view of culture that can provide real social and economic change for the areas where such policy is implemented. The DCMS in its development of a strategy towards cultural regeneration begins by aligning the role culture can have in the foundation of economic development, as they place a greater emphasis on the aid it can give to business:

Cultural regeneration can bring economic benefits by providing employment and generating revenue. It also attracts people and business ... Culture can play a key role as part of the economic drawing power which is central to the transformation of an area (DCMS, 2004a:5).

The DCMS paper strategically focuses upon the city scale and on the development of the built environment. Two main approaches are suggested; firstly, that such strategic cultural planning should happen at a city scale and that it should be organised and centralised in each city individually. Secondly, that where possible, investment in iconic architecture to house cultural institutions should be used, as they suggest that such buildings act as a catalyst to regeneration but also help change the perceived image of a place. Further to this, the DCMS considers such buildings as contributing to a 'sense of place' suggesting how important such architecture is in creating, maintaining and enhancing a city's image. This echoes the 1999 study *Towards an Urban Renaissance* which sought to revive the urban environment and through reurbanisation prevent post-war population decline in urban environments. The Urban Task Force also wished to see a change in the built environment<sup>30</sup>, one which was led by design in order to 'recapture' the city for people to live in. Heavy emphasis was again placed upon the importance of the built environment and how it could be used to produce cityscapes to attract people and business back into the city:

It is hard to overestimate the importance of high quality design and function. The presence of striking architectural landmarks on the landscape adds significantly to an area's cultural heritage and sense of place. By virtue of their outward appearance, buildings such as the Lowry, the Laban, and the BALTIC are immediately attractive as destinations and as marketing tools for their localities and regions (DCMS, 2004a:18).

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<sup>29</sup> Museums sit within this as they are one of the very institutions that DCMS sees as uniquely placed to foster and facilitate the ideas of cultural regeneration. Others included are those that are deemed to be within the umbrella term of the cultural industries.

<sup>30</sup> This would be expected when headed by the architect Lord Rodgers.

Therefore the use of iconic architecture<sup>31</sup> and the production of place within a city have become essential in the need to develop the city as a cultural hub, for they offer the appropriate marketing tools for both internal and external investment from both a business and tourist perspective. This practice of city image enhancement is not one that has gone un-critiqued (Paddison, 1993), due to the development of often exclusionist and gentrifying agendas (Macleod, 2002) which fail to marry up the development of society and the enhancement of the economy.

In the paper, the DCMS is consistently shifting in their emphasis upon what advantages cultural regeneration will bring and what it is for. In two separate chapters this tension is highlighted as one focuses upon community development (Chapter Four – *Delivering for Communities, with Communities*) and the other focuses upon the economic arguments (Chapter Five – *Making the Economic Case*) but the two seem to sit uneasily together, for there is an inability within the document to articulate how the two can be mutually positive. Further to this, contained within the economic chapter is a brief statement suggesting some of the less favourable aspects that a solely economic driven policy can have, though it fails again to suggest how these can be abated.

The arguments explored in Chapter Five (of DCMS, 2000a) focus primarily upon the idea of how culture can be used to build a community and how through a strong cultural policy communities can help themselves and solve their own problems, representing a highly instrumental perspective towards the role culture can have. Enshrined within this is also the Third Way conception with regards to how the citizen is expected to take responsibility for themselves. The emphasis is thus placed upon how the individual can gain from cultural activity, as the benefits of such participation have the potential to increase an individual's personal well-being and to strengthen their association with a place (city, town etc) through the development of a civic pride and a deeper sense of belonging, as the following statement portrays:

Cultural activities can be highly effective in improving the skills and confidence of individuals and improving the quality of life and the capacity of communities to solve their own problems. Such activities can contribute to the physical, economic and social regeneration of an area if they are meaningful and 'owned' by the local community... Participation in cultural activities can and does deliver a sense of belonging, trust and civic engagement (DCMS, 2004a:31).

As could be expected, the above follows a very similar discourse to the museum policy documents relating to social inclusion. Added to this, by focusing on where the emphasis is placed in terms of who is active and who is passive, the statement produces an

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<sup>31</sup> Contained within Chapter Two – *'Icons, Cities and Beyond'* (DCMS, 2004a).

understanding as to what role the citizen has in this process. The stress is placed upon the individual and the community to help themselves whilst the government (or local authority) sits in the background as a facilitator, something Fairclough (2000), Le Grand (2003), and Dean (2003) identify as a common theme in New Labour's social policy discourse. The statement also draws our attention to the development of 'skills' as a key reason for cultural activities, again loosely suggesting a connection to ideas relating to improving an individual's employability. This is critical in this instrumental approach to cultural provision that is being suggested and is reinforced further by a comment suggesting that cultural activities not only aid learning within society but also can be used as a 'catalyst' to reduce crime within areas:

Participation in cultural activities can not only lead to social regeneration, but can be a catalyst for crime reduction and learning (DCMS, 2004a:32).

Therefore, by building connections and being invested within a community, one is less likely to behave in a manner that is considered to be 'anti-social', in turn helping to aid the wider ambition of social inclusion. From this perspective, cultural participation can also act as a behavioural instrument, something Cruikshank (1999) would (again) consider a 'technology of citizenship'. Finally, the notion of social capital (see Bourdieu, 1986 or Putnam, 2001 and Section 3.3) is used to underpin this relationship, since cultural activity within a community supposedly helps build these necessary connections by bringing people together:

One particular important component of social capital is what is known as 'bridging capital', or opportunity for people from different social and economic backgrounds to come together to participate in activities and to enjoy new experiences (DCMS, 2004a:31).

Therefore in policy terms this suggests a link through cultural participation between social inclusion and citizenship through the development of different forms of capital.

In Chapter Five (of DCMS, 2004a), directly following the discussion of culture and communities, the document changes tack greatly and makes the direct links between cultural regeneration and economic benefit. This presents a much more familiar perspective upon the purpose of regeneration strategies in relation to their ability to create economic investment. Hence, cultural regeneration is seen as a way of attracting more people into an area to improve retail performance, attract new businesses and increase property values. The list below emphasizes this as it shows three key roles cultural regeneration can have in its locale:

- Improve retail performance of existing commercial outlets in the surrounding area;
- New business start-ups attracted to an area because of increased visitor expenditure; and
- Property and land values increasing as an area becomes a more desirable place to live and work (DCMS, 2004a:38).

The economic rationales, then, for cultural regeneration are close to those of regeneration. The third point highlights this as the focus is placed upon improving land values for those who own property, whilst showing little concern for potentially negative effects of land value increases on the less advantaged. Added to this, when city areas do invest heavily in cultural infrastructure there is often a very powerful ‘visionary’ element which again relates to the previously mentioned ideas of the iconic. This is something that often directly ties museums into such processes of cultural regeneration as they are often the very buildings that are used to make an iconic statement on a city’s landscape.

Finally, the document also suggests why this type of investment, such as an iconic museum, has such potential for economic gain and this again gives a instrumental conception to the role of culture. For DCMS (2004a) the building of major cultural location can also create an effect that draws people and businesses to an area:

Culture can also play a key role as a part of the wider “economic drawing power”, which is central to the economic transformation of an area (DCMS, 2004a:38).

Therefore investment in cultural infrastructure becomes essential in order to draw investment into the city; interestingly, this is where the DCMS chooses to reference Florida (2002) and his work concerning the ‘creative class’. The document draws on Florida in order to explain why cities and regions should invest in cultural infrastructure. Florida argues (and the DCMS restates this) that a strong cultural sector is essential for creating economic success. Without it, an area would not be able to attract the correct ‘class’ of people in order to propel the economy. Therefore in order to attract or to draw the correct ‘class of creatives’, a tolerant society must be developed and one which has appropriate spaces of cultural activity, such as museums. In his later (2005 and 2009) works he also extends these arguments, as he becomes primarily concerned with defining how cities can attract (and retain) creative elites and entrepreneurs. Florida places such individuals at the centre of his understanding of economic growth and stresses the importance of culture in attracting such individuals. Therefore, like the instrumental nature of the DCMS (2004a) paper, Florida also fails to give a comprehension as to how the attraction of the creative class will create a society that will benefit everyone. Peck (2005)

strongly and systematically critiques Florida's thesis for multiple reasons but perhaps the most pertinent, and simplest, is posed by asking: what happens if you are not creative, and are not part of this influential class? Peck suggests that this is what Florida fails to comprehend in his work and, added to this, argues that rather than offering an alternative rationale to neo-liberal growth agendas in cities, it in fact reinforces and sits within those discourses neatly :

The market for creative policy products is propelled by the endless pursuit of creative urban *advantage*, the (generally negative) distributional consequences of which are variously denied, obfuscated or finessed out of existence in the creativity script and its routinized practices. The creative cities discourse is both saturated in, and superficially oblivious to, the prevailing market ideology, such that the mere suggestion that creative advantage presupposes creative disadvantage, that there must be losers in the Creative Age, borders on the 'heretical' (Bradford, 2004b: 9). *Contra* the self-evident myth that every person and every place can be a creative winner, the creativity script represents a culturally inflected reinscription of these competitive relations (Peck, 2005:767).

What becomes apparent from this document is that the DCMS attempts to tread a very fine line through the promotion of cultural regeneration, one that attempts to negotiate a position between community development and economic gain. The document suggests the creation of bold new landscapes in cities but fails in any meaningful manner to consider how exclusionary in nature such landscapes can be. This is especially true when promoting notions referencing the work of Florida (2002), which fails to consider how such ideas are in conflict with creating an inclusive community. The arguments presented here place culture in an instrumental light, and is trying to square this with museological thinking that purports to a constitutive view of culture at the Scottish Level (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000 and McCall, 2010) becomes difficult, especially with an urban growth agenda at the city level that is so focussed on procuring investment. This suggests that tensions and difficulties will be implicit in this relationship, something that this thesis will investigate further.

## 2.5 – Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to place the museum at the centre of discussion, detailing the initial conceptual and theoretical considerations that are relevant to this thesis. The conclusion will now move to consider how these different positionings will be taken forward in terms of informing the rest of the thesis.

Using Lefebvre (1991) as a starting point, this thesis wishes to position the museum as a product of the urban landscape which is shaped and produced through Lefebvre's

conceptual triad. In applying the triad to the museum and using it theoretically to think about how the museum is produced, it allows the thesis to investigate how museum spaces are produced through different levels of governance. By comparing Lefebvre's triad with the research questions (see Chapter One), the triad helps conceptualise and understand further how these questions are positioned, as each part of the triad gives a further insight in to how the concepts of social inclusion, citizenship and regeneration are being integrated into museum practice. This is because the triad conceptually denotes a position to comprehend how internal museum space is created, by considering how practitioners create discourses relating to practice (through their representations of space – Research Question One and Two) and how citizens are potentially produced through their encounters with the museum (through social practice and their interpretation of representational spaces – Research Question Two). Finally, in moving beyond museum space and into a conceptualisation of the urban, the production of space creates an analytical framework to understand how new museum spaces are legitimised and created within urban regeneration strategies.

The chapter then moved on to use the historical practices of the museum's 'past' to show how many of the discourses that shape museum practices have histories that move beyond the current set of governmental concerns. The museum from the Victorian period has been shown to be a disciplinary space, and it is this function that agendas such as social inclusion and citizenship harness in order to promote their core aims. Central to this has been the way in which the visitor's gaze is shaped by the museum through the interpretation of objects (Bennett, 2006; Hetherington, 2006). Thus this gives an understanding to the institutional power of the museum, but in understanding that this power exists through circuits of power produced by display, a further question is to consider how does this actually manifest itself in contemporary practices that are shaped by citizenship and social inclusion? Central to answering this will be in giving a more nuanced understanding to 'power' as it is constituted in the museum (see Section 3.2) and to understand how the museum is positioned as a conduit for promoting social inclusion and citizenship (see Sections 3.4 and 3.5). Therefore the disciplinary space of the museum is reworked in order to incorporate social inclusion and citizenship which represent very different discourses to that of Victorian morality.

The sense by which the museum could be used for the improvement of society was also one that developed from the discussion of academic literature. This developed from the initial critique of modernist museum practice (Bennett, 1995; Hooper-Greenhill, 2004) through to the envisioning of a socially responsible and active museum (Sandell, 2007; Lord, 2006). In this Section (2.3) there was also a sense that the museum should and could be positioned so that it could be of benefit to those who had been previously

excluded from such spaces. Thus in Section 2.4 the governmental concerns of New Labour attempted to implement its vision of social inclusion and citizenship into the museum. This was a vision that followed the wider ideologies of New Labour at that time, reflecting Third Way rhetoric proclaiming a reworking in the relationship between citizen and state that shifted towards a more instrumental understanding of culture and the museum (Gray, 2007). In moving from the UK level to the Scottish Government and the SMC, a slightly contradictory picture began to develop in the complex nature of social inclusion policy, as a constitutive understanding to culture (McCall, 2010) was expressed but set against a desire to implement a set of more instrumental policies. Thus important to this thesis will be comprehending how these relationships play out within the social practice of the museum. When museum professionals implement such agendas, how will they interpret such discourses and in turn, how will participants embrace these concerns?

The heritage discussion (Section 2.2.4) which emanated from economic restructuring of the 1980s showed how the museum could be incorporated into economic strategies to sell a location. It also showed how the promotion of heritage through museums could be used to both reinvent a location and to place that location's former usage (usually industrial) firmly in the past. Wright (2005) strongly critiqued this usage suggesting that economic restructuring in urban areas at this time used heritage as both a coping mechanism for change, but also as a way moving cities from industrial pasts to post-industrial futures. This then related directly to the governmental concerns expressed in Section 2.4.3 with regards to cultural regeneration. The building of flagship iconic architecture was expressed as a very 'concrete' way to guarantee a renaissance in cultural activity in cities. Evans (2001) suggests that it is not new for cities to embark on such high profile investment, but that in the contemporary setting, with the cultural element seemingly so important, they have been amended to create a more image-conscious sense of place within the urban environment. As with more traditional forms of regeneration such civil investment is focused upon anchoring fiscal endowment for the city and to attract a new type of citizen to the city. The emphasis on the work of Florida (2002) in DCMS (2004a) added an intriguing vignette to the purposes of attaching the cultural to regeneration. The desire to attract a creative professional class to the city suggested that such bold architectural statements were not just about improving the environment for existing citizens but about placing a city within global flows of upwardly mobile professionals. Peck's (2005) excellent critique of Florida suggested that his emphasis upon the cultural amounted to nothing more than a traditional and elitist development agenda which has been couched within a language that:

Mixes cosmopolitan elitism and pop universalism, hedonism and responsibility, cultural radicalism and economic conservatism, casual and causal inference, and social libertarianism and business realism (2005:741).

Thus this leaves the question in the development of iconic flagship museums, who are they actually envisaged for? For in the 'blueprint' laid down by the DCMS (2004a) and coupled with cities that are very keen to self-style themselves through place promotion, how do such strategies sit with a museum service that tries to implement a discourse that puts its emphasis upon the importance of accessibility and inclusion?

## Chapter 3 – Social Inclusion and Citizenship

### 3.1 – Introduction

With the election to government of the UK Labour Party in 1997 (and in 1999 to the Scottish Parliament), its New Labour strategists sought to change the role that museums played within society, by purposefully hastening changes in the museum's primary functions. This has created change in the more traditional practices of collection, preservation and education, but has also created an agenda to be more proactive in serving its 'publics'. This entailed encouraging museums to engage with their surrounding locales in ways that would provide a social benefit. This reflected similar intentions expressed in the nineteenth century but now the museum was expected to be more proactive in engaging with its surrounding population. The latter section of the previous chapter (2.4) detailed this, showing how the museum has been linked to the governmental policies of social inclusion and citizenship. It is this agenda that has sought to make 'access' to museum provision a central goal, engaging the museum as a potential solver of societal problems. Subsequent chapters of this thesis will discuss what the integration of these terms has meant to museums and their practice, where as this chapter will focus upon the terms themselves in further mapping out in Lefebvrian understanding to the spaces of representation that I wish to argue enclose the museum. In order to deepen the understanding of the terms social inclusion and citizenship, the chapter will begin with a theoretical discussion framing them firstly as disciplinary techniques of government, using the work of Foucault to guide this argument.

Following this, the chapter will provide a critical analysis of the concepts 'social inclusion' and 'citizenship'. Firstly, there will be a discussion of the development and rationale of the social inclusion agenda in the UK and Scotland. Secondly, there will be a consideration as to how the concept of citizenship has been reconstituted by New Labour, and through the process of devolution in Scotland. This will then lead to a more direct discussion as to how changes in policy towards conceptions of social inclusion and citizenship have attempted within their discourses to encompass the 'cultural'. This specifically focuses upon the concept of cultural citizenship at the Scottish level which has had significant influence upon local level provision. These changes both illuminate why museums as part of the cultural industries are pertinent in such debates, where they offer an institutional space that can be used to promote social inclusion, and give access to a citizen's cultural right/entitlement. As a space of education they offer an interface that can be used to foster both a citizen's social and cultural capital. Finally, it will then move to consider how the concepts of social inclusion and cultural citizenship are closely related, in that both

concepts are conceptually linked through the consideration of cultural and social capital (Bourdieu, 1986). This chapter therefore seeks to discuss these key concepts in order to provide greater depth to later discussions and, by considering both these terms discursively, to detail the ways in which policy has defined each concept.

## 3.2 – Foucauldian Interpretations of the Museum

The museum has been specifically linked through policy literature to the concepts of social inclusion and citizenship; therefore, as was established in the nineteenth century, the museum is to still be considered a space of governmental power. Thus through such concepts the museum enacts a disciplinary function upon individuals/citizens albeit a soft-disciplining power<sup>32</sup>. Therefore in order to understand the possibility of the museum as a (soft)-disciplinary space that enacts governmental strategies, there is a need to comprehend the mechanisms of power that allow for this possibility. By following and further expanding on the work of Foucault (which was touched upon in Chapter 2) the subsequent sections will use his conceptualisations of power to comprehend the relations between the state, museum and individual in order to further this thesis's understanding towards notions of citizenship and social inclusion promoted in the museum.

### 3.2.1 – *Soft-Disciplinary Power*

In his writings, Foucault is fascinated by how power is channelled by institutions through the use of discourse in order to shape individuals (often on behalf of the state) such as the asylum in *Madness and Civilisation* (1965) or the prison in *Discipline and Punish* (1977). Key in Foucault's work, and central to his understanding of power, is how institutional spaces were used for the disciplinary processes of control to take place (Driver, 1994) and, as Caputo and Yount, describe '*institutions are the more readily definable macro-objects, grosser instruments for the finer, more elemental workings of power*' (1993:4). Within his work Foucault is therefore not interested in a simple theoretical description as to what power is but is focused upon how power is exercised in different spaces. The work of Foucault is at all times centred around the relationship between power and knowledge and how this creates processes of domination and subordination in all social relations. As Caputo and Yount (1993:4) comment, '*power is the thin, inescapable film that covers all human interactions.*' In his work he not only seeks to counter Marxist understandings of social relations which place power solely with those who control the means of production,

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<sup>32</sup> Soft-disciplinary power is a term used to describe a set of institutional power relations that seek to change an individual's behaviour through subtle and understated coercion. They are considered 'soft' in comparison to other more direct forms of institutional power such as prisons and mental health establishments. Pykett (2009) describes something similar when discussing the term 'pedagogical power' which is highly relevant in the context of museums.

by suggesting that power is a far more diffuse and complex entity (Foucault, 1980), but also to question ideologies of liberalism that suggest a progression to a more humane and freer society (Shumway, 1992). Similarly, this thesis is interested in how the institution of the museum is used to this effect, where certain concepts, ideologies and policy directions are given legitimacy in terms of how they are deployed with regards to professional practice and how they are then read by users. Hence, central to this thesis is investigating the mechanisms or technologies of power that are involved in the work of the museum.

Focusing on the later of Foucault's works cited above, *Discipline and Punish* denotes a genealogy of the development and changes in the carceral system from the sixteenth through to the nineteenth century, giving an archaeology to the human science of penology<sup>33</sup>. He denotes a shift in how sovereign power is exacted upon subjects in order to maintain control; from physical punishment imposed upon the body to attempts to control through internalising discourses to techniques that aim to control the mind (Flynn, 1994) or more accurately the 'soul' (Shumway, 1992:124). In focusing upon the historical development of penal institutions, Foucault maps out a convincing argument with regards to how discourse comes to be used in shaping behaviour:

The prison seizes the body of the inmate, exercising it, training it, organising its time and movement in order ultimately to transform the soul, "the seat of the habits." It takes hold of the individual, manipulating him and moulding him in a behaviouristic mode, rather than just attempting to influence his moral thinking from the outside. (Garland, 1986:857)

Foucault (1977:31) uses a '*critical history of the present*' to show how knowledge and power are deployed within prisons historically and to illustrate how these mechanisms of control are present today as they radiate out into other institutional settings. In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault traces the movement of ideas related to disciplines of judgement and control from what would be termed 'closed spaces' (prisons, asylums, hospitals) out into wider society, passing along the way through establishments that exhibit some form of educational purpose such as schools and, by extension, the likes of museums (NB: Foucault does not specifically name the museum). For Foucault, within such locations the relationship between knowledge and power is vital for control. This can be seen in the context of the museum, through the positioning of objects and the shaping of narrative around those objects. As was shown in Chapter Two, the 'curator' can effectively shape the visitor's gaze depending upon how they structure objects in relation to each other (Bennett, 2006). However, in applying this to the museum and to the museum's application of social inclusion and citizenship policy, there is a need to reframe Foucault's conception of disciplinary power, for it expresses a sense of power that is too strongly

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<sup>33</sup> Penology is the philosophy of attempting to comprehend and find ways to repress criminal activities.

defined by the confines of the prison when applied to the museum. Thus in using the concept of soft-disciplinary power to describe museums' implementation of governmental strategies, there is a greater consideration to a set of very different disciplinary techniques in use that do not seek to be so direct in changing an individual.

Significantly Foucault's depiction of power is described in its *ideal form* with its purpose being to survey and to internalise ideas (Driver, 1985) in order to produce *Docile Bodies* (a chapter in *Discipline and Punish*) through disciplinary techniques. These techniques rely on the notion of 'docility', "[joining] the analysable body to the manipulable body which may be subjected, used, transformed and improved" (Foucault, 1977:136). This again refers directly to the prison but serves as a useful starting point to comprehend the purposes of creating an inclusive society. Within the policy documentation there is the desire to redefine culture with a welfare role (McCall, 2010) which can be used to create an inclusive society. In this conception of inclusivity, there is a need for the citizen to accept a redefined relationship between the state and the individual. This is one that is prescribed by New Labour and promotes a normalising discourse of societal behaviour. Foucault, therefore suggests that 'docility' is produced through the shaping of practice so that it can create a normalising discourse and render individuals docile but useful to society:

Discipline 'makes' individuals; it is the specific technique of a power that regards individuals both as objects and as instruments of its exercise. It is not a triumphant power, which because of its own excess can pride itself on its omnipotence; it is modest, suspicious power, which functions as a calculated, but permanent economy ... the success of disciplinary power derives no doubt from the use of simple instruments; hierarchical observation, normalising judgement and their combination in a procedure that is specific to it, the examination (Foucault, 1977:170).

In the context of the museum's implementation of such agendas, Foucault's analysis of power proves useful as it begins to highlight how museum practice is shaped and how soft-disciplinary forms of power are produced. Hence, although Foucault denotes this relationship within the prison, by returning to a point made earlier, Foucault suggests that these concepts and techniques show similar characteristics when applied in other institutional settings outwith the prison. As in the final chapter of *Discipline and Punish*, he denotes how these processes of social control extend into more socially accessible 'open spaces', arguably extending the 'carceral network' beyond the prisons, asylums and hospitals, but all the elements of which produce a 'normalising power' upon the body (Foucault 1977:304). In framing the concepts of social inclusion and citizenship the museum sits as a place that has a disciplinary function within society, and to understand its role as technology of citizenship it is essential to investigate those more fine-grained relationships between the state, museum professionals and citizens.

A final layer of thinking to add to the concept of soft-disciplinary power is Pykett's (2009) notion of pedagogical power. Pykett (2009) defines this as a form of power that derives from educational spaces, focusing primarily on schools. She neatly gives a more nuanced and open account of the nature of power in schools, suggesting that the traditional accounts of power within schools give a far too totalising account of power by proposing an all-powerful teacher and a subservient pupil. By building on the work of Hayward (2000), Pykett suggests that such relationships are much more complex and entangled in practice, due to the relationship between teacher and pupil:

...it can be argued that pedagogy, as it denotes the science, theories or specifically the arts of teaching practice, is more than simply the transmission of knowledge (whether 'official' or 'critical' perspectives) which is intended to serve a unified agenda. Teaching may be considered a direct relationship between student and teacher whereas pedagogy is a pre-described mode of address which places some critical distance (both temporally and spatially) between teacher and taught. Teaching is what happens in school, but pedagogy involves thinking about teaching, strategizing, discriminating for/against the particular demands of students, and consideration of the interplay between the teachers intentions, the social conditions in which students and teachers interact and the desired outcome of each actor within the pedagogic event (Pykett, 2009:105).

Thus, for Pykett this comprehension of pedagogic power allows for an 'enabling and productive nature' (2009:105) to be developed through the power of learning. Therefore building upon the Foucauldian approach developed earlier in the chapter, Pykett suggests that this formation of power is about 'developing the capacities of students to act autonomously in the future' (2009:105) or, as Barnett suggests, 'a set of practices or technologies for the transformation of individuals into subjects capable of governing themselves' (Barnett, 2001:14).

Pykett's concept of pedagogical power is useful in three ways in applying this to the concept of soft-disciplinary power and the museum. Firstly, in this context, soft-disciplinary power is not a totalising power but an entangled one, where relationships between actors shape social interactions, meaning that, when looking into the soft-disciplinary and governmental processes of the museum, there is a real importance to considering the agency of participants involved in such process. Secondly, although Pykett's discussion is in the context of schools where a very specific set of power relations exist, they also have a strong resonance in this context, in understanding the learning aims and practices of curators in relation to visitors. The museum is a learning environment and as such there is a space for pedagogical reflection in terms of how best to shape the educational messages for visitors. Thirdly, by defining power in this manner, there is a need to comprehend that, like in schools, museums can also be 'productive' conduits of power,

suggesting that there will not always be ‘negative’ or repressive consequences to the entangled nature of the museums engagement with governmental agendas:

...the arts of teaching practiced in schools and in wider publics can have productive, enabling and inciting consequences, promoting self-reflection, public scepticism and capability, and cannot be understood as exclusively repressive (Pykett, 2009:113).

Thus by following the arguments of Foucault (1977 and 2005), Pykett (2002) and Barnett (2001) soft-disciplinary power attempts to highlight a reworked form of disciplinary power which borrows from both Foucault’s early work and his later work. For it is especially in his later work that he begins to sketch out a more fine-grained account to power with regards to the relationship between the state and citizens. Soft-disciplinary power therefore represents both a technology of the state to produce citizens but also a technology of the self for citizens to produce themselves. This is due to the pluralistic nature with regards to how such power is deployed, leaving it open to being interpreted differently by different actors who encounter it. The following section will move to discuss this further in reference to the closely linked concept of governmentality.

### **3.2.2 – Governmentality**

Through *Discipline and Punish* one gains an understanding as to how institutional spaces are used to create discourses that have direct influence upon individuals through finer mechanisms of control. As Foucault’s work progressed, he attempted to show more explicitly how the state maintains and controls populations. This was partly to counter Marxist critiques of his work that claimed he failed to consider how such power relations reflected issues of global politics and the relations between society and the state (Gordon, 1991). In relation to this thesis, one of the key concerns has been to understand how wider state policy is integrated on the ‘ground’ or more precisely, within the museum. Foucault’s later work proves useful in looking at this relationship, as he developed a theoretical understanding as to how the state embodies its power within institutions. Therefore it is necessary to contextualise how the ‘state’ or more explicitly the ‘government’ duly has ‘power’ and uses it through an institution such as the museum. This means that the institution is then the interface by which governmental concerns are expressed to citizens. In this context, the term ‘state’ refers in a very general sense to that of government and the role government plays in implementing its policy over its territory and population, or as Foucault would come to consider it; ‘governmentality’.

Foucault developed the concept of governmentality, or the art of government, in a series of lectures at the College De France (1977 to 1978) entitled *Security, Territory and*

*Population*, where he began to further define the concept of governmentality through a genealogy of the concept (Gordon, 1991). He portrayed the concept in these lectures as the process through which government manages population within its territory and then how it implements its will upon its population. Government conducts this through various mechanisms or techniques of power which are constituted by the influence of discourses of truth. What for Foucault is essential in countering the Marxist critiques with this term, was a re-emphasis of how the microphysical approach to power given in *Discipline and Punish* extends onto the macrophysical scale. Foucault suggests this by stressing how one needs to step outwith the institution to comprehend how the disciplinary techniques within are formed. This is argued through three key points:

So, the first methodological principle is to move outside the institution and replace it with the overall point of view, the technology of power ... the second principle is to substitute the external point of view of strategies and tactics for the internal point of view of the function. Finally, the third de-centering, the third shift to the outside, concerns the object. Taking the point of view of the disciplines involved refusing to give oneself a ready-made object, be it mental illness, delinquency, or sexuality. It involved not seeking to measure institutions, practices and knowledges in terms of the criteria and norms of an already given object. Instead, it involved grasping the movement by which a field of truth with objects of knowledge was constituted through these mobile technologies (Foucault, 2007:117-118).

Governmentality as a concept therefore seeks to move outside the institutional setting in order to comprehend what the external forces of the state have in terms of influencing how objects are constituted within the internal functioning of the institution (the museum). In order to understand the institution, Foucault suggests that we need to step into the wider more 'totalising' institution of the state in order to comprehend the technologies of power that shape discourse. To step outside the institution is therefore to comprehend the 'conduct' that shapes the discourse:

Perhaps the equivocal nature of the term conduct is one of the best aids for coming to terms with the specificity of power relations. For to "conduct" is at the same time to "lead" others (according to mechanisms of coercion which are, to varying degrees, strict) and a way of behaving within a more or less open field of possibilities. The exercise of power consists in guiding the possibility of conduct and putting in order the possible outcome. Basically power is less a confrontation between two adversaries or the linking of one to the other than a question of government (Foucault, 1982:789-790).

Senellart (2007:389) describes this as '*the conduct of conduct*', which represents the very process of government and the power relations involved in governing. Thus the comprehension of the conduct of conduct becomes key in understanding the mechanisms of the state.

In bringing Foucault's work to bear more directly on this thesis, the state surrounding but also encompassing GM is constituted by three institutions; the UK Government and the Scottish Government at a national level and then Glasgow City Council at the local level. It is from these legislators that the policies are created which in turn have an influence upon the museum's discourse with regards to practice. Further to this, it is also vital to comprehend how the individual/citizen/employee/visitor interprets and redeploys this as a starting point; thus Foucault suggests that a more considered analysis of institutional power needs to have both an understanding of the wider mechanisms of the state apparatus but also is able to comprehend how the individual is connected into this wider discourse:

In consequence one cannot confine oneself to analysing state apparatus alone if one wants to grasp the mechanisms of power in detail and complexity. There is a sort of schematism that needs to be avoided here – and which incidentally is not to be found in Marx – that consists of locating power in the state apparatus, making this into the major, privileged, capital and almost unique instrument of the power of one class over another. In reality, power in its exercise goes much further, passes through much finer channels, and is much more ambiguous, since each individual has at its disposal a certain power, and for that reason can also act as a vehicle for transmitting a wider power (Foucault, 1980b:72).

By this comprehension of power within the museum it is possible to consider how the mechanisms of power are used and how they are manifested within practice. The quote above highlights how Foucault sees power being passed through and transmitted by individuals, and within this thesis, how this process is happening in the setting of the museum. The governmental framing therefore shapes the actions of those working in the museum and hence influences the disciplinary possibilities of the museum.

Through critiquing Foucault's comprehension of power, Sharp *et al* (2000:15) describe how many conclude their reading of Foucault with a sense '*that power is nothing but a sticky pall of domination*', present everywhere and always, manipulated by authority to enter in to '*every tiny pore of the social world*'. Within the brutality of the Panopticon and the context of a totalising state, this interpretation is possible, but this to a certain extent fails to comprehend the nuanced nature to the way Foucault viewed power that is especially described in his later works:

Which has as its effect the constitution of a personal identity, because it is my hypothesis that the individual is not a pre-given entity which is seized on by the exercise of power. The individual, with his [sic] identity and characteristics, is the product of a relation of power exercised over our bodies, multiplicities, movements, desires, forces (Foucault, 1980b:74).

The two previous quotes show this in Foucault's thinking; that power mediated through discourse does not always result in universal domination, and that there is room for subversion or even resistance in this process. Or, as Sharp *et al* (2000) suggest, resistance is as much a part of power as domination. In this context, discourses should not be seen as immovable edifices of power as this is something Foucault comprehends in *Discipline and Punish*, stating that the 'noncorporeal' system of punishment was never truly achieved (Driver, 1985). Further to this, Foucault gives a pluralist account to power:

Foucault can be read, and not inaccurately, as a pluralist; he too denies the existence of a centre. 'Power comes from below ... there is no binary and all-encompassing opposition between rulers and ruled at the root of power relations ... Power is not something that is acquired, seized or shared ... power is exercised from innumerable points' (Walzer, 1983:54).

Walzer describes, with the aid of reference to Foucault's *The History of Sexuality* (1980a), the disparate manner in which Foucault viewed power and, for Sharp *et al* (2000), this is especially true in their reading of Foucault. Here they interpret Foucault's approach to governmentality and power as a relationship of *entanglement* that produces what Paddison (1983) terms 'the fragmented state'; '*one where attempts to hold together policies across national, regional and local domains consistently encounter "frictions"*' (Sharp *et al*, 2000:22). Hence within the 'innumerable points' from which power is exercised and through processes of domination, there are always opportunities to resist the conduct of conduct at every level.

The concept of the 'conduct of conduct' has strong importance to the previously mentioned concept of soft-disciplinary power as well as to governmentality, as it is at this point, in the latter part of Foucault's oeuvre, that his conceptions of power, in relation to the 'self' and neo-liberalism, became further defined, as they reworked his earlier notions of discipline. Foucault (1988,1991,1993 and 2005) introduces the concept of 'technologies of the self' which became for him a key technology in the power relations within society. This is because in his later works, he becomes intrigued by (neo-)liberalism and ways in which it greatly influenced processes of governmentality. Foucault argued that the way in which power is enacted had changed, from initially being focused upon the body, and then the mind, to shifting to a method of self-control, where individuals are left to constitute themselves within wider structures of governance, as he states:

Technologies of the self, which permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality (Foucault, 1988:18).

By creating individuals who can self-regulate themselves, the interaction between the state and the individual is renegotiated. The process of governmentality becomes about finding transformational techniques that allow individuals to govern themselves internally (Barnett, 2001), thus releasing the state from direct responsibility. This creates a much more pluralistic and open-ended description of power, in comparison to Foucault's earlier work on discipline, as now 'government' is a 'contact point' where techniques of domination and technologies of the self 'interact' (Burchell, 1996:20). Thus, it is in these very interactions – the processes of transformation – that there is the creation of discourses, with a specific conduct of conduct, which can shape how individuals should take 'care of the self' in order to produce a set of preferred behaviours or societal norms:

I think that if one wants to analyse the genealogy of the subject in Western civilization, he has to take into account not only techniques of domination but also techniques of the self. Let's say: he has to take into account the interaction between those two types of techniques – techniques of domination and techniques of the self. He has to take into account the points where the technologies of domination of individuals over one another have recourse to processes by which the individual acts upon himself. And conversely, he has to take into account the points where the techniques of the self are integrated into structures of coercion and domination. The contact point, where the individuals are driven by others is tied to the way they conduct themselves, is what we can call, I think government. Governing people, in the broad meaning of the word, governing people is not a way to force people to do what the governor wants; it is always a versatile equilibrium, with complementarity and conflicts between techniques which assure coercion and processes through which the self is constructed or modified by himself (Foucault, 1993:203-4).

The entanglement between government and citizen suggests that such techniques are always open to interpretation and re-interpretation by the individual. This means that strategies of governmentality and the associated concept of soft-disciplinary power are both strategies of coercion that may or may not be constituted by individuals.

In the context of following museum practice, this section has proved helpful as it conceptualises how discourses surrounding the museum have then contributed to shaping social practice inside the museum. In developing a more nuanced understanding to power between the state, museum and citizen this thesis will now use this to comprehend how differing levels of policy are integrated into the museum work. Added to this and relating to my second research question, through the discussion of Foucault's theories there is a depiction given as to how governmental conceptions such as social inclusion and citizenship filter down. In comprehending this conception of power as pluralistic and coming from 'innumerable points', this allows for a deeper comprehension as to how citizens involved in such governmental actually respond. In being made to internalise governmental ideas, to what extent are they actually understood, acted on and then used to 'improve' their standing in society? Finally, a Foucauldian understanding to the museum

and the way in which it is involved in governmental agendas, allows this thesis to comprehend the concepts of social inclusion and citizenship as products of governmentality that transmit the intentions of government to citizens. The chapter will now move to consider how these terms have been constructed and the discourses they have created in society.

### 3.3 – Social Inclusion

The term 'social inclusion' was developed originally from French social policy in the 1970s (Sandell, 2003 and Levitas, 2005). It was initially expressed as social cohesion, which related specifically to French society in terms of dealing with issues of race in urban areas. The term was then extended across the European Union (first in 1989 by the European Commission who preferred the term to poverty (Cousin, 1998) from there it has been passed through various national guises and interpretations (Silver, 1994). It is also directly linked to other terms that have similar meanings such as social cohesion (mentioned above), social exclusion, and social justice; therefore, at times these terms are often interchangeable in their meaning. However, other uses of these terms do suggest great differences in their meaning from semantic differences (the use of inclusion over exclusion expressing a shift from describing the problem to actually taking affirmative action to address it) to ideological differences in their application (for example, the question as to whether an inclusive society is one that seeks cohesion or justice, as Lister (2000) debates). Thus, the terms may have common lineages and in specific discourses similar meanings, but they are also highly contested terms especially when looking at their development and application. At times they overlap, at others they diverge.

In Britain the term gained most momentum with the election of New Labour (Imrie and Raco, 2003). The term social inclusion developed from a social democratic perspective which Gray (2000) attributes to a shift in the centre-left that saw the traditional goals of egalitarianism as failing in an increasingly divisive globalised world. This therefore left egalitarian goals of creating a more level society through redistribution as '*politically unfeasible*' but also potentially damaging to society, which has become far more pluralistic in its make-up, no longer constituted by class relations but also understood through differences in gender, race, ethnicity and sexuality. Hence social inclusion became a method by which social democracy could still engage with improving society that did not follow egalitarian principles of equality:

The vogue for inclusion is an attempt to conserve something of social democracy's values at a time when classical social-democratic egalitarianism is no longer advantageous (Gray, 2000:20).

Consequently, inclusion represents something different (despite sharing some similarities) to egalitarianism. As Gray goes on to suggest, the crux of this difference is reflected in the provision of services to the individual by the state. In an egalitarian model the distribution attempts to cover all with universal provision whereas the inclusive model attempts to guarantee access so *'that every member of society has access to its central goods'* which endeavours to give *'fair opportunities and the satisfaction of basic needs'* (2000:28). In order to define this term, a useful initial definition comes from Silver who suggests:

A multidimensional process of progressive social rupture, detaching groups and individuals from social relations and institutions and preventing them from full participation in the normal, normatively prescribed activities of the society in which they live (2007:15)

And this definition relates directly to the definition given by New Labour in the previous chapter<sup>34</sup>. Thus the desire to combat social exclusion and create inclusion can be seen as a strategy to improve a citizen's life whilst at the same time shaping the way in which they should be living their lives. It relies on normative discourses that have been shaped by New Labour ideology.

In critiquing New Labour's conception of social inclusion Levitas (2005) neatly pulls apart the concept of social inclusion and dissects it into three distinct discourses which she terms as *'ideal types'* that constitute the differing objectives of social inclusion/exclusion when applied to the social policy setting:

In practice, however, 'social exclusion' is embedded in different discourses which manifest these problems to varying extent. Three discourses are identified here: a redistributionist discourse (RED) developed in British critical social policy, whose primary concern is with poverty; a moral underclass discourse (MUD) which centres on the moral behaviour and delinquency of the excluded themselves and a social integrationist discourse (SID) whose central focus is on paid work (2005:7).

For Levitas the use of ideal types, a concept borrowed from Weber, is useful in that it helps envisage the key facets of the main discourses comprising social inclusion whilst at the same time suggesting that these are not perfect or individual in their application but are constitutive of each other. Therefore they become a useful set of counterpoints to comprehending the complexity of the application of social inclusion in different settings. RED reflects a more historical emphasis on dealing with issues of poverty, where government is responsible for readdressing structural inequalities that create societal difference (primarily through welfare provision). This contrasts greatly with MUD which

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<sup>34</sup> A shorthand term for what can happen when people or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health, poverty and family breakdown (DCMS, 2000a:7).

places a moral discourse upon those who are termed as excluded, due to their moral and cultural failings as an 'underclass' (welfare therefore is seen to be perpetuating the problem). Finally, SID places its emphasis upon the importance of paid work as an integrative function for building a cohesive society (again similar to MUD in that it wishes to see a move away from welfare). This is something Stewart (2000) agrees with, suggesting that within the development of the social inclusion agenda there has been a desire to reconstitute the political landscape in order for a different type of intervention to take place and, like Gray formerly, this represents an agenda that attempts to move away from issues of equality:

The dominant discourse in particular represents the attempt to resituate fundamentally the political spectrum by marginalising or eliminating the issue of equality from the political agenda (2000:4).

In splitting apart the concept of inclusion, Levitas (2005) states that, although social inclusion contains elements of all three, the term has become largely focused upon two of the three discourses. Firstly, MUD has been reflected in the pathologisation of those on benefits but also in the stigmatisation of those deemed to be deviant, an obvious example being the use of anti-social behaviour orders (ASBOs). Secondly, and more importantly for Levitas is the roll out of policies that are positioned within the SID discourse which have been exemplified by Lifelong Learning strategies. The following section will hence attempt to show how at the UK level this has become the case under the development of New Labour policy.

### **3.3.1 – The New Labour Rationale**

Following successive years of Conservative rule, 'social exclusion', as it was initially termed<sup>35</sup>, became a key policy in the development of the third way or social democratic intentions of the new government. It initially intended to create a break from the social imbalances created through the free market style of government heralded by Thatcher and continued by Major (New Right), but at the same time did not want to be associated with what was termed the 'Old Left' (Levitas, 2005). With hindsight, this did not happen but the rhetoric suggested it might, as New Labour embarked upon a policy direction that sought to create a more inclusive society. It attempted to give solutions to the multiple problems faced by those on the 'margins' (*cf.* above definitions).

This approach by New Labour sought to see issues relating to poverty and cohesion as a multidimensional problem that required a change in social policy. For Lister (2000:46), the *'global economic trends also impose constraints on the ability of governments to use*

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<sup>35</sup> Before New Labour adopting the term 'Social Inclusion'.

*social policy to build an inclusive society*'. Under New Labour thinking, Third Way ideologies (see Section 3.4.2 for more on this) sought to embrace this and to use social inclusion policy as a way to help individuals deal with the vagaries of the global economic climate by making them more robust in dealing with the ever changing global economy. For Levitas (2005), this represented one of the key facets of New Labour discourse. Unlike the New Right, it rejected the naturalisation of markets underpinned by neo-liberal thinking by maintaining a belief that markets are socially embedded. It did, however, accept an inevitability about the processes of globalisation where the global market becomes a limiting factor upon the power of government:

The global economy is repeatedly invoked as an external which limits the possibility of government intervention in general and its responsibility for economic insecurity in particular (Levitas, 2005:113).

Therefore there was a rejection of the belief that the market alone could provide the opportunities for the citizen alone, as New Labour, when in office, further stressed its belief in the new global economy. This caused considerable bearing on the development of social inclusion policy and the way this then linked to how citizenship was constituted (see later sections). Fairclough highlights this from his chosen extract from the White Paper on competitiveness and the building of a 'knowledge driven economy':

In the increasingly global economy of today, we cannot compete in the old ways. Capital is mobile, technology can migrate quickly and goods can be made in low cost countries and shipped to developed markets. British business must compete exploiting capabilities which its competitors cannot easily match imitate...knowledge, skills and creativity (2000:23).

The above implies that in order to be competitive in the global economy Britain must develop a knowledge economy; New Labour saw the use of education as a method for doing this, and for Lister (2000:46) it became a '*key weapon in the attack against social exclusion*'. This works on two levels. First, by giving all individuals access to education at all levels of society, it is believed that this will create the necessary knowledge economy to make Britain competitive in a global market. The policy of Lifelong Learning has been key to this, where education is not just those in their formative years but something that should be available at all stages of life. Second, by making Britain competitive with the development of a knowledge economy through education, New Labour believed that this would help in the attraction of multinational companies for investment, creating employment opportunities for all. Therefore from this perspective the state sees its role in developing education for all as its part of the deal, and it sees the citizen's role to take this opportunity in education and become active in order to make them viable for employment.

Learning becomes something that an individual undertakes throughout their 'work career' and not one restricted to a given time, to narrow job demands or particular employers...It is now employability within firms, local and national labour markets that is to be prioritised rather than a simple qualifications increase. It shifts responsibility away from the state having to underwrite full employment and moves to the individual who by dint of their learning efforts can deal with the dynamics of the labour market (Cressey, 1999:182).

The above quote relates further to New Labour's ideas concerning welfare and what role this plays in its deal with citizens. New Labour believes firmly in the use of paid work rather than benefits to help move people away from 'poverty' (SID). By creating job opportunities through education and the attraction of employers, it is firmly believed that the citizen should therefore have no excuse not to work and therefore earn, meaning the state would not have to intervene (Hewitt, 1999):

This is based on the principles that work is the best route out of poverty for those who can work and that it offers dignity and security to those who are unable to work (Powell, 1999:13)

Therefore the New Labour rationale for promoting social inclusion no longer followed the party's historical desire to produce a form of redistributive justice. The inference was no longer on being a societal leveller which was exemplified pre-election with the abolition of Clause IV<sup>36</sup>, but as a party that wished to redistribute opportunity to all. Opportunity through education became the prime solution to New Labour for dealing with those on the 'margins', where education provided the pathway to employment and the ability to take an active role within society. As Lister succinctly describes:

The New Labour Government's espousal of social inclusion as an objective has been underpinned by a shift in philosophy from traditional left notions of equality in favour of those of equality of opportunity (2000:42).

### **3.3.2 – Inclusion and justice in Scottish Policy**

With the election of New Labour to the new Scottish Parliament in 1999, initially there was very little policy divergence between the two legislative bodies north and south of the border (see Poole and Mooney 2005); and in the case of the production of museum policy, very similar documents were produced within Scotland (see Section 2.4). However some subtle differences can be elicited from the various policy documents produced. Pre-dating the inception of the Scottish Parliament were the two documents produced by the now subsumed Scottish Office (SO); *Social Exclusion in Scotland* (1998) and *Social Inclusion – Opening the door to a better Scotland* (1999). The first document was a

<sup>36</sup> Before Blair removed it, Clause IV was a Labour policy that committed the party to the nationalisation of all industries and services placing them under the common ownership of the state. It also represented a strong link between the party and trade unions.

consultation document and second was a much larger and more detailed plan about how to tackle the issues that building a socially inclusive Scotland would create. What both documents articulate is the need for this problem to be tackled in a manner that went beyond just central government intervention. The SO suggests that, in order to attempt to develop policy to tackle social inclusion, government had not only to work cross-departmentally but this had to filter through to the local level, with a necessity for all groups concerned to find ways to work in partnership. Partnership in these documents becomes an essential strategy for creating effective policy to dealing with issues surrounding social inclusion.

In 1999 the Scottish Executive's (SE) paper, *Social Justice...a Scotland where everyone matters*, set the score as to how social inclusion in Scotland would be implemented. It was heavily influenced by the Scottish Social Inclusion Network and the SO reports, but interestingly chose to use the term 'justice', rather than inclusion or exclusion. This document began to set the 'targets' for future approaches to social justice and centred around five key targets for creating a more socially just society; *children, young people, families, older people and communities*. It was based upon belief that everyone in Scotland should be given an equal opportunity to succeed and cites the historical context as producing entrenched injustices in Scotland, as Donald Dewar then First Minister expresses:

This report is the outcome of all this work, setting out our vision of a Scotland where everyone matters. Here we set our targets and milestones – measures by which we can live up to our vision.

We cannot right the wrongs of the past overnight. We know Scotland's injustices are complex and deep-rooted. But our aim is to achieve real and lasting change in people's lives that can be seen and felt (Scottish Executive, 1999:2)

Therefore, in this document the term 'justice' is used, as the task is seen as a matter of readdressing a balance in which a fairer society can be built for Scotland. For this reason social justice is seen to encompass the issues of exclusion and inclusion within its remit. Thus, through the setting of target groups the SP hoped to create a socially just society, attempting to create opportunities that would be aimed to all at every stage of life. What also became apparent in policy documents of this time was that ideas of social inclusion were not only confined to the traditional welfare services and institutions which would have normally dealt with such issues. Thus, the National Cultural Strategy was produced in 2000, and this set down a four-year plan for the development of culture and the arts. In doing this the SE outlined four objectives:

**Cultural Objectives:**

- Promoting creativity, the arts, and other cultural activity;
- Celebrating Scotland's heritage in its full diversity;
- Realizing culture's potential to education, promoting social inclusion and enhancing people's quality of life;
- Assuring an effective national support framework for culture (Scottish Executive, 2000:4).

This was referred to in Section 2.4.2 and highlights Scotland embarking on an attempt to incorporate the cultural into notions of an inclusionary justice which is specifically alluded to in the third point. This represented a clear link as to why cultural institutions such as museums became far more engaged in such agendas (McCall, 2009). The relationship between social inclusion and culture will be discussed further in Section 3.5.4 but, as can be seen, the direct links between the two highlighted how governmental ideas towards inclusion were permeating through all areas of policy.

The discourses towards social inclusion/justice that developed at the Scottish level reflected those at the UK level and represented a set of governmental strategies for managing citizens (Foucault, 2007). The depiction of governmentality given by Foucault, in this chapter, proves highly useful in comprehending why New Labour was so keen to implement such agendas. They were employed in order to change the relationship between citizen and state which attempted to redefine the notions of citizenship to fit with New Labour discourse. In doing this they created a discourse that sought to deal with the multifaceted problems faced by those who were termed socially excluded. This is why a Foucauldian framing to social inclusion is appropriate because the focus of such policies is to internalise within the citizen a specific set of ideas. These represent New Labour's vision for citizenship as it was interpreted in Scotland and therefore, when applied in different places and through different institutions, attempted to impress various 'normalising' discourse upon the individual (see Levitas, 2005). These are important as the governmental strategies then shaped and become entangled within the conceptual triad that operated at the local level and more specifically in museums. Thus, the inclusionary discourses in Scotland during this time produced two differing conceptions of citizenship which in their implementation had definite consequences for museums. These conceptions of citizenship are termed as active citizenship and cultural citizenship and will be defined further in the following section.

### 3.4 – Citizenship

Through the development of social inclusion policy what becomes essential is to understand how citizenship has been constituted by the state in order to create the possibility of an inclusive society. The following section will therefore give a background to the development of social citizenship in the UK before discussing the main policy directions at the UK level regarding the concept of active citizenship. This will then lead to a discussion concerning citizenship within post-devolved Scotland, which attempted to incorporate the cultural into notions of citizenship. The museum's role within this context acts as a space that draws these two concepts together that allows citizens to be active in society and gives them access to their cultural assets. The agendas within New Labour's constructions of citizenship at the UK and Scottish levels have had a strong influence upon the local level's attempts to foster both concepts.

Citizenship – as it is widely appreciated – is a contested concept. Basok *et al* provides a useful starting point to open up the debate to wider considerations:

The notion of citizenship has three inter-related dimensions: political participation, rights and obligations, and membership to a political community. The modern concept of citizenship links rights and political participation to membership of a nation-state (2006:267).

The quote above highlights the different components that make up citizenship in the modern setting. Citizenship as a concept has existed since Ancient Greece and since then it has been constituted in many different forms and as a concept it is highly discursive in nature. Basok *et al* (2006) highlight inter-related dimensions of citizenship that, depending upon ideology, can mean citizenship is constituted in a variety of different ways. In this context, citizenship can be both inclusionary and exclusionary, in the way it wishes to recognise some but not all people as citizens.

Democratic citizenship, as we understand it today, is the outcome of struggles over who should be included in or excluded from the polity (Baubock, 2003:139).

Added to this, even when citizenship may be given as a birthright (i.e. when born in a specific country) the creation of discourses of citizenship by the state defines what constitutes a 'good' citizen (Ruppert, 2006). For, when governments create policy initiatives on citizenship which define what they see citizenship as, there is an attempt to delineate the idea of a citizen behaving and acting in a certain manner that results in them being a 'good' citizen. Thus citizenship should also be seen as a strategy of governmentality (Foucault, 2007), deployed by the state to develop a 'conduct of conduct'

amongst citizens. Isin (2002) depicts this through denoting a genealogy to this process, describing how various 'states' in different places and times have constituted and reconstituted what it is to be a citizen. This is something that is also done on an individual level, as Stevenson explains:

Civil society is not merely an institutional realm, but is constructed through symbolic codes of inclusion and exclusion. Notions of 'civility' depend upon definitions of incivility. All citizens make judgments between those who are deserving of exclusion from the public right to speak or indeed who is worth hearing (2003a:336).

Therefore, when one does not fit the required standards of citizenship one can be left in a peripheral position within society, showing how strongly defined ideas of citizenship can create exclusion. Those on the outside may be marginalised politically, civically, socially or culturally depending upon the situation in which they do not fit the criteria to be a citizen, as they are seen to be deficient in the necessary civic virtues. Those seeking political asylum can be placed in such a position, where the state takes away certain rights until their case is proven. This is highlighted by Kofman (1995) in the European setting as immigrants enter Europe and attempt to gain full citizenship, and taken further by Painter and Philo who suggest that many see the entire concept of citizenship as one that is '*flawed*' from its very inception due to its nature of defining those that are and are not citizens:

The denial of citizenship to many non-conforming others is regrettably a further continuity that can be traced from antiquity to the modern era, even if the precise detail of who gets excluded and why have shifted about, and this is the chief reason why many contemporary critics would assert that the very concept is indelibly flawed (1995:114).

Citizenship is therefore intrinsically geographical in its nature (Desforges *et al*, 2005) as it is always constituted across spatial scales. It can be viewed on the local, national, supra-national and global scale but it is usually primarily defined at the national level<sup>37</sup>. As Isin and Wood suggest, the nation state still has an important role in the development of citizenship, as they suggest it is still very important in how we *frame* our lives:

Nationalism is a powerful imaginary that frames people's perceptions of their social and political space and identity...Without simplistically assuming that the nation-state is on the wane, nevertheless, it is equally important to recognise that post modernization and globalisation have imposed severe upward and downward limits on modern citizenship (1999:155).

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<sup>37</sup> Instances where citizenship has been extended beyond the nation-state can be seen in the processes caused by globalisation such as; increased multi-lateral agreement, trade, international business, improved communications, unionism, global justice networks and the development of ideas to create generic human rights that should be recognised internationally by all nations (Basok *et al*, 2006).

Thus for this thesis the concept of how citizenship, through social inclusion agendas, is re-written by the UK and Scottish government is essential in order to understand how this was then implemented in museums. This pushed the concept in two different directions: at the UK level New Labour focussed upon the concept of creating active citizens; at the Scottish level this was also incorporated but a further dimension to citizenship was contemplated by creating a cultural dimension to the concept.

### **3.4.1 – New Labour and the Active Citizen**

New Labour policy towards citizenship was re-shaped by the input of 'Third Way' thinking. Third Way thinking formed the theoretical backbone to Labour's policy initiatives at the 1997 election and was to be applied throughout all areas of government after the victory, including conceptions of citizenship, which wanted to valorise the active citizen and demonise the inactive. The museum becomes embroiled in the desire for the state to create active citizens due to the governmental desires of New Labour. In the previous chapter's depiction of UK level policy for the museum, the documents depict a museum that should be going out into the community and seeking those who would appear to be disadvantaged and excluded, the intention for this being to inspire and empower citizens to learn through increased access to cultural provision. For example, the DCMS states *'museums ... should be a local learning place and champion of the independent learner'* (2001a:8). Hence the emphasis is to use the museum as a space that activates the citizen to act independently.

Although the origins of the term are somewhat disputed, an early example of the Third Way that re-popularised the term in Western democracies was by Bill Clinton in 1992. Third Way rhetoric appeared in the Democratic manifesto as Driver and Martell (1998) highlight, although Giddens (2001) traces the term back further, specifically to periods during the Cold War with its use in Europe. The term aims to move politics beyond dogmatic left and right terminology in order to produce a politics that is pragmatic. In this sense, policy should not be dictated by an ideological standpoint but by what is the best solution to the problem. Whether this comes from a left or right wing viewpoint is irrelevant, since in Third Way thinking this conception becomes inappropriate, as it attempts to find a middle ground or compromise between the two political wings (Deacon, 2003). To understand this better, it is useful to consider a comparative approach between the three main dominant doctrines. These are termed the 'Old Left', the 'New Right' and the 'Third Way' (Powell, 1999), as this will lead to an increased understanding as to why the Third Way is different. Policy under the old left sought to act as a 'leveller' within society by redistributing wealth in order to make everyone more equal. This was to be done by the use of the welfare state in the form of benefits. Alternatively, the New Right

seeks to deregulate everything and make the market as free as possible, whilst reducing state services, which would in turn, as Powell (1999:14) described, tend to deliver extremes of affluence on poverty.

The Third Way instead wishes to act as an investor in people, that offers the individual a redistribution of opportunities rather than income. In this situation the state intends to act as a catalyst for that opportunity on which economic development can be based. As Blair himself commented, just after the election victory:

Our task is not to fight old battles but to show that there is a third way, a way of marrying together an open, competitive and successful economy with a just and humane society (Driver and Martell, 1998:7).

Or as Dean states:

It offered those in need a handout, not a hand up. And so Third Way governments—and particularly Britain's New Labour government—have been seeking to restore civic duty and to foster a new ethic of self-governance (2003:696).

Therefore Third Way politics attempts to do what both the left and right demarcations have historically failed to do, that is, to generate continued economic growth for all. The Old Left had been seen to have failed to do this due to its inability to promote economic growth, whereas the New Right may have produced economic growth but failed to produce growth for all, leading to increased disparities in wealth creation. Further to this, the New Right saw its goal to cut back welfare provision. The Reagan and Thatcher governments embarked on such policies to release themselves from this commitment, which they saw as something developed under Old Left governments, although Dean (2003) suggests that they failed in this desire. Under New Labour the Third Way approach has sought to modernise welfare rather than directly reduce provision. For proponents of active citizenship such as Mayo and Annette (2010) and Tam (2010), the concept is one which empowers people to take control of their lives through education (active learning) and through adequately skilling themselves, allowing an individual to find employment:

Governments in Britain have set out to address these concerns, aiming to transform citizens from passive recipients of public services into mutually dependent individuals, active as members of their communities. Citizens have been the subject of policies to encourage and empower them, based upon the civic approach to citizenship development, engaging with public institutions to 'rectify imbalances of power, maintain decent standards for all, sustain mutual respect, and secure their protection from avoidable misfortune' (Tam in Mayo and Annette, 2010:1).

Again the discourse fits with what Levitas's termed SID, as the New Labour government sought to redefine the notion of being a citizen. New Labour, with active citizenship, sought to create a form of citizenship based on both rights and obligations (Dean, 2004). This was initiated in order to develop a moral discourse that links rights and obligations together in the form of citizenship:

Moral discourse is combined with contractual discourse which interprets the distribution of rights and responsibilities metaphorically as a 'contract' or 'deal' between the individual and society (Fairclough, 2000:39).

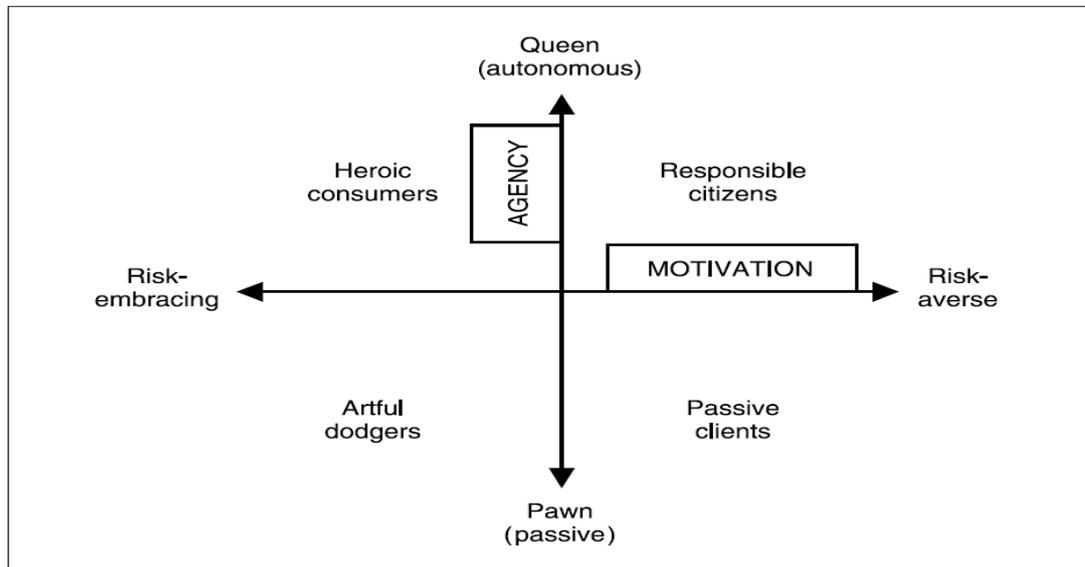
By attempting to develop the idea of a contract or a deal, New Labour wishes to create a two-way relationship between the state and the individual in which both are intrinsically linked for the well-being of society. Therefore this format of citizenship differs from previous forms of left-wing citizenship in that its focus is upon the individual, which moves against previous left linkages to collectivism. The deal is entered into on an individual level, where the individual is expected to play their part in helping strengthen the community: to be active. This ties in the previously mentioned idea of redistribution of opportunities, in that New Labour sees its role in government (the state) being to create opportunity for the individual but it is then the individual that, as a 'good' citizen, has to take the opportunity given, not relying on the state for further support. This therefore moves New Labour policy away from right-wing interpretations of citizenship in that there is no belief that the market alone will provide the opportunity.

Dean (2003:702) suggests that this repositioning is a move that pushes provision far more towards a neo-liberal approach, which New Labour has positioned within a Third Way discourse which represents '*a world in which welfare entrepreneurs provide services for heroic consumers*'. This then greatly changes the relationship between the state and the citizens, where the promotion of '*heroic consumers*'<sup>38</sup> is essential and the promotion of strategies that attempt to empower and give agency to citizens become essential. In Figure 3.1 Dean depicts four-way directional axes to show how the heroic consumer is positioned in relation to other potential forms of citizen. Le Grand (2003) suggests the state is now to be considered as an instrumental actor that sets the stage for the citizen to perform. Dean (2003), Le Grand (2003) and Kearns (1995) link the concept back to policies of the New Right that New Labour's Third Way approach chose to embrace, setting it as a form of neo-liberal citizenship. Neo-liberal approaches therefore place greater responsibility on the citizen to act rather than on the state to act for the citizen.

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<sup>38</sup> The *heroic consumer* is a construct by Dean (2003) to describe how a neo-liberal state would attempt to envisage its citizens. The citizen here is an individual who uses their own agency to provide for themselves with little need for the state to intervene. Thus the state is a passive facilitator of service where the citizen decides whether or not to consume for their own benefit (see Figure 3.1)

The concept wishes to reverse the roles between the citizen and the state, as was highlighted in the previous section concerning Marshall and social rights. The state expects that to be a 'good' citizen one should be responsible for one's own social welfare and not rely on the state for support. Neo-liberal citizenship therefore attempts to develop the idea of 'activity', where the citizen sees it as their duty to be active and participate.



**Figure 3.1 – Motivation, agency and the construction of welfare service recipients (Dean, 2003:700).**

Therefore for those like Smith (1995) the creation or the extension of the voluntary sector, for example, is a technique by which the state can effectively release itself from the need to provide certain services, as in theory it is no longer needed (*cf.* David Cameron's current Big Society) . As such this form of citizenship is seen as a way for the state to loosen its responsibility to the citizen:

Active citizenship is about decreasing demand on a deliberately diminished public purse on the assumption that those who have more resources as a consequence will share their good fortune at times, and in spaces, of need...Active citizenship is a shift to self provisioning clothed in the language of obligation (Smith, 1995:192).

For many, neo-liberal citizenship represents an emphasis in government to put economic concerns ahead of the welfare of the people. This leads to a society in which issues of class division become worsened, as the state is no longer required to provide, causing an ever widening gap between the rich and poor.

### **3.4.2 – The active citizen and the volunteer**

In the creation of policy aimed at creating active citizens through museum usage, one popular method employed to date by museums has been the use of the volunteer.

Museums have for some years used volunteers, but, with the creation of policy at the UK and national levels aimed at increasing provision in museums, this has increased. This desire has come from three differing positions; the first is related to funding and the often tight budgets that museums work with, meaning that volunteers are seen within the documents as having the ability to ‘significantly increase capacity within museums’, as the MGS (Baird, 2009) report suggests. This was also previously expressed by the Cultural Commission:

The voluntary sector plays a vital role in delivering and supporting cultural activity...Research undertaken by the Scottish Council for Voluntary Organisations (SCVO) showed that arts, sports and culture made up 40% of voluntary organisations (estimated to be around 50,000 in total), making it the largest segment of voluntary sector in Scotland (Cultural Commission, 2004:21).

The second revolves around the notion of the active citizen and the belief that volunteering is one way in which one can be an active citizen and contribute back to society. The idea of the active citizen has been a policy developed by New Labour at the national level (mainly focused at those of school age) and aims to promote values that mean individuals will take a progressive interest in the society in which they live in, hence engaging citizens and allowing them the ‘opportunity’ to express themselves within society. The purpose is to aid those that may have been disenfranchised or marginalised to be reconnected to a wider *polis* by choosing to take part. The link to volunteering is created because it is suggested that, when someone gives up their free time for no financial gain to help others, through such a personal endeavour they will become a more integrated member of society who does not feel separated or marginalised but connected to others, as expressed by the *Volunteering Strategy* (Scottish Executive, 2004a): ‘*action to support volunteering is action to support community action and build respect for others*’, and is reinforced further by MGS in a report by Baird:

For volunteers of retirement age volunteering provides an opportunity to remain active in the community, maintain skills and knowledge, and to learn new skills. Volunteering is having a strong effect on the generation of physical, social, and cultural capital for communities. The museum and its volunteers are a cultural focus for the local community (2009:4).

The third is related to the idea of volunteering being a ‘pathway to employment’ and one that equips the volunteer with the necessary skills to improve their position within the workplace. This is seen as a way of making volunteering more appealing to younger people, as volunteering within museums has mainly been an occupation for those at a later stage in life:

Very few young people engaging in voluntary work across the cultural sector ... There is a need to ensure that appropriate volunteering opportunities promoting skills development and therefore genuinely contributing to a persons employability, are offered by museums and galleries (SMC, 2000:3).

SMC (2006b:20) further defines the desire to improve volunteer employability, and in one of their most recent research documents this was commented on further as the MGS report claimed that a positive relationship between gaining voluntary experience and access to the workplace was present, and that people were being equipped with the necessary skills to acquire employment<sup>39</sup>:

For volunteers of working age volunteering provides a way for them to increase their employability through personal development and skills development. There is evidence of museum volunteers going on to secure paid employment within and out with the sector (Baird, 2009:6).

From these three differing perspectives of volunteering, a somewhat contradictory position is developed between the altruistic views of the volunteer as an active citizen set against the desire to see the volunteer equipped for the workplace. Hence, the language used to describe the purpose of volunteering within museums is twofold; the altruistic view, that represents the volunteer as active and who chooses to do something where there is no direct gain, set against using volunteering as an opportunity to gain access into fully paid employment where the museum acts as a facilitator to the individual, suggesting that the volunteer in this circumstance may have little option on whether they would choose to do this but it becomes a necessity for them in order to gain employment.

Having discussed the notion of the active citizen with regards to it being a governmental strategy seeking to reduce the state's role as a provider for citizens, the following will now consider how this concept will be used to inform this thesis. The active citizen is defined as a citizen who is proactive and 'empowered' so that they can take full responsibility for their own lives, whilst also being able to contribute back in some way to society. From this position, the thesis will investigate how these ideas have found fruition in the museum. In implementing strategies that potentially aim to produce active citizens, how are these policies actually envisioned and how are they received by citizens who take part? The crux of this will be the extent to which such governmental concerns are transmitted through the museum. Thus in following this specific line of questioning, it will be necessary to comprehend what those who take part in museum activities gain from such experiences and how this then influences them as citizens. Does it lead to greater participation in

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<sup>39</sup> Interestingly, talking to various museum staff at Glasgow Museums, they suggested that it was nearly impossible to gain employment in a museum without doing some form of voluntary work first.

society whilst expecting less in return, and as a governmental strategy does it produce the type of citizen that the state desires?

### **3.4.3 – Towards Cultural Citizenship?**

In Scotland and further afield there have been recent discussions about developing a form of cultural citizenship (see Section 3.4.4). This largely failed to meet fruition at the national level but did have an influence upon local cultural provision (in Glasgow, for example). The public museum as a cultural institution has had a historical purpose (along with others) of giving citizens access to artefacts of cultural meaning. This is furthered with the increased emphasis upon improving access to museums in current policy documents to all member of society. This means the museum has become an instrumental institution of the state that can provide a space where people can access their cultural rights and entitlements. The following section will thus consider what is meant by the term cultural citizenship and what its purpose would be in society in relation to creating a more inclusive society.

Over the last ten years, there has been much debate over the concept of cultural citizenship (Vega and Boele van Hensbroek, 2010); many academics have attempted to champion the idea of 'cultural rights' by attributing them to already more defined notions of citizenship. Therefore it is now being argued that citizenship needs to change again to fit with more contemporary times: that it needs to comprehend the cultural dimension of society. For Vega and Van Hensbroek, the concept of the 'cultural citizen' is quite difficult to pinpoint as it appears in various guises:

They may be citizens with 'cultural' claims on politics, like immigrants from non-western countries, women with headscarves, (other kinds of) feminists, gay rights activists and so on. They may be citizens involved in the pluralisation and interculturalisation of the arts, attempting to increase social participation or community bonding. They may be citizens of the media society, glued to television or the internet, or of consumerism, celebrating lifestyle over politics or turning politics into a lifestyle (Vega and Van Hensbroek, 2010:246).

To this extent they argue that '*citizenship seems cloaked in culture*' (Vega and Van Hensbroek, 2010:246) suggesting that everyone is already a 'cultural' citizen, which is hence a useful point to start from in considering what is meant by the term cultural citizenship and what 'cultural rights' would mean for citizens. Pakulski defines the idea of cultural rights as:

A new breed of claims for unhindered representation, recognition without marginalisation, acceptance and integration without 'normalising' distortion (1997:80).

Stevenson (2003b) then goes further to suggest that these rights should be based alongside those of social rights when developing ideas of citizenship and that this should be done by applying the same principles used by Marshall (1992) when he developed his argument for linking social rights to citizenship. Stevenson argues that, with the cultural dimension missing from citizenship, it fails to be useful as a concept in the contemporary settings. Added to this is his belief that in order to help build a 'cosmopolitan' society, it is necessary for citizenship to now negate what Pakulski suggests in his definition of cultural rights, that is that the 'normalising' affects of current citizenship models have to be discarded. This highlights two things concerning the nature of citizenship and what is meant by the normalising affect of it both historically and in its present day form. Firstly, that it has been both used to bring peoples/societies together, but conversely it has also been used to differentiate and separate peoples. Secondly, that within the horizon of what is considered a 'good' citizen, which today is still defined principally by the nation-state, there is a necessity to conform to a certain way of living to constitute being a good citizen and even to adhere to a certain form of behaviour in order to fit in. Stevenson, however, sees this as a failing of citizenship and in order to solve this problem he advocates the introduction of cultural rights as a possible solution, as he considers this the best solution to help build a better society in a more diverse, cosmopolitan world:

Definitions of citizenship need to link the struggle for rights and social justice with the quest for recognition and cultural respect...The genuinely 'cultural' dimensions of citizenship can no longer be assumed mediated, globalised and post-modernised societies...These rights go beyond welfare protection, political representation or civil justice and focus on the right to propagate a cultural identity or lifestyle (2003a:331-333).

The last sentence in the above citation also ties in with the work of Isin and Wood (1999), who specifically consider the relationship between citizenship and identity. Their work specifically looks into the many layers that they show to exist in the relationship between the individual (identity) and the community (citizenship). They attempt to make such distinctions far more problematic as pluralize ideas of citizenship and move it away from simply dialectical arguments and definitions. They do this by considering how differing approaches from various disciplines have attempted to dissect the meanings of citizenship from varying perspectives, such perspectives being those emanating from critiques of citizenship through the gazes of gender, sexuality, and ethnicity. For Isin and Wood these critiques have helped, in their opinion, to push forward ideas of group identities and rights into the arena of citizenship. Again like Stevenson, Isin and Wood wish to build upon the work of Marshall, but they also have a desire to re-conceptualise how we perceive

citizenship. In re-conceptualising citizenship they hope to create a form of citizenship that gives the citizen *the right to have rights* and not as it has been historically, which grants the citizen a passive right of status. Isin and Wood explain further:

This evolves parallel to the citizenship needs developed by Marshall...But to understand citizenship rights in terms of the right to have an identity (i.e. the right to have rights), as opposed (or in addition) to the passive right of status, involves, first a reconception of the meaning of citizenship, and, second a reconception of the means of allocating citizenship rights and the politics from which such rights draw legitimacy, from polis to cosmopolis (1999:ix).

Therefore the integration of cultural rights into citizenship suggests that, in order for such rights to be effective, citizenship itself has to change greatly to make this possible. Isin and Wood envisage a form of citizenship that allows the citizens to develop their own rights in which they have control over how rights are allocated.

With the term *Cosmopolis*, Isin and Wood hint at the reason as to why the cultural dimension has become such an important issue to many when discussing citizenship and why to various academics it is an essential necessity for citizenship to encompass. *Cosmopolis* refers to the concept of a society that is open to all, regardless of cultural background. Therefore a person's identity should not affect their ability to function within society, meaning that their ethnicity, gender, sexuality or religious views should not detract from them being accepted and tolerated within society. The term *Cosmopolis* is built upon the idea of a great variety of cultures coming together and co-existing. Turner states the reasons for the necessity of the cultural dimension being further considered within the realms of citizenship:

The question and the possibility of cultural citizenship have become major issues of contemporary society as a consequence of globalisation, decolonisation and multi-culturalism. Globalisation raises new questions about individual identity and therefore brings into prominence questions of multi-cultural membership and cultural empowerment through the possession of citizenship status (2001:12).

The process of globalisation and especially the process of decolonisation have generated mass movements of people across the globe. This has meant that many nations, cities, or towns have changed greatly in the people who make up their populations. With globalisation and decolonisation over the last 50-100 years, Britain, for example, has seen in places, a great change in the ethnicity of its peoples. With the introduction of peoples from 'other' cultures, which originate from outside Britain formerly, what is meant by the term being 'British' (or even more specifically English, Scottish or Welsh) has somewhat changed and even been challenged. Also combining with this are the many cultural changes that have taken place over just the last 50 years within society, examples being

the greater rights and recognition given to women (Yeatman, 2001) and homosexuals (Richardson, 2001), as the historically dominant discourses of citizenship have been broken down. Although these processes are still on-going, and for some have not gone far enough, they do show how society has greatly changed. Therefore, what the term citizen means and what is seen as the *virtuous citizen*, as Turner (2001:11) states, is no longer applicable in such a vibrant mix of peoples. For Turner, then, the processes of globalisation greatly change the role of citizenship and the position of the nation-state in determining the values of the *virtuous* or good citizen:

With globalisation, more and more social groups become rootless and homeless with the expansion of a world labour market, tourism and geographical mobility. At the same time as the state is eroded in terms of its political sovereignty and cultural hegemony, localism as a response to such changes squeezes the state from below. The state is caught between global pressures which challenge its cultural monopoly from above, and the local, regional and ethnic challenges to its authority, as it were from below. The traditional discourse of nation-state citizenship is confronted by alternative discourses of human rights and humanity as the normatively superior framework of political loyalty (2001:15).

Therefore cultural rights attempt to readdress this balance through a re-interpretation of citizenship as Isin and Wood argue. Citizenship, it is argued, must become focused around our personal and group identities where it allows the access to rights provision for all and not just grant passive status within a community. Or, as Stevenson (2003a:333) phrases it, '*Cultural citizenship then becomes the struggle for a communicative society*', in which the ability to create dialogue is central in creating a stronger democratic community:

In a multicultural society diverse cultures constantly encounter one another and change due to the presence of the other. Unless we are content to live in a society of cultural apartheid and fragmentation then institutional conditions must be created to foster intercultural dialogue (Stevenson, 2010:285).

Stevenson (2010) takes this reasoning further to comprehend how such ideas would inform the development of 'the good society', in which he comprehends the concept of the 'good society' being formed through differing and even competing notions of 'good'. For Stevenson, cultural citizenship offers hope to recover politics against the backdrop of neo-liberalism. He suggests that:

The retreat of the democratic state, the progressive commodification of culture and the self, the increasing power of global capital and the erosion of the national democracy all mean that cultural citizenship has to be re-imagined in terms of a new set of co-ordinates that continue to connect citizens with practices of democratic community (2010:289).

In re-imagining the co-ordinates Stevenson suggests various possible directions for cultural citizenship. Central to this is the role of education<sup>40</sup> in creating a public that critically engages with itself and the 'other':

Education should aim to critically interrogate local traditions, to investigate how we are mixed in globalised others, and the development of the imaginative capacity to understand our shared world from different points of view. Such a view can respect local attachments while at the same time subjecting them to deliberative arguments in terms of the common good. Cosmopolitanism should not simply seek to transcend local attachments and traditions, but should promote a critical dialogue between, say, human rights documents and the need for critical thinking while respecting people's sense of place attachment (2010:288).

In order to point society in this direction, Stevenson uses the concept of the 'good society' as the means to move society away from the individualistic and commoditised neo-liberal world. As he argues:

If there is no vision of the good society without an attempt to re-imagine the ways in which citizens learn and find community with one another, then in the network age radical possibilities of transformation need to be rethought (2010:289).

Stevenson finishes by suggesting that giving citizenship a cultural dimension, in an ever complex and globalised world, is the only way in which a diverse and democratic society can be found:

Cultural citizenship therefore is the struggle for a democratic society that enables a diversity of citizens to lead relatively meaningful lives, that respects the formation of complex hybrid identities, offers them the protection of the social state and grants them access to critical education that seeks to explore the possibility of living in a future free from domination and oppression (2010:289).

What has been interesting so far is the idea that cultural citizenship and the arguments made have all revolved around the provision or access to rights, but citizenship exists in two parts, the second being that of obligations. Throughout the history of citizenship it has been concerned with both the creation of rights for the citizen, what the state has to do for the citizen, but also obligations, what the citizen must do for the state. Therefore in the creation of cultural citizenship do we have to consider the possibility of cultural obligations? For O'Neil (1990) this question is crucial for creating effective cultural citizenship. Without obligations and only the existence of rights within cultural citizenship, O'Neil claims that such rights would simply fail to produce the desired effect when implemented. This ties in further with Stevenson's suggestion of a communicative society,

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<sup>40</sup> However, Stevenson (2010:287) warns against the growing trend in the UK where education is being converted into a commodity.

for without obligations O'Neil feels that there can be harmful effects from the creation of only rights, specifically from the role-played by mass media in an ever more commercialised world. Bhandar (2010) also suggests how the 'cultural' can have disciplining effects, suggesting that:

The cultural does not always take the form of the expression of citizen engagement. It may also denote prescriptive aspects of the social or a quality distinguishing a community or nation of people. These actual formations of the cultural in fact have the tendency of disciplining citizenship. Where the cultural is disciplined by governmental power formations (2010:331).

This is something Turner, in relation to O'Neil, also agrees with in his attempt to develop a theory for cultural citizenship. He questions the power embroiled within cultural production and how such formations can avoid a disciplining power:

Communicative obligations directly raise questions about the ownership of media, the shaping of public space, the silencing of minority opinion, and the manipulation of information by powerful sectors of the communications industry (2001:15).

Discussion of the practicalities of linking culture with citizenship became pertinent in Scotland, as with the creation of the Scottish Parliament attempts were made to link a cultural dimension to citizenship. This section has attempted to show how (academic) voices have attempted to shape and comprehend the concept. In doing this, cultural citizenship begins to be seen as a new set of rights that should be enshrined within citizenship in the same manner that civil, political and social rights are currently entrusted. It aims at producing an inclusive vision of citizenship through a tolerant, non-normalising and communicative discourse. The following section will now explore the issues that these ideas created when they were voiced in Scotland, since a move to the cultural comprehension of citizenship represented one in which the then SE attempted to use culture as a method for creating a more inclusive society.

### **3.4.4 – Scottish Cultural Citizenship**

Since the creation of the Scottish Parliament in 1999 one of the more interesting and most pertinent developments to this chapter has been the desire to create a widespread cultural policy for Scotland. This has been evidenced by production of the Cultural Commission's report in 2005, headed by James Boyle and entitled 'Our Next Major Enterprise'. The report attempts to develop the grounding and the possible role that culture should have for the future development of Scottish society. At the heart of this report is the development of what is called Cultural Rights and Entitlements, and that these should be made applicable to all in Scotland. This would then form another 'layer' as to what constitutes

citizenship, arguing that cultural rights should be accepted alongside civic, political and social rights and it represented an attempt in Scotland to make culture an intrinsic part of every citizen's life (Orr, 2008). Stevenson argues for this form of citizenship and claims that:

Definitions of citizenship need to link the struggle for rights and social justice with the quest for recognition and cultural respect...These rights go beyond rights of welfare protection, political representation or civil justice and focus on the right to propagate a cultural identity and lifestyle (2003a:331-333).

The Cultural Commission also follows a similar line in their desire to create cultural rights for Scottish citizens. The report sets out with the brief to:

Explore the notion of cultural rights for the Scottish Citizen, and those of its creative community, and define how these might be translated into a scheme of entitlements (Cultural Commission, 2005:30).

The brief then goes on to define the cultural rights that it envisages every Scottish citizen should have. These condense to four statements:

1. Fulfil their creative potential
2. Take part in cultural life
3. An enriching communal life in a satisfying environment
4. Participate in designing and implementing cultural policy.

(Cultural Commission, 2005:50)

The four cultural rights listed above attempt to use the concept of citizenship within Scotland to guarantee citizens access to all levels of cultural provision. The Commission believes that these rights need to be implemented in order to help Scottish culture develop further, but at the same time develop in a way that will benefit the whole population. The use of rights therefore is seen as a way, as Stevenson (2003a) suggests, of linking social justice with recognition and cultural respect in order to develop a more inclusive Scotland.

The Commission also explicitly argues how these rights should form part of the relationship between the citizen and the state. They see these rights as *permissive*, meaning that in their implementation there should be no obligation placed upon the citizen in order to be guaranteed access to cultural provision.

We believe these should be permissive. In other words, the right will hold whether or not there is a corresponding duty or it entails a 'duty-bearer' (e.g.

there is not a duty to be provided with them). The rights should focus on the individual and should only cover those areas not already sufficiently explicit in existing legislation. Rights should be unconditional and not linked to defined responsibilities (Cultural Commission, 2005).

Therefore the Cultural Commission envisages cultural rights as an obligation provided by the state for the citizen.

At the end of 2006 the Scottish Executive moved to put some of the recommended policies from the Cultural Commission in place. The publication of the Draft Culture (Scotland) Bill (DC(S)B) represented the Executive's thinking on the development of a more direct and purposeful cultural policy. Within this document the influence of some of the Cultural Commissions findings could be seen, but the Bill did not go as far as the Cultural Commission suggested it should. The Bill differed in that it did not set a legal precedent for the development of cultural rights for all. Instead the Bill only suggested the concept of cultural entitlements, which differed from rights in that by only being entitled the citizen could expect the state to provide a guarantee that they would have access to cultural services. If the Bill had used the term 'right' then the state may have been expected to guarantee access to all cultural services, something that could prove very costly and difficult to implement:

We have decided to call the new style of provision entitlements because we hope this will encourage more people to participate in cultural activities...but entitlements will not represent a guarantee of access to any particular service (Scottish Executive, 2006:4).

The Bill, like the Cultural Commission, did stress a desire to use culture as a method for building a more integrated Scotland. Culture was seen as a tool for inspiring the citizen to become active and to take a greater pride in their surrounding environments. The Draft Bill focused very heavily on attempting to increase provision and access for all to its cultural industries for this reason:

We want to build on this success and encourage more people from different communities to enjoy and get involved in cultural activities in their area (Scottish Executive, 2006:4)

As is reflected in the Cultural Commission's report, great emphasis is placed upon the economic benefits that a strong cultural policy can possibly produce. The formation of Creative Scotland accentuates this link; the Bill aimed to bring together the Scottish Arts Council and Scottish Screen, two separate Non-Departmental Public Bodies (NDPBs). In doing this, the Executive hoped to create a more dynamic and centralised NDPB which would be better placed to guide Scottish cultural provision, whilst at the same time making

sound economic judgments for the exploitation of successful cultural projects in order to benefit the whole of Scotland:

It will spread good practice about attracting the interest and involvement of more and more diverse people (Scottish Executive, 2006:6).

And:

The new body will have an economic development role for the creative industries. The creative industries are those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have the potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property (Scottish Executive, 2006:7).

The concept of developing cultural entitlement in Scotland was a fascinating interlude in the post-devolution politics of the country. However, the concept of entitlement in the DC(S)B failed to be passed into law, with the only section of the bill remaining intact being that concerning the creation of Creative Scotland. The failure was due to expense and its overwhelming unpopularity with arts professionals, alongside the difficulty of comprehending how such concepts would be interpreted at the local level due to the intrinsic sense of culture that this bill was attempting to put in place:

The approach to cultural rights and entitlements that would have seen the intrinsic value of culture enshrined in legislation was seen as impractical to implement. The idea of a cultural right was difficult to translate into law without exposing the providers of the entitlement to legal action. The definition of cultural rights and entitlements was an extremely subjective area and local authorities would be open to challenge on the level of service they provided (Orr, 2008:312).

The DC(S)B also failed to be developed further due to the election of the Scottish Nationalist Party (SNP) into office in 2007; with Labour out of power, the previous arguments slipped from the agenda, with only the desire to form Creative Scotland remaining. The SNP also represented a realignment to the role of culture in Scotland. However, the Bill did have an influence in terms of how it was interpreted at the local level in some locations. In Glasgow, coinciding with a re-organisation of the city's cultural provision through the creation of CSG, the terminology of entitlement in the Bill found its way into the production of the company's mission statement and central policy goals. This will be discussed more fully in Chapter Five, but in Glasgow's development of cultural strategy both the Cultural Commission and DC(S)B had a profound effect (indirectly) in helping shape the terminology used in the drafting of cultural provision and how CSG should think about providing for the city.

### 3.5 – Moving Beyond New Labour

The failure of the DC(S)B to be passed and the election of the SNP into office in Scotland shifted the governmental approach to culture. This resulted in a more instrumental view of culture being taken by the SNP (Orr, 2008 and McCall, 2010). Although the focus of this thesis is upon how New Labour has shaped policy, there is still a need to consider this important change in Scottish politics as it happened during the years that the empirical research of this thesis was based upon.

Although New Labour had been tending towards more instrumental views of culture and the role of museums, as was highlighted in Section 2.4, there was still a desire to present a constitutive and then intrinsic value to culture. The SNP, however, directly focused the role of culture towards economic goals:

The SNP administration is implementing a focused economically driven model ... and are concentrating their efforts on ensuring all aspects of government are aligned to this framework (Orr, 2008:314).

The SNP policy direction has focused upon developing Single Outcome Agreements that aim to enhance Scotland's economic sustainability. Thus the SNP moved away from concepts such as social inclusion and justice and towards a new set of terminologies (McCall, 2010) such as cohesion, solidarity and sustainability, which are aligned to economic concerns (Scottish Government, 2008). Cohesion therefore becomes about reducing the gap in economic activity, removing geographical inequality and regenerating areas, and solidarity is interpreted as increasing the income of those lowest paid, aligning both to promoting economic sustainability. Fifteen Single Outcome Agreements were created that sought to produce hard measures to show how Scotland was improving towards these targets, although very little reference to culture was made. As Orr suggests, this left the role of culture in a difficult position within local authority provision as targets were no longer focused towards highlighting the role of culture for society:

This focused economic policy leaves little room for the intrinsic and the nature of the targets and outcomes in the "Framework" will make it challenging for culture to be visible in the local authority Single Outcome Agreements (2008:314).

Therefore the ambiguous role for culture delivered by the SNP towards economic gains suggests that the on-going role for social inclusion agendas at the local level, and indeed the further development of cultural policy, may be revised due to the new foci of the strategic Single Outcome Agreements (McCall, 2010).

In terms of this thesis this section provides an interesting caveat that needs to be considered when talking to museum professionals, as this has been an on-going process during the research period.

### **3.6 – Linking Social Inclusion and Citizenship?**

In developing the terms of social inclusion and citizenship there is a sense in New Labour's discourse that although these terms are different, they are at the same time intrinsically linked. Both concepts appear to have similar aspirations in improving individuals in order to link them into the wider society, whilst at the same time moving them away from looking to the state for assistance. In conceptualising the two terms, a link has already been suggested that different approaches to social inclusion in the UK and Scotland have led to different interpretations of citizenship being created. However, to take this link further, there is a need to comprehend the micro-practices that develop between museum and citizen; to comprehend what function does the museum have in this process? In describing the museum in a Foucauldian sense as a soft-disciplinary space under governmental control, there is a conception that the museum can be used to position individuals. Cruikshank (1999) considers this the '*will to empower*' in which '*technologies of citizenship*' are deployed in order to empower the individual and thus mould them into a better citizen, but how is the museum actually doing this? What attributes could the museum be giving to citizens? Two suggestions could be the concepts of cultural and social capital in which the museum has the potential to develop an individual's feelings of inclusivity, aiding their sense of being connected to the civic. In order to develop this hypothesis further, there is a need to develop an understanding as to what comprises cultural and social capital.

#### **3.6.1 – Cultural and Social Capital**

In terms of developing an understanding of both concepts, Bourdieu has been central in identifying and explaining these two forms of capital. Bourdieu, across his work, identified various different types of 'capital' within society that moved beyond just an understanding of the term from an economic perspective. For Bourdieu these different types of capital were constitutive of each other and allowed an individual to better position themselves in society by acquiring such capital, leading to ' (Bourdieu, 1984:114). Bourdieu suggests that different forms of capital are important determinants in an individual's ability to gain economic capital, as he proposes that it is the failure to develop, or exclusion from, such capital that creates socio-economic and cultural barriers in society. In the case of cultural capital along with symbolic capital, Bourdieu (1991) understood these as the mechanism

by which primarily the middle classes maintained control over key spaces or 'fields' in society through what he termed symbolic acts of violence. For Bourdieu, each field, for example a museum or the art industry, has a specific set of cultural and symbolic languages, and in order to gain access to such a field an individual has to understand these in order to have agency. Bourdieu (1986:243-244) split the concept of cultural capital into three different parts; *embodied*, the sense that such capital is passively acquired over time, for example due to family upbringing; *objectified*, which relates to the acquisition but also the knowledge of objects either for profit or show, an example being the knowledge and ability to purchase an expensive painting; and, *institutionalised*, where some form of institutional recognition is given for achievement, often closely linked to educational success, an example being attaining a PhD. Hence for Bourdieu acquisition of these key facets gives power to an individual to act and to join specific fields. However, in creating these fields of acceptance, this allows for symbolic acts of violence to happen where individuals without the necessary cultural capital are excluded. Bourdieu (1997) directly relates this to the ability of an individual to access forms of economic capital.

Thus in the implementation of a more inclusionary museum, as was depicted in Chapter Two, the term cultural capital has real importance for determining an individual's likelihood for visiting and comprehending a museum. Some may not 'get' the cultural significance of the museum, or the way in which the museum chooses to present its objects may in itself act as barrier to participation. In the policy documentation (see Section 2.4.2) this was given real importance in the 'Barriers to Inclusion', where the potential cultural capital of curators in how they display objects may act as symbolic barrier to visitors.

Bourdieu also conceived the concept of social capital, but Baron, Field and Schuller (2000) claim not as fully as he did with cultural capital. In their interpretation of Bourdieu's work they felt it was placed distinctly third in Bourdieu's thinking, placed in importance behind that of economic and cultural capital. They do illustrate, though, how other thinkers attempted to develop the concept, further highlighting the work of Coleman and Putnam, although for Swartz and Zolberg (2004) these accounts of social capital are more populist and less socially compelling. Therefore this section will focus upon Bourdieu's conception of the term where he most succinctly links cultural and economic capital through the concept of *habitus*. Field denotes Bourdieu's concept of habitus as:

The dynamic development of structured sets of values and ways of thinking ... which provided a bridge between subjective agency and objective position (2009:16).

Habitus therefore constitutes an individual's way of being in the world and for Bourdieu is constituted by the various forms of capital that have been acquired. This has similarity to

Lefebvre's conception of representational spaces where the practices of the everyday take place. It is important to state that Bourdieu did not see this as a structuralist understanding of habitus, from a Marxist perspective, but as Brubaker states:

The habitus is defined abstractly as the system of internalised dispositions that mediates between social structures and practical activity, being shaped by the former regulating the latter (2004:43).

Habitus is therefore the way in which individuals negotiate the world around them as they subconsciously interpret the different social structures around them. In the context of the museum this could be the extent to which an individual feels comfortable in the museum, as this will be directly related to how they conceive the space around depending upon their own personal habitus. Therefore Bourdieu links social capital to this perennial habitus, as the mechanisms by which people can negotiate their position through the networks in which they exist:

Social capital is the sum of resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:119).

For Bourdieu, it is the ability of the individual to accrue both economic and cultural capital with their ability to connect with others around them socially that allows for the most effective way to understand how individuals find themselves positioned in society, as he states:

Different individuals obtain a very unequal return on a more or less equivalent capital (economic or cultural) according to the extent to which they are able to mobilise by proxy the capital of a group (family, old pupils of elite schools, select clubs, nobility, etc.) (Bourdieu, 1980:2).

Therefore, social capital relies on an individual's ability to have networks in place that can be used in order to help an individual to achieve, which means that social capital can in part explain an individual positioning in society. However, a simple accrual of all forms of capital highlighted by Bourdieu may not necessarily lead to a better positioning in society because, as Field argues, there can also be a downside to being located within such social networks:

A reasonably clear distinction may be drawn between productive social networks, which we might define as those that generate favourable outcomes both for members and the community at large, and perverse networks, which we could describe those that have positive benefits for their members but include negative outcomes for the wider community (2009:92).

Although there is great difficulty in defining what Field terms as ‘perverse’, there is at least a conception that not all forms of social capital acquired can be beneficial to an individual.

To finish this section, a final pertinent piece of Bourdieu’s oeuvre to consider in relation to his work on social and cultural capital was his earlier, seminal work, *The Love of Art* (1991, original text 1969) which is co-edited with Alain Darbel. Within this work, Bourdieu and Darbel, through participant-user survey work, begin to map out an analysis of the relationship between class and culture, specifically looking at the museum as one of their sites of interest. Although this thesis has taken a very different methodological approach to such research in future chapters, the results are fascinating and provide an initial glimpse into where some of Bourdieu’s later formulations around concepts such as differing forms of capital, field and habitus might have originated from. For example, Bourdieu and Darbel state that:

Statistics show that access to cultural works is the privilege of the cultivated class; however this privilege has all the outward appearance of legitimacy. In fact, only those who exclude themselves are ever excluded...If it is indisputable that our society offers to all the pure possibility of taking advantage of the works on display in museums, it remains the case that only some have the real possibility of doing so (1991:37).

In the above statement, it is possible to see that there are the undertones of different forms of capital being grasped at but not yet formulated. Bourdieu and Darbel are piecing together from their empirical quantitative data many of the reasons as to why art appreciation and the visiting of museums is not a universal act across society, and how at different stages such appreciation for art may be blocked due to a variety of often class based reasons; upbringing, education and the availability/normality of encountering cultural experiences, such as visiting museums. This is stated with the example of childhood experiences below:

Children from cultivated families who accompany their parents on their visits to museums or special exhibitions in some way borrow from their disposition to cultural practice for the time it takes them to acquire in turn their own disposition to practice which will give rise to a practice which is both arbitrary and initially arbitrarily imposed. By designating and consecrating certain works of art or certain places (the museum as well as the church) as worthy of being visited, the authorities invested with the power to impose a cultural arbitrary, in other words, in this specific case, a certain demarcation between what is worthy or unworthy of admiration (Bourdieu and Darbel, 1991:109).

For Bourdieu and Darbel, the importance and accessibility of cultural experience is one that can be denoted by an individual’s social circumstances. This is central to reinforcing, over time and over different generations, an exclusionary element to art, especially high art forms which are ‘consecrated’ in locations such as museums:

The deliberate neglect of social conditions which make possible culture and culture become nature, a cultivated nature with all the appearances of grace and talent but nevertheless learned and therefore 'deserved', is the condition for the existence of the charismatic ideology that allows culture and especially 'the love of art' to be given the central place they occupy in the bourgeois 'sociodicy' (Bourdieu and Darbel, 1991:110).

Therefore, in linking this back to cultural and social capital, Bourdieu's earlier empirical work gives a hint at the relationships that exist through childhood and on into adulthood that can lead to an accepted appreciation of art, that seems 'natural' and 'entitled'. This is where an individual from a middle class background (for example) would see it as 'natural' to visit a museum, due to primarily the cultural capital they had acquired as a child from both their parents and education; whereas, those from less privileged backgrounds may not receive such opportunities and hence this directly affects their desire to visit such institutions or makes the appreciation of art seem an irrelevance to their lives.

In linking these concepts to the work of the museum, in the process of creating a socially inclusive museum a large proportion of the work has been in increasing access by improving how the museum displays its objects and by reaching out to those who would not normally visit (through outreach projects for example). In doing this, the museum has attempted to interact with a much wider spread of the population using a variety of more nuanced mediums. This has meant that the didactic role of the museum that exacts a soft-disciplinary power or as Pykett (2009) terms it a 'pedagogical power' has the potential to expand both the cultural and social capital of the visitor through participation. In the case of cultural capital the museum as a store of cultural objects that are displayed for education, contemplation and enjoyment creates a space where a citizen can learn in order to understand more about one's own culture and others. In terms of social capital the policy guidelines such as those given by SMC actively aim to encourage museums to work with different groups who are potentially socially excluded, which creates opportunities for individuals to come together, work together and expand their social networks. Therefore, in linking citizens to the cultural infrastructure of the state in the museum setting, there is the potential for social and cultural capital to develop which can allow the visitor or participant to further their position within society. Hence one of the key research agendas of this thesis is to consider the extent to which this takes place for those that are involved in the museum projects that are informed by agendas relating to social inclusion and citizenship.

### **3.7 – Conclusion**

This chapter has covered a wide range of concepts and ideas that this thesis wishes to investigate. The conclusion will therefore take this opportunity to step back and to critically

consider what ideas need to be taken forward in this thesis in order fully to answer the research questions posed in Chapter One. The chapter has delineated the governmental agendas that the museum as a cultural institution has been drawn into. Following on from the governmental agendas shown in museum policy in Section 2.4, this chapter has discussed why such policies have developed at a UK and Scottish government level, which has had direct consequences with regard to how such concepts have been implemented in museums. In focusing primarily on the concepts of social inclusion and citizenship (active and cultural), this chapter has sought to grasp the ways in which these terms have been articulated and critiqued in order to see how they have come to shape museum practice. The chapter has also sought to use theoretical concepts from Foucault and Bourdieu to understand these terms in order to highlight how these processes have the potential, through the museums' engagement with them, to change citizens.

Foucault gives an understanding as to how museum space and practice is shaped by strategies of governmentality, as Foucault's concepts of discipline and governmentality were used to realize the processes by which government strategies are implemented and the way in which they are then interpreted on the ground. As the discussion stated, Foucault's concept of discipline was one that was developed from his comprehension of penal history, and at times a comparison to the museum (with prisons) was too strong, if applied directly. Thus, a discussion surrounding the concept of soft-disciplinary power which has strong links to pedagogical power (Pykett, 2009) was developed. This showed how, through a refined version of Foucault's concept of discipline, the museum, as it had done so historically (see Section 2.2.2), operated a form of social control within its walls. In doing this the museum is able to implement policy agendas such as social inclusion and citizenship which seek to realign citizens towards governmental concerns, as they produce a conduct of conduct. This is useful to the first research question in two ways as it considers how policy is shaped through power relations and then how such power relations then shape the representations of space that develop a 'codified' language for professionals within the museum to use. Thus this also helps gain a theoretical grasp with regards to research question two, as in seeing how structures of governmentality shape the representations of space in the museum, this can then be seen to influence the social practice of the museum as these concepts are then implemented.

Central to research question two is also to consider how citizens who take part in museum activities read their involvement. As these activities have been pushed towards enhancing the museum as an inclusive space, how do they then influence the citizen? In using the concept of soft-disciplinary power created by the pedagogic power of the museum (Pykett, 2009), the museum would be expected to create 'better' citizens due to its ability to improve their social and cultural capital. In doing this, what type of citizen is produced?

New Labour policy for social inclusion and citizenship creates various visions of citizenship (at the UK level the focus has been on active citizenship and at the Scottish and local levels the importance of cultural, and alongside this active, citizenship have been stressed), thus how does museum involvement shape citizens? Figure 3.1 depicted by Dean (2003) suggested that the concept of an instrumental policy such as social inclusion aimed to produce a certain type of citizen through changes in welfare provision. Gray (2007) and McCall (2010) both suggested that in Scotland cultural and museum services had been given a welfare role, therefore to what extent are museums able to create independent, opportunity-taking citizens (*cf.* third way thinking, Section 3.4.1) that through participation become more invested in their communities and less dependent upon state assistance?

This chapter has presented two main visions of citizenship which have been stipulated through policy but how do they actually match together? In the rhetoric between active citizenship and cultural citizenship, there is the potential for conflict between the two, as the two concepts attempt to construct citizens in two very different ways. One seeks to create citizens who are individualistic and rely on the state for very little, whereas the other wishes to see citizens create dialogue with each other and the state, with the state acting as a mediator rather than an instrumental provider. To a greater extent the governmental intention aligns to using the culture as a method of producing more active and independent citizens. This is shown in Sections 2.4, 3.4.4 and then by the SNP in Section 3.5, which would suggest that the concept of cultural citizenship was never going to be as 'emancipatory' as Stevenson (2010) would hope, since it would always be aligned to more economic concerns. Despite this, in the provision of cultural entitlement at the local level (CSL, 2006 and see Section 5.4) how does this influence museum practice and provision and what affect does this have for participants?

Finally, the chapter has sought to foreground the main research questions at the heart of this thesis by considering how the local state and museums are shaped by governmental agendas, by investigating what form such policies take, which discourses of social inclusion and citizenship are in play and how they wish to shape citizens. In discussing these central issues, a greater comprehension has been developed as to how Lefebvre's conceptual triad (1991) discussed in Chapter Two takes place. This, and the previous literature review chapter, will now provide the theoretical bed from which the empirical data will be analysed and interpreted.

# Chapter 4 – Methodology – Researching the Museum

## 4.1 – Introduction

The methodology has been designed to tackle the issues of how the museum is positioned within the contemporary city. It attempts to consider the implementation of governmental policies related to social inclusion and citizenship whilst attempting to see how this creates tensions with the local state's desire to use museums to enhance the city's image. Hence these themes are included within the research questions contained within Section 1.1. The research questions developed from a consideration of museological thinking and academic critique of policy discourse. In order to tackle these questions in such a multi-faceted organisation as Glasgow Museums, a case study approach has been taken. The research questions themselves were developed from the reading of relevant academic material and policy documents as featured in the literature review chapters.

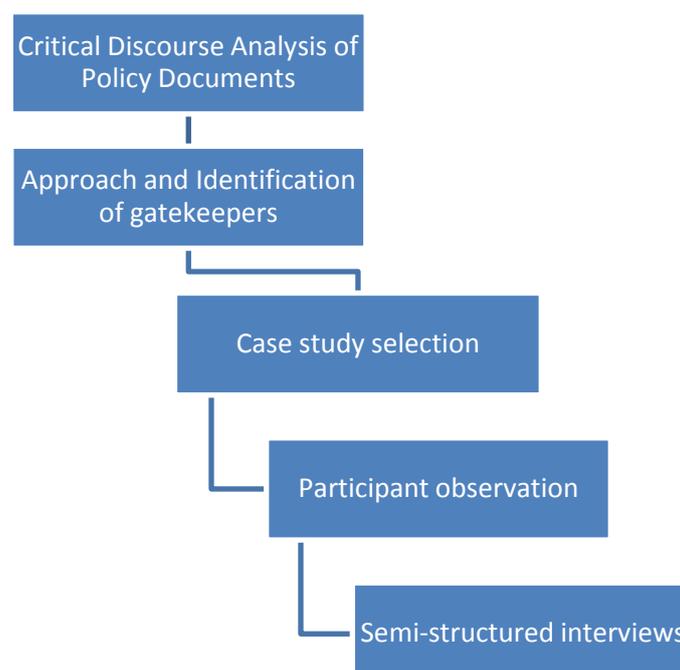
Clearly attempting to conduct a project that engages with the entirety of GM's work would be exceptionally difficult, for if I had focussed upon the concepts of social inclusion, citizenship and urban regeneration across the entire service this would have been an enormous undertaking. GM as an organisation consists of thirteen different museums across the city which all engage with social inclusion, citizenship and urban regeneration in different ways. Each represents a different strategic goal for GM but also in the wider organisations of Glasgow Life (GL) and Glasgow City Council (GCC), who are both involved in promoting social inclusion across the city. Therefore each museum is engaged with implementing policies that attempt to make the museum more inclusive. This is reflected in the fact that each museum has a set of learning and access personnel that attempt to facilitate this work alongside more traditional curators. As a museum service GM has one of the largest complements of learning and access staff in the UK and throughout the year they run various events and exhibitions that seek to make the museum more available to members of the public. Their remit is to implement policies that directly relate to inclusion and citizenship agendas for as wide a spread of citizens as possible.

Yin (1994) gave four applications to the use of a case study methodology: to explain complex causal links in real-life situations; to describe the real-life context of these occurrences; to describe the events in which this happened; and to explore those

situations in which the intervention is being evaluated. Added to this he suggests when the researcher is interested in the contemporary setting and their research questions revolve around 'how' and 'why' Yin (2003:1) argues that this is the perfect setting for the case study technique to be deployed:

In general, case studies are the preferred strategy when 'how' or 'why' questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context.

It is for these reasons coupled with the ability to use a range of research methods in a variety of different circumstances that a case study approach has been taken. The case study method therefore allowed me to look across the range of GM's work and to select four projects that I felt would be most pertinent to my research. By definition a case study approach means only exploring a part of the work of GM, therefore by taking care in the choice of my cases and having the guidance of certain key gatekeepers, this ensured that the range of different programmes were followed. This really allowed me to get inside GM to see how it has engaged with the concept of social inclusion. In some cases such choices reflected the timing of when I was conducting my research and when GM was doing relevant work. An example of this would be GM's biennial SJS which unfortunately did not synchronise with when I wanted to do my fieldwork. Thus, the four case studies selected were chosen to illustrate the key facets of a much wider range of activities conducted by GM and the specifics of each case study selection will be described in Section 4.2. Figure 4.1 shows the outline to the design and structure of this thesis's research approach.



**Figure 4.1 – Research Design Structure**

## 4.2 – Case Study Selection

In total four case studies were selected from the work of GM that covered issues related to the main research questions. Table 4.1 depicts how each case study is related to the key conceptual themes of the research questions.

Case Study	Museum	Social Inclusion	Cultural Citizenship	Urban Regeneration
Altered Images	GoMA	X	X	
Sacred Journeys	St Mungo	X	X	
Museum Volunteers	Across GM	X	X	
Riverside Project/City Image	Riverside Museum/ Museum of Transport	X		X

**Table 4.1 – Case Studies in relation to key themes.**

The case studies were selected due to their relevance to each research question. Each case study related to the research questions in quite unique ways and the following section will describe how each case study was selected, why each case study was pertinent to the research questions, and detail the methods used. Table 4.2 gives a general outline to the work conducted in each case study before moving to more specific discussion.

Case Study	Interviews	Participant Observation
GoMA	12	14
Sacred Journeys	11	10
Museum Volunteers	18	4
Riverside Project/City Image	18	0
Interviews that were pertinent to all	5	
Total	64	28*
*This refers to the number of different sessions attended; each was around one to two hours in duration.		

**Table 4.2 – Case Study work conducted.**

This thesis has taken a qualitative approach to the research methodology employed, with a focus upon more ethnographic methods for data collection. This choice has been made due to a variety of reasons. Primarily, this reflects my personal wish to use in-depth qualitative methods to probe substantive issues intensively, through theoretically-informed lenses, rather than taking an approach that would make extensive ‘statistical’-empirical generalisations. However, in stating this, my ability to take such an approach was built upon existing statistical research that could then inform my sampling decisions with regards to the case studies I chose to follow. This meant that for this thesis, the need to

do extensive statistical surveys was unnecessary as research such as Scotland Taking Part (Scottish Arts Council, 2008) represents pre-existing data to frame case study selection. The document offers stratified data with regards to cultural activity and participation, as it splits its data between different socio-economic groups and geographic areas. For example, the table below gives general insight with regards to some of the cultural trends in respect to attendance and cultural participation<sup>41</sup>:

Group	Attendance (%)	Participation (%)	Combined attendance and participation (%)
People living in deprived areas	69	66	86
Disabled people	49	65	79
Women	77	75	91
People living in rural areas	75	74	90
People aged 16 to 24	92	68	96
People aged 65+	49	66	79
Minority ethnic communities	66	61	80
<b>Total adult population of Scotland</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>90</b>

**Table 4.3 – Attendance and Participation amongst under-represented groups in Scotland (Scottish Arts Council, 2008:2).**

The table is interesting because it begins to build a broader picture of the nature of such behaviour in Scotland. It shows that, although percentages are high, those from more deprived, minority or disabled communities are slightly less likely to take part in cultural activity. Focusing on museum and art gallery attendance at the Scottish level, the survey suggests that:

Museums (32% of adults living in Scotland attended) – 10% of adult residents of Scotland went to a museum on 4 or more occasions during the previous 12 months, 13% went on 2 or 3 occasions and 9% went once. Larger proportions of those in the AB socio-economic groups (51% attended), those with a degree qualification (53%) and those with a household income of £50,000 or more (53%) had visited one or more museums during the previous 12 months.

Art galleries (27% of adults living in Scotland attended) – 8% of adults living in Scotland went to art galleries on 4 or more occasions during the previous 12 months, 11% went on 2 or 3 occasions and 8% went once. Respondents most likely to have gone to an art gallery included those aged 45 to 64 (32% attended), those in the AB socio-economic groups (47%), those with a degree qualification (48%) and those with a household income of £25,000 or more (37%) (Scottish Arts Council, 2008:20).

<sup>41</sup> Attended refers to going to 'cultural event' and being someone who watches, for example sitting in the audience as a play. Participation refers to being involved in the production of a 'cultural event, for example being an actor or actress in a play.

These headline figures are interesting in that they help highlight how museums and galleries are still proportionally more visited by those from ‘stronger’ socio-economic backgrounds. This opens up a myriad of questions as to why such behaviour is taking place. Moving towards a geographic comparison of cultural activity across Scotland, the following can be seen with regards to attendance and participation:

Area	Attendance (%)	Participation (%)	Combined attendance and participation (%)
Edinburgh and surrounds	77	79	93
East and Central Scotland	74	66	88
North Eastern Scotland	69	51	79
Highlands and Islands	75	76	91
<b>Glasgow and surrounds</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>89</b>
South Western Scotland	77	72	90
South Scotland	70	79	89

**Table 4.4 – Attendance and Participation by location in Scotland (Scottish Arts Council, 2008:4).**

The figures for Glasgow are useful in that, although they show a large proportion of the population involved in some form of cultural activity, they also suggest a lack of participation in such activities when compared to other areas<sup>42</sup>. Therefore, this data begins to give a generalised picture with regards to cultural activity as there are definite trends that can be seen to be taking place within Scotland. This allows an understanding to be gained as to where the case studies for this thesis are placed in relation to wider trends of cultural activity, which have thus helped shape my research design. Added to this, GM also conducts a variety of inquiries into its visitors, an example of this being a market research study conducted titled *Survey of Users of Museums* by Coulter (2003), which attempted to understand who was visiting the city’s museums and by what frequency, but also the *Glasgow Museums Visitor Survey Report* (GM, 2011) which was a more recent attempt to show similar figures. Interestingly, when looking through both reports there is insufficient detail collected through these surveys to substantiate claims in terms of why people might or might not be visiting, for in the case of GM (2011) there is little demographic data recorded beyond ‘age’ and ‘sex’. However, such research has been useful as it again gives a broad picture upon who is visiting the museums and for whom GM is attempting to cater.

<sup>42</sup> Unfortunately, the survey does not split further into specific regions to look at different groups and their cultural activity

Therefore the discussion surrounding statistical data has shown it is useful in terms of comprehending broad trends, it fails to give any depth into the reasons why such frequencies are taking place. By using a more qualitative approach, I am able to ask questions beyond what the statistical trends are showing. The methodology and the sampling of case studies have therefore been specifically designed to answer the research questions moving beyond a quantitative approach. This is primarily because the choice to conduct certain 'outreach' projects by GM has been informed by such survey data in terms of identifying those in need of further provision, or in a need to deal with specific societal issues. These choices by curators all reflect a desire to think beyond the walls of their museum.

The following sections will now detail each case study and the methods used. This will give specific details in terms of who was interviewed and observed with regards to each case study. This is to help contextualise how each case study fitted in relation to the research questions. The following section to this chapter will move to discuss the rationale more generally for using interviews and participant observation as the primary sources of empirical data.

### **4.2.1 – Altered Images**

This project was selected due to its attempt to engage adult learners<sup>43</sup> with contemporary art. As Table 4.1 indicates, it specifically sought to make the museum more inclusive and to reach out to a group in the city that it saw as failing to provide for, thus connecting them to a service that for a host of reasons they had failed to use before. The project ran for 14 weeks consisting of weekly two hour sessions where a group of adult learners who had little history of museum visiting worked with an artist in residence at GoMA (Gallery of Modern Art, see Figure 1.1) to produce an exhibition for the gallery. This project was a partnership between GM and community learning in GL and almost all sessions took place in the GoMA gallery in their purpose built studio room.

This project was selected through conversations with Katie Bruce, Social Inclusion Curator, who was an initial gatekeeper in terms of locating a viable case study. 'Gatekeepers' for Burgess represent *'those individuals in the organisation that have the power to grant or withhold access to people or situations for the purpose of research'* (1984:48), and during my time doing research at GM I encountered multiple gatekeepers at different stages of the research process (this will be discussed further in Section 4.3). This case study was chosen due to the project's desire to attempt to engage those who

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<sup>43</sup> The term 'adult learner' is used by GL to describe adults who are involved in community learning which is part of the wider Community Learning Plan.

would not normally visit the GoMA gallery and to inform them about the possibilities of modern or contemporary art. The museum sought to make its collection more accessible to citizens who were firstly not part of the museum's usual visitor profile and secondly from parts of the city (in this case primarily Shettleston, see Appendix A) that are considered to be from the less advantaged East side of the city, in comparison to more affluent areas of the city such as what is loosely termed the West End of the city. Hence this project was concerned with making the museum more socially inclusive to the citizens of Glasgow whilst allowing them the opportunity to express themselves creatively in the museum space. The programme fitted neatly with research questions 1 and 2. Added to this GoMA as a gallery makes a very strong statement about the city's image and pretensions towards culture and art; with its city centre location, it is a museum that is very much embroiled with outwardly enhancing the city's image.

This case study revolved around the group working with the artist in residence in order to create art pieces for exhibition. In the context of this case study the process of producing artwork was central to the interaction of the group and it formed the medium through which they negotiated their cultural experiences. Parr (2008) discusses the use of art in relation in the context of mental illness for therapeutic purposes and the considered potential to move 'outsiders' to 'insiders' through participation. In terms of this case study, I wished to see how this process took place in order to see what effect the physical process of producing art had on the group and what it then meant to them to see their work on public display in the museum.

Following this project consisted of observing and taking part in 14 sessions at GoMA. For this time I kept a field diary in order to record in my own words what happened in each session and whilst each session, was taking place, I also took various notes of anything I observed as important. Following the project I then conducted seventeen interviews (see Table 4.5), seven of which were with available participants<sup>44</sup>. The interviews took place primarily in two locations, at GoMA and the East End Healthy Living Centre (most of the participants had been regular attendees at the centre). The interviews served to further question participants' feelings towards the project and to understand what they felt they gained from taking part. The interviewed participants consisted of six women and one man, with five of the women and the man being middle to retirement age. The final female participant was in her twenties. The interviews with those who organised the project sought to understand their motivations behind the project. By their nature, the interviews served as an opportunity where they could reflect critically upon the project they had just conducted.

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<sup>44</sup> Eleven participants took part four of whom were Eritrean seeking asylum and part way through the project they were granted indefinite leave to remain and moved to Birmingham.

Interviewee	Position
Katie Bruce	Social Inclusion Curator
Jenny Bell	Learning and Access Assistant
Kate Temple	Artist in Residence
Paul Goldie	Community Learning Worker
Vitoria Hollows	Museum Manager
Participants x 7	
Total	12
Interviews with related content	
Janice Lane	Head of Learning and Access (GM)
Mark O'Neil	Head of Glasgow Museums
Liz Cameron	Councillor and GL board member
Jill Miller	Director of Operations (GL)
Bridget Sly	Policy and Research Manager (GL)
Total	5
Overall	17

**Table 4.5 – Altered Images list of interviews conducted.**

### **4.2.2 – Sacred Journeys**

This case study was selected because of its desire to build interfaith dialogue across the city. It sought to bring people of different religions together so that they could see commonality as well as difference in their beliefs. This firstly linked it with a social inclusion agenda as the project wanted to recognise the importance of a diverse range of faiths to the city and to show the museum was a forum for doing this. Secondly, in wanting to create dialogue between faiths, it also linked it to conceptions of cultural citizenship (Stevenson, 2003b) as was stressed in Chapter Three with the need for a mediated dialogue in order to create cultural citizenship.

Sacred Journeys took the form of an exhibition that took place at the St Mungo Museum of Religious Life and Art. It consisted of people with various faiths coming together to explain the importance of pilgrimage to both themselves and their faiths. The exhibition was led by Tony Lewis, a Curator of Scottish History within GM based at St Mungo. He and Maggie MacBean (Learning and Access curator) were my points of contact for gaining access to this group. The project aimed to build interfaith dialogue between differing faith communities by interpreting the participants' experiences of pilgrimage into an exhibition. This part of the process involved Tony interviewing the participants and then reinterpreting it into an exhibition. The project also involved interfaith talks, which saw people from each of the faiths depicted giving talks to the public. The purpose of this was specifically to create dialogue between faiths in terms of the shared experience, and in so doing, link up with ideas concerning cultural citizenship, in that the museum is purposely trying to negotiate issues of difference between different groups. It was also used to

educate and inform school children about different religions in order to address any ignorance towards different faiths in the city.

The project was therefore a collaborative initiative by the museum and in following the process I interviewed almost all the participants who took part together with relevant museum staff (see table 4.6). For the participants the interviews were designed to comprehend what such a process had meant to them, how it had changed them and their beliefs towards others and what, as citizens of Glasgow, they had gained from seeing their very personal and religious experiences expressed upon the museum's walls. I also observed and took an active role in various interfaith talks that took place and wrote a field diary of what unfolded. The participants came from a spread of differing backgrounds from across the city. They were mixed in terms of gender, age, ethnicity and religion with almost all well known faiths included<sup>45</sup>. All the interviews for this project took place at the St Mungo Museum.

Interviewee	Position
Tony Lewis	Lead Curator on Project
Maggie MacBean	Learning and Access Curator at St Mungo
Tom Harrigan	Former GCC Interfaith Liaison Officer
Participants x 8	
Total	11
Interviews with related content	
Janice Lane	Head of Learning and Access (GM)
Mark O'Neil	Head of Glasgow Museums
Liz Cameron	Councillor and GL board member
Jill Miller	Director of Operations (GL)
Bridget Sly	Policy and Research Manager (GL)
Total	5
Overall	17

**Table 4.6 – Sacred Journeys list of interviews conducted.**

### **4.2.3 – Museum Volunteers**

Volunteering has become an established method where by citizens interact with the city's museums on a more committed and regular basis than just visiting. It has also been key in exemplifying the role and implications of active citizenship. Interviewing volunteers helped to gain their perspective upon their motivations for giving up their time, what has sustained their voluntary commitment and what it has meant to them with regards to their connection to Glasgow and their own personal well-being. Access to volunteers across the service was mediated through Yla Barrie, GM's Volunteer and Placement coordinator, where an opt-in email was sent to all volunteers asking them if they wished to take part in research

<sup>45</sup> Such as Baha'i, Muslim, Protestant, Buddhist, Catholic, Hindu, Jew, and Sikh.

interviews. The response was sufficient to allow eighteen interviews with volunteers across the organisation. Each museum has its own collection of volunteers doing a wide variety of work. Many become guides, showing the public around each of the museums, others are research volunteers and some help with the delivery of learning and access services such as helping with the running of art clubs. The tasks are varied, meaning that individual volunteers often have different experiences and also very diverse reasons for participation, which was largely related to an individual's personal interest. For example, one individual spent their time 'painstakingly' working through assorted bags of shells and classifying them. Another chose to research steam ship models. For the learning and access volunteers, their roles are also varied as they are primarily involved in the running of art classes with both children and adults.

Interviews in this context were useful as they were tailored to the particular volunteering the individual did in order to comprehend their embedded experiences and emotions towards the experiences they have had. The participants came from a wide variety of backgrounds, though a significant number were of retirement age (of the eighteen, fourteen were retired, seven male, seven female). The other four volunteers had all recently graduated from university and were using volunteering as a method of gaining work experience (three female, one male). All interviews with volunteers took place at their respective museum.

Interviewee	Position	Guides	Research	L&A
Yla Barrie	Volunteer and placement coordinator			
Una Gillion	Senior Officer at Volunteer Centre Glasgow			
Volunteers x 16	Museum of Transport x 5	3	2	0
	GoMA x 2	1	0	1
	GRMC x 1	0	1	0
	The Burrell Collection x 7	3	2	2
	Kelvingrove x 1	1	0	0
Total	18	7	5	4
Interviews with related content				
Janice Lane	Head of Learning and Access (GM)			
Mark O'Neil	Head of Glasgow Museums			
Liz Cameron	Councillor and GL board member			
Jill Miller	Director of Operations (GL)			
Bridget Sly	Policy and Research Manager (GL)			
Total	5			
Overall	23			

**Table 4.7 – Museum Volunteers list of interviews conducted.**

#### **4.2.4 – Riverside Project/City Image**

As Table 4.1 suggests, this case study is interested primarily in the discourses within the city that see the museum as an institution that can enhance and promote the city's image. The study has followed the construction of the Riverside Museum, the city's latest museum that will replace the Museum of Transport. The building represents the second major project for GM in recent years (the first being the redevelopment of Kelvingrove Museum, completed in 2006) and the architectural design of the new museum creates a visual statement for the city. This case study was split into two sets of interviews, the first concerning the internal processes of producing the museum space. This involved interviewing curators (see Table 4.8) and discussing with them how the transport museum collection would be reinterpreted, and how in particular this sought to be socially inclusive. The second concerned the process of external image creation that the new building represents for the city. Central to the creation of the museum was the city's desire to build an iconic building for the regenerated waterfront. Thus, interviews here focused on interviewing city 'elites' who were involved in developing the project and those who have a role in promoting the city's image (see Table 4.8). This case study was less 'contained' than the previous ones, as it cut further across the Glasgow's local state infrastructure. First of all there was a concentration on pertinent museum personnel and this then spread to interviews with individuals who had strategic or 'elite' positions in Glasgow. This has become a research practice common across geography and the social sciences (see Herod, 1999; Raco, 1999; Ward and Jones, 1999; Smith, 2006). In order to identify individuals for interview, two approaches were taken; firstly, key personnel were located through looking at the structure of each of the pertinent organisations (GM, GL, GCC) on their websites and the names listed in related policy documentation. This immediately gave me a sense of who the individuals in positions of authority were in each organisation. Secondly, I adopted a 'snowballing'<sup>46</sup> approach to collecting interviewees. This proved useful in identifying actors who were not listed on policy documents or websites and who, therefore, were difficult to locate (Valentine, 1997). It also proved very useful when emailing or calling to inform such participants that someone else had suggested them as an individual with whom I needed to talk. It seemed to make their participation more likely. Although there is some difficulty in defining what is an 'elite', it is still a useful term for grouping a set of individuals in the city who have some form of power, privilege and agency. For my research they were selected on '*the basis of their privileged knowledge and ability to best answer my interview questions*' (Rice, 2010:71).

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<sup>46</sup> Valentine (1997:116) describes this as '*using one contact to help you recruit another contact*'.

Interviewee	Position
Kirsty Devine	Senior Curator Riverside Project
Paul Weston	Design Manager Riverside Project
Sam Groves	Project Visitor Studies Curator
Rowan Brown	Former Museum of Transport Curator
Michael Nix	Museum of Transport Curator
Alistair MacDonald	Acting Head of Planning
Elaine Murray	Development and Regeneration Services
Gavin McClellan	Appeal Director (GM)
Charlie Gordon	MSP and former GCC Leader
Martin Bellamy	Media Projects and Research Manager
Tom Rice	Head of Marketing (Glasgow City Marketing Bureau)
Kirsten Tuttle	Strategic Marketing & Commercial Development Manager
Kirsten McGurk	Marketing Officer for GM (GL)
Total	13
Interviews with related content	
Janice Lane	Head of Learning and Access (GM)
Mark O'Neil	Head of Glasgow Museums
Liz Cameron	Councillor and GL board member
Jill Miller	Director of Operations (GL)
Bridget Sly	Policy and Research Manager (GL)
Total	5
Overall	18

**Table 4.8 – Riverside Project/City Image list of interviews conducted**

### 4.3 – Research Methods

The following section will now detail the methods used in each of the case studies and why I chose those methods to answer my research questions. It should be acknowledged that there have been other methodological strategies deployed in attempting to address similar research questions to my own with regards to understanding the role of culture and the arts in society. These studies, stretching over the past fifteen years, have attempted to measure the social impact of the arts and have chosen to move beyond a solely quantitative approach. As such, these studies (Matarasso, 1997; Arts Council England, 1999, 2004 and 2006; HLF, 2002; Reeves, 2002; Arts Council London, 2006; HLF, 2008; Scottish Arts Council/EKOS, 2009) are a selection of many that have given important methodological pointers for my research, from which I have chosen to base its decisions with regards to my method choices. This is because they have shown, through the collection of qualitative data, to have produced empirically rich research on which to base their findings. Therefore, even though this thesis is more concerned with applying a variety of theoretical lenses to the role of the museum, such documents are still highly relevant as they provide a suite of qualitative tools that show, through their use in other

studies, to have sufficient intellectual and empirical rigour to inform my own methodological choices in relation to the research questions that have been set.

For example, Matarasso (1997) gave an early example of trying to ascertain the positive benefits from being involved in cultural activity through using questionnaires, participant observation and interviews. This approach allowed them to use, but also move beyond, the use of statistical data to probe substantive issues, to consider issues surrounding personal development, social cohesion, community empowerment and self-determination, local image and identity, imagination and vision, health and well-being. They also stressed the real importance of observing actual cultural activity in situ, seeing this as key to gaining a wider appreciation for the work arts organisations are conducting. HLF (2002) gave a programme-based analysis to the work of the Open Museum in Glasgow. In doing this, HLF research teams showed how interviews with both key actors and actual users were essential for assessing the impact of Open Museum on participants' lives. This has been something that this research methodology has attempted to do, by placing a high importance upon observing and interviewing those who actually take part in cultural activity. Scottish Arts Council/EKOS (2009) gave an evaluative account of the role played by artists-in-residence when placed within local communities. This project conducted a series of in-depth interviews with key actors involved in the residencies across Scotland, firstly at a general level, where all those involved were questioned, but then on a more detailed level, where there was a selection of case studies made to give a more in-depth study. In relation to this thesis, case study selection has followed a similar pattern, where more general interviews were conducted initially before moving to gain more ethnographic detail in specific case studies. Therefore, these brief 'nods' to a variety of different evaluative processes, in the relatively formative area impact assessment in arts and culture, have been highly informative in helping formulate my own methodological choices, as they have shown how qualitative methods can be used to probe issues relating to cultural activity.

### ***4.3.1 – Policy Analysis***

Before gathering data in the field I needed to be fully conversant with what policy was being developed by the state relating to the museums. This was necessary to see what the state (both locally and nationally) wanted from museums, i.e. what they wanted museums to do, who they wanted them to interact with, what ideas informed 'best practice' and how they wanted museums to change in the near future:

The process of government both requires and produces information. At the same time, the ways in which information is constructed and presented help to

shape the 'policy landscape' in particular ways; some policy approaches are made possible and legitimated, others are blocked off and discredited (Cloke et al, 2004:54).

The investigation into the *policy landscape* for museums is essential as this is what frames the goals, aspirations and directions of the museum from the state's perspective. This thesis has concerned itself with policy created under New Labour from their election in 1998 to 2010. It is essential to follow the development of various policy strategies at all spatial scales within the UK (UK, Scotland, Glasgow) in order to grasp the state's ideological positioning. Part of this analysis has already been used within the literature review chapters to denote how policy has developed at UK and Scottish levels, during Labour's time in power, and the following chapter will discuss this at the local Glasgow level.

The policy documents were collected from a range of different sources and were, on the whole, located through internet searches of key governmental (DCMS, SG, GL) and membership organisations' (MLA, MGS) websites. Policy documents that covered in their remit museums, social inclusion, citizenship, cultural development, volunteering and regeneration documents were identified and selected this way, using key word searches. The 'key words' used to find these initial policy texts were developed from the conceptual terms of the research questions. They were also located by reading a variety of academic papers that had used and critiqued some of these documents before. Key words included those listed above along with social justice, social cohesion, social capital, cultural capital, and cultural regeneration. They developed from a variety of sources as part of wider reading for this thesis. Added to these, additional documents were located through the on-going process of research that moved away from text based analysis. Whilst conducting interviews, certain documents were identified which initial searches had failed to locate. This was especially apparent at the local level where certain documents were not located online but were in use within particular organisations. In total 22 documents were analysed and Table 4.9 below gives full details. All policy documents were analysed using critical discourse analysis; this will be talked about further in Section 4.2.4.

Year	Title	Published By:
1998	Social Exclusion in Scotland – A Consultation Paper	The Scottish Office
1999	Social Inclusion - Opening the door to A better Scotland	The Scottish Office
1999	Museums for the Many	DCMS
1999	Social Justice – A Scotland where everyone matters	Scottish Executive/Government
2000a	Centres for Social Change: Museums, Galleries and Archives for All	DCMS
2000b	The Learning Power of Museums	DCMS
2000	Museums and Social Justice	SMC (now SMG)
2000c	Libraries, Museums, Galleries and Archives for All	DCMS
2000-3	Creating our future ... minding our past': Scotland's National Cultural Strategy	Scottish Executive/Government
2001a	Libraries, Museums, Galleries and Archives for All	DCMS
2001	Best Value Review – Museums, Heritage and Visual Arts	GM
2002	Community Education Training Review	SMC (now SMG)
2003	An Action Framework for Museums	Scottish Executive/Government
2004a	Culture at the Heart of Regeneration	DCMS
2004b	Inspiration, Identity, Learning: The Value of Museums	DCMS
2004	Culture, The Arts and Sport: A literature review...	Scottish Executive/Government
2004	New Directions in Social Policy: Communities and Inclusion Policy for museums, libraries and archives	MLA
2005	Our Next Major Enterprise... Review of Culture in Scotland	Cultural Commission
2005/6	Our Vision for Glasgow - Community Plan 2005-2010	GCC
2006	Draft Culture (Scotland) Bill	Scottish Executive/Government
2006	Glasgow's Cultural Strategy	CSL
2005	A National Learning and Access Strategy for Museums and Galleries in Scotland	SMC
2006a	A National Collections Development Strategy for Museums and Galleries	SMC
2006b	A National Workforce Development Strategy for Scotland's Museums	SMC
2007	Clyde Waterfront Regeneration	GCC
2007	Glasgow's Tourism Strategy to 2016	CMB
2007	Culture on Demand	DCMS
2008	Taking forward the government Economic Strategy	Scottish Executive/Government
2009	Glasgow's Strategic Volunteer Framework	GCC
<b>Total</b>	UK	9
	Scotland	16
	Glasgow	7

Table 4.9 – Museum Policy Documents

### 4.3.2 – Participant Observation

Where possible and feasible during the research of this project, participant observation with an active element was used. This draws upon ethnographic research techniques, and was to gain experiences that moved away from more formal ways of gathering empirical data such as interviews. This allowed me to experience in a more flexible manner the everyday happenings of the case studies (Cook, 1997). The participant observation carried out in this thesis took place in three of the case studies. In each case study this happened differently. In the Altered Images project it took the form of active participation with the group's art creation. The activities involved painting, drawing, collage creation, making cups of tea, and talking about art. The St Mungo participation took the form of attending interfaith talks, which involved listening and talking about faith-based issues with participants at the museum. The volunteer observation came from joining tour guides as they directed visitors around the museum objects, observing how they interacted with members of the public and the objects they were talking about.

This varied selection of research opportunities not only gave the chance to know how each of the groups or individuals acted in their sites of interaction with the museum but it also gave me the opportunity at times to experience the processes of being involved with such projects. Hence it was used to witness and decipher a fuller understanding of the experience of taking part in museum projects that encompassed *'the full experience of being in a place'* (Kearns, 2000:120).

Junker (1960) identifies four different types of participant observation; *the complete participant, the complete observer, the participant as observer and the observer as participant*. The four demarcations are useful, if not a little restrictive<sup>47</sup>. To a certain extent I was all of these at different times, but for the most part I did not feel 'complete participant or observer'; hence, I felt I occupied a position of 'participant as observer' most of the time. I attempted, as best I could, to get involved with doing as much as possible. This served to give me a real experience as to how, in one case study in particular, the relationship between seeing and then doing in the gallery was essential.

I turned up at the first session really apprehensive, I hated 'art' at school, I was pretty much useless. But when the session first started and the group was working on creating Lambie inspired work, having just walked around his exhibition, I felt inspired to try and do something. I produced a colourful matchstick montage, looking back at it, it was pretty awful but at the time I was engrossed in it (Field diary – Altered Images).

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<sup>47</sup> In terms of 'pigeon-holing' the process of doing participant observation.

In other circumstances this role flipped to the observer as participant. This was often in a context where the observation was much more a 'one-off' occurrence and usually occurred when guides invited me on their tours. I would usually have interviewed them beforehand and asked them about their thoughts as they were guiding and their relationship to the objects they discussed. It was only when the tour took place that I could see this working in front of me:

In the interview Clive had mentioned how he really liked the model of a ship's diesel engine. He said it was something he always talked about on his tours because it made explaining the technological side of a ship's propulsion much easier. But it was when he talked about it next to the object that his passion for the engine really came through. He enthused about the shape and the spacing of the engine pistons. He then went to dramatically explain the role of the thrust block that sat between the engine and the propeller, stating that this is what stops all the engine's power ripping the ship apart (Field Diary – Volunteers).

Listening to him talk about the engine, I could see why he had devoted a life to engineering and why he was giving tours. It was only when we were next to the object observing him give his tour that his passion really came to the fore.

Thus the use of the method of participant observation had a twofold reasoning. Firstly, it allowed me to gain extra insight into how the museum operated in its requirements to integrate policy initiatives such as social inclusion and citizenship development. It has also helped in the interviewing of participants as it has given me much greater understanding as to how the project developed over its existence. Further to this it allowed me, in a highly subjective way, to experience what the group experienced as the project ran its course and although it would be impossible for me to represent through my feelings what they felt, it still helped me to understand the process better. Therefore, through the use of a 'field diary', I was able to record my thoughts and feelings during the project. The fieldwork diary was my way of taking a personal account of what happened but also gave me the opportunity to reflect back on each of the sessions. It allowed me to express thoughts and feelings that had arisen from the embodied practice of being involved in the group's work. The extract below highlights this:

The group had started to work on cutting images from magazines but I'd noticed Sarah being very quiet and sitting away from the group. She was working but she wasn't really chatting like she had been doing so in previous weeks. I decided to sit next to her and just get on with doing some cutting myself. She didn't speak for a while as the work continued but during the tea break when the rest of the group were away from us, conversation started. She told me how she'd had a rubbish week due to a relative that she had been putting up for a few weeks. He'd started to treat her house like a doss house, drinking excessively, playing loud music and generally being anti-social. She decided he had to leave but hadn't told him yet and that she'd been thinking

about it all day and was going to do it this evening. She said she nearly didn't come to the session today but then stated, 'I needed this, I needed the break from home so that I could do and think about something different' (Field diary – Altered Images).

It is experiences like the extract above that would not be possible to gain from just interviewing alone. Hence, as Kearns (2000) suggests, it is the being there that really matters as it gives a much thicker account and understanding to the processes that are taking place. It gives a greater insight (from my perspective) to the thoughts and emotions of participants whilst embedded in the research setting.

### **4.3.3 – Semi-structured Interviews**

The use of the case study represents the main method for splitting the research subject into more manageable sections. Within each of the case studies the main method used to gain empirical data was interviews. This involved interviewing key personnel in local government, CSG and GM, but also members of the public who were participants in each of the case studies. The following section will detail the more practical reasoning for the use of interviews.

The reasons for choosing interviews as a method were that they allowed me to ask the participants, in much greater depth, their personal feelings about what I was wishing to investigate with regards to the research questions and the wider theoretical underpinnings. The technique was deployed due to the greater intensity in data collection it creates when attempting to study human interactions and experiences. This compares to those quantitative methods that produce a more generalised view, often indicating patterns but not the reasons why these patterns appear:

The techniques are traditionally termed 'qualitative' for they are generally intended more to determine what things "exist" rather than to determine how many such things there are. Because qualitative techniques are not concerned with measurement they tend to be less structured than quantitative ones and can therefore be made more responsive to the needs of respondents and to the nature of the subject matter. Typically qualitative methods yield large volumes of exceedingly rich data obtained from a limited number of individuals (Walker, 1985:3).

Interviews allowed me to question in far greater detail (in comparison to the use of questionnaires) the feelings, emotions, reactions and practices of individuals in the museum. They are as Eyles and Smith (1988:10) describe, '*a conversation with a purpose*'. Thus, it allows questioning into far less tangible things, which despite not being 'measurable' are still very important, especially in attempting to understand the finer mechanisms through which power permeates. The interview technique also gives the

researcher the ability to control the direction of the conversation and not allow it to deviate too far from the topic. There is still the ability, however, if desired, to deviate from the topic guide and the questions already chosen, when it is felt appropriate:

An interview might be prepared, but you would not be restricted to deploying those questions. The semi-structured interview is organised around ordered but flexible questioning (Dunn, 2000:61).

This allows me, as the interviewer, the ability to pursue and clarify a line of questioning, if it is considered pertinent to the research. Furthermore, it also allows the interviewee to answer more freely, and express themselves fully, as Valentine describes:

The advantage of this approach is that it is sensitive and people-oriented, allowing interviewees to construct their own accounts of their experiences by describing and explaining their lives in their own words (Valentine, 1997:111).

Interview techniques also allow the researcher to generate large amounts of data quickly across a wide range of subjects from a small number of people, in considerable depth and at little expense (intensive research). It is the intensive quality of data that the interview offers as a research method (Hoggart *et al*, 2002) that makes it an appropriate method to use in the answering of my research questions.

Some of the benefits to interviewing can, however, also be constraints. The facility of being able to ask a wide range of questions and then to follow up the answers directly and pursue a particular line of questioning is a highly subjective process and determined by positionality and reflects the earlier discussions upon this. This is because the interviewer is largely in charge of the direction of the conversation. It is, therefore, the interviewer's decision as to what to pursue and what not to pursue that can greatly influence a participant's answers (the in-built power relations of interviewing between researcher and researched). Further to this, the positioning of the interviewee in the research settings can also have great influence upon the questions that are asked and how they are asked. This can also be seen in the subsequent interpretation of the interview, where the choice of what data is important and what is not becomes the personal decision of the researcher and what they feel is the most appropriate data to be used:

But the analysis of data about the social world can never be 'merely' a matter of discovering and describing what is there. The process of deciding 'what is', and what is not relevant and significant in 'what is' involves interpretation and conceptualisation (Jones, 1985:57).

This process, through critical discourse analysis, will be discussed below in greater detail. The interview is therefore the premier tool for the collection of empirical data. Although it is

not perfect and not entirely reliable due to questions of positionality, it is, however, still an essential tool in investigating the complexities of discourse within an institution.

#### **4.3.4 – Analytical Strategy**

Within the production of this thesis the use of critical discourse analysis took place with two differing intentions at two differing points in the research process. It was firstly used as a technique for interrogating policy documents before conducting any research within the museum and it was secondly used as a process for analysing interview data. Below is a discussion of why the method was chosen and how it was used. In both cases essential to doing this was the use of an interpretive technique and to do this I used the work of Fairclough (2003) as a starting guide.

Fairclough has written extensively on the use of *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA) as a method for dissecting texts in order to understand their wider place within the structure of society. Central to Fairclough (2003) is his comprehension of Foucault for, by describing the relationships that are developed through the use of language as discourse, Fairclough applies Foucauldian logic to how society shapes and structures itself. Discourse is a term used to describe an abstract mechanism that contains within it sets of social practices and beliefs that are interrelated; therefore, in understanding how discourse is developed, one can begin to build a picture as to how society is shaped. Fairclough suggests that through the close reading of texts, one can begin to gain an understanding as to how language is used in creating the many structures that shape society.

Text analysis is an essential part of discourse analysis, but discourse analysis is not merely the linguistic analysis of text. I see discourse as 'oscillating' between a focus on specific texts and a focus on what I call the 'order of discourse', the relatively durable social structuring of language which is itself an element of a relatively durable structuring and networking of social practices (Fairclough, 2003:3).

Further to this, Fairclough argues that by understanding language and how it is used, one can also grasp the structures in which language is actually produced and used. Through the relationship described above, an *order of discourse* can be developed which relates directly to the actual ideological concerns that exist in the text, giving an insight in to how certain ideas, concepts, agency *et cetera* are legitimated or not through the deployment of language. This then moves towards an understanding of structure and agency with text, as Fairclough states:

Social agents are not 'free' agents, they are socially constrained, but nor are actions totally socially determined...Social agents texture texts, they set up

relations between elements of texts. There are structural constraints on this process (2003:22).

Through the production of texts (which includes interview transcripts, policy documents and field notes), there begins to be a cyclical nature as to how they are formed through discourse. On one level the text may generate or sustain a discourse, but in the production of that text, those agents responsible for creating it are also embroiled within the wider discourse that is responsible for its production, which in turn shapes the text. Through understanding the production of texts from this perspective there becomes a relational or intertextual sense to the means of their production, as it is impossible for any agent to act, or text to be produced, within a vacuum, separated from the wider functioning of society. Fairclough does, however, develop a caveat in terms of the interpretation of texts alone, suggesting that social life should not simply be interpreted through language:

This is not a matter of reducing social life to language, saying that everything is discourse – it isn't. Rather, it's one analytical strategy amongst many (2003:3).

Hence the social interactions of conducting interviews and observing the work of the museum become essential in adding to the text-based interpretation.

In terms of applying CDA and picking apart the texts, a process of coding was used for both the policy and interview data. This was first conducted on policy documents where an intuitive coding method was used to interrogate the data. This meant that in reading the policy texts I could pick out the sections that I felt related mostly to the research questions and wider academic literature in the ways in which the museum was being positioned. Once the interviews were completed, they were transcribed into a word-processed document (a script). For Cope (2003:451) the research process is a '*circular, sporadic and frankly messy*' practice, and therefore making sense of vast amounts of qualitative data required a strategy for coding to be made. To reflect the nature of doing 'messy' research the strategy employed was flexible, so that it could always evolve throughout the research process. After five interviews in each case study, I openly coded the interviews (Strauss, 1987) following the conceptual issues raised by the research questions. The open coding was a very intuitive approach where I initially read the transcripts to see what concepts became most apparent and wrote these down next to the text (Crang, 1997). This allowed me to develop a set of initial codes which I then applied to the following interviews, giving me an analytical framework to work with. The codes came from a range of sources; some reflected the reading, policy analysis, and participant observation that was conducted prior to interviews and others from topics that arose during interviews. This represented a flexible approach that could be added to at any point in the analytical process. From this

point axial codes also developed (Strauss, 1987) as the interview data was refined further. These codes often became more descriptive in nature (Welsh, 2002) as this reflected how the participant described their thoughts, feelings and emotions towards the questions being asked.

An example of the coding strategy can be seen in Appendix B, which shows a visual interpretation of the different discourses that were coded in the Riverside Museum Case Study. The diagram highlights the connected nature as to how these codes relate to each other. Appendices C and D show each of the codes, where they came from and an example of that code. Thus by viewing the appendices a clear picture is given as to how the empirical data was subdivided for analysis. The other three case studies were coded using the same coding method, but the structure and types of code differed greatly. This strategy allowed me to work the empirical data into a more manageable form that allowed me to then develop my empirical findings in the relevant chapters.

## **4.4 – Positionality and Ethics**

With any research project there is often a great difference between what the researcher intends to do and what actually happens. To a large extent this represents the happenstance of doing research, the ‘messiness’ of conducting research (Parr, 1998) and the time-space path of the research project (Hägerstrand, 1953). For my research this offered both opportunities and disappointments with doors opening and closing almost simultaneously. Thus, what this section wishes to do is reflexively consider my position towards and within the research process (Rose, 1997), explicating why my research is only a partial account to understanding the work conducted by GM. This section will therefore consider my role in the research process in relation to GM and the research participants.

### **4.4.1 – Gatekeepers**

In negotiating research within GM, one of the main constraints on my ability to access the different research settings that I wanted to investigate was the role of gatekeepers. At varying points in the research process I encountered various gatekeepers at different levels within the hierarchy of GM. This had a marked affect on the shape and direction of my research because, as stated when discussing Burgess (1984) earlier, they have a profound role in granting access to research settings or not. It also, in some circumstances, limited my agency and the scope of the research project. This created various limitations to parts of my empirical chapters. I will now discuss the role of

gatekeepers in my research through a narrative of their role in shaping my research. This is to show my position in relation to GM as a researcher and the power relations involved in dealing with gatekeepers.

In deciding to take a case study approach to understanding the work of GM, I needed to find individuals within the organisation who were willing to let me work with them on their projects. I would term these as the initial gatekeepers who I approached, chosen mainly due to their connection with the learning and access provision within the museums. My first contact was Katie Bruce (Social Inclusion curator). This seemed an obvious place to start given her job title. Katie was exceptionally helpful in informing me of the work GM was conducting, the upcoming projects, the organisational structure and who to contact. This directly led to another set of gatekeepers who were running the individual projects across the museums as I attempted to locate the projects that I felt were most pertinent. To my disappointment, I discovered that I had just missed the running of their SJP and therefore could not follow that, as though Katie did inform me of an adult learners project that was starting in GoMA and she put me in contact with Alicia Watson, the learning and access curator at GoMA<sup>48</sup>. Thus, I was able to follow the Altered Images project having gained the permission of Alicia. Whilst this was on-going, from my discussions with Katie, I opted to contact the learning and access curators at the Open Museum, the Peoples Palace and the St Mungo museum. The Open Museum seemed a perfect fit for me given its specific role in doing outreach work. However, in discussions with curators (Elaine Addington and Claire Coia) it became apparent that, due to staffing changes, it would not be possible to follow any of their work. Hence this route of research was closed to me. In contacting the learning and access curator at the Peoples Palace, Kiran Singh, it appeared that it would be possible for me to follow their selection of events throughout the year. Finally, I also contacted the learning and access curator at St Mungo Museum, Maggie MacBean, and she informed me of the Sacred Journeys project, from where she put me in contact with Tony Lewis, the curator for the exhibition. Tony was exceptionally helpful in putting me in contact with participants and agreeing to let me follow his project. At this point I had negotiated three research projects that connected with the key themes of my research. It was at around this point, though, that a further layer of museum bureaucracy became apparent to me.

Having agreed research settings with various curators, I was then contacted by William Kilbride, then head of research at GM. He immediately wanted to know what my research was about and why I had not contacted him before starting. My 'defence' was that I had independently talked to those people who I thought were most relevant to my work, and

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<sup>48</sup> Alicia went on maternity leave very soon after this, hence why she was not interviewed in regards to the project.

they had not mentioned the need to gain clearance from anyone else within GM. This was not satisfactory for William and, although having already completed the GoMA project, I still had to stop my research until I gained approval from him. This required two steps: firstly, a meeting between William and my supervisors and, secondly, I had to give a presentation on my research intentions and design to the research team at GM. Until this was complete and I had received a Disclosure check, all research had to stop. They were keen to ensure that my research was valid, ethical (despite completing a university ethics form, see following section) and that it would be conducted in a 'safe' manner<sup>49</sup>. Therefore, at this point William became a primary gatekeeper in my research, as I had to gain approval from him; he then also became my main point of contact for negotiating other potential research opportunities. His role from this point onwards greatly shaped my research as it was through him that I had to identify those with whom I wanted to talk and he would then make an initial contact on my behalf.

Over this time, it also became apparent that the research at the People's Palace would not take place due to the ill health of Kiran Singh. I therefore needed to find a new case study and as yet I had not negotiated research into the constructions of the Riverside Museum. Thus, despite the initial frustration of being made to stop research, William's role became central as a gatekeeper in allowing me access to other individuals within the organisation. For example, in giving the presentation at GMRC (Glasgow Museum Resource Centre) I was able to meet Yla Barrie (Volunteer and Placement Coordinator), who was the primary gatekeeper in helping me contact volunteers, which allowed me to replace the People's Palace. Following on from this, William was also very useful in helping me to identify and contact individuals in higher-up positions in GM (examples being Mark O'Neil, Janice Lane and the curators involved in the Riverside Museum), as he was able to use his position within the organisation to allow me access. This meant my research was back on the path I wanted to follow and, although I had to go through their procedures in order to gain access, my research was now benefitting from the gatekeeper/researcher relationship with William.

As my research continued, I completed each of my case studies until I was only still actively interviewing individuals involved with the Riverside Museum. It is here, though, that I encountered a final gatekeeper in my research that proved very significant in influencing the outcome of my research into this project, which has placed very definite limitations on the empirical chapter that has been built upon this research. Despite having gained agreement from the GM research team to interview curators involved with the Riverside Museum part-way through, I was stopped by a senior curator from continuing

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<sup>49</sup> There was some concern that, whilst conducting research I might damage a museum object, and therefore insurance cover had to be in place.

my interviews. I initially interviewed the management team (though this excluded Lawrence Fitzgerald, Head of Riverside Museum project for, despite agreeing with William to take part, he never responded to any of my future requests). Having progressed through these interviews, I next interviewed Kirsty Devine (senior curator). The interview went well and I gained valuable data from it. It was after having completed the interview with Kirsty that I began to discuss talking to other curators under her, at which point she intimated that she would have to think about whether this would be possible and to get back to her. After a week had passed, I followed up on this, at which point I was refused further access. This proved to be a great disappointment, given initial granting of access to the research area for it to then be taken away.

Overall, the use of gatekeepers acted as a positive in helping to guide the research, especially in terms of suggestions for case studies. In the case of the Riverside Museum, the research may have been 'truncated', yet it was still possible to explore how it relates to social inclusion and the re-imaging of the city, thus contributing to the research questions. It was essential to gain gatekeeper consent and it even became beneficial to develop a working relationship with them, as their expert knowledge of GM was crucial in pinpointing projects to follow and individuals to talk to. However, it also proved highly frustrating when they acted as a barrier to some of the issues I wanted to investigate. This was especially true in the context of the Riverside Project, as not being able to gain access to a selection of curators led to a limitation in the data I was able to collect and, when reading this section in the empirical Chapter Seven, this limitation has to be taken into consideration.

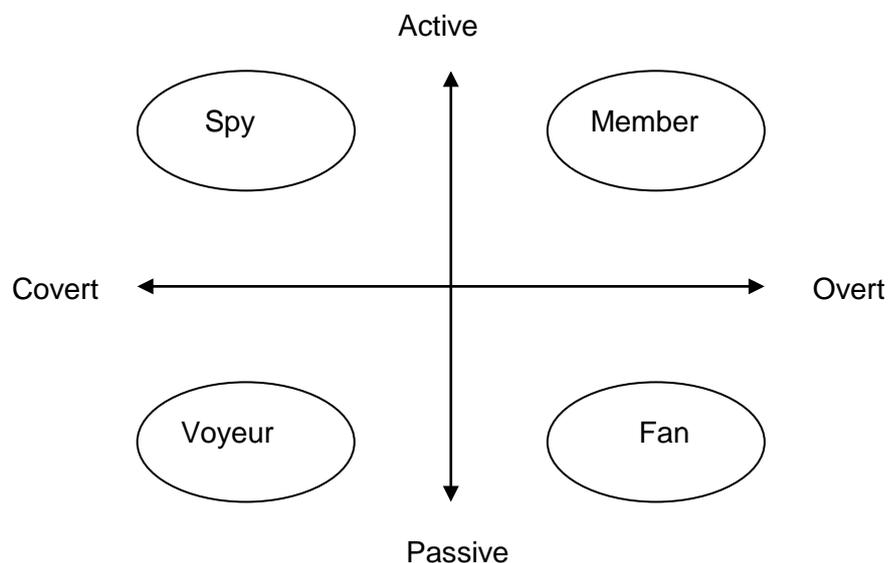
#### ***4.4.2 – Participants, Observations and Interviews***

In following the case studies, I encountered various participants and my positioning towards them changed greatly over the course of the projects. This had an effect upon the research as my position of outsider or insider became very much blurred. For example, during the attendance at a once-weekly art project, where relationships between organisers, participants and myself became 'normalised' within the museum setting, what would be termed as researcher and researched became less obvious. Due to my participation with the group, I not only came to know the participants but they came to know me, and as I interacted, the relationship between researcher and researched became slightly blurred, leading to the potential for both to forget why the other was there. During the research process, this did happen at least a couple of times, and the field notes below highlight this from a few weeks into the Altered Images case study:

We were sat round the tables in the studio, and I was helping Edith by painting a box, we were just chatting about quite general stuff, mainly about each

other's day before the session and I asked her what she wanted from today's session ... Having finished her answer I was then surprised by what she asked, asking me 'And why are you here?' So I explained my PhD and research again to which she replied 'Oh, I remember you telling me something about that.' (Field diary – Altered Images).

However, it must also be commented that, as a researcher, I never forget my position in relation to who I am observing or interviewing; therefore, I never wanted to 'switch-off' during the research process, meaning I could never truly comprehend how someone else viewed a specific event or belief because I am always interpreting it from my perspective. This therefore reflected why interviews, although raising positional questions in themselves, were needed in order to gain a perspective beyond my own. In the performance of the research (Latham, 2003; Pratt, 2000), my role as researcher therefore consistently shifted, renegotiated itself throughout the process. The field note above shows this, as does Figure 4.2, representing the fluidity of this relationship:



**Figure 4.2 – Field roles in observational fieldwork. Adapted from Van Maanen (1978:344).**

In my fieldwork I tried to occupy the position of a 'member' in the dimensions shown above, as I actively and overtly participated in each of the case studies. The account from my field note above highlights how this can inadvertently slip towards a covert position, while a further field note also notes this blurred boundary:

I walked into the interfaith talk at the St Mungo Museum. Most were already sat down and waiting for the talk to begin. There was no opportunity to introduce myself or explain why I was there. The people just presumed I was there as another interested member of the public. The talk began. I sat and I observed the speakers and then the questions from the floor. It was only when we broke for tea and coffee, that just before we moved away, Maggie who was running this talk properly introduced me and stated why I was there. It was only then that the assembled group knew my purpose. Then during the break I began to chat more with the group (Field diary, Sacred Journeys).

The two accounts and Van Mannen's model show how my position as researcher at different times was difficult to define in relation to the researched subjects. The myriad of different circumstances that I found myself in meant that I was constantly working with different participants who had different levels of knowledge with regards to me and my research. Hence my position was dynamic as it was defined by the circumstance and participants involved. This changing position therefore affected my research, in that by getting to know people during regular meetings, when it came to conduct interviews, I had a strong sense of who they were, what they had done and they knew who I was, so that a level of 'trust' had built from the familiarity of a shared experience. This potentially meant that in those circumstances I could have gained knowledge that, had I just interviewed groups without prior participation, I might have missed.

The question of positionality in relation to interview participants can also work against the researcher when trying to gain information. For example, when conducting interviews with elites and museum staff, there was often a sense that I was not being given the full picture, not that people were lying but that they felt the need to stay 'on message'. For whatever reason this might be, it also provides a limit to some of the data collected as on some issues it might prove difficult to get an interviewee's candid opinion due to their public or organisational position. This, though, is my own reflection on some of the research conducted and how it may have affected the research process. There is a whole multitude of reasons beyond those suggested that might have influenced my research and this reflects Rose's (1997) discussion surrounding the difficulty of situating knowledge. As a researcher, it is often very difficult to know when our positionality has had an influence upon the response being given or the event taking place.

#### **4.4.2 – Ethics**

In terms of doing research in the museum, I had to gain ethical consent to conduct my research at various levels. Gaining access to the research field first involved getting university consent, secondly it involved gaining consent from GM research team, and thirdly it involved the negotiation of the research with further gatekeepers within GM (this has been discussed for each case study and in the previous section). This meant that before research began I had to commit to various norms of good research practice. In terms of gaining access this meant, firstly, having to get a Disclosure Scotland check. Secondly, any data that I collected and then used, which was gained from working with members of the public, had always to be kept anonymous. This was done by changing all the names of participants to a pseudonym. Thirdly, all interviews with participants had to be conducted on museum or GL premises. Fourthly, in all research settings, informed consent had to be gained. As was discussed earlier, this was sometimes difficult as some

of the participant observation events were at public gatherings. Here I was usually introduced by those running the session, or if not, when I spoke to anyone I would disclose why I was there. Within the Altered Images project I followed GoMA's lead on gaining consent, where they made all participants sign a consent form which stated they were happy to take part in a 'research project'. To take this one step further, I made a point to further explain my research to each participant individually. In conducting interviews, consent was gained by using an opt-in strategy; if the interviewee did not want to speak I would not pursue the interview. At the start of every interview I also informed the participant of why I was interviewing them in relation to my research. I then followed up on this at the end of the interview by asking them if they had any questions that they wanted to ask me, and often people did. I also asked if there was anything that they had talked about which they did not want to be used. This usually came with an answer of affirmation that they were happy, but after one interview a respondent did state in relation to one topic of questioning that 'that was off the record'.

In negotiating the various research settings and underpinning the research process, an attempt was made to ensure that an ethics of care (McDowell, 2004) was employed with all concerned, including myself (Katz, 1994). This was necessary because in fully investigating the research questions there was a need to discuss with participants their emotional experience of being involved with museum activity. As their activity may have been triggered by a traumatic event, such as the death of a partner or a mental breakdown, real care had to be taken in dealing with such sensitive issues. This involved for the most part being aware of my own limitations as a researcher. Thus disclosure of such events could cause real discomfort and, although I was interested in these emotional responses, I was not (and am not) qualified as a researcher to deal with them when they appeared in any depth at all. Interestingly, when this did happen it led me to feel, internally, far more uncomfortable than they seemed to express externally. Even though some of the participants seemed at ease talking about such issues, it still meant that real care had to be taken not to assume a position of 'psychiatrist researcher' and that no attempt to undertake a psychoanalytic approach was taken in order purposefully to elicit such reactions.

Very few interviews actually generated 'uncomfortable' discussions; some interviewees even expressed their enjoyment to have taken part. Various interviewees discussed after the interview how it was nice to reflect back on events, or some employees of GM and GL suggested that it was pleasurable to think about their work in a theoretical sense, rather than just the practicality of doing their work. At times during the participant observation an ethics of care had to be really considered. Within one of the groups I followed, I was aware that one participant had a severe learning difficulty. This meant, having had no

experience of dealing with such issues, I had to be careful with my approach to them. Therefore, in the group setting I would always interact with the individual and really enjoyed chatting with them (to ignore them outright would have been wrong) but I felt it inappropriate to interview them or to ask them any specific detail about what they were doing when observing group work. Beyond this one encounter, the rest of the interviewees were all capable of making informed decisions about whether to participate in my research.

## **4.5 – Conclusion**

The research design was one that developed across the course of the project as each case study represented a unique set of circumstances. This meant I applied a suite of qualitative methods to gather the empirical data when and where I felt appropriate to do so in each case study. This has been done in order fully to answer the research questions and to comprehend the key theoretical positionings of this thesis.

The strategy has at all times been adaptive to suit the sporadic work rhythms of following 'socially' minded projects in GM. These projects happened temporarily at different times, for different durations and at different geographic locations. The process of following the museums' work allowed me to gain a clearer sense as to the wider social and political relations of individuals encountering the museum. Thus this gave me the ability to comprehend the contemporary purposes to the museum, the power relations of the museums' work and how this related to social inclusion, citizenship, formulations of cultural and social capital and finally city enhancement discourses. The following three chapters will explore these empirical findings which have been produced by the application of the methodology.

## Chapter 5 – The ‘Local State’ – Glasgow and its Museums

### 5.1 – Introduction

Both for GL and GCC, the museum service has become closely involved in the wider commitment to discourses of social inclusion and cultural citizenship. This chapter will consider how these discourses become contested by a city that is also very keen to enhance its competitive position within Scotland, the UK and Europe. This will be based upon two main empirical sources; that of the relevant local policy documentation and then interviews conducted with those in strategic positions of power within GCC, GL and GM.

The chapter will first begin by giving further detail to the context in which GM exists. It will first look at the city’s historical relationship with museums and how, as a local authority service, it has followed many of the national and international trends that have influenced museums (detailed in Chapter Two). This will highlight how historical influences, such as many of the founding principles of a museum service in Glasgow during the Victorian period, although reworked, still have an influence upon city development and museological thinking. Following this, the chapter will then detail the city’s current museum provision and detail the strategic position that each museum has.

Subsequently to this, the chapter will then move to consider how these have been implemented and interpreted strategically at the local level in terms of GCC, GL and GM. Essential to doing this, though, will be a consideration of the wider (both global and national) economic conditions that have affected Glasgow’s development historically, as such conditions have greatly shaped the direction of policy implementation in Glasgow as it has attempted to readjust from the position of an industrial powerhouse to that of the post-industrial city. This section will also use relevant policy documentation produced at the local level and will be further supplemented with interview data from officials holding strategic positions within the previously mention local institutions. The chapter will therefore highlight the strategic role of museums within the city for promoting and fostering ideas of social inclusion, citizenship development and how they have also been positioned for the promotion of the city image and in their role as a generator of economic gain.

This will lead to a comprehension as to how a multiplicity of trajectories develop when tracing policy implementation at the local level, highlighting the *‘frictions’* that Sharp *et al* (2000:22) discuss when following the interpretation of policy at different spatial scales.

This is especially pertinent when one can observe certain policy initiatives being developed in multiple places simultaneously but are not necessarily the result of one particular policy or organisation. Therefore this chapter sees the policies created at the national levels of government acting as a wider frame or discourse to those happening at the Glasgow level; but this is a coarse-grained framework and there is and has been considerable leeway for the city authorities to give a local slant to the interpretation of national ‘guidelines’. Similarly, those initiatives promoted by professional bodies or within wider academic literature relating to museums (Museology/museum studies) and those within urban development literature also have a role in framing the wider decisions taken by Glasgow Museums, Glasgow Life and Glasgow City Council<sup>50</sup>.

## 5.2 – The Development of Glasgow Museums

GM represent a contemporary local authority museum service that is embedded within the fabric of the local state. It is a municipal museum service that has its foundation in the nineteenth century and, like the general history to museums given above, has followed many of the discourses posited in the earlier sections of this thesis. The following section will give a brief history to the inception of the service, before giving a description to Glasgow Museums in its current form. The early history will pick out some of the key points that rationalised the building of Glasgow’s main museum in order to give a sense to the concepts that underpinned its creation. The final section will finish with a description of present day organisation in terms of how it is structured in the local state, what its now ten different sites are and what they aim to achieve for the city<sup>51</sup>. Hill (2005) suggests that it is necessary to move away from the accounts given by the likes of Bennett, Hooper-Greenhill, McClellan *et cetera* and to consider, at a more local level, the histories and development of municipal museums, as these often show interesting place-based initiatives rather than just focusing upon the grander narratives of institutions such as the Louvre or British Museum.

The beginning of Glasgow’s museum collection began, like so many others, with the purchase of a keen collector’s bequest. In what Maver (2000:79) terms as the ‘Mid-Victorian Liberal Era’, the then Lord Provost Andrew Orr saw fit to purchase on the behalf of Glasgow the collections and galleries of the former councillor and art collector Archibald McLellan. In 1856 Glasgow Corporation paid £44,500 to claim McLellan’s collections.

<sup>50</sup> Examples of this would be Vergo (1989) *The New Museology* and Florida (2003) *The Rise of the Creative Class* which have both been seminal to their respective professional audiences in influencing decision-making in specific policy areas.

<sup>51</sup> There is obviously a history to how the museum service developed from the 19<sup>th</sup> century through to the present but it is not necessary to explicitly discuss this period. As like other museum services, Glasgow’s also followed primarily a discourse of modernism until around the 1980s when museological thinking began to change.

Some two years earlier, McClellan had opened his gallery to the public, with a fee to be paid on entrance, but in the same year of opening the gallery he died (Oakley, 1946 and Maver, 2000). The city fathers were in real doubts as to the justification of the purchase: for the Lord Provost, the purchase was essential in maintaining the city’s importance in comparison to ‘*any other city of importance on the continent*’ and was intended for the ‘*instruction and gratification*’ of the city (Orr, quoted in Maver, 2000:79). Added to this, the city at this time, as Bellamy (2007) argues, had also become a centre for art production due to the ever expanding ship building industry. Art was required for both the ships being built but also for the wealthy shipyard owners to furnish their homes. Bellamy identifies this as a central reason for the amassing of art in Glasgow which has found its way into the city’s collection through bequests such as McClellan’s. But it also went further as Liberal councillors sought to avert what they saw as the ‘*deteriorating fabric*’ of the city’s infrastructure and to build Glasgow as a ‘*model municipality*’ (Maver, 2000). Therefore the initial acquisition sought to make a statement of intent to the city and beyond.

### **5.2.1 – Liberal Politics, Civic Pride and Social Reform**

The Liberal hegemony that headed the city’s elite at the time also desired to deal with the multiple social and health problems Glasgow’s ever-expanding population had created<sup>52</sup>. Urban decay and illness (for example, a cholera outbreak from 1848-9) were rife, so the emphasis in local government focused upon an agenda that could both improve the city as well as the citizens. Hence, acquisitions such as McClellan’s allowed civic leaders to begin using culture as a means of improving the city’s image. This also fitted within a wider context of public health where cholera outbreaks created a zeal for ‘*moral government*’ underpinned by evangelical values, which, as Maver (2000:89-90) suggests, ‘*aimed to transform the habits of the people, from all classes, and direct them into behaviour which eschewed extremes and excess*’. Accounts around the time in Glasgow painted a very dour picture of the city’s social inequalities. Edwin Chadwick who visited in 1840 wrote in his 1842 report:

Low wynds and dirty narrow streets and courts, in which, because lodging was there the cheapest, the poorest and most destitute naturally had their abodes ... it might admit of dispute, but, on the whole, it appeared to us that both the structural arrangements and the condition of the population in Glasgow was the worst of any we had seen in any part of Great Britain.

This was furthered by Dr Sutherland (in Russell, 1895) from the Board of Health of Glasgow, writing at the time with regards to the poor living conditions faced by many:

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<sup>52</sup> See Cunnison, J. and Gilfillan J.B.S. (1958) for a statistical account of Glasgow’s expanding population.

It is in those frightful abodes of human wretchedness which lay along the High Street, Saltmarket, and Briggate ... that all sanitary evils persist in perfection (1895:21).

And finally, it was compounded by Robert Perry MD, then President of Physicians and Surgeons and Senior Physician to Glasgow Infirmary, with his own account of the affects of urban life on city dwellers:

It is in the large cities where the greatest amount of misery is to be found, and the darkest practice the effects of man's cupidity is exhibited. There, the human species, more vicious than their inferiors, or more preying upon each other, each in his own way, from the monopolist down to the common thief, the former with the sanction of law, the latter by stealth and violence (1844: GU Special Collection).

Set against this backdrop, the city aimed to rectify this squalor. The need to improve the city's infrastructure and to develop spaces that could potentially promote a form of social control upon citizens was desired. In reaction, the Glasgow Corporation sought to introduce various new initiatives to improve the city and it is around this time, well before the existence of the Labour Party, that a form of 'municipal socialism' developed in Glasgow. As Whitham describes, '*Municipal socialism ... was born in the town halls, of liberal and even conservative administrations with hardly a socialist in sight*' (1990:113). This formed from a sense of civic responsibility that sought to organise, provide and control public services (Zieleniec, 2002) in order to produce good governance for the city as it attempted to deal with its ever increasing population, and it is at this time that there was the beginning to the building of great public works within the city. This was exemplified by the building of parks, which began following the acquisition of Loch Katrine (establishing clean drinking water for the city which was a success for temperance movements at the time). With parks, the city sought to give '*breathing space*' for its citizens to escape the '*low wynds and dirty narrow streets*'. The development of this breathing space was committed in two ways by the Town Council: slum clearance from the 1850s through to the 1890s, and in the 1850s the beginning of the expansion to Glasgow's park areas. This first came to fruition when a commercial venture attempted to build the West End Park, now called Kelvingrove Park. This venture failed to raise the necessary capital, but councillors decided to step in and fill the shortfall. The park was seen to have health-giving properties, which formed the basis of arguments for its creation despite its high price, but its distance from the main population with its opening in 1852 seemed to make this questionable. In reality the park had been built as a way of '*stimulating speculative building*' in the area, in which it was successful (Maver, 2000:97), and following this in 1887 a similar logic saw the development of Queen's Park.

It is in this context that Glasgow’s councillors also began to think about its municipal art collection as a utility for improving the city and its citizens. The desire that began with the acquisition of McClellan’s collection by Orr then led to a drive to build a larger municipal gallery, but funding had to be found for such an investment. The city elites decided that such a museum should be funded by the hosting of a great exhibition which would demonstrate the city’s prowess to the world.

### **5.2.2 – Glasgow’s Great Exhibitions and their Influence**

The development of Kelvingrove Park also gave the city space to host the first of its three international exhibitions (1888, 1901, 1911: there was also a fourth near to this time in 1938 in Bellahouston Park and then a final fifth exhibition/festival in 1988 when Glasgow had its most recent celebration of civic pride, see Table 5.1). Each exhibition had a specific purpose for the city at the time, as each gave a different message to the visitor in terms of how and why objects were displayed. All the exhibitions related to the city’s museums in that they reflected the wider ‘*powerful institutional circuit*’ (Leach, 1989:128) of the time and the city’s position towards culture, showing how the city has attempted to enhance its image through practices of display. This was in terms of how Glasgow wanted to display itself and how it wanted to be seen. The exhibitions collectively became statements of ‘civic seeing’ for visitors, representing a projection of the city’s image that was specific to each exhibition. The first two exhibitions had considerable influence upon the early development of Glasgow’s museums, but the later exhibitions also made unique statements about the city’s image. The early exhibitions represented Glasgow and Britain at their peaks of colonial and industrial power and were thus unashamed at representing this through vast displays of wealth, technology and culture. The last exhibition in 1988, The Garden Festival, served a very different purpose in the development of Glasgow, as it sought again to reinvent the city’s image. The following section will discuss in more depth the role of the first two exhibitions (1888 and 1901), then it will briefly consider the 1911 and 1938 centrepieces<sup>53</sup>.

Date	Exhibition	Location
1888	International Exhibition of Industry, Science & Art	Kelvingrove Park
1901	Glasgow International Exhibition	Kelvingrove Park
1911	Scottish Exhibition of National History, Art and Science	Kelvingrove Park
1938	Empire Exhibition	Bellahouston Park
1988	Garden Festival	Prince’s Dock

**Table 5.1 – List of Glasgow’s Exhibitions**

<sup>53</sup> Section 5.3.1 will consider The Garden Festival which fitted with the wider project of enhancing the city’s image in 1980s.

In 1888, Kelvingrove Park was transformed for the Glasgow International Exhibition of Industry, Science and Art. This exhibition was inspired by the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London and intended to showcase Glasgow as a progressive modern city, aiming to transform its image from a ‘*damp, smoky and slum ridden inner city*’ (Maver, 2000:181). As Oakley (1945:153) comments:

The Exhibition had a very considerable influence on the outlook of the city. It was the first time Glasgow had, in the words of Neil Munro in his *The Brave Days*, “let itself go. No one had seen the like of it nor felt in his [sic] provincial bosom that intoxicating sense of being devilishly cosmopolitan.”

The exhibition also had a further purpose; to fund the city’s expanding cultural provision in terms of the first large-scale art gallery and museum:

The Exhibition had been conceived – in the confident expectation of a profit – as a means of funding the new Art Gallery, Museum and School of Art which were necessary to reflect the city’s growing stature. Existing museum accommodation was inadequate and fragmented (Kinchin and Kinchin, 1988:19).

The exhibition’s 5.75 million visitors created a revenue of £257,000, which went towards the building of the Kelvingrove Museum, as an account of the time suggests:

No one could quarrel with the use to which the surplus from exhibition funds was put, for now our splendid collection of pictures has a suitable home (Muir, 1901:231).

This exhibition sought to show Glasgow as an industrial powerhouse of the British Empire, to show it as the second city and to make a cultural statement to match its industrial strength (Kinchin and Kinchin, 1988). The building of the Kelvingrove Gallery and Museum specifically from the funds of the first exhibition (and some municipal funds), and the ‘hoovering’ up of objects into the museum’s collection from the subsequent exhibitions furthers that link highlighted earlier (shown in Section 2.2.3), between museums and exhibitions. Glasgow’s museum development at this time was highly influenced by these exhibitions which attempted to transport the visitors to exotic lands, in 1888 to a depiction of Arabia. Further to this the city’s museum collection was significantly added to by acquiring many of the exhibits on show. Therefore in Glasgow, through this process, the city’s modern museum was funded and created in order to store its ever growing collections.

In 1901 with Kelvingrove Museum now in place, the exhibition had a primarily twofold purpose. It firstly wished to celebrate the building of the new museum and art school for

the city. It secondly desired to demonstrate and restate Glasgow’s eminent position within the empire and the power of industry in the city. As Maver states:

Glasgow was thus the focus of a patriotic spectacle, which placed positive emphasis on the ‘civilising’ influences of imperial trade and culture (2000:180).

It also at the turn of the century sought to reaffirm Britain’s position in the world. Following the difficulties of the Boer War and the death of Queen Victoria, the exhibition attempted to rebuild British confidence and, through displays of industry, science and art from around the world, highlight Glasgow and Britain’s importance.

Following 1901, the 1911 exhibition had less to do with the shaping of museums in Glasgow, with the Kelvingrove having been established, but it still represented the local state’s outlook towards culture during the time. Hence the exhibition sought to make a slightly different statement to its visitors; this exhibition focused much more on Glasgow’s connection with Scotland and was used to fund a chair of Scottish History and Literature at Glasgow University rather than a museum. This reflected the context of the time and a growing sense of Scottish nationalism. The exhibition thus focused upon more Scottish styles whereas the previous had looked further afield (Kinchin and Kinchin, 1988). The final exhibition pre-World War Two in 1938, this time held in Bellahouston Park, attempted to lift Glasgow from the gloom of an economic downturn and a pending war. The exhibition was a celebration of the empire some fifty years after the first International Exhibition. What differed in this exhibition to previous exhibitions was the purpose of display. Previously objects had been shown to showcase primarily heavy industry and the technological excellence of Glasgow’s industries to the world, whereas this exhibition shifted to focus on manufactured products, particularly consumer goods:

Light filtered through the predominantly glazed roof to show exhibits from the manufacturing industry in the United Kingdom: cosmetics, chemicals, furniture, and fancy good, musical instruments, office appliances, leisure goods, textiles, printing and stationary, foods and beverages. While there was some emphasis upon Scottish firms, local concerns did not dominate as they had at Glasgow’s earlier Exhibitions (Kinchin and Kinchin, 1988:147).

Hence, Glasgow’s regimes of display were also being shaped, as had been happening in museums (Hetherington, 2006), by a growing consumer culture; a culture that was becoming more adept at using visual assemblages to shape how the visitor saw objects on display.

The final exhibition to discuss was held much later in 1988. The Garden Festival was the last of Glasgow’s site-specific international events and it had a very different purpose to the four exhibitions that came before. The festival was not about jingoistic displays or the

latest available manufactured products; this event was selling something different. The event was about selling the city as part of an image reinvention following years of industrial decline. Since 1983, the city had embarked on a strong rebranding policy<sup>54</sup> to rebuild the city’s image and the Garden Festival, having previously been successfully rolled out in Liverpool and Stoke-On-Trent, had been selected for a site in Glasgow. The festival occupied the previously industrial location of the Prince’s Dock and represented a Conservative-led attempt to help (on a national level) urban areas. Although not linked specifically to heritage, this event had a similar purpose to that of heritage as discussed by Hewison (1987) and Wright (2009) earlier. This event attempted to leave the city’s industrial past behind and to present the possibility of a new future for the city.

In briefly detailing the development of the Kelvingrove through the use of International Exhibitions and by highlighting the roles of the later exhibitions, this section has attempted to show how museums and exhibitions in Glasgow are historically linked. This is because they express a wider statement of the state’s intentions to shape the gaze of the city’s population through the use of objects and displays. Thus it can use such events, like it can museums, to present a different image of the city which covers up other negative images (this will be considered further in Section 5.4).

### ***5.2.3 - The Grassroots of ‘Social Inclusion’ in Glasgow’s Museums***

In developing a municipal museum service that attempts to put socially inclusive practice at the heart of its mission, there were some early and important precursors that took place that need to be discussed. Prior to New Labour’s interest in the museum as a space of social inclusion, GM had already begun to create programmes that attempted to take the reach of the museum beyond its usual audiences and increase their role within local communities:

Long before the language of inclusion had emerged in the sector, and when many museum services had thought little about their role in the community, Glasgow Museums pioneered a model for museums’ engagement with communities through the Open Museum (HLF, 2002:6).

This started in the late 1980s and early 1990s with the appointment of Julian Spalding as Director of GM in 1989. With his employment came a considerable sea-change in the attitudinal approach of the service (HLF, 2002). The appointment of Spalding heralded a new approach to arts access and the practices of curatorship, with a key example of this being the development of the Open Museum in 1990. The Open Museum sought to take

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<sup>54</sup> With the tagline: ‘Glasgow’s Miles Better’.

objects out into the community, allowing the local population who ‘owned’ the objects to view and handle them, specifically without the need for them to come to the museum, as their promotional video states:

The Open Museum is dedicated to widening ownership of the city’s collection. It aims to free the reserves, which lie hidden in the stores and cupboards, and to forge a link between the skills of our staff and the needs of interested groups. Above all we want to create a museum, which is related to the lives of the people in their own communities (HLF, 2002:8).

The Open Museum followed a variety of other relatively successful projects at the time, which attempted to integrate the arts and culture as a possible response to the harsh realities of de-industrialisation in the 1980s. Before the Open Museum, precursors had been the Springburn Museum, started in 1986 in an area of high unemployment in Glasgow. Mark O’Neil, as the founding curator, produced a community museum, using objects with local significance to create resonance with a ‘troubled’ and disenfranchised populous. This was seen as a success and politically viable for the city’s council, thus various other initiatives followed:

These initial steps, combined with Glasgow’s strong tradition of continuing education with, for example, the University of the third age (U3A), the Workers Educational Association (WEA), Labour Party and Communist Party education initiatives were all involved in taking education out to the communities. The Strathclyde Region Social Work Department had developed an Arts Strategy to try to ensure that some of the benefits of the Year of Culture activities were accessible to the excluded (HLF, 2002:8).

Thus, Glasgow as a city, to a certain extent was already beginning to see the potential role of culture in addressing wider problems within the city. The Open Museum highlighted this, as the leadership of the museum service by Julian Spalding led to strong emphasis being placed on the importance of making the city museums connect with its people. As GM’s figurehead in the 1990s, his philosophy of museology drove GM to be more progressive and to reach beyond its walls, by not only making collections more accessible, but also by taking the collections out into the community. It is this philosophy of museology that is expressed in his work *The Poetic Museum* (2002), where Spalding suggests that this is what he was ‘grasping’ towards during his time as Director in Glasgow (and across his career as a curator). For Spalding, the museum as an institution is one that is required to change with society and to reflect its needs:

People will not go to museums if they are not interested. Not long into my career, I realised that the contents of museums would have to be changed if they wanted to reach a wider public (2002:10).

I have called them ‘poetic’ because they will not be categorical or didactic, but withdraw out the profounder, more elusive meanings inherent in so many artefacts from our past (2002:9).

The task is more sensitive and creative: to observe reflect and take account of what is taking place in society, its character, its preoccupations and assumptions, while retaining the belief that the collections can speak to virtually everyone, whatever their prejudices and ignorance may initially be (2002:167).

The three quotes highlight the vision Spalding had for Glasgow’s museums, as they reflect what he attempted to do with the starting of the Open Museum. Additionally, this is echoed in his decisions to create GoMA in Glasgow, and to produce the St Mungo Museum in Glasgow, which he saw as attempting to bring together his museological philosophy:

An Egyptian papyrus boat, an Aztec golden raft and Viking ship were all used to convey the dead to the next world. Imaginatively displayed, objects like these, though as far removed from our own lives, could provoke profound feelings in the visitor so as to prevent an trivialisation of the subject...It is perfectly possible for a museum to communicate genuine religious belief, and avoid the pitfalls of conflicting doctrines...this methodology was used to great effect in the St Mungo Museum of Religious Life and Art in Glasgow (2002:151).

Spalding therefore tried to connect museums to the people they served, changing away from traditional practices of curation. Despite this, regardless of the success he achieved during his time working in Glasgow, his views on what museums should be and how they should be run, clashed with the political leadership of Glasgow City Council and their desire to move towards a more managerial style for the city’s cultural provision. This meant that in 1998, his position as museum director was removed in the restructuring of cultural provision:

Glasgow, after years of radical development, on the whim of a new political leadership, decided in 1998 to abolish entirely the post of museum director (Spalding, 2002:11).

Interestingly, this represents a wider set precedents and questions for future discussions in this thesis. Here can be seen, very starkly, how a clash between the managerial vision of Glasgow, articulated by city elites, can be set against the intentions of curators. Thus, the tensions created in the removal of Spalding represented the ‘blunt end’ in a set of changes as to how the city would view culture and the position its museums would have in subsequent years.

### **5.2.3 – Glasgow’s Contemporary Museum Provision**

Today GM is amongst the UK’s largest municipal services. It holds in its stores and its museums over one million objects which are split across 13 differing locations in the city. The service was directly run as a subsidiary within Glasgow City Council (GCC) until 2007, when the city sought to reorganise its means of cultural provision with the creation Culture and Sport Glasgow (CSG), now recently rebranded as Glasgow Life (GL). The restructuring placed GM within a wider Community Interest Company (CIC) where GCC’s cultural assets are leased and placed in the trust of CIC (GlasgowLife.com, 2010). CSG/GL is made up of, along with GM, the following sub-divisions:

- Glasgow Arts
- Glasgow Communities
- Glasgow Events
- Glasgow Libraries
- Glasgow Music
- Glasgow Sport
- Young Glasgow

CSG/GLs purpose is to strategically govern culture and sport in Glasgow in order to gain the maximum benefit to the city in terms of both financial accrument from cultural activities and to promote the well-being of citizens.

In the last twenty years, GM has placed itself as a service at the forefront of implementing many of the ideas posited by the New Museology, a service that takes issues surrounding access to the forefront of its goals and practice at all levels of its operation. As a subdivision of CSG/CL, GM runs the following museums for the city. Each museum occupies a slightly different niche within GM’s portfolio, and there will now be a brief description of each of the museums that have figured in some way in this thesis. This is to give context to each of the museums. Additionally, Appendix E lists details on the city’s other museums that are not discussed in this thesis (also see Glasgow Map – Appendix A or Figure 1.1, to see locations of each museum in the city):

#### **Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum**

Built in 1901, as mentioned, Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum is situated in the West End of the city. It recently received a major overhaul in 2006 which was primarily funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF). The money was used to make structural changes to the museum and to reinterpret the city’s collection. It is one of Scotland’s most visited attraction houses as it holds some of the city’s most treasured cultural possessions. The reinterpretation of the collection represents GMs most recent attempt to implement its

central mission in making its collections as accessible as possible. The museum is the largest in the service’s portfolio and is currently the primary flagship museum in the city.

### **Gallery of Modern Art (GoMA)**

The Gallery of Modern Art opened in 1996 and was placed at the heart of the city centre in Royal Exchange Square. The museum occupies a neo-classical building which was originally the townhouse of a wealthy merchant, but saw other incarnations before becoming the Gallery. The Museum has sought to showcase ‘cutting-edge’ art of local, national and international artists. It has also been home to GM’s biennial Social Justice Programme. The building of GoMA aimed to produce a gallery of international artistic renown and to give the city a higher profile in artistic and cultural circles.

### **The Museum of Transport/Riverside Museum**

The Museum of Transport is now closed as the decant to the new Riverside Museum is in progress. It showcased the city’s transport and technology collection and was originally established in 1964 in an old tram depot. It was then subsequently moved to Kelvin Hall, opposite the Kelvingrove Museum in 1987. In 2011, through HLF funding, the museum will reopen in a new purpose built museum for the city, situated on the confluence of the Rivers Kelvin and Clyde. The Riverside Museum will entirely reinterpret its transport collection for redisplay. The building’s design makes a striking statement on the city’s skyline and is key in the city’s current regeneration strategies.

### **St Mungo Museum of Religious Life and Art**

St Mungo’s is perhaps Glasgow’s most unique museum (in the UK and internationally). Opened in 1993, it is one of only two museums that is specifically focused upon issues surrounding religion. It is located in the city centre adjacent to the city’s cathedral and was specifically conceived to help deal with some of Glasgow’s problems concerning sectarianism.

## **5.4 – Positioning Glasgow, culture and the museum**

The following and final main section within this chapter will consider how the museum interacts at the local level in Glasgow and the position that it has developed for itself in the wider city infrastructure. This will be developed through four sections; the first will give a recent historical perspective upon the development of Glasgow and how wider economic conditions that have shaped the direction of the city. The second will consider how

Glasgow has recently restructured its wider cultural provision and how this encompasses more than just a cultural role. The third section will consider how GM has attempted to restructure itself both internally and externally in order to fulfil its own remit, but also that of the wider state(s) discussed above. Finally, the fourth section will consider how the museum is conceptualised within the city enhancement agenda.

Glasgow as a city has and still faces a whole multitude of challenges. The process of moving from an industrial to post-industrial city has been a very painful one. It has resulted in periods of high unemployment and welfare dependency in the city. As well as being left with some of the least aesthetically pleasing landscapes in the UK, Glasgow still suffers a legacy of above average unemployment (see Table 5.2) and welfare uptake (see Table 5.3).

The two tables begin to give a comprehension of the issues the city is attempting to tackle, and with this comes added problems. The city is often ranked as one of the unhealthiest, with some of the lowest average life expectancies in the UK (see table 5.4), which are related to issues surrounding environment, diet, smoking, excessive alcohol consumption and drug misuse. Finally, the city has suffered historically and presently from issues relating to sectarianism, causing major divisions in the population.

	Glasgow City	Glasgow City	Scotland	Great Britain
	(numbers)	(%)	(%)	(%)
<b>All people</b>				
Economically inactive	123,400	30.5	22.6	23.3
Wanting a job	24,900	6.1	5.8	5.5
Not wanting a job	98,600	24.4	16.8	17.7
<b>Males</b>				
Economically inactive	55,200	27.8	17.2	16.9
Wanting a job	11,300	5.7	5	4.7
Not wanting a job	43,900	22.1	12.2	12.2
<b>Females</b>				
Economically inactive	68,300	33.2	27.8	29.6
Wanting a job	13,600	6.6	6.6	6.4
Not wanting a job	54,700	26.6	21.2	23.2

**Table 5.2 – Economic Inactivity Jan 09 to Dec 09 (ONS annual population survey)** - Numbers and % are for those of aged 16-64. % is a proportion of resident population of area aged 16-64 and gender.

	Glasgow City	Glasgow City	Scotland	Great Britain
	(numbers)	(%)	(%)	(%)
All people	25,693	6.3	4	3.6
Males	18,686	9.2	5.8	5
Females	7,007	3.4	2.3	2.1

**Table 5.3 – Number of JSA claimants July 2010 (ONS Claimant count)** - % is a proportion of resident population of area aged 16-64 and gender.

Constituency name	Male Life Expectancy at birth (99-01)	Female Life Expectancy at birth (99-01)
	Age	Age
Scottish Average	<b>73.4</b>	<b>78.7</b>
Glasgow Shettleston	63.9	75.2
Glasgow Springburn	66.6	74.8
Glasgow Maryhill	67.9	75
Glasgow Baillieston	69.5	75.2
Glasgow Pollok	69.6	76
Glasgow Govan	69.8	75.9
Glasgow Kelvin	70	78.7
Glasgow Anniesland	70	76.1

**Table 5.4 – Average life expectancy in the worst scoring of Glasgow Constituencies (Cleaningtheairscotland.com, 2010).**

Thus it is within this context that the city has sought to develop its welfare services, cultural infrastructure and museums. The following sections will now detail that development from both policy literature and interview data, as Glasgow has sought to develop various discourses to deal with these issues whilst attempting to promote a competitive city image for the city.

### **5.3.1 – The Post-Industrial City**

Glasgow’s relatively recent history shows a similar pattern to that of other once industrial cities in the UK, economic decline and depopulation of the urban core in the post-war era. Once considered the ‘second city of empire’<sup>55</sup>, Glasgow found itself at the hard end of shifts in the global economy and contentious political decisions (UK level) that saw much of its industry lost over a very short period of time. With this loss of industry came a whole myriad of social problems that the city had to deal with; high-unemployment, high-welfare dependency, increased levels in crime, poor housing stock, excessive drug and alcohol abuse example some of these problems. Together these problems caused Glasgow to gain a reputation and an image as poverty stricken, dirty, and unsafe. Therefore in the 1980s its city leaders (Boyle and Hughes, 1994) decided to change this image and to shift

<sup>55</sup> Interestingly, a few other British cities have alluded to themselves in this way.

Glasgow from a failing industrial city to that of an economy based around the service industries, one which would create job opportunities for its citizens.

Well there are people who argue that the shipyards could have been saved if the government had done, other governments saved their shipbuilding industries by protectionism but there was a kind of consensus in Britain that that's finished, lets move on, as opposed to saying in more detail what bits could be made to work...Glasgow decided, anyway, to go with the service sector model and the tourist was key...Glasgow has consciously realigned the city to be a service city. I mean, some people argue that more could have been done to save manufacturing but Glasgow couldn't have done that on its own. That would have been a national, I mean, whatever you think about the policies Glasgow didn't have control of those policies, they were UK and Scottish, national (Mark O'Neil – Head of Glasgow Museums, 2009)

Harvey (1989) associates this period as also representing a more widespread change in the nature of urban governance, describing a movement from managerialism to entrepreneurialism. He defines this progression as a dismantling of the Keynesian welfare state, replaced with a neo-liberal ideology, where local elected officials formally controlled a city's development. This is replaced as business interests begin to dominate. Despite the transformation in Glasgow following a similar pattern to that in the US, Boyle and Hughes (1994) state that what is vital about Glasgow's transformation is that it happened differently to the US setting upon which Harvey and others (also see Logan and Molotch, 1987) focus their work. From the US perspective, economic development is driven by growth coalitions, created between local business and the local state to create inward investment, often through public-private investments, with business being the main driving force. Within Glasgow, mainly due to a lack of inward investment, this change was stimulated primarily by the city council. Therefore, when considering Glasgow, it is essential to understand that, when looking at ideas surrounding cultural provision, museums, regeneration and wider services, that these were and are controlled by the city council:

It is imperative to stress that the local Council has remained the leading local state institution, has orchestrated the *local* shift to entrepreneurialism...The North American experience is not repeated in the city of Glasgow. Glasgow's story has been one of a failure of private enterprise to become involved in the management of the city despite public encouragement (Boyle and Hughes, 1994:455-457).

In generating the development of an entrepreneurial city, Glasgow's City Council in the late 1970s to early 1980s sought about redeveloping the city's image through place marketing in order to attract outside capital back into the city and to stimulate inward investment (Paddison, 1993). This was seen as a way of alleviating the aforementioned problems of the city, to create jobs and to develop Glasgow as a tourist destination, consequently shifting Glasgow from an industrial economy to a service economy. Place

marketing was therefore vital in displacing Glasgow’s negative image, through promoting the positive aspects and glossing over the negative.

In terms of external marketing you are very much using imagery that people can visit, you wouldn’t see any city portraying itself through residential areas or quarters...you use your icons (Tom Rice - Head of City Marketing Bureau, 2008).

The city used a myriad of methods to rebrand itself, including marketing strategies (‘Glasgow’s miles better’ and currently ‘Scotland with Style’), hallmark city events (The Garden Festival (1988), Capital of Culture (1990), the on-going Glasgow International (GI)), regeneration strategies that included the building of increased shopping facilities (Buchanan Galleries (1990)) and cultural infrastructure (Burrell Museum (1983), Glasgow Concert Hall (1990), The Riverside Project (2011)) and the improvement aesthetically of key city areas (Boyle and Hughes, 1994) These all have the common purpose of repositioning the city and marketing Glasgow as post-industrial, clean, dynamic, *et cetera*. Further to this, marketing was used in such a way that it became a tool for the local state in which it could attempt to restructure how people viewed the city (Paddison, 1993). For the city leaders at the time, and into the present, the restructuring and continuation of the city’s image has been motivated by a desire to trap investment and to create employment for its citizens:

It’s ultimately about full employment. Most of the poverty in the city is caused by the fact that deindustrialisation left a lot of people behind who don’t have the sort of skills to adapt to the more diversified economy we’ve got (Charlie Gordon - MSP, 2009).

Although this may be the case, uneven development across the city still exists and many have critically engaged with the choice to follow the service or entrepreneurial economic model. MacLeod (2002) highlights the injustices that develop from such repositioning, suggesting that such practices have only hastened the inequalities that existed in previously industrial cities:

While these “entrepreneurial” strategies might have refuelled the profitability of many city spaces across the two continents, the price of such speculative endeavour has been a sharpening of socioeconomic inequalities alongside the institutional displacement and “social exclusion” of certain marginalized groups (Macleod, 2002:602)

From the perspective of MacLeod, the acquisition by the council of outside capital to reshape the city has been one that has only benefited certain groups within the city. For example, DINKY<sup>56</sup> households who live in gentrified areas have benefitted greatly from

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<sup>56</sup> Dual Income, No Kids Yet.

this, whereas others have not, leading to a sharpening in the gap between rich and poor in urban areas. Further to this, such interventions have only led to an increased competition between places, as they compete to entice capital into the city through place-marketing. This is suggested below, where the City Marketing Bureau sees itself in direct competition with other cities for an audience share of the upwardly mobile:

You are because it's dead easy to, all the other cities are now branding themselves and everyone is competing from the same pot for audience share and it's just as easy to get to Glasgow via a low cost carrier as it's as easy to get to a Stockholm or a Stavanger or Leon...to that extent we are (Tom Rice – Head of City Marketing Bureau, 2009).

MacLeod also argues that the production of the images, areas and buildings that a place marketing agenda posits through regeneration strategies can create an exclusionary politics which is inherent in such a practice, one that wishes to discipline those that sit outside the carefully designed image which the city has created for itself and generates specific spaces where many citizens may feel excluded. As Harvey (1989) suggests, the spaces created in such regeneration strategies are derived by a political economy of place in which cities are pitted against each other in a competitive market. In following these strategies, the city spaces that are produced through regeneration are often only there for, and frequented by, those from outside the locale.

Museums and cultural policy then sit in a very awkward position with regards to their remit in the city. From one perspective, they are the very institutions that city leaders use to symbolise and promote the development of the city that attracts capital investment, and they create the type of spaces that Florida (2002) considers essential for attracting the creative class. Added to this, they are also central in attracting tourists to the city; as Tom Rice stated, this is because they are in competition with other locations. Thus museums are positioned as having a key role in providing the necessary infrastructure to make the city appealing to tourists. In 1995, Glasgow attracted around 1.49 million visitors per annum, rising to 2.8 million in 2005 (Glasgow City Marketing Bureau, 2007). *Glasgow's Tourism Strategy to 2016* stresses the importance of museums and other key attractions, suggesting that:

In 2005, almost 75% of tourist trips to Glasgow were for leisure tourism reasons, including holidays, short breaks, visiting friends and relatives and all other non-business related travel. These trips were worth £530.6 million to the city's economy ... Much of Glasgow's appeal for tourists stems from the range, quality and diversity of its visitor attractions. Glasgow attractions generate over 30% of all visits (Glasgow City Marketing Bureau, 2007:20).

The marketing rhetoric highlights the importance of producing museums that can attract tourist income. From a second perspective, museums and cultural policy also offer the

possibility for something progressive (see Sandell, 2002 and 2007; Lord, 2006; Janes, 2007 and Beel, 2009) to be created that has benefits beyond the economic. Added to this, governmental agendas such as social inclusion have placed an expectation upon museums to connect with their surrounding communities, and thus there is a conflict between who the museum is for and how it should be positioned within the city. When focusing upon Glasgow’s development of museums over the last twenty years and cultural policy over the last five, this conflict can be seen to develop. Therefore, the following sections will consider how Glasgow has restructured its cultural policy and how GM has attempted to create a progressive museum service for its citizens whilst attempting to appeal to tourists.

### **5.3.2 – Restructuring for Cultural Provision**

In 2007 Glasgow restructured how it provided cultural services to its citizens with the creation of Culture and Sport Glasgow (CSG), formerly Culture and Leisure Services (CLS). The change allowed GCC to split their cultural service into two sections; one, a limited charitable company and the other a commercial subsidiary company (known as a Community Interest Company (CIC)). This allowed them to take advantage of tax benefits as a charitable company, by separating their non-profit social role from that of their commercial ventures. CSG also represents a more holistic attempt to manage cultural services across the city and to create a more consolidated service for the city, aligning with ideas presented in DCMS (2004a) with their wish to see cultural services focused at the local city level. This is the umbrella organisation within which Glasgow Museums exists. The restructuring has also attempted to disconnect cultural provision from direct GCC control and reliance on the local tax base for its funding. The creation of the CIC has served to allow funds from the city’s cultural assets to be given directly back to CSG, so that some form of autonomy can be created:

If you’re part of council budgets, and council budgets fall, culture is the one that always gets it. It’s a soft underbelly ... Culture and Sport is set up as a trust, a charitable company. Now that means that our role is to promote every facet of sport and culture right across a huge council remit, what we call a single level agreement (Liz Cameron - Chair of CSG, 2009).

This single level agreement means that GL’s (CSG) position within the city is one that allows it to connect into, and be able to articulate, its perspective in the wider development of the city (see chapter appendix for areas where this remit extends). Since 2007, GL has attempted to implement various policy goals across the city under its wide-reaching remit and has as its main policy document *Glasgow’s Cultural Strategy*, which was produced whilst still CLS in 2006. The document reflects many of the ideas that were being

discussed at the national level in Scotland at the time, and exemplifies the role that culture (as well as sport) should have for both the city and its citizens. Culture is again seen as a tool for inclusion across the city and one that can be used to build stronger feelings of community and identity, whilst at the same time improving the economic standing of the city, as the opening statements from the then Leader of GCC, Steven Purcell, and Executive Director of CSG, Bridget McConnell suggest:

We want to create a city of opportunities where everyone, regardless of their background, has the chances and self assurance to reach their full potential. Culture and sport can play a major part in achieving this – it can help people strive for excellence and achievement in all parts of their lives ... All of this will help continue the transformation of Glasgow. It's about helping people do better at school, making it easier to find employment or take part in additional training or education, and improving the health of the whole population. (Purcell in CSL, 2006:1).

In recent years, Glasgow has experienced record levels of private investment, and the city's economy continues to out-perform the rest of Scotland. But with investment and economic growth comes the need for a skilled workforce, and we know that culture and sport have a key role to play in equipping people with necessary skills to play an active role in Glasgow's future success (McConnell in CSL, 2006:2).

In this guise, culture is used as a method for improving citizens and one that gives cultural activity a ‘welfare’ role within society (see Toepler and Zimmer, 1997). The rhetoric also highlights an instrumental approach (Gray, 2007) to the potential of culture in dealing with longitudinal problems facing the city with regards to health and employment (*cf.* Tables 5.1 to 5.3). GL therefore wishes to integrate culture and sport into the wider state apparatus, where cultural provision is used as a way of widening the local government's net in dealing with various problems created by effects of deindustrialisation and the current global economy, and where the more traditional forms of welfare may fail (education, health, job-seekers allowance *et cetera*). Interestingly, what differs here from the traditional ‘welfare’ model is the use of ‘Third Way’ language described in the CSL document focusing on the desire to create opportunity, to develop skills for employment, to use cultural infrastructure to generate revenue and to derive funding from public/private partnerships in order to fill the shortfall in state funding. This is a process that Wu (2002) has observed since the 1980s, arguing that private capital has had a massive influence on the development of culture and cultural provision within the UK.

In desiring to do this Glasgow's Cultural Strategy, which has set the main guiding principles to GL, placed the organisation's ‘Strategic Priorities’ as ‘cultural entitlements’, reflecting the on-going discussion at national level with regards to cultural rights and entitlements. In total the GL has six entitlements for citizens that it ‘broadly’ works towards (see ‘Glasgow's Cultural Entitlements’ listed on the following page). Listed as

entitlements but expressed as rights, reflecting the conflicted nature surrounding cultural provision in Scotland at the time, the cultural entitlements outline what GL sees as the roles culture and sport have in the city. They highlight the position between citizen and the state (or in this case GL). The cultural entitlements in this context seek to create a relationship that ensures access to all, and some control of cultural and sporting provision. They also have the desire to enhance the citizen in a multitude of ways, most specifically; intellectually, culturally and physically. GM, as a constituent part of GL, therefore has to find ways of engaging with these entitlements and providing them for citizens.

#### **Glasgow’s Cultural Entitlements:**

**The right to explore, express and extend cultural identity** - Every citizen in Glasgow should have the right to experience the diversity of the city’s cultures and those of other cultures. For example, through accessing the city’s genealogy and local history archives or attending the UK Festival of Muslim Cultures.

**The right to develop cultural talents and interests** - Every citizen in Glasgow should have the right to fulfil their creative potential through participation, and the development of their talent. For example, this could be through - the Community Action Teams, Arts Development Officers and the posts within Education Services dedicated to making cultural links.

**The right to literacies** - Every citizen in Glasgow should have the right to education, ensuring essential reading, writing, numerical and IT skills. For example, through the introduction of Every Child a Member campaign and raising the awareness of the impact of library use on educational attainment.

**The right to health and well-being** - Every citizen in Glasgow should have the right to a general sense of health and wellbeing through participation in cultural, recreational and social activities. For example, through the provision of free access to swimming pools for all young people and adults over 60, and the Encourage project developing participation opportunities in the arts for older people.

**The right to a pleasant and high quality environment** - Every citizen in Glasgow should have the right to an environment offering local distinctiveness, variety and beauty which protects local cultural heritage and public spaces. This can be realised through the development of free and safe access to events, activities, walks and cycle routes in the city parks.

**The right to help shape and design cultural policy and provisions** - Every citizen in Glasgow should have the opportunity of helping to determine local cultural policies and provision. For example, through the development of local cultural strategies, and the development of an engagement strategy for young people that encourages comment and feedback on council services using Dialogue Youth networks and the Glasgow Young Scot Card and Glasgow Kidz Card. (CSL, 2006:11).

The paper also reflects the wider framing of Glasgow’s *Community Plan Consultation* (2004), as the Cultural Strategy aimed to complement it by working with five key overarching aims: ‘a working Glasgow, a healthy Glasgow, a learning Glasgow, a safe Glasgow, and a vibrant Glasgow’. In Glasgow’s revised *Community Plan* (2005), these five key areas then became further enhanced into seven key guiding principles (see ‘Glasgow’s Community Plan Guiding Principles’ listed on the following page). Within both

documents, there are clear discourses of social inclusion that relate to those identified by Levitas (2005). In some way they connect with either a moral (MUD) or integrationist (SID) discourse towards building a more inclusive society. Interestingly, the redistributionist (RED) discourse is missing, as the focus is upon a provision of opportunities for citizens reflecting the ‘Third Way’, New Labour rationale. This document, although moving away from cultural provision a little, is still important as it is the overarching aims in this document that framed the Glasgow’s *Cultural Strategy*.

**Glasgow’s Community Plan Guiding Principles:**

- Genuinely engage communities - an inclusive approach.
- Openness and parity between partners
- We will work together to deliver effective services that meet local needs
- We will focus on making a difference
- We will work together to ensure equality of opportunities for all Glasgow citizens.
- We will work together to close the opportunity gap between our disadvantaged communities and the rest of Glasgow.
- We will ensure that a sustainable approach to service improvement is achieved.  
(Glasgow Community Planning Partnership, 2006:6).

In fact, the term ‘social inclusion’ in the *Cultural Strategy* document is only mentioned twice. Throughout the document, cultural participation is considered paramount to forming any conception of cultural citizenship and it is this that is considered central to fostering the overall aim of social inclusion. The following ‘Key Actions’ highlight this:

In recognition of the potential for culture and sport to help build community cohesion and achieve social inclusion, this will see:

- Development of a more strategic approach to the provision of culture and sport for the under-represented groups, including disabled people and black and minority ethnic communities.
- Improved partnerships working with local communities to increase participation in culture and sport amongst the most disadvantaged communities.

- Development of services and initiatives to promote equality and challenge discrimination, particularly through high profile exhibitions and events such as biennial Contemporary Arts and Human Rights Exhibition at the Gallery of Modern Art (CSL, 2006:20).

Hence this becomes comparable to museum policy literature in that there is a need to identify marginalised groups, and to provide greater access to provision in order to encourage participation.

### **5.3.4 – Glasgow Museums**

GM's current provision has been built upon a civic history that dates back to the philanthropic desires of the nineteenth century. For the last twenty to thirty years, GM has fashioned a reputation for developing a progressive and socially engaging museum services for the city (see Arnold, 1996; Carnegie, 1996; and Sandell 2007). Through the presentation of their collections, and working with the wider communities of Glasgow, they have been attempting to find ways to promote social change in the city, seeking to build a museum service that has an inclusionary ethos at its core. GM has therefore often been ahead of, or acting in conjuncture, with national policy trends, as Glasgow has attempted to create institutions that are built around an agenda that gives the visitor both physical and intellectual access:

The fundamental principles are that in terms of formal organised culture, museums have a social value in terms of enriching peoples lives and giving them the materials that they can use to make sense of their lives, express, evaluate their identities, and the second one is that, given that this is publically funded, it should be accessible on a fair basis to everybody ... You know if you are putting something on display and people don't understand your explanation of it then it's not accessible ... the drive is to make it as accessible to as many people as possible and I suppose the bottom line there is that if you assume people have prior knowledge then you exclude them, so we basically try to assume that people don't have prior knowledge and that we need to provide a way in for everybody (Mark O'Neil – Head of GM, 2009).

Therefore, in line with what was referred to under the development of the SMC's (2000) policy guidelines with regards to the linking of objects through narrative, creating a socially relevant museum that reflects the people who visit, have been the methods by which GM has attempted to interpret its collections for the wider population. In displaying objects through this method, GM aims to improve the ability of anyone to make a connection with each object and ultimately gain enjoyment from those connections and thoughts that will be created:

I suppose it's about giving as many effective ways of communication between people and objects. That's it. There is no mythology to it. It's about making

people and objects communicate. Create a dialogue, interact, participate, be involved with each other and that’s really what we are trying to do. It’s about bridging those relationships, I suppose, because what we hold in the museum belongs to every single person in Glasgow (Janice Lane - Head of Learning and Access, 2009)

From the Glasgow perspective, this approach predates the SMC (2000) document and their development of these strategies has been a work in progress, for a tour round each of the city’s museums in chronological order from opening (or redesign) would depict the development of this progression in museological thinking. The idea of this progression is something that has come across in various interviews with GM staff, where they see GM as independent of national policy guidelines in how they have chosen to develop the service. This is also reflected in the *Best Value Review* (2001) which attempts to link the independent developments in GM to wider Scottish and UK policy agendas.

I suppose the general policy in Glasgow is that everybody should feel part of the community, feel that they are citizens and that they have the same rights as anybody else. So the slight difference with Blairism, I suppose it is, is that they see culture as an instrument to make people employable and as an addition to the formal education system, which is also focused on employability, and I am very happy to help make people employable, you know, getting a job is very important but it’s, that’s integral with the cultural value of museums and the general human enrichment, so the dismissal of what we are doing is Blairism I think, just is a failure to understand the Glasgow policy context...I suppose it means that we are free to borrow policy ideas from elsewhere to meet local needs, but it also means that we don’t have national policy support if there isn’t a structure to fit in with (Mark O’Neil – Head of GM, 2009)<sup>57</sup>.

O’Neil therefore attempts to articulate the position from which he sees GM operating. This is separate but at the same time influenced by policy at the national level. For GM, when engaging with wider policy, they have the ability to ‘cherry pick’ what it considers the best ideas, although policies relating to museums at the UK level, including the work of GM, do show convergence around areas of ‘best-practice’ which are presented by the DCMS.

The implementation of policy agendas existing at all levels, and through GM’s own desire to create a more inclusive, just and open museum service, has permitted a specific discourse or ideology to develop in the production and assemblage of museum space. The access agenda has caused a definitive change to the work and role of the curator, and had made GM take its work beyond the museum’s walls and into the wider community:

Social inclusion kind of underpins the whole of what Glasgow Museums does. I suppose that’s why we haven’t got a social inclusion policy as such, because

<sup>57</sup> The use of ‘Blairism’ is a direct response to an article published in ‘Variant’ which accused GM of being underpinned by Blairist thinking in the redesign of the Kelvingrove (Dawber, 2006).

even the curators are meant to look at audiences and make sure that the objects relate, and are accessible, and I suppose access into the collections, into what the learning and access programmes do are ways in for people that might not pick a copy of *Preview*<sup>58</sup>, and go ‘oh look there is a workshop’. That is something I would get something out of, but I suppose taking out, and in wider policy within Culture & Sport, it’s about making links between aspects of our services and kind of pathway work towards services which users aren’t confirmed to, say community learning, here we can actually build quite an effective partnership (Katie Bruce – Social Inclusion Curator, 2008).

The statement above, and the comments of O’Neil and Lane earlier, highlights that a clear link between the ideas of social inclusion, justice and access in the museum’s remit has developed, as they become mutually inclusive of each other. This is a link that appears to go to the core of the work of GM and CSG; and, when discussing the institutional changes necessary in creating a service based upon social inclusion and justice, GM sees itself as an organisation that has already made these changes otherwise being suggested in the SMC policy documents<sup>59</sup>. Here, the traditional tension that develops between curators who wish to preserve objects, and Learning and Access personnel who wish to see the collection as open as possible, has developed to such an extent that those traditional values of what a curator is or was have greatly changed. Now the curator is expected to think of their audience, consult them and attempt to comprehend the many possible meanings an object may have and to present the object in a manner that does not just reflect their own ideas and training:

I think the ideal museum service would be one that there is much more blurring between the roles and I think there is. I think that you know what a traditional curator is, a completely different concept to my concept of what a good curator is, and I think even the terminology in a way is almost a barrier because ultimately you know we all have, whichever part of the museum service we work in, we all have a right to put forward an idea for a display or a story that we want to tell. We all have the right to be able to access the objects and no one person is the keeper. They used to call curators of collections keepers of collections and people don’t have that role. So, for me, the ideal museum service is one that is responsive, it’s one that is engaged, it’s one that encourages dialogue and it’s one that learns and it’s one that’s sustainable, and you only do that by having a constant dynamic discussion and debate about the processes that you follow (Janice Lane - Head of Learning and Access, 2009).

The picture that begins to build from GM is that a strong focus has been placed upon creating a museum that can communicate far more effectively with visitors. Hence this suggests something slightly different from the New Labour understanding of inclusion, which was much focussed in directly dealing with people’s inequalities, even if this was

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<sup>58</sup> Quarterly events guide for GM.

<sup>59</sup> Katie Bruce also alludes to something that has become strategically important to CSG and that is the desire to build partnerships across the city’s services in order to give access to the citizens who will benefit from involvement with museums.

only in terms of the rhetoric they produced. Added to this, from Lane’s perspective, there is also a desire to use the museum as a space of discussion and dialogue in which everyone is welcome, to create a democratized space for citizens. This has often been most closely reflected in the GM’s wider outreach work and desire to connect with those that may feel excluded or unaware of the museum service and what it could be used for. In implementing these approaches, the SJS at GoMA (see Bruce *et al*, 2007) has perhaps been one of the most successful and high profile examples. In doing this, GM aims to understand and provide a service to the various communities in Glasgow and to provide provision to those non-users through development of partnerships and outreach schemes.

### **5.3.5 – Enhancing the city through museums**

The development of the city’s museums has also been based upon a pragmatic realisation that GM aspirations had to fit that of the local state and the wider global economic circumstances in which Glasgow exists, and it is this sense of aspiration mixed with hard economic reasoning that GM has positioned itself within:

You try to engage with it as much on your own terms as possible but it is if you want, that Glasgow is going to create jobs and have a quality of life, yeah the globalised economy is the only one available. There isn’t another economy. I mean we are twinned with Havana you know, but that’s not going to generate a lot of jobs (Mark O’Neil – Head of GM, 2009).

This is also reflected when O’Neil describes the recent historic development of the service. He suggests that at all times GM has had to fit its progression with the wider political and economic aspirations of the local state with regards to place promotion and regeneration, but that this has also created opportunities for the service to follow their own particular philosophies when conducting museum work. First, in 1993, was the opening of the St Mungo Museum of Religious Life and Art with its remit for interfaith development:

We have however managed to maintain and expand the traditional museums and again they have always all been motivated by a mixture of local service and tourist development, so in chronological order of museum: St Mungo in ‘93, that was typical Glasgow mixture of principle and pragmatism. Pragmatically it needed to rescue that building<sup>60</sup> because they were running out of money ... the city went with an alternative suggestion of it being about world religions so it’s much closer to reflecting the diversity of Glasgow today (Mark O’Neil – Head of GM, 2009).

In 1996, the development of GoMA represented a political statement by local politicians about Glasgow’s wider aspiration to be seen as a contemporary city:

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<sup>60</sup> The building that the St Mungo Museum is housed was originally going to be a visitor centre and cafe for the Cathedral until the group planning to build it ran out of funds.

The next one was the Gallery of Modern Art in ‘96 and that was a very conscious statement by the city leadership that they wanted to be associated with the prestige of art, explicitly saying they didn’t want to do an industrial museum, they didn’t want be [councillors] associating with the past, part of what people needed to let go and move away from, which as a museum person I disagreed with and I thought you can make the industrial past part of the present in tourism but anyway the Gallery of Modern Art worked (Mark O’Neil – Head of GM, 2009).

In 1995 and 1998 there were successive changes to the People’s Palace and then the major redevelopment of the Kelvingrove in 2002:

In two stages in ‘95 and ‘98, we refurbished the People’s Palace which did attempt to engage with the history, but without being, well not too, I used to be objecting to nostalgia, I used to be very righteous about it but actually it’s a form of mourning for the incredible rate of change so ... and then we refurbished Kelvingrove which again has that combination for working for local people and working for tourists (Mark O’Neil – Head of GM, 2009).

Finally, the current major project that GM is working on, which is the Riverside Project, has been highly motivated from its inception by political backing, most notably from the then GCC leader Charlie Gordon:

We are now finally doing the Riverside Museum which will celebrate Glasgow’s industrial history but not in a way that makes a judgement about whether we should be trying to get back to it ... it’s about ... it was what people experienced and that’s very much a political initiative ... Very much a statement, you know, Glasgow’s self confidence about returning to the river (Mark O’Neil – Head of GM, 2009).

The development of GM has then been driven from two different directions: one which is very much related to the goals of the local state, as Liz Cameron (2009) highlights with this proclamation for the Riverside Project ‘*This is an iconic building; this is the Guggenheim on the Clyde!*’; and one which has allowed GM to develop its museum service according to its own agenda. The museum therefore cannot escape being placed within neo-liberal agendas, firstly as a space which can enhance the city’s image through the development of ‘iconic’ projects, but secondly through citywide cultural planning creating a space that can be used for the transformative potential (Duncan, 1999) in changing attitudes and behaviour. This second point represents a further tension bound into the desire to improve and help people in their lives through a soft-paternalistic attitude. This also feeds into the city promotion agenda and the wider national state agenda for creating citizens who take ‘opportunities’ and choose to take responsibility for their own positioning within society, where as an individual they become responsible for changing that position.

## 5.5 – Conclusion

This chapter has given the wider historical and present day framing to museum work in Glasgow. It has shown how the historical legacy of the city’s museums has led into present day thinking, and in tracing out policy guidance at the local level, having previously considered policy at national levels, it has given the framing discourses as to how policy has been interpreted in Glasgow. The chapter shows how there are distinct linkages between Victorian provision and present day ideals, but that the disciplinary functions and conceptions of ‘civic seeing’ have been reshaped to suit the agendas of the present age. The purpose and processes of museum engagement have changed significantly, but the desire to use the pedagogical power of the museum to change citizens is still present. In understanding this and seeing how GM has shaped its organisational discourse around ideas pertaining to social inclusion, a number of interesting questions have developed. There has been a strong focus on emphasising the importance of access in creating a socially inclusive museum, but in what way does this relate to those original goals for social inclusion set by New Labour? An argument could be made that, in making the museum as accessible as possible, it only becomes inclusive in terms of footfall. For example, visitor figures for Kelvingrove show this has been highly successful but in what way does this reach to those marginalised in Glasgow: do they visit, and do they become involved by this alone? GM has also placed great emphasis on the importance of outreach work in helping those marginalised to gain access to their cultural entitlement, but what does such participation mean to them? Finally, this chapter has also showed how other ‘elites’ within the city view and attempt to position the museum. Looking back historically there is a clear link in Glasgow between using *institutional circuits* of display such as museums and exhibitions to promote civic pride and this has carried on in to the present. Developments such as Kelvingrove and then the Riverside Museum highlight how Glasgow has attempted to articulate itself as a contemporary, cultural, post-industrial location, but in presenting this image, how does it fit with the aims of GM relating to building a socially inclusive museum? How do these two differing aspirations match together within the production of urban and museum space? In attempting to answer these questions, the following chapters will therefore investigate how these agendas have come together. This will focus upon seeing how museum practice has been shaped by these competing discourses, how ideas of social inclusion have been articulated and what effects such practices have had on those who have been involved with partnerships between GM and GL. This will be disseminated from the case study examples outlined in Chapter Four.

## **Chapter 6 – Towards a Socially Inclusive Museum and the Active Citizen**

### **6.1 – Introduction**

One of my key research questions has been to understand how the policy concerns of social inclusion and citizenship have been given expression within the museum. Chapter Three dealt with how this has taken place from a policy perspective and then Chapter Five considered how these intentions have been interpreted by the local state at a policy and management level. This chapter therefore tackles these questions through looking at their play on the ground from three separate case studies within Glasgow Museums. In investigating these case studies, a number of themes developed from their implementation, as the finer mechanisms of conducting such work in the museum were investigated. Theoretically, this chapter seeks to consider the processes that take place in the representational space of the museum and to consider how this shapes social practice (Lefebvre, 1991). The chapter will use these case study examples to show how Glasgow Museums has attempted to express such policy goals, how participants have reacted to this and what this means to their positioning in terms of inclusion in the city. The chapter also seeks to understand what is gained by citizens expressing their cultural identities in the museum in relation to conceptions of cultural citizenship.

In brief, the first case study followed an arts group which was developed from a partnership between GL and the GoMA Learning and Access team. The second investigated the assemblage of museum space in the creation of an interfaith exhibition at the St Mungo Museum, and the third considers the role of volunteers from across the museum service. The three case studies were similar in that they each tackled issues related to social inclusion and citizenship development but did so in very diverse ways, in terms of the people involved, who the activities or the end product was for and what the organisers of each case wished to achieve with their projects. Therefore each case study interacted with the main chapter themes differently, as a varied selection of processes and outcomes played out, producing both similarities and differences simultaneously. Through exploring these different approaches, the chapter aims to highlight the meanings that are attributed to social inclusion and citizenship whilst comprehending how this affected the participants of each case study. In practice, as the case studies show, social inclusion and citizenship is interpreted slightly differently by all actors despite working within the same overarching organisational discourse. The chapter also seeks to consider and open up debate on the extent to which policy changes (at both the local and national levels) have

created a repositioning of the museum towards a more ‘neo-liberal’ service, where the museum is seen to have an ‘instrumental’ role with regards the development of citizens (Le Grand, 2003 and Dean, 2004), or whether such interpretations of cultural provision fail to account for the agency of participants taking part.

The first section of this chapter will give a brief introduction to each case study before moving to directly address the empirical data. The empirical data will then be split into six themes that reflect the main coding outcomes derived from the participant observation and interviews. These themes have been developed because they show the micro practices of power involved in conducting work that intends to be socially inclusive and which intends to connect citizens to their cultural entitlement in the city. Thus the chapter highlights the social practices created by the projects created by museum staff (representations of space) and then how they are interpreted and decoded by participants (representational space). This will begin by placing GM within a wider discourse relating to Cruikshank (1999) and her concept of *‘The Will to Empower’*. This will act as a framing to a Foucauldian interpretation of the mechanism and micro practices of museum work. The chapter will then move to consider other key concepts that developed from the data due to interaction with museum activities such as the well-being, and a sense of cultural ownership, before ending with a final discussion with regards to practices of social control. The case studies here merely represent three examples of a much greater body of work within the service which is tasked with interacting and finding the ‘best’ ways to interact with the city’s populations. This is always a process that is in production; it is never final and will always evolve and, in this, evolution will always be shaped by various voices, such as museum staff, policy, and the participants involved.

### **6.1.1 – GoMA – Altered Images**

The case study followed at GoMA was developed through two parts of Culture and Sport Glasgow coming together and working in partnership with each other. The partnership constituted the Learning and Access team at GoMA and Community Learning Team based in the East End. Despite the two differing sections of CSG having slightly different intentions as to the initial purposes of the project, they both saw mutual benefits in working together through a partnership. The idea for the project was initiated by GoMA due to their belief that, as part of their wider access remit, they had failed to cater for adults properly. As one of the Learning and Access team put it:

I mean the purpose was really to engage adults and to provide something for adults in the gallery. We felt that there was nothing from our programme and within that we wanted to work with adults who were new to GoMA, new to contemporary art and, to adults who would get an awful lot out of it, out of that

project. So that was really the sort of motivation for developing the project. There was also a strand in there of wanting to work with a freelance artist, working together with the learning access staff to explore the possibilities within that relationship or partnership. I suppose you know because everything we do here is based around the exhibitions, we wouldn't have been able to do it had we not had funding associated with the Jim Lambie exhibition and that really was the sort of backbone of the project (Jenny Bell - GoMA Learning Assistant, 2009).

This then chimed with those working in Community Learning in Shettleston (a disadvantaged area of in the east of Glasgow, see Appendix A), where a drop-in art class had already been running and had sparked an interest in art for the various members of the class. For the Community Learning Team the project represented an opportunity to further inspire an interest in art for the people they work with and to allow them to experience being in a museum in a way they had not before:

I think a lot of people grow up to know a lot of art at school then for some reason it stops in their teenage years and a lot of people don't go back to drawing or painting or any sort of artistic expression at all. In particular the people we work with and the communities we work, a lot of people feel that art isn't for them. Emm, so I think when they do try it they realise they do get a lot of out of it, it's quite cathartic for people and they realise that they are actually quite good at it. It's quite relaxing. I think it is good for their mental health you know, it's good for their inner expressions and stuff like that and it's getting people to see that and realise that and engage with it and do it. So, aye, it's very good for learners (Paul Goldie - Community Learning, 2009).

This project therefore took adults who were no longer within fulltime education from the East End of Glasgow, and brought them into the gallery to work with an artist in collaboration, in order to create an exhibition based upon and around ideas of the work of Jim Lambie (a Turner Prize nominated artist) who had been exhibiting at GoMA. The programme attempted to bring people into the gallery who would not normally visit and who, for whatever reason, felt that galleries or museums were not spaces for them. Therefore, the intention was to make the gallery as open and as inclusionary as possible.

The project consisted of 11 participants who were brought together by the Community Action Team in the East End of Glasgow. The majority of the group were women in their 50s and 60s who had found themselves involved with Community Learning for varying reasons, mainly related to ill health. Added to this was one middle-aged male and one mid-twenties female. The group at the start also contained four Eritrean immigrants; however after being granted 'right to indefinite stay' in the UK they chose to leave Glasgow. The project ran for 14 weeks and was comprised of once-weekly two hour sessions working in the Studio space at the GoMA. The project had no pre-determined outcome, therefore the artist and the group could take it in any direction they chose, with Lambie's work acting as a starting point. In Figure 6.3 (further on in this chapter) the group

are being guided around an example of Lambie's work, with the head curator discussing with them each of the pieces. Beyond Lambie's distinctive floor patterns his works are created by transforming found or discarded objects. Lambie usually sources his materials from skips, and 'junkyards', and is also renowned for trawling the many charity shops of Glasgow for inspiration. To begin with, I carried out a small ethnographic study of the group by sitting in and participating in their sessions. This allowed me to gain extra insight into how the museum operated in its requirements to integrate policy initiatives, but it also helped in the interviewing of both participants and organizers, as it has given me much greater understanding as to how the project had developed over its existence.

### ***6.1.2 – St Mungo Museum of Religious Life and Art – Sacred Journeys – Expressions of Faith***

Sacred Journeys was an exhibition produced by the curators and Learn and Access staff based at St Mungo. St Mungo has a unique position as a museum as it is the only museum in the world built with the intentions of showing religious objects in order to develop interfaith understanding<sup>61</sup>. Allan Forsyth, advisor to the exhibition and practicing Baha'i, elicits further the unique position the museum gives Glasgow:

To have a sort of almost concrete manifestation of all that inter-faith work is really, really helpful. It gives a focus to it. It gives a sort of public face to it because it's all very well faith groups talking to each other and talking to government but there needs to be a dialogue with the whole of the public. In a lot of ways the museum helps that (Allan Forsyth – Sacred Journey Advisor, 2009).

The desire within the city to have a space to discuss religious issues is due to the city's longstanding problems created by sectarianism. Hence the city decided to create a space that allows for inter-faith dialogue to take place. The project within the museum brought together peoples of different faith in order to discuss and represent their beliefs in relation to pilgrimage. Pilgrimage acted as a link between all the religions as it formed a common theme with which all the religions involved connected. The exhibition involved twelve participants of differing faiths, including; Christians, Buddhists, Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims and Baha'is. The production of the exhibition was primarily driven by the curator Tony Lewis, who sought to use the experience of each participant's pilgrimage to weave a display that explored the connections and differences in their experiences. This was done by showing pertinent objects together with quotes relating to belief and videos of the participants talking about their beliefs.

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<sup>61</sup> There is also the State Historical Museum of Religion in St Petersburg, but this serves a different museological purpose.

The exhibition was created in order to give religious groups the opportunity to express their beliefs within the museum and to further GM's ability to foster interfaith dialogue. More specifically, firstly, it sought to represent the experiences of pilgrimage of those involved through giving them a voice in the museum. Secondly, it hoped that through the exhibition and connected talks and seminar series, a wider democratic dialogue across religious groups could be developed. Thirdly, the exhibition had a specific desire to speak to school children of all ages with regards to the Scottish Government's insistence on citizenship development within the wider curriculum:

So it was an opportunity for me to say, here's a space, come and express yourselves. So what the show tries to do, on one level, is to have people express themselves in their own words, in their own objects and their own pictures. So we kind of like, give space for that expression. But on another level, the target audience being schoolchildren, it was to try and tap into this idea of the curriculum of excellence. And especially self-confidence and self-expression. So children coming in, who might come 'um' and 'er' a bit when they're younger – might say, well look at these guys. They've got their own words up, they've got their own movies made of it – two short films that we've got – and their own objects on there; and look at the remarkable journeys that they've made – well I can do that. So it kind of encourages self-expression. (Tony Lewis – Curator, 2009)

Added to this, the Learning and Access team at St Mungo created workshops in conjunction with the exhibition to help pupils connect further with the overall interfaith/multipath message. The exhibition therefore aimed to create dialogue at various levels in order to help foster more inclusive ideals through multiple understandings of faith, as the exhibition used a wide spectrum of religious experience in order to represent the museum's wider ideology.

### **6.1.3 – The Museum Volunteer**

GM has an on-going volunteering policy which aims to allow those who wish to volunteer on a more committed basis to take part. With around 350 volunteers (myself included), the activities are exceptionally varied but fit into three main categories, which are; guides, research volunteers and learning and access helpers (see Table 4.5 for further details on volunteers' roles). GM predominantly views the volunteer's role as one which conducts 'work' that otherwise would not, or logistically could not, be done by paid museum staff. Therefore the volunteer is never placed in a position where they feel that they may be encroaching upon the remit of paid staff. They also view volunteering as an opportunity in an altruistic sense for people to improve themselves by gaining work experience for further employment:

Volunteers are very clearly there to support staff and not to replace staff. We never would take on a volunteer curator for example; we'd take on a volunteer curatorial assistant reporting directly to a member of staff. So aye, one of the curators said to me last week that she had so much work to do she could never get through it in her lifetime, even if she worked at the weekend and never took any holidays and that's where volunteers come in to be able to support that work so that, in turn, they're then giving it back to the museum which is given it back to the society (Yla Barrie - Volunteer and placement coordinator, 2009).

Volunteers take part for a multitude of reasons, and similarly the length of time volunteers choose to give up also varies greatly. The museum therefore sees its position as one that attempts to best place applicants within the service so that volunteers gain the most satisfaction possible from being involved. The volunteers interviewed came from a variety of backgrounds and often had very different reasons for participating, ranging from those who had retired to those of a much younger age looking for work experience. There was also a very equal mix of male and female research subjects.

## 6.2 – 'The Will to Empower'

All three case studies highlight various mechanisms, intentions and reactions as to how people on such projects (both organisers and participants) choose to engage with, and respond to, the challenges of being involved with work that has a specific focus upon the social, a focus that seeks to improve society for the 'better'. Viewing these wider aspirations of both the national and local state(s), coupled with the organisational discourse that GM works within, creates a discourse where the museum is viewed as an active social agent that has the ability to enrich people's lives. This is what I wish to frame as *'The Will to Empower'*:

I see these technologies of citizenship, however well intentioned, as modes of constituting and regulating citizens: that is strategies for governing the subjects whose problems they seek to redress (Cruikshank 1999:2).

Cruikshank (1999) argues that, within democratic systems of governance, it is *'The Will to Empower'* that gives the mechanisms to government so that it can interact with its population in order to improve them as citizens. The museum and the work it conducts, represents such a mechanism for those that encounter it. This *'Will'* desires to create the 'good' citizen where empowerment can be given in order to allow the citizen to help themselves and benefit wider society through the deployment of technologies of citizenship (Ruppert, 2006). Within the discourse that surrounds a social inclusion/justice agenda, presented by the state and posited by GM, there is at its heart a desire to improve 'citizens' for the benefit of both the individual and the state. This attitude is far more implicit in the policy documentation delineated in the previous chapter, but is also

reflected in the case studies, as each has sought in some way to improve those who interacted with the museum. The process of empowerment is one that is closely related to the work of Foucault with regards to governmentality, in which he delineates the role of government in relation to its population as one that attempts to order, to manage, to control, to 'improve' and finally to normalise (see Section 3.2.2). The deployment of such technologies aims to implement a 'conduct of conduct', however well meaning, as Cruikshank indicates there is a desire to control people. This is where policies related to social inclusion are positioned and is reflected in the discourses of GL and GM. This form of control is understood by Duncan (1995) as the 'civilising ritual' of the museum or, as Bennett (2006) comprehends, it as a construction of 'civic seeing'. Levitas (2005) takes this a little further in suggesting that such discourses reflect a moral and integrationist desire: moral in terms of changing lived behaviour, and integrationist by increasing an individual's accessibility or reconnection to the labour market.

This chapter seeks primarily to delineate (some) of the power relations that exist through the museum conducting 'social' work and to understand the relationships created between state, museum and citizen. This chapter only attempts to critique these entanglements (Sharp *et al*, 2000), and it does not attempt to give a direct judgment upon the work that is conducted by those in GL or GM.

In understanding '*The Will to Empower*' within GM's organisational discourse, an interesting disjuncture can be seen between themselves and national policy. The organisation has sought to separate itself (as best it can) from the wider discourses presented by national policy. This was discussed in Chapter Five<sup>62</sup> and for Mark O'Neil, Head of GM, there was a real emphasis in stressing a Glasgow tradition in cultural investment. This suggests that the instrumental policies of New Labour are not part of his constitutive approach to museums. However, the very definite line O'Neil draws between the two, the way policy has been implemented in GM, and the parent organisation GL suggests a slightly more conflicted situation. In taking his positioning further, he reflects his belief in the importance of Learning and Access within the service which represents museum work at the forefront in conducting work related to social inclusion policy:

I don't see it as a radical innovation, I see it as a continuation of the Victorian tradition of public education and we can come back to discussing that, social control or not. I think the difference is that the Victorians' understanding of the psychology of learning, emm, was wrong. I mean intuitively they felt that if you put the stuff out in the structure of the discipline, you know whether it's art history and chronology or evolution in the structure of species, people would get it and it was kind of a Lockean in understanding of psychology, the mind is

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<sup>62</sup> Though as the previous chapter summarises, there are great similarities in the policy aims and language used between the two.

a blank slate, these things will imprint on people and not only will they learn it they will be morally improved and it turns out to be a bit more complicated than that (2009).

O’Neil’s quote raises several interesting points, the first being the link to the Victorian period and the ideas that then surrounded the building and curation of museums. Although strategies of engagement with visitors have become very different, the same ideas relating to museums being places of improvement for citizens still endures, and therefore the linking of social inclusion and citizenship development to museum practice is, for O’Neil, nothing new. Hence the ‘paternalistic’ traditions of ‘municipal socialism’ still have a place in the city’s choices to invest in cultural infrastructure. However, there is some question towards the validity of such claims, as there are definite connections between the soft-disciplinary power of the museum during the Victorian period and now, but the sense of Victorian inclusion was very different to that presented by New Labour and the wider policies of GL. Secondly, the quote also highlights how museum education has had to change reflecting a new museology, as the traditional didactic methods of display dating from the Victorian period are seen as defunct. These ideas of education and a progressive service then filter into the projects followed at GM by staff, as all the projects in some way seek to create a greater connection between citizen, museum and state, with a desired result being the improvement of the individual. This relationship manifested itself through various mechanisms and is exemplified in each of the case studies.

### **6.2.1 – Empowering Learners**

The ‘Altered Images’ project occurred through a partnership created between GoMA and Community Learning. The project sought to use art as a medium that could be used to interact with those who may have been less successful in more formal forms of education, and for various reasons disadvantaged within society, to benefit from participation. The taking part (the physical act of ‘doing art’, being creative and working with others) and the recognition for doing so became key mechanisms within this process:

I wanted them to realise that art’s for them, as it was for them as you know. The experience would tell them that. I wanted them to feel more active within Glasgow, feeling that they can go to these big buildings and take part in workshops, that they are for the people in the marginalised communities. I wanted recognition; I wanted them to feel recognised for being talented, creative, which the exhibition gave them. I also wanted the social aspect of coming together as a group, as this is always very important in our courses. Also in doing that it builds up a trust and a bond between ourselves and the learners and they would come and get involved in other things with us and also, it makes a partnership between us and the Gallery of Modern Art. You know together we can achieve more. That sounds like a cliché but it’s true. It

was their expertise with their artists and their exhibition space and their good way of working with learners and us being able to recruit learners and support them which was a perfect partnership (Paul Goldie – Community Learning, 2008).

Goldie's comments are insightful to the empowering purposes of this project and the goals he desired from taking his group of adult learners to the museum. He links directly with GL's key aims for culture expressed within Glasgow's Cultural Strategy as he suggests the importance and need to develop their cultural and social capital. For Goldie it is the process of making, viewing and being in locations such as GoMA that is so important for making cultural assets in the city more accessible to those on the 'margins'. In expressing this, he shows the importance of learning in such locations to the development of cultural capital, but in wanting them to develop networks of trust he also shows how such processes link to developing social networks in the city. Hence, this attitude of project staff both at GoMA and Community Learning, at all times endeared to benefit the group as much as possible and to show them that they did have the ability to be creative and, through this, change their perspectives upon what they were capable of doing.

This process of empowerment was facilitated by four main factors: one, the use of art as the medium for discussion and expression, which offers various health (both physical and mental) benefits;<sup>63</sup> two, the experience of actually being in the museum and working, where such a friendly and welcoming environment was created; three, the importance at the end of the project in giving a space in the gallery for their work to be publicly displayed; and fourth, another key reasoning for such an empowerment was how the wider GL infrastructure made an effort to engage with the group at the exhibition opening, and I have used a personal field note to represent this dimension:

Although, I was somewhat cynical when various local dignitaries came to the exhibition opening and, whether whilst there, they had truly engaged with the group and their work. Making me wonder, to what extent this was just part of their job; I couldn't help but notice how the group reacted to them. And how they felt about people of such 'importance' having found the time to come to GoMA and view their work and then give such positive feedback. The sense of personal achievement in the group was palpable, as friends and family watched on (Field note, 2008).

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<sup>63</sup> See Parr (2008) for a full discussion on the benefits of art in respect to mental health.



**Figure 6.1 - The gallery opening - Liz Cameron meeting a participant.**



**Figure 6.2 - The gallery opening - friends and family enjoying the occasion.**

Figure 6.1 and 6.2 show two images from the museum opening. Figure 6.1 shows Chair of GL, Liz Cameron, chatting with Learning Assistant Jenny Bell and a participant. Figure 6.2 shows family members of the participants (of all ages) also enjoying the opening which GoMA hosted for the group. This specific event represented a key moment at the end of the project, showing the group a clear link between themselves and the local state. It purposely desired to show to them, as citizens of Glasgow, that they were considered important. What they had done clearly mattered, and this was reflected by the views held by participants:

Baillie Liz Cameron coming and speaking to us, made it special ... it made us look as if we were important, like we were, they treated us like we were artists you know (Kim – Altered Images Participant, 2008).

And:

I was really happy to take my family and show off, kinda thing, and say 'I done that'. I dunno, I felt like why should something I have done be in an art gallery, do you know what I mean? But I was really happy. It was an amazing opportunity to be able to get that chance to do something like that. I was ecstatic the whole weekend so I was... See, when I went in the exhibition and there were all these people coming up to me and there was a lot of interest in me, I felt that I got a lot of attention that day and I felt that they were all pushing me to go to college and stuff and take it further (Clare – Altered Images Participant, 2008).

The first quote by Kim reflects a sense of pleasure gained from being recognised within the city. The second quote from Clare also highlights this positive feeling and how such a project has the ability to alter an individual's aspirations; the desire in this case became to see this participant progress into some form of further education. In the case of this participant, such ideas were internalised through this process; from being someone who considered themselves to have failed at school, had been claiming benefits and was currently working in a menial job, the possibility of further education and a 'better' life was now a realistic opportunity. For this participant, this did show the wider policy desire of the local and national state taking shape as they wished to use this 'opportunity' as a stepping stone to a better form of employment. Though for others, despite such enjoyment and empowerment, the experience did not translate into anything other than the intrinsic cultural experience that Mark O'Neil stated earlier.

### **6.2.2 – Empowering Dialogue**

Within the Sacred Journeys project, the 'will' took on a slightly different form, as the project sought to create multi-faith dialogue; it was not specifically interested in tackling issues of disadvantage alone, but more in addressing problems relating to perceptions of difference; a quite different facet of social inclusion in relation to creating a more socially inclusive society that celebrates diversity. The individuals who participated within this project were far more interested in creating inter-faith dialogue across the city, so that people of different races and religions would have a greater understanding for each other, whilst at the same time hoping to expand their understanding of other religions through dialogue:

Yeah interfaith. Interfaith, just as the name suggests, you know, people from different faith communities getting together and working together – to achieve a goal of the actual group. Multi-faith is, if you take an example of a fair, of a

fair day – you know you have all these little stalls, and at each little stall you have a member of different religions: different faith communities. And they're all there, but it's not interfaith, they're not working together. That's a multi-faith event. So they're all there, represented, but they're not actually working together for the common goal. Interfaith is all these people together, and we all sit round a table, and we discuss – you know common, common ground... I think interfaith works – it can only lead to a cohesive society (Tom Harrigan - former GCC Interfaith Liaison Officer, 2009).

Tom Harrigan expresses his belief in the purposes of interfaith, seeing it as a method for building a cohesive society. The St Mungo museum was purposely created to address such issues, with a twofold focus: to inform and better educate citizens about religious difference, and to have a space of expression within the city that can be used by those from any religious background. To begin with, this related to issues surrounding sectarianism in Glasgow, which is seen as a highly divisive issue amongst the population and one that involves various exclusionary practices. Added to this, more recently the city has also chosen to accept more asylum seekers which, in places, has greatly changed the ethnic mix and has again created tensions. Throughout its history, St Mungo's has attempted to find non-confrontational ways to address these issues. The Sacred Journeys' project dealt with such issues and therefore sought, through the process of creating an exhibition, to give a 'voice' to a variety of religious groups and therefore to instil within them a sense of worth, belonging to the city and a desire to develop them as active citizens within Glasgow. The curators also wished to use the participants' experiences of pilgrimage to express ideas of similarity and difference to a wider public:

I said previously about the museum, as being a democratic place; a place where people can come and express themselves, listen, learn, accommodate other people's points of view, and move on. And hopefully, know more about one another... So instead of maybe living in ignorance or with, your head down like a pit pony thinking this is all that I want to know; you're actually taking the blinkers off and just say well look at the big world around you that happens to be here in Glasgow (Tony Lewis – Curator of Sacred Journey, 2009).

Tony Lewis's desire to make the museum a 'democratic place' showed a fascinating ambition to create a cultural dialogue in the museum that reflects Stevenson's (2010) desire to create a form of cultural citizenship. Stevenson's argument of cultural citizenship suggested that this was essential in creating a society that was tolerant and non-assimilating (see Section 3.4.3). For Lewis and the St Mungo Learning and Access team, this was further aided by encouraging participants to give talks in the museum about their experiences to members of the public. These usually took the structure of part 'lecture' and part open discussion. The exhibition and series of talks therefore sought to instil a sense of belonging within participants who, because of their religious beliefs, may previously have felt disconnected or unable to express their cultural identity fully. Hence,

through a mutual understanding of other people's beliefs, a more tolerant society can be fostered. Therefore within the project the participant's agency and social capital differed greatly to that of those in the Altered Images project, in that many of the participants came from a much more affluent background, but the intention of the museum in that wider framing of organisational discourse remained the same: to educate and to empower citizens to think and behave differently with regards 'others' in the city. The 'will to empower' within this case study desired to empower those who took part and express their feelings, but also to create within the museum a space that could express to them the potential religion could have in terms of bringing people together rather than pushing them apart, as shown by the feelings of a Baha'i participant, Karen, when reflecting upon her involvement in the project:

It's definitely educational (laughs) Suppose ... well it says much more than, like, educational ... I think it is good to, like, just widen horizons and I think the more you know about other religions the more you can know about your own really. Because you can find something out about another religion and that – oh I wonder what it says in our scriptures ... and I think that's quite good about it. And it's actually quite good to ... like, a part of our religion is you have to understand all the other religions as well, to make sure that the one you've chosen, you've chosen it wisely. And it's quite nice – it's helped build up my knowledge about the other religions so ... as well as learning about my own I've learnt about all the others and ... I think that's quite important, we can do, like, just ... learn to know that (Karen – Sacred Journeys Participant, 2009).

Karen denotes how this process both informed her of other faiths but also helped strengthen her own, showing the ability in this case as to how cultural citizenship can deal with difference. This exhibition, in summary, focused upon creating a politics of recognition where the museum, and therefore the state by proxy, are able to use the museum as a space that gives a voice to those that, because of their religious beliefs, may feel to some extent marginalised within society. Essential, then, in this exhibition was the participant's ability to express themselves in a public space and to have their thoughts, emotions and feelings presented to a wider public.

### **6.2.3 – Empowering Activity**

In continuation of the theme, the final case study will consider how, within the city and the museum, the role of the volunteer has been situated within the wider discourse. With the development within the local state of the Strategic Volunteering Framework (SVP), and GM's on-going commitment to harnessing the 'potential' of volunteers within its museums, the volunteer's role within the organisation has grown greatly. The volunteer within policy literature (SVP, Volunteer Scotland) has been seen as one of the most direct ways for state-controlled organisations to engage with ideas of active citizenship, and less so social

inclusion. This is because the volunteer is seen as a mechanism that can be used to show how citizens can firstly intervene and help in an altruistic fashion. Secondly, they can also gain personal benefit through participation and, thirdly, it is seen as something that can be beneficial to all sectors of society; from the young, the long-term unemployed and asylum seekers (who cannot work) to the retired or elderly. Further to this, volunteering has also been seen as a mechanism that can help a citizen gain experience for future employment. This has been where there has been recent repositioning with regards the role of volunteering, as is reflected by Una Gillion from Volunteer Glasgow:

Employability is a big issue in Glasgow and has been for the last few years, and increasingly within that, volunteering is formally now recognised. You know I was talking earlier on about working in the 80s and 90s in local communities and areas of priority treatment. I mean we used to get a really hard time going out to talk about volunteering 'cause people just did not make the connection, at all, between someone volunteering, developing skills and experience and then being better placed, better able, to compete in the labour market. Connection, wasn't recognised, not understood, not valued – not the case now (Una Gillion – Volunteer Glasgow, 2009).

Gillion, in her strategic capacity at Volunteer Glasgow, represents a growing trend in volunteering to increase accreditation for volunteers in order to gain employment, linking such policies of empowerment to a social integrationist discourse (Levitas, 2005). In following GM's volunteers, all three purposes to volunteering can be seen. As was stated earlier, volunteering within the service is highly varied but is always seen as progressive activity for both the citizen and the service. Perhaps more than the other two case studies, the role of the volunteer programme within GM relates most directly to the wishes of the local state in terms of creating active citizens. This then maps directly on to Cruikshank's thesis, as volunteering is being seen by the state as one of the key ways in which it can harness the potential of its citizens and be a mechanism that can be used to transform an individual's perception of their self-value. This will also be implicit in the discourse of GM towards volunteering, and for a proportion of those interviewed. Their motivations did fit with specific state-identified objectives, especially those who had reached retirement age and wanted 'something to do' and those of a younger age looking for the necessary work experience to future employment<sup>64</sup>, and the two respondents below represent these attitudes:

Well when I retired I thought 'I've got to have something to do', that's all there was to it (John – Research Volunteer, 2009).

Well, after leaving Art School I did painting, I just felt that, not only is it quite difficult to possibly pursue a career being a painter, I also felt it was in a way

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<sup>64</sup> This is common practice in museums, that those who wish to work in museums have to do some form of voluntary work experience before getting a paid position, such is the competitiveness of the 'museum industry'.

quite an isolated life and I really wanted to test myself to see whether I could be, you know, useful at helping people to understand the enjoyment I get from art ... That's why: and eventually of course I'm trying to see whether ... if ... and I have been really enjoying it, so now I've decided to try to pursue it for a career (Jo – Learning and Access Volunteer, 2009).

The two quotes give quite differing reasons as to why they have become actively involved with volunteering. This in turn reflects two differing connotations of 'good' active citizenship, as the latter quote comprehends a wider civic good to helping engage others in the enjoyment of art. Conversely, the first quote gives a much more individual perspective, since, when taken in the wider context of the full interview, the need for 'something to do' became a clear strategy of dealing with moving from full-time employment to retirement. In GM, the use and application of volunteers had a pragmatic outlook, by attempting to position individuals in roles that would best benefit them and the museum. This came from a practical understanding that people do not just embark on volunteering activities for altruistic reasons or due to state-backed initiatives, but rather for quite individualistic reasons such as just being interested in specific objects<sup>65</sup>. What was interesting within the interviews was that, regardless of motivations, the benefits that individuals received always seemed to reflect the over-riding desire of the state (and the museum) that, for the individual, it would give them a sense of empowerment and a sense of developing a closer bond with the museum and the wider local state.

Across the three case studies, this desire to 'empower' is one that strongly drives the aims of staff at all levels, as they strive to produce a progressive service for the city which implicitly has the desire to interact with every strata of Glasgow's population. This has been enacted by two main processes which have changed the nature of museum work greatly. The first relates to ideas of 'access' both physically and intellectually, and the second derives from a desire to be more proactive in the city and to use the museum as a tool for going out into different communities. Finally, the three case studies and the wider policy literature (discussed in the previous chapter) create a strong perception as to how GM and the state are invested in promoting museums as spaces of culture and creativity that can improve and empower citizens. This relates to the work of Grundy and Boudreau (2008), who have viewed a similar repositioning of the cultural sector towards a role as a service provider. Dean (2003:702) suggests that this repositioning of welfare is a move that pushes provision towards a neo-liberal approach which represents '*a world in which welfare entrepreneurs provide services for heroic consumers*'. This greatly changes the relationship between the state and the citizens, where the promotion of '*heroic consumers*' is essential and the promotion of strategies that attempt to empower and give agency to citizens become essential.

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<sup>65</sup> Or, like myself, who was classed as a 'research volunteer' for the process of gaining my empirical research.

## **6.3 – Museum Interaction and Process**

To understand how ‘The Will to Empower’ is linked to these outreach projects necessitates an understanding of how the power-geometries between the museum staff and the citizen are mediated through the workings of the museum. The processes of doing socially motivated work creates many different sites of interaction and processes that need to be considered in terms of how they generate feelings of empowerment in those people who choose, or are asked/picked, to take part in museum activity. The following section considers such processes and how practices of collaboration, transformation, well-being and senses of belonging and cultural entitlement all contribute to creating empowerment and active citizenship. These different sub-headings developed from the participant observation and the key themes that derived from the coding of interview transcripts. What exploring all these processes will represent in terms of those taking part, is that the notion of empowerment becomes centred on mechanisms that develop cultural and social capital, as Bourdieu (1986) would describe. Further to this, the processes and interactions discussed below highlight that, by specific practices, people can become (to a certain extent) more invested within Glasgow. This develops through a form of active citizenship as participants choose, through the work of the museum, to take more responsibility in their lives.

### ***6.3.1 – The Museum, a Space for Collaboration and Social Interaction***

The processes of collaboration existed in all three research settings, but each study offered very different types of collaboration between museum staff and participants. Collaboration is important as a process within GM’s work as it attempts to even out the relationship between participant and museum staff, seeking to increase the voice of those who participate from outside in such processes. It is also key to understanding this practice, as it is often through collaboration that the greatest interaction between participants is created. This is where the museum has its greatest potential to promote an inclusionary and accessible politics for citizens.

Within the Altered Images project, the idea of collaboration was central to the entire running of the project, as it was created to produce collaborative work between an artist and a group of people. It was through the collaborative experience that the group progressed together during their time in the museum, and it was the experience of collaboration which enabled them to gain a greater understanding as to how art is, firstly, thought about and, secondly, created. The process of collaboration changed over the

course of the project. Initially, the process was primarily led by the artist, who attempted to engage with the group, who, to begin with, seemed quite sceptical, nervous and unsure as to what the following project would entail for them:

Well at the beginning I felt it was, I didnae expect it to be they way it was going to turn out. I thought the GoMA ... I had never been in it in my life before ... Then when they asked us tae dae this Altered Images, that totally baffled me (Eleanor – Altered Images Participant, 2008).

As the weeks progressed and the confidence in the group rose, the relationship of collaboration between the artist and participants changed. One of the key things the artist, Kate Temple, and the learning assistant, Jenny Bell, made happen throughout the early weeks in particular was to make sure everyone spoke and that everyone's opinions were valued. This was seen purposefully happening in the first week when the artist and the learning assistant gave the group a tour around the work of Lambie:

The first exercise for the group was to walk round the work of Lambie. It was interesting, as for many of the group the off-kilter, contemporary and slightly abstract nature of Lambie's work was quite bemusing and challenging for some of the group. But as the group walked around, the artist and the learning assistant attempted to challenge this initial reaction. At all times they were canvassing the group for opinions. It was made explicit to the group that with modern or contemporary art, there were no right or wrong answers, merely interpretations. And as the group progressed around the main museum space and realised that their thoughts were appreciated, they began to become far more vocal with their opinions towards the different art pieces (Field Note, 2008).

It was thoughts and conversations with Jenny and Kate that elicited such opinions and made the participants really engage with the pieces. This also followed into the second week when the Head Curator, Ben Harmen, gave them a slightly more challenging talk and tour around the pieces which made no attempt to simplify some of his thoughts upon the works (see Figure 6.3). Within this process, a very revealing event was to show the then fragility of the group. As the tour progressed around the space, members of the public within the gallery also started to listen and join in, which had an immediate effect of shutting the participants down in terms of giving their opinions to the curator. This was highly frustrating to watch as the group suddenly 'closed up', losing their ability to openly discuss their thoughts, which they had been doing moments before. The group had very quickly lost their confidence to talk with the curator; this might have been due to a fear of being seen to be wrong, but also reflected many of the group's lack of experience of engaging with art over their lives, often relating it back to their upbringing. The dialogue from Sarah's interview below highlights a similar position that many of the group expressed:

Sarah: We had nothing like this. An art museum, nope no way. We passed them by probably.

Researcher: Why do you think that was?

Sarah: Just felt we weren't good enough. We always felt it was only the elite that went to these places. Folk with money. That's how it was. It probably was you know (Sarah – Altered Images Participant, 2008).



**Figure 6.3 – Ben Harmen (Head Curator at GoMA) shows the group around Lambie's work.**

The quote above and the events of the guided tour highlighted how the group, at the start, appeared to lack the necessary cultural capital to engage confidently with the works they were being shown. In order to change this, there was a consistent effort by the artist and the learning assistant to canvass for opinions, and this continued throughout the project. It really made the group have to think differently about art and had the effect, through discussion, of changing the way in which they would normally engage with it. At the end of the project, Eleanor details how she viewed pieces in Lambie's collection:

I looked at James Lambie's stuff and tried to work out and I think I did work out everything in his art. If you can call it art, a lot of chairs put together, but I looked at the shapes of all these chairs and what he was portraying, what I thought were, some were straight and that's how life is and some were wavy and it can get rocky and that's what I was thinking all these chairs were. Sometimes life is straight and sometimes it's not. It goes up and down. I don't know if I am talking a lot of rubbish or not, but that's what I was looking at (Eleanor – Altered Images Participant, 2008).

The change in thinking towards art immediately influenced how they approached their initial pieces of work. At the outset Kate and Jenny helped the group put together individual collages which would attempt to follow the styles of Lambie, but at the same

time would reflect something personal from their own lives. This involved the process of collecting various images and arranging them to produce something that transformed them from their intended meaning into something entirely different (some of which were enlarged for the exhibition, see Figure 6.4).



**Figure 6.4 – The products of the early collages on display in the gallery.**

In terms of working with each participant individually, Kate and Jenny chose to collaborate by suggesting ideas and giving advice to participants if they became stuck or frustrated with what they were doing. Kate used the process of collaboration in a manner that tried to mediate a line between allowing the participants to work freely, giving them ownership of the work they produced, but at the same time trying to produce something that had the potential to be exhibited at the end of the project:

She showed me a lot, do you know what I mean, a lot of things I didn't know, see like when she showed me different artists, it goes out my head, I've got a really bad memory, but like, she did, just showed me a lot of things I never knew I'd be able to do. That's a really good person to work with. She kinda, inspired me a little (Clare – Altered Images Participant, 2008).

I picked that box, and then they showed me different things I could use, but because some of the things I thought was dull and plain, 'cos I like sparkly things in everything, then when I seen the mirrors and stuff like that, I thought right I would just put the mirrors inside the box and that, and then I found my disco ball over my Christmas tree, in my cupboard, and I thought I'll make a disco box, and that's when I put all the gems stuff like that in it, thought I'd make it sparkly, 'cos everything else, I didn't want to use anything like, buttons and dull things like that, it's not me (Clare – Altered Images Participant, 2008).

The two quotes from Clare show how Kate, as the collaborative artist, would often give alternative suggestions or methods in terms of how the participant could work. This was a key process as the group began, with help, to take control of their own pieces of art, as Clare's last quote suggests. This process also fed into the first group project where two much larger collages were produced collectively. The process meant the group had to work together in order to be creative, which helped break down some of the internal boundaries in the group. These had developed in the initial weeks, as participants had become accustomed to sitting in a particular seat and only really interacting with those near them. The group then working collectively together broke down these boundaries, as everyone had to interact with each other in order to produce the group piece. It was then, the coming together and the negotiating of the piece, that allowed the group to be more accepting and understanding of each other, as nothing could be created without some form of consensus being found.

As the group's confidence increased and the power relations in the group changed, Kate progressed them onto making more personal and abstract pieces, moving them away from the constraints of collage. Following the theme set by Lambie's work, the participants sought to transform 'found' objects<sup>66</sup> in order to re-present them with an alternative meaning imbued within them. It was during this part of the project that the process of collaboration began to change and re-negotiate itself, as the relationship between participants and the artist shifted. Although still a process where neither Kate nor the participants acted individually, the confidence and the agency of participants increased. Hence Kate was able to take a more hands-off role, as the group began to express themselves creatively.

I feel like the collaborative aspect of it took quite a different form and it existed more in quite an abstract way, and more through, sort of, discussion, and kind of negotiating ideas and maybe like the more creative practical collaboration took place more between them as a group and I suppose maybe that's the shift where I kind of took a step back in those ways and in a sense left them to kind of work themselves, and I mean there was some kind of obvious examples of collaboration like the site-specific collage they made at the end of the project (Kate Temple – Artist in Residence, 2008).

In the site-specific collage at the end to which Kate alludes (shown being worked on in Figure 6.5), the confidence in the participants to act both as individuals and as a group had changed in terms of how they acted and confidence with each other, but also in relationship to how they now viewed art.

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<sup>66</sup> The group made a trip to a charity shop and bought various items for the project. Also other group members brought objects from home which they felt might be useful.



**Figure 6.5 – The group working together on the site specific installation.**

By using the aforementioned comparison of how the group looked at and considered art at the beginning of the project, to how they viewed it during the production of site specific work, represented one of the largest transformations made by participants: at the start being very sceptical towards the work of Jim Lambie and not really ‘getting it’, to, at the end in their own work, considering where best to place pieces of vinyl on a wall to improve the aesthetic impression it gave and really caring that they got it correct. Whilst some of the group still had issues with modern or contemporary art, they could appreciate it much more than previously:

It took me a wee while to think about it. When the two females were talking about it, I started to kind of think about it and, emm, but I thought these thoughts to myself and then I says that would be stupid to say that to somebody, but I said, I don’t know if it was to Jenny or Kate, I think it was Kate and she just smiled you know. Then the big picture, I seen the shapes in it. Teddy bear parts you know, it was all about his dancing, romance and I seen it in that. The leather arms and all of that totally baffled me. I mean I was trying to look and the two bags with the paint, that baffled me as well ... But the mirrors didnae cause I seen a lot of shapes in the mirrors you know (Eleanor – Altered Images Participant, 2008).

The quote above highlights an increased sense of thinking about art coupled with a developing ability to articulate those thoughts. The process had changed how the group looked at and appreciated different art. They claimed now to ‘think about it more’, and to look for deeper understandings as to what message(s) the artist may be trying to convey, something they had not been used to doing previously. This represents a significant change and highlights how the project shaped the ‘gaze’ of the participants. As was

discussed in Chapter Two, the museum or gallery has had a tradition of using objects to create 'civic' ways of seeing (Bennett, 2006). The process of collaboration on this project between the artist, the learning assistant and the group meant that the group were educated in ways to comprehend contemporary art. This made it accessible and understandable to them. In shaping their 'gaze', and they intuitively developed their cultural capital as they developed knowledges that allowed them to produce art and to converse confidently about it. Hence the '*powerful institutional circuit*' of the museum, the one that Leach (1989:128) describes as 'turning' citizens on to a consumer culture, can be used to shape their comprehension of art.

As the weeks continued, the growing sense of the group's cultural capital increased. One outcome was that they began to understand the perspective of the artist more. Thus they were able to comprehend more easily what she wanted them to do, and it meant they became more effective in discussing what they themselves wanted to do. Therefore, as the group became more engaged with the artistic process, this allowed Kate to push herself, and the group, further. Kate describes the process of collaboration from her perspective:

I suppose collaboration for me is something that you can never achieve on your own. It is like, you know, if you have two people collaborating you kind of have to make a third brain so it is like something that is from both of you but it's neither of you. I think also, like collaboration is a process of negotiation and it's quite a, it's a very difficult process I think, in that you have to be able to compromise quite a lot and you have to let certain things go (Kate Temple – Resident Artist, 2008).

For Kate, then, the process of collaboration was essential for the project to work and therefore the group being active in that process was crucial. Kate also highlights something quite interesting in that she suggests that, for the process to work, '*you have to let certain things go*'. For the group, this was perhaps the most vital as this meant that they had to let certain ideas, feelings, worries *et cetera* go in order for the process to take shape, as it was the creative act of producing art together that allowed them to step outside of their 'lifeworlds' and to think of alternative possibilities. Further, they also had to learn a new set of knowledges through the process of collaborative art creation which allowed them to extend their cultural capital.

### **6.3.1.1 – Collaborating towards understanding**

Collaboration within the Sacred Journeys project took a very different approach. As a participating project, it had two main facets, that of the exhibition and that of the participant-led talks. The exhibition had the purpose of expressing the participants' beliefs

with regards to pilgrimage, whilst creating a space within the museum that could teach and inform school children about the similarities and differences between religions. The participant-led talks endeavoured to create a space for dialogue within the museum, to bring people of different faiths together and to discuss their beliefs in an open environment.

The exhibition was led by the curator's research and required the willingness and participation of individuals from various religions to take part and express themselves. The participants were involved in both interviews with the curator, which were filmed and shown in the exhibition; the collection of objects for the exhibition and some of the participants also took part in public talks about their faith. Therefore, the exhibition was not specifically generated from a truly collaborative practice in that the participants did not have the ability to directly drive the content, although they could influence it greatly, as Tony Lewis comments:

It was my first exhibition so in terms of kind of, like, presenting an exhibition it was like, OK, let's learn how you do this then. But in terms of the museum's function it was an opportunity for me to learn from other faith groups and representatives of those faiths. And what I particularly wanted to do, was not dominate proceedings ... So it was an opportunity for me to say, here's a space, come and express yourselves. So the ... what the show tried to do, on one level, is to have people express themselves in their own words, in their own objects and their own pictures. So we kind of like give space for that expression (Tony Lewis – Curator, 2009).



**Figure 6.6 – The style of the exhibition.**

For Tony, the creation of the exhibition and the formulation of museum space could only be accomplished through a research process that required a form of collaboration with

individuals who existed outside of the museum in order to gain their thoughts, feelings and objects (Figure 6.6 shows one of the displays created from this process). Clearly, this was a process that could not be done alone or from an in-depth study of various religions, but required first-hand accounts and experiences. This differs from the approach of the Altered Images project, as it creates a very different balance of power in the process of collaboration; for, in the creation of the Sacred Journeys exhibition, the participants had little specific control in its production or its final content. Nevertheless, the exhibition was primarily focused upon them as research subjects, and their thoughts and experiences were the exhibition. Through their participation in interviews they were able to give voice to their own particular faiths and experiences, and for all those taking part there was often both a personal and deeper spiritual desire to do so, as Sarah divulges in her motivations for participation:

A high pilgrimage – it's something that – it's your deepest wish fulfilled when you are actually able to go on pilgrimage. I suppose being able to express that for a wider audience. Yeah – I suppose that would be it really, being able to speak about it in a way that was meaningful to other people when they hear it (Sarah – Sacred Journeys Participant, 2009).

Within the production of the exhibition, many of the participants contributed objects to aid in the telling of their particular journey, the objects allowed the participants to present the sacredness of their journey through a physical representation. The sacred artefact that they had collected was one imbued with their own spiritual meaning, which connected the participant to the place to where they had traversed.



**Figure 6.7 – A selection of the objects participants gave for display.**

This then allowed visitors to see, through a tangible object, the importance of the journeys taken to those describing them, and Lewis highlights this importance when considering the resonance in gaining the loan of a piece of the Kiswah (described below and shown in Figure 6.8) for the exhibition:

Well, let's say one of the generous loans that came in was a section of cloth from the Kiswah, an amazing object that covers the Kaaba<sup>67</sup>. And through the Muslim community in Glasgow, I just get a phone call saying, I've got a cloth that I'd like to put on display for you – was just amazing. But how do you do that justice? – I mean, we could translate a section of it but how do you get across the importance of this, this piece of cloth that this gentleman wants to be buried with when he dies. It's just so emotionally important, not only to him but when other Muslims see it they just kind of go, Wow! They are impressed by that (Tony Lewis – Curator, 2009).



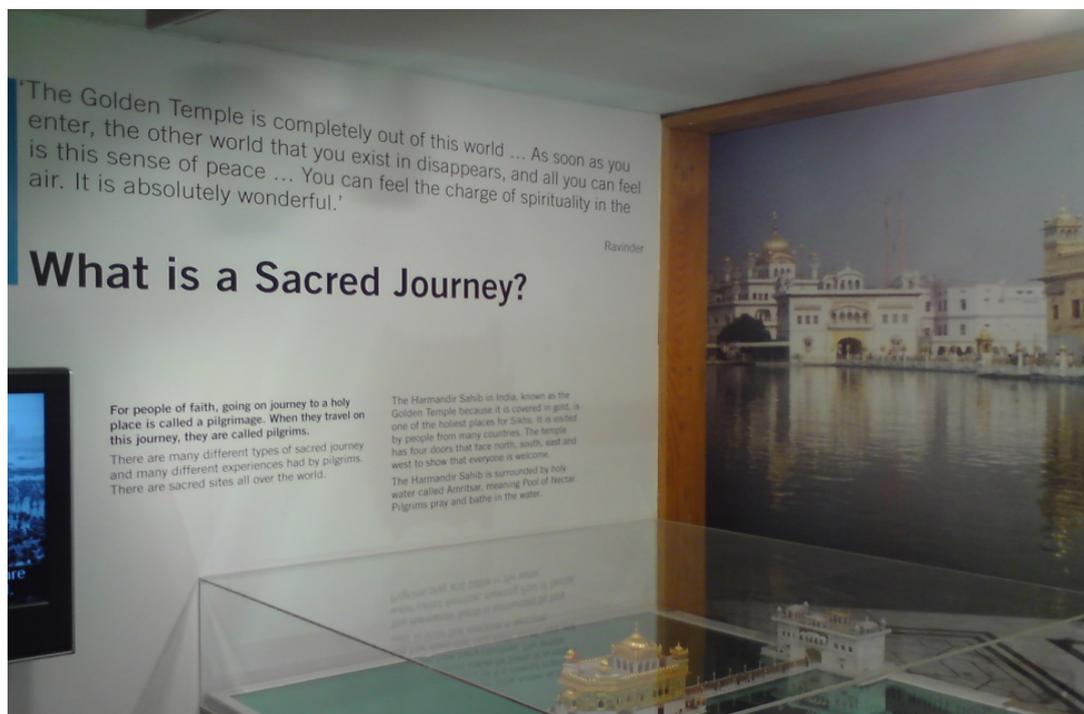
**Figure 6.8 – The Kiswah and wider description of the Hajj.**

By the curator being given objects, and through the participants' lived experience of pilgrimage, the assemblage of the exhibition took shape as thoughts, objects and words came together relationally within the museum space. This was presented in the space of St Mungo through the central narrative of pilgrimage; multiple stories that linked the participants together. The underpinning narrative allowed those from a range of diverse backgrounds and faiths to come together and reach some form of commonality within the shared space of the museum walls. For the participants, this was something that not only allowed them to reinforce their own religious beliefs and mentally to retrace their own

<sup>67</sup> The Kaaba is the most sacred site in Islam which pilgrims progress around at Mecca as part of the Hadj. The Kiswah is the cloth that covers the Kaaba during the procession.

journeys; it also allowed them to view and understand the ecclesiastical thoughts from the perspectives of others in comparison to their own. Melissa comments on how learning about another participants' pilgrimage to Mecca made her compare such experiences to those within her own Baha'i faith:

Well I suppose you've got, kind of like, the religious facts. So I learnt about .. well I learnt about my religion, because I had to learn about that, that I could tell them about that. I also learned a lot about the other religions. Like for example when you go on, is it a Hajj I think they call it, with the box that you kept going round it and round it and round it until you got to the middle and then ... and always just wondered how do you get from the middle out again and if everyone's circling around ... just – that was interesting because we don't have anything like that (Melissa – Sacred Journeys Participant, 2009).



**Figure 6.9 – Questioning the visitor.**

Beyond the exhibition, further linkages between faith groups were sought through discussion and open dialogue. This took the form of interfaith talks, where some of the participants discussed with members of the public their own experiences. These were set up in such a way that there were always two people from two different faiths discussing their experiences together, which created various interesting and thought-provoking comparisons. From a personal perspective, attending one of the talks where two participants, one a Muslim man and the other a Christian women, in turn both talked for around half an hour about their experience of pilgrimage, what I felt I gained from the experience is written in a field note composed after the event:

The comparison proved fascinating and the discussion that followed was highly insightful when seeing how both participants responded to questions

surrounding their experiences of pilgrimage. Though what for me, what proved most illuminating about this experience was the realisation of my own ignorance on such issues especially towards the Islamic tradition of the Hajj, something I had heard about for years but had no real idea with regards what it entailed (Field Note, 2009).

This was reflected in the views of the Christian participant, Jenna, who journeyed to Iona. When she discussed her participation in the event, she showed her amazement in also learning about the Hajj and how it really made her want to understand this spiritual experience, giving her a desire to learn more about it, to the point that she mused that it created a desire also to experience such an event<sup>68</sup>:

I want to go there. You know, I want to experience that pilgrimage too, you know, why should I limit myself to the one I know, or to the one that is connected to my faith. You know you can find treasures in any pilgrimage, you just have to look for them. And yeah actually, I wanted to, I wanted to pilgrim to Mecca (Jenna – Sacred Journeys Participant, 2009).

The discussions following the talks all created interesting debate amongst those that attended and, for the participants that took part, it was a highly affirming process, as Jenna above suggests. What was a slight disappointment was that only a small group of the same faces ever attended, and that, although these events were excellent at bringing peoples of different faiths together in the first place, they failed to reach a wider audience. This perhaps reflected the low level of advertising available to a project of this size and the drop-in nature of the sessions. This was also a disappointment for both Tony Lewis and Maggie MacBean, head of Learning and Access, who considered whether this was the only approach they could be taking to create dialogue in the city:

I think if we were, you know, to engage wider audiences in it, I would like to be doing more project work and getting people in and building up the trust between my organisation and their organisation. I think that's kind of central to, kind of, developing the audiences and I think you can do all the marketing in the world and, you know, just a kind of cold invitation just isn't gonna cut the mustard really: it's not going to work. So it's about getting, you know, the time and the resources to be able to go out to reach people (Maggie MacBean – Learning and Access Curator St Mungo, 2009).

The process, though, of coming together, even on this relatively small scale, did show the potential for creating spaces for dialogue and bringing people together in a collaborative spirit, allowing the people involved to rethink their prejudices or misconceptions towards others. Concurrently to this, it also gave those from more minority faith groups (within the city) to have greater voice, and for those directly involved a sense of being more connected to the city.

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<sup>68</sup> Though, this would not be possible as only practising Muslims are supposed to Hajj.

### 6.3.3.2 – ‘Working’ with the Museum

The theme of collaboration was also apparent from the dialogue with volunteers, although the extent to which collaboration and interaction took place depended directly on the nature of the volunteering undertaken by the individual. The volunteers interviewed split into three main groups; guides, research volunteers and learning and access volunteers. Each group had a very specific role in terms of volunteer activity; the guides’ main activity involved walking visitors around the museum whilst giving individual tours. The role of research volunteer depended on the research that the volunteer was interested in doing and the work a curator may have wanted them to do. For learning access volunteers, this involved helping mainly with children in the running of art groups, specifically at GoMA and The Burrell Collection.

The guides, as a group, appeared to be quite self-contained in both museums where they volunteered (the Burrell Collection and Museum of Transport). They primarily worked with each other in terms of how they trained and developed content for the tours that they gave. For many of the guides, their motivations reflected personal interests in specific areas of each museum’s collections, the ability to interact with those that had similar interests (other guides) and a desire to provide an experience to the public that could enhance their museum experience. The collaboration aspect for the guides then came from the interaction with each other in terms of developing tours around the museum and, given that all the guides interviewed were retired, the social interaction gave them something to do now they no longer had full employment:

Well I’ve been doing it for four years now so really I’m still learning on it, still parts of the collection – I mean I wouldn’t consider myself an expert in any of the collections so from that point of view I’m learning on it ... I feel as though I’m giving something back to society as well, you know, you feel ... basically I mean I was employed for about 40 years and I get ... 1994 I got first made redundant and then for ten years I was in and out of work. Sometimes quite long spells of unemployment and basically by the time I approached 60 I was out of work again, I was getting no replies back ... So this has helped fill in the gap. And I’m 64 now and ... It has been beneficial to me because I felt as though I have been more effectively used (John – Volunteer Guide, 2009).

For the research volunteers, similar motivations applied for those interviewed, since all had ceased fulltime employment and this primarily offered an activity they could do in their retirement. Research volunteers usually worked with a specific curator and collaborated on researching a particular object or objects<sup>69</sup>, and for the vast majority this was an individual task where guidance would be gained from the curator. Therefore, for those

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<sup>69</sup> Examples being, one volunteer who assisted in the classification of shells or another who helped extend the MoT knowledge of the history and development of the Argyle Motor Company.

undertaking such volunteering, it was not so much the social interaction that they wanted, but the ability to work with, and find out about, certain objects in order to extend their knowledge besides learning about the wider collection of the museum. Not surprisingly then, a response from these two groups of volunteers was a desire to give something back to society, through a desire to show a form of civic responsibility, as Sheila discusses in relation to her passion for guiding in the Kelvingrove Museum:

Yes. Definitely. Well I think it satisfies the interfering Glaswegian side that you have. But it's also the side that this is something you've got that they can show off and ... it's brilliant. It just sort of ... it just makes you think Glasgow's a good place to be part of (Sheila, Volunteer Guide – 2009).

This links directly to ideas in the policy literature regarding active and cultural citizenship – for these participants, a willingness to give up their free time was linked to the sense of civic pride and cultural belonging that volunteering gave them. There is a desire and a belief that they should volunteer, and that for them the choice to do so is seen as a responsibility or obligation due to the positions in which they have found themselves, as Chris below comments:

But I wanted to say well I want to earn this pension and this seemed to be a great opportunity to say, I can do what I want but I'm giving back to Glasgow. I have a passion for this city (Chris - Research Volunteer, 2009).

This reflects Dean's (2004) highlighting of the shift that New Labour wished to create in the repositioning of citizenship within society, where the emphasis is placed upon the 'active' role that the citizen can play in improving themselves. Here, then, the act of volunteering in the museum helped reinforce that concept within the volunteer, where they felt by giving something back to society they could also benefit from such an act, reflecting within this the internalised 'Third Way' mantra of Giddens: *'no rights without responsibilities'* (1998:65).

The final group of volunteers, the learning and access volunteers, occupied a slightly different positioning in terms of their relationship to the museum. This group were all of a far younger age and saw their voluntary activity as a mechanism for seeking further employment within 'museum' industry. This reflects a recent shift in the policy towards volunteering shown at both a national and local levels where volunteering is being repositioned as a potential 'pathway' into employment. For this group of volunteers, their desire was to gain work experience and that, therefore, made them very different to all the other groups discussed in this chapter.

### **6.3.2 – A Sense of Belonging and Entitlement**

Through the process of individuals spending time within each of the museums researched, the above interaction led many to feel differently about how they viewed museums and how museums could potentially have an influence upon their lives. Further, for many, their interaction with the museum meant that they developed a sense of belonging to that institution which was reflected in the language they chose to use when talking about the spaces in which they interacted. This directly shows that they had acquired a space within the city from which they had previously they had felt alienated, or had never considered as useful to them. Through interaction, they had been able to further increase their access to cultural provision. This was strongly the case for the Altered Images group; through their participation in Altered Images, their image of the museum changed significantly:

That the GoMA is mine (laughs), it is no just this beautiful building with all these works of art, you know, that only really famous artists could sort of go in and put their pieces of art into. It was as if its doors were just thrown wide open and we, the common people, walked in (Brenda – Altered Images Participant, 2008).

I never really took much notice of museums. I had been in before right enough, it was years ago when I was younger, but until I started the art class I didn't really think much of it but now it's totally different, after being in the art class and actually doing something like that (Michelle – Altered Images Participant, 2008).

Such reflecting highlights that participation can have a huge role in breaking down people's perceptions towards museum usage and helps them connect with what their 'cultural entitlement' is within the city. Here the museum has moved from being seen as a place of exclusion to one towards which they feel they have a sense of ownership, a sense that also links to an increase in civic pride. The act of participation, then, serves as a mechanism that reconnects the citizen with the state, especially in the Glasgow setting where the city museums are directly funded by the local authority.

Yeah, I mean, when I show folk around with me I was encouraging them to come here. But I suppose I feel more invested in the museums, if you will, because I've contributed to it, in some way in my life. Yeah, and that's important, you know, to contribute regardless of where it is or how it is. To give back and yeah, that's meaningful (Tim – Volunteer Guide, 2009).

The concepts of cultural entitlements and rights were discussed previously in an earlier chapter (see discussion surrounding Stevenson (2003) and the DC(S)B), but for some of the participants they discuss a real conception of how their cultural activities within museum spaces link directly to their constitution of citizenship. The quotes from both Tim

(above) and Chris (below) recognise this relationship and show that, for these two volunteers, their motivations not only reinforce a sense of place and belonging in both the museum and the city, but that their voluntary action is part of an obligation on their behalf (giving up their time) in order to give something back to the wider society.

I think it's one of the best cities in the world; and I've travelled a bit round the world. And I know everybody loves their hometown but I like Glasgow folk and I like Glaswegians, like the museum and I like the collection. It's giving something back, that's very important in society (Chris – Research Volunteer, 2009).

In this context, their conceptualisation of their (cultural) citizenship requires them to invest themselves within cultural activity in order to access their entitlement. Therefore, as O'Neil (2000) suggests, for rights or entitlements to have any meaning there is a necessity for an obligation to be placed upon the citizen. With those volunteering, that relationship is somewhat more tangible but within the other two case studies a similar investment in time had to be made. Individuals had to play a part in the above processes through which they became more connected to the concept of the museum, more comfortable in museums and more aware of how they could go about accessing their cultural entitlements. This was reflected in the Altered Images group, where this led to a desire among some of the group to follow what was being promoted by the Community Action Team, and to continue some form of further education in an 'art' based area. This led them potentially to further invest in their cultural capital, and others even considered the possibility of volunteering in Glasgow Museums in the future. For Jill Miller, a senior member of staff at GL, this is what is central for anyone taking part in a project like this, where their participation is not on-going. It is the need for it to link them into something else, so that it acts as a continuous pathway to a relationship of trust between state and citizen:

What we are trying to ensure is that if you become involved in museums that you then have the ability to become involved at the sports centre and *vice versa* ... It is about using all those tools as a way to engage with people and get them active (Jill Miller – Director of Operations at GL, 2009).

### **6.3.3 – Well-being**

As the wider company that GM exists within, GL sees one of its main remits as promoting 'well-being' across the city. Well-being has become a central term to GL, and their Director of Operations, Jill Miller, expresses this point:

We talk about what we do as being a well-being strategy, what we do in this city is about physical and mental well-being. So people who are involved, who are actively involved in the services we provide, are hopefully gaining better health in the wider sense of the word. What that then does is more people and

more communities get involved, the more you raise that, within the city. What then happens is people then tend to participate more and they tend to take part more in discussions. They tend to become more involved in their local area; they tend to have opinions about things that are happening around about them. And they then become more active citizens. We absolutely believe that, that is completely interconnected (Jill Miller - Director of Operations at GL, 2009).

As Miller suggests, well-being has become seen as an essential link in promoting ideas of social inclusion and citizenship, as it has the potential to enhance a person's social capital (Putnam, 2001). And for Miller, it also has the ability to increase their capacity for participation. It has grown out of an assumption by policy makers (from the New Right/'Third Way' perspective) that citizens are primarily focused upon their own individualistic sense of well-being and that, by creating autonomous receivers of public services or welfare, the citizen can self-regulate themselves (Dean, 2003). Participation therefore helps citizens become more aware of the potential that personal relationships and friendships can have in helping them through difficult times in their lives. This increases their resilience to deal with problems if they occur, as the state then becomes seen as a facilitator for welfare and the citizen becomes active in taking responsibility for their problems. This means that the social activity, facilitated by the museum, helps link the individual into specific wider support networks, whether this be with family, friends or the local state.

From this, one of the most prominent themes that developed out of all three case studies, caused through interaction with museums, was that it created a direct change with regards the participant's sense of well-being. The following section will consider this and exemplify how museum space, and the social interaction developed, has been able to generate a sense of well-being in participants by their choice to opt in. It is then suggested that the museum, for some, can act as a therapeutic landscape (Silverman, 2002) in a way that connects the concept of well-being to the individual's emotional geographies (Davidson and Milligan, 2004) and can impact upon their understandings of inclusion and citizenship, which moves them from a passive recipient of 'welfare' to an active citizen in control of their wellbeing.

Consistently, participants talked about how their interaction with the museum led to outcomes that made them feel better about themselves, happier, more confident and therefore more able to deal with other problems in their lives. Therefore the interaction helped those individuals both mentally and often emotionally with events or happenings in their lives away from the museum. When comparing all three case studies, there consistently appeared to be an overwhelmingly positive reaction from all the participants. This was evidenced by their feelings of increased confidence, social worth, personal well-

being and the enjoyment they had from both the interaction with the museum and from the social interaction they gained. For Steve, his time in the museum helped with his well-being, as it made him feel that he was capable of giving something back to society:

I just think my well-being, I just feel I'm putting a contribution back to society and it's still kept my interest up in technological issues. It's meant that I've had to learn additional skills. I'm meeting with fellow guides, we have these regular meetings. I'm meeting the general public which I didn't tend to do, I tended to work in the office before, and you would just meet engineers or that sort of thing. So you're meeting a more diverse group of people (Steve – Research Volunteer, 2009).

Volunteering gave Steve a sense of wellbeing by being able to help and give something back; for this volunteer, his well-being had become centred upon his agency to act but also for the museum to act as a facilitator in which he could then take up an active role. For others interviewed, it offered a way to move beyond past disappointments. Clare suggested how the sense of achievement she had felt from the Altered Images project had helped her confidence, and that it made her feel that she had managed to produce something of worth, despite her never managing to achieve in a more formal educational setting:

Well, just the fact that if a lot of people liked the work I done that gave me confidence. My confidence was sort of way down low, emm, that was nice to know that you were getting appreciated for something. I never done well at school and it was nice to get that, that here I have achieved something (Clare – Altered Images Participant, 2008).

For some of those interviewed, a sense of well-being went beyond a motivation inspired by an altruistic desire or a reaffirmation of confidence, but that their time in the museum had specific physical and mental benefits to their health. Their participation had specifically helped them move on from traumatic or depressing periods in their lives which they had been struggling to deal with on their own<sup>70</sup>. For Pam, being involved with the Adult Learners, really helped her confidence issues after the passing away of her husband:

Well I gained a wee bit of confidence which I had been lacking for a few years (sighed). I learned to kinda communicate a wee bit better with people because I wasnae doing that after my husband died. I just shut myself away so I needed tae start tae go in company which I didnae want tae dae. I still find it a bit difficult but in there, it kind of helped a bit, because there was all kind of walks of life there, including the tutors and the people (Pam - Altered Images Participant, 2008).

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<sup>70</sup> The following discussions came out during interview and were largely quite unexpected. As an interviewer, I did not wish to push participants too far on these issues as I am no way qualified to discuss or deal with such problems.

As Pam expresses in her comments, there is a sense that the project allowed her to develop her social capital, which in turn helped her start to communicate with others again. For Allan, a long term volunteer, the process of voluntary work allowed him to renegotiate himself back 'into' society after being heavily affected by post-traumatic stress disorder that left him housebound:

Yes, for me it helped me greatly at the beginning. I'd spent two years at home and hadn't budged over the threshold, the front door. My confidence had been so destroyed 'n that. I started in 1999 as a guide because I'd been in the fire brigade, and I had 25 years, and I had to retire for medical reasons. It took me a couple of years to solve that and I'd been out of mainstream society for want of a better word. And the guide leader here suggested that this would be a good introduction, getting myself back into the swing of being with people again (Allan – Research Volunteer, 2009).

Allan shows, like Pam, how his activity imbued him with a greater confidence and a network that allowed him to put a very difficult time in his life behind him. It was the embodied practice of being in the museum and doing the work he had volunteered to do that helped him emotionally deal with the need to reconnect with society. Following from this, Brenda, who had suffered heavily from depression, discussed how her experience in GoMA and the joy working creatively on the art project had helped her to find an outlet for her struggles with depression:

It is, emm, well I don't want to go into a lot of medical stuff, you know, but I mean, I suffer from clinical depression which can just raise its ugly head, you know, but it has been nearly a year and its since I have started getting more and more involved with art and doing this thing up at the GoMA, that it has just lifted me so much, it really has. All my friends are saying what a difference in you, you know. I used to have these days with big black clouds but they have disappeared and hopefully they won't come back. If they do I'll just paint them (laughs) (Brenda, Altered Images Participant, 2009).

The museum and the activities offered those involved a therapeutic outlet, through art that helped them deal with quite serious mental and emotional problems (Parr, 2008). The ability to interact with people and to work creatively, which were facilitated by GM, gave these individuals strategies that could help them with their problems and allowed them to improve their own well-being significantly. This reflected Jill Miller's staunch backing for the concept of well-being for GL as a method of ensuring that individuals have the capacity to be active, and that it can lead to a more fulfilled involvement in society. For McCall (2010), this is a shift that represents a failure in the museum's ability to effectively foster social inclusion, and so therefore there has been a change of emphasis towards providing well-being for citizens.

In thinking about this in terms of academic critique of such practices, Le Grand (2003) considers this to show the state working as an instrumental actor (Gray, 2007 and Levitt, 2008) in its relationship towards the citizen. They would argue that the relationship is suggestive of a shift towards a neo-liberal approach to delivering services, where the individual is expected to help themselves through taking the opportunities given to them. To a certain extent this can be seen to be true in the relationship that exists between GM and the various participants. By funding the museum through the local state (GL), its positioning towards a role that is interested in the welfare of citizens and due to the ways in which it can have 'impact' upon peoples' lives, the museum becomes framed as an instrumental actor in how it can interact with citizens. What becomes difficult to fit with Le Grand's wider thesis, though, is that he positions the concept of the instrumental state against that of an altruistic one, but within that wider discourse of GM's will to empower *both* motivations are evident throughout the organisation. However, rather than altruistic in its approach, a better terminology may be to position the organisation as having a paternalistic approach. The following section will now move to consider further these power relations that are taking place, in order to complicate Le Grand's argument surrounding instrumental service provision.

#### **6.3.4 – *Soft-Discipline: Transformation and Reworking***

In thinking about how these outreach programmes tie to the earlier arguments in the thesis emphasising the role of policy, thought has to be given to the extent to which these processes can be viewed in relation to concepts surrounding social control. 'The Will to Empower' is founded upon a Foucauldian analysis of power and is defined by a relationship of control and governance between the state and the individual. This relationship can be seen throughout the projects, as all the participants taking part have had to internalise various sets of norms. For example, in the Altered Images project it became more normal for the group to think about and discuss contemporary art, or with the volunteers their activity embedded them in the museum and increased their civic pride. In certain circumstances, exemplified in this chapter, the cases have had profound effects upon those involved. Duncan (1995) considers this the *civilizing ritual* of the art museum which holds the purpose of having a transformative affect on the individual:

A ritual experience is thought to have a purpose, an end. It is seen as transformative: it confers or renews identity or purifies or restores order in the self or to the world through sacrifice, ordeal, or enlightenment (Duncan, 1995:13).

This was seen in all case studies as the desire within museum discourse was always to enlighten the participant in some way. In the Altered Images and Volunteers case studies,

more specific pathways were available to participants to progress beyond their initial museum experience. In the Altered Images group, the Community Action Team was very keen to see this positive experience act as a catalyst to begin further learning, and attempted to encourage the group into various college courses and also to gain funding for them to do so. Some of the volunteers hoped their participation would enable them to find a more direct pathway to gaining further employment. Therefore the purpose of this form of soft-discipline was to internalize various state ideals, such as: the potential of art to expand cultural capital; the ability of interfaith groups to find common languages; or how participation could help the move on to a further career. It also sought to instil an idea that the people involved were capable of achieving more than they currently have done, by giving them the confidence to apply to institutions of further education or to gain employment. This then suggests to the citizen that they can possibly become more 'useful' within society and feel less culturally marginalized, allowing them to become more self-sufficient. Hence, for Cruikshank (1999), this effect of an 'empowering will' through discourse has the effect of trying to make 'good' citizens for the state who are shaped into docile bodies, who become more appropriately 'made' for the modern capitalist society.

If we move to think in terms of the wider state ambitions to make museums more socially responsible, but also to engage directly the museum with specific policy goals, we can see that the museum can be used to express political ideologies. Policy implementation relating to social inclusion and citizenship represent specific state-driven policies that have been integrated into the work of the museum, rendering the museum a tool for making citizens 'useful'. This is similar to the point that Foucault argues when discussing the use of primary education after the French Revolution, with its ability to internalise ideas of the state within the citizenry, hence diffusing such ideas throughout the wider social body:

The disciplines function increasingly as techniques for making useful individuals. Hence their emergence from a marginal position on the confines of society, and detachment from the forms of exclusion or expiation, confinement or retreat (Foucault, 1977:211).

As was discussed previously, Foucault focuses upon the carceral network and therefore his approach needs to be refined for the museum, but here it is possible to argue that the processes embedded by GM exemplify the museum as a Foucauldian space that performs a 'soft-disciplining' power which is pedagogical in nature (Pykett, 2009). This presses upon the participant or the volunteer much more subtly than does, say, the prison, asylum or hospital; and therefore suggests, that in this context, the will to empower imbues a soft-paternalistic attitude, suggesting that we must regard museums as more-or-less willing accomplices in what Cruikshank (1999) would position as 'technologies of citizenship'. Added to this, the notions of creating well-being to enhance the potential of

activity in society, which GL stresses as so important, also reflects how this discourse can become self-disciplining over time, in that, by building the social and cultural capital of participants, a relationship of trust is created, which Goldie and Miller mentioned, where the citizen then feels obliged always to opt in and take part.

However, in interviewing various participants, the relationship between the museum, the state and the citizen, shown by the participants above, was not one that was always accepted by all and often represented little transformative effect in their lives. For many, despite having highly enjoyable experiences, little had really changed in their lives materially or socially due to taking part. Also, many had little interest in the wider desires that organisers may have had in moving participants on to further learning or employment. In the Altered Images project, some of the participants had just been happy to take part and had no interest in seeing it lead to anything else, as Sarah suggests:

No, last week I was sort of thinking about it and then I thought no and I wouldnae like to start something that I couldn't finish. Because I am very much, if I start something I like to see it right through to the end. So that is the only way that I can think of doing these projects, where I can commit myself to ten week courses (Sarah – Altered Images Participant, 2008)

Similar views were expressed by various volunteers who often had no interest in using their time volunteering to lead to anything else, largely just seeing it as 'something to do' which fitted with a personal interest of theirs, and in no way did they gain any sense of civic pride from their activity, to the point that they did not even see these concepts as relevant for them:

I started volunteering and doing guided tours because I was interested in some of the objects, I wanted to learn more about them for my own interest ... I don't get a sense of, err, see myself as doing this for some civil good, I do it because it interests me (Harry – Volunteer Guide, 2009).

This may be due to what Scherger (2009) identifies where age or someone's 'life course' can have a profound impact upon how they interact with cultural practices. For some of the participants, where a large proportion were of an older age, the wider policy goals of the state may have seemed irrelevant to their own interests and hence their desire not to see such participation lead to anything else. It could also suggest that within the concept of soft-discipline there is sufficient leeway for alternative interpretations to form – this does not represent resistance, but a more personalised and personally advantageous reasoning to participation.

These processes of inclusion and the role of cultural work thus created another interesting theme that arose from the interview data. This was the sense that for some of the

participants involved, they had used such processes to rework the previously delineated patterns of involvement for their own personal benefit and welfare. Drawing upon Katz's (2004) ideas regarding *'resilience, reworking and resistance'*, and more specifically focusing on some of the Altered Images participants who had altogether different motivations and desires for taking part, the specific interest in participation reflected a desire to use the project and to rework the mechanisms to help them overcome various issues in their lives. Many of the quotes showed a real sense of agency in why participants chose to take part. They were making the decisions about which projects to get involved with and at which point they had been involved enough. Thus, their participation largely negated the local state's desires for the project. It was their own choice to take part in such processes, and they only took what they wanted from the process. In thinking back to Cruikshank (1999) and to consider Cooke and Kothari (2001), who looked at similar issues in relation to development, they suggest that a different set of power relations and outcomes are present. For Cooke and Kothari (2001), within development practice that seeks to improve the lives of those in the developing world, they suggest that there is a tyranny of co-optation taking place so that individuals are pushed towards the goals of international organisation such as the UN or IMF. Here, a different power relationship to what they have presented can be seen to be taking place. Rather than most examples of participation showing some form of co-optation, here, by reworking the processes in which they have chosen to take part, these individuals were able to use such cultural assets to benefit themselves on their own terms in spite of the wider ambitions of such projects.

In this context, the use of the term resistance would be too strong for the unwillingness of participants to be enticed into the wider policy goals. Therefore, Katz's (2004) suggestion of *'reworking'*, a coping strategy in an ever-demanding neo-liberal world, becomes a useful alternative to think about the positioning of participants in the museum and the micro-processes of social practice that have taken place. This gives a very different interpretation to the analysis given in the chapter and by Cruikshank (1999), Le Grand (2003) or Dean (2004), as it shows a greater sense of agency to those who would be considered to be socially excluded or isolated from their cultural entitlements. There is a sense that in the empirical data there is both co-optation and reworking taking place simultaneously, where the outcomes are dependent on the agency of the subject. In referring these power relations back to how power was framed in Chapter Three, this reflects the entangled nature of such relations (Sharp *et al*, 2000) as they play out in the museum. It also highlights what Foucault (Walzer, 1983) suggested when denoting a pluralistic view of power as potentially enabling and dominating. As was previously stated: *'The individual, with his [sic.] identity and characteristics, is the product of a relation of power'* (Foucault, 1980:74). Hence, this suggests the museum may have the ability to

have a transformative or civilising effect upon the citizen, but this does not necessarily mean that this happens in the same way for everyone. Therefore, despite both local and national policy desires suggesting that the museum can be a highly influential agent, the extent to which it can truly make a difference with regards an agenda focused upon social inclusion will always be limited (Tlili, Gewirtz and Cribb, 2007).

## 6.4 – Conclusion

The examination of the internal processes of how the staff at GM have tried to implement policy relating to social inclusion and citizenship has highlighted that such work operates in a multi-faceted way. Three distinct case studies have shown how such work can be conducted through quite varying approaches. In using the framing that Cruikshank (1999) presents, an understanding of GM and the museum as a space can be produced which shows how it has been designed to ‘empower’. By depicting these relationships, the chapter has shown that the state and GM has sought to position its museums as socially responsible agents within the city. In doing this, a discourse has developed where the museum is positioned as both instrumental and constitutive, as its soft-disciplining power attempts to have a transformative effect (Duncan, 1995). This was shown in the connection between participation in museum activities leading to a subsequent growth in civic pride, and was revealed in each case study example. It showed that cultural participation could produce many of the benefits that GL was hoping to achieve with its description of cultural entitlements (see Section 5.3.2). Through the soft-disciplining power of the museum, certain power relations and social practices did produce the outcomes that museum and GL staff wanted to achieve. An example of this was Goldie’s desire to see his group of Adult Learners receive the recognition they deserved as citizens of Glasgow, which was achieved by the acknowledgement and praise given to the group at their exhibition opening. This was also evidenced in the discussions with other participants and volunteers who, through their involvement, could trace real personal benefits from taking part. This was articulated in a variety of ways through the gaining of more confidence, friends (social capital), increased knowledge, appreciation of art (cultural capital) and strategies for dealing with longer-term mental problems that some faced. These all showed how the museum could have a highly positive outcome on the lives of individuals, and for some this led to a greater connection with the city and its cultural infrastructure.

Concurrently, participants also showed how such discourses could be reworked to suit individual aims. This represented the entangled nature of such power relations, as power was shown to be highly enabling for individuals who were able to circumvent the co-option of a governmental agenda. Here the soft-disciplinary agenda was shown to allow other

possibilities for participants to be developed; their agency reworked many of the overarching aims as they harnessed such policy intentions for their own personal benefit. This side-stepped the wider governmental agendas that had been described in the policy documentation, and they did not make connections between their involvement and any feeling of civic pride. For those participants, the museum offered activities that served their personal motivations and desired outcomes which had nothing to do with the wider aspirations of the state.

Finally, to open discussion on the projects further is to consider the ways in which they are limited in terms of their potential to enact genuine change with regards to producing a more socially inclusive society. New Labour's aim for its application in museums was to use the museum as a space for education and to target marginalised groups by engaging them in cultural activity. The purpose was to make marginalised groups more active, so that they could, firstly, help themselves and, secondly, help the competitive position of the state. The solution was supposedly 'win-win' (Giddens, 1998) in following these case studies. Activity did produce a number of benefits for participants, but seeing how this directly links beyond their personal well-being to those wider goals of social inclusion seems difficult. Many felt more invested in the city or better represented, but this did not massively change their lives beyond this. Their participation potentially produced a symbolic change, but assessing how this then provided longer-term impact proved much more difficult to link back to their museum involvement. As was discussed in the Altered Images group, despite the attempts of Community Learning to see this participation continue into further learning, only one member of the group actually followed up on this option and even this proved to be very difficult for her despite her keenness. Her participation made her far more confident but it could not then help her to maintain a job, raise a child, pay for and attend college. This led to disappointment for her when she could not enrol that September due to unfortunate timing and the wider difficulties she faced<sup>71</sup>. Projects such as these have been shown to be worthwhile for individuals who take part, but at the same time, contra to the policy documentation, they are very limited in terms of their reach and their ability to create greater inclusion. In stressing the limitations to GM's work the chapter has highlighted the difficulty in engaging with the concept of social inclusion. In doing this the chapter has highlighted how the problems created by social exclusion are both multi-dimensional and deeply embedded problems, affecting the elderly, the young, ethnically distinct groups, the unemployed *et cetera*. In following the projects conducted by GM, there has been a very consistent understanding to the multiple ways in which social exclusion appears as they have attempted to become more socially engaged with society.

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<sup>71</sup> This was discovered in an informal follow up chat with the participant and information passed to me by Paul Goldie (Community Learning).

## Chapter 7 – The Museum, City Enhancement and Regeneration Discourse



Figure 7.1 – Drawing courtesy of Robert Thompson.

### 7.1 – Introduction

Museums have become widely used in the promotion of the city. In this chapter I explore the processes underpinning the creation of the newest museum in Glasgow, the Riverside Museum. Its development directly addresses urban regeneration and promotion, goals that do not necessarily fit easily with social inclusion. Besides looking at how museums are used to promote the city, this chapter will also consider the perceived benefits that the opening of the Riverside Museum will bring to the city in 2011.

The Riverside Museum will replace the existing Museum of Transport, when the collection is moved and redisplayed at the new site. The site occupies a section of land at the confluence of the River Kelvin and Clyde. It is encompassed within the wider Glasgow Harbour Masterplan and it sits opposite the former ship building area of Govan (see Figure 7.2 and Appendix A to give context to the positioning of this museum). The museum is being built at a cost of £74 million and has been designed by world renowned architect Zaha Hadid. The building makes a bold statement through its choice of architect and in the impact it will have on Glasgow's skyline, as it attempts to portray a wave-like form set against the River Clyde.



**Figure 7.2 – Satellite photograph contextualising the Riverside Museum in its surrounding area.**

It has been primarily funded through a partnership between the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) and Glasgow City Council. It is hoped that through the building of the Riverside Museum, GM can repeat the success – measured in terms of visitation rate – of the Kelvingrove Museum. The Riverside Museum is an attempt to build a second ‘flagship’ museum in the city, one which will contribute significantly to the re-imagining of Glasgow in the process.

The chapter will therefore investigate the promotion of museums by the city in terms of ‘selling places’ and the tensions that the building of a museum of the scale of Riverside creates within the institutional discourses. This will be developed from interviews with officials from Glasgow City Council (GCC), Glasgow Life (GL) and Glasgow Museums (GM) and will consider the different perspectives that each of these institutions has with regards to how they view the museum’s remit. The chapter will split into two main sections; the first will consider the ‘external projections’ of the project made by key city

elites when talking about the potential of the museum, as throughout the interviews there was a sense in which they chose to talk and envisage the museum; a clear sense of museums projecting an outward 'identity' or image to both investors and the local community (Kearns and Philo, 1993). In dealing with these external projections, the section will consider more explicitly the city enhancement agenda that is present in Glasgow; how city elites legitimize the building of the museum; what role museums are seen to have in the regeneration of Glasgow in terms of 'selling the city'; and, finally, a consideration of the architectural statement that the Riverside Museum makes about the city.

The second section will move to consider the 'internal processes' that the creation of the Riverside museum has fashioned through the production of the new museum's interior. This focuses upon the governance of the project in relation to the production of internal museum spaces and how these spaces have been negotiated, thus considering how external projections and demands have generated definite repercussions for practitioners working to research, plan and create exhibits for the new museum. This section will consider four main themes with regards to these processes; neo-liberalism as a disciplining force upon its advocate practitioners, the pressure of completion, the deskilling of the curator and the changing of display.

What this chapter aims to show is that the promotion of museums in Glasgow and the creation of the Riverside Museum is a highly conflicted process, in which competing aims, concepts, visions and ideologies become pitted against one another in the process of city making. These different perspectives form an assemblage from which the urban cityscape is derived. This assemblage then is as much a product of Glasgow as it is of elsewhere, in that the regeneration of Glasgow is driven from both a sense of local civic pride to produce the 'good city', but is also greatly influenced by actions beyond the city over which it has no control, examples being changes in global and national economies, private enterprise, policy discourse or changing political administrations. As Massey (2005) would argue, the creation of place is not one that happens in one locale that is devoid of outside influence but one that is influenced and intrinsically linked into the world around.

## **7.2 – External Projections**

As chapter five made clear, since the 1980s Glasgow has been keen to promote a carefully contrived image of itself. This has attempted to focus upon the 'positives' that the city has to offer to inhabitants, visitors and investors whilst glossing over the 'negatives'. Central to this process has been changing the city's built environment in order to reinvent the city's economy, one outcome of which is to remould it from an industrial landscape of

decay and decline to a post-industrial landscape of progress and promise. The concept of 'external projections' thus refers to the outward projections that these new buildings and landscapes make in this process.

### ***7.2.1 – The City Enhancement Agenda***

Glasgow's self-conscious attempt to address the negative externalities of image gained from going through the processes of deindustrialisation has now been in place for around thirty years. Interviews with key individuals, whose roles have been, firstly, to build or create a 'new image' and, secondly to use this to promote the city, highlight that for them museums across the city in general, and buildings such as the Riverside Museum in particular, represent a key facet in being able to re-imagine Glasgow's built environment. This therefore involves trying to create both a physical and mental change within the city through the creation of new developments that produce new spaces, and by building such spaces it changes perceptions of the city. This is then manifested through an individual's lived experience of such a space, or branding of the city to a wider audience, in order to present a specific vision of city. Therefore within the city enhancement agenda two facets become key, the desire to plan and create new spaces within the city landscape that represent the image that the city wishes to create, and added to this is the programme of promoting that image. For both Harvey (1976) and Lefebvre (1991), this sits as part of the wider reasoning as to why cities develop as they do, for the enhancement agenda represents a central facet in the production of a city's capitalist landscape. It is a constructed 'psychological' resource for sustaining economic growth that promotes a discourse of improvement in the built environment so in turn it can utilize such landscapes. The following section will therefore consider these two parts, looking at how discourses mobilised around the decisions to build Riverside Museum developed, why there became the need for such a 'flagship' development, followed by how museums are used by the city to help aid the city's 'image'.

### ***7.2.2 – Rationalising the Flagship Museum***

Two seminal papers in terms of comprehending urban development and regeneration come from Harvey (1989) and Logan and Molotch (1987). Harvey, in one of his most cited papers, describes the shift of the city from a managerial Keynesian approach of urban development to that of the entrepreneurial city, where neo-liberal discourses become dominant and the role of the local state is cut back in order for private interests to fill the vacuum left behind. Added to this, Logan and Molotch described in their work the concept of the city as a growth machine and that a collection of interested parties, 'elites', come

together to influence the development of the city to suit their own interests. These two papers fit nicely together in that both present an argument explaining how cities are becoming far more geared to attracting capital from outside and how they find themselves in greater competition with other cities in order to attract such capital. However, what both papers neglect to consider is that although local authorities often speak with a single voice in terms of presenting their objectives to citizens, often in a manner that chooses to close down opportunities and spaces for debate which Paddison (2009) describes as a move towards the post-political, neither paper presents reasoning as to how such discourses develop within local authority services. Both papers only express the macro-economic influences that exist within a neo-liberal economy.

If we move to consider these ideas with regards to internal debate, discussion and legitimatisation within Glasgow's local authorities, specifically in the context of building a new museum, the immediate view deployed by those involved in producing the museum is that it is an entirely positive acquisition for the city that will greatly enhance the city's image. This belief has then required the development of a form of consensus over time between interested parties. However, from the interviews it became evident that almost every aspect of the museum and of the city's image is, and has been, contested. Therefore to understand this process and rationalisation further, a better theoretical guide to consider is Ruppert (2006) who uses the notion of a moralisation of conduct between those who have agency to influence the development of a city. Ruppert uses the concept of moralisation in her work to understand how the city is made and how individuals or groups develop a consensus with regards to what should be done in order to build the 'good city':

The moralisation of conduct is the basis on which dominant groups unite and consent to professional strategies and technologies of city making (2006:5).

In understanding how the 'good city' is made, Ruppert suggests that the rationale to the making of the good city is to in turn make 'good citizens'. Ruppert draws upon the work of three influential academic thinkers. She begins by framing her discussion with regards to what E.P. Thompson (1991) terms as the 'moral economy' where the economy is shaped by sets of moral judgements that become embedded. She suggests that the work of Bourdieu (1998) highlights how such morals are negotiated within organisational structures, proposing that conceptions of a neo-liberal economy is not one that is an 'anonymous mechanism' but one that is shaped by the specific interests of the dominant agents involved. Finally, Ruppert illustrates from her reading of Foucault (1980) how such mechanisms are then transmitted into those tasked with 'city making' through the creation of regimes of truth that create professional authority. This then becomes transmitted into influencing how, for example, city plans are created and drawn, how architects and

planners choose to interpret these ideas, and finally how the city is then presented to attract possible economic growth. Ruppert's work focused upon the making of 'good citizens' for economic gain in Yonge-Dundas Square in Toronto. With the example of museums being used in Glasgow, there is a different purpose (related to economic concerns) to such techniques being used, since here the local state is attempting to produce a 'cultural-moral economy' that produces citizens who will use and engage with museums for the purpose of building greater civic investment. Part of this process is therefore the production of iconic spaces in the city that citizens may want to visit.

Within Glasgow, and surrounding the discourses relating to the Riverside Project, all these mechanisms can be seen to be in operation. In making the 'good city', Alistair Macdonald, acting head of Glasgow's Development and Regeneration Services (planning), is clear in his belief in the use of museums within Glasgow and how they help the city's regeneration:

There are a few different things there. You have got tourism, regeneration, the re-use of old buildings. A whole range of different things. If you look at the Gallery of Modern Art, that's a major regeneration issue for the whole of the city centre. It is a very important visitor attraction; it puts Glasgow on the tourist map. Kelvingrove, one of our most successful museums in the Country. In Nitshill, in the south side of the city is a major store for all the items that we can't actually show and again that is in an area which is relatively deprived and that gives access and helps the regeneration of that area. So it can be used in a variety of different ways to regenerate an area but also to drive the policies of a city council towards visitors, conferences, making the place an exciting place to be in (Alistair Macdonald – Acting Head of Development and Regenerations Services, 2009).

Macdonald places considerable emphasis upon the ability of a museum to attract people to specific areas and that their creation will have follow-on benefits for the city. The decision to build a new Museum of Transport fits within this thinking and represents the latest and most public flagship acquisition for the city. As Macdonald suggests, there is a long lineage of building museums in the city, as well as other key forms of city infrastructure, and tying them to regeneration agendas. Consequently, such developments follow what the city council and planners consider to be a progressive lineage of development, marking at each step Glasgow's move away from its industrial past towards its post-industrial future. For those who envisioned its creation, the Riverside Museum represents this next step of development. One of the primary protagonists in this process was then Glasgow City Council Leader, Charlie Gordon<sup>72</sup>, as Mark O'Neil summarises:

The Riverside museum was the idea of the leader of the Council Charlie Gordon. He explicitly wanted a major visitor attraction on the Clyde to drive

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<sup>72</sup> Who has subsequently moved to the Scottish Parliament to become an MSP.

regeneration and he decided that moving the museum of transport was the one that it should be and that it should be transport. There were other options. One of the ones we discussed was making it more about urban design and Victorian Glasgow so we would have more about decorative arts and Macintosh and what it meant today but after that, being given the instruction, we just got on with it (Mark O'Neil – Head of GM, 2009).

O'Neil's quote firstly highlights the way in which there was debate surrounding what the museum should be and that, at the start, it was not necessarily going to focus upon moving the transport collection. He also shows how Gordon's power as GCC leader was able to shape the project and to place it upon GM rather than them specifically asking for a new museum. Gordon backs his convictions further when asked about his motivations in pressing for the Riverside Museum. For Gordon, the city's development is progressive, thus he attempts to implement various macro planning initiatives upon the city in order to create change in Glasgow for what he sees as the better:

When I became leader of the council, I was determined that I would empower my colleagues to do various things but I was also equally determined that I myself was going to take a lead on one or two big things, one of them was really a new thing, the regeneration of the Clyde Waterfront (Charlie Gordon – MSP, 2009).

The quote above firstly highlights the framing in which the Riverside Museum would be built, and a primary goal of GCC at that time, the notion of reconnecting the River Clyde with the city. Secondly, it also shows a sense of power and agency that Gordon had as city leader, by suggesting that he desired to 'empower' those around him. Therefore, through his vision for the city, he was able to mobilise and establish the legitimisation of a specific concept confirming his belief in reconnecting the city to the river. As he agrees, this only became possible after the more important process of regenerating Glasgow's city centre:

So by 1999 when I took over as leader we had only quite recently secured the future of the city centre, as the city region's key retail and cultural core and we were anxious to make sure it was embedded given the controversial decision to allow Braehead<sup>73</sup> to go ahead, because I had seen in other cities what big out of town shopping centres had done...that meant we could look at some of the other big physical challenges in the city (Charlie Gordon – MSP, 2009).

This highlights the development of Glasgow as a progressive, on-going process, with one development after another which in turn leads to a better city being (re)created. The shift

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<sup>73</sup> Glasgow's main retail area is situated on and around Buchanan Street, in the city centre. Braehead was an out of town shopping development that had the potential to challenge the city centre's supremacy (see Appendix A).

from a focus on the city centre meant that other projects could be tackled across the city<sup>74</sup>.

For Gordon this meant a focus primarily upon the river corridor:

So that left the river that had been moribund since it had been de-industrialised...so in terms of physical landuse planning the river had been a barrier and we were trying to turn it on its axis to make it permeable...so we started to look for partnerships because we were quite clear that 90% of investment would have to come from the private sector and in the case of the museum you mentioned one of our largest and earliest partners was then Clydeport not part of Peel Ports...we were also quite clear that what Glasgow Harbour<sup>75</sup> presented us with was an opportunity to build on the success of the existing transport and also to tie in the river as a connector back to the city centre and our Greenwich Village that is Byres Road<sup>76</sup> (Charlie Gordon – MSP, 2009).

Gordon moves to highlight further issues with regards to his specific ideas upon the enhancement of Glasgow. There is, firstly, a sense of building connections across the city making the different areas seem and feel more connected; in this case promoting a connection to the wealthiest part of the city, which would have benefits for anyone investing nearby. Secondly, this shows how the city attempted to finance such ambitions and how a project like this needed the influence of private investment to actually see it implemented. The Riverside Museum sits upon land that was previously owned by Clydeport and subsequently by Peel Ports. It fits within Peel Ports' wider regeneration project for that area, the Glasgow Harbour Masterplan (GHMP). This also highlights trends which Squires (1991) identifies as development of the 'private city' and Wu (2003) sees as a creep towards a 'privatisation of culture' in UK cities. The GHMP wishes to further develop the site surrounding the museum with a much larger commercial and living complex<sup>77</sup>. In this context the museum then becomes a focal point within a wider strategy of regeneration that potentially has significant benefits for both the public and private sectors, as Elaine Murray, Development and Regeneration Service, comments below on the decision to move the Museum of Transport:

It was part of the wider ambition to have the museum down at the riverfront and integrate it into the Glasgow harbour project. So it was identified as a site way way back when Glasgow harbour project was being planned so it was always going to be moved (Elaine Murray – Development and Regeneration Service, 2009).

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<sup>74</sup> Gordon also mentioned the completion of the M74 link as essential in dealing with issues of deprivation in the East End, though the extent to which a new road will really benefit the East End is probably questionable, but not one for this thesis.

<sup>75</sup> Is a redevelopment of a formerly industrial area on the river Clyde, primarily with high end apartments, see Figure 6.1 and Appendix A.

<sup>76</sup> Byers Road is situated at the heart of Glasgow's West End, the most affluent area in the city. The road contains various bars, shops and restaurants, see Appendix A.

<sup>77</sup> Though at this moment in time due to the downturn in the global economic market, this part of the plan has been put on hold despite the museum still going ahead.

The museum here is also seen to have an economic benefit for the area with its ability to attract people to a locale. This reflects what Zukin (1996:226) considers to be the 'cultural turn' in the capitalist economies of cities. This was something Macdonald made very clear in an earlier quote with regards to its role within the city as the museum becomes a footing to boost economic development. For Peel Ports the placement of a museum within the GHMP can only help to bolster the attraction of the area for consumers, and for the city council it represents planning gain where wider objectives with regards to the creation of place and image can be achieved. This is also reflected in the views of Martin Bellamy, Head of Research at GM, with his view that this met the wishes of developers and city officials rather than the long term aspirations of the museum service:

We had never really planned to have a new museum of transport. It was something that was brought to us as part of the Riverside development. The Riverside was being redeveloped and they wanted a focus, something to ground the redevelopment in the past, provide a bit of heritage, provide a landmark building, provide an attraction to draw people into the development and so this, it was something that was imposed from above. That makes it sound like a bad thing but that is not necessarily a bad thing (Martin Bellamy – Head of Research at GM, 2008).

Thirdly, there is an underlying discourse in all of Gordon's comments regarding the river, which is specifically mentioned in his previous quote and is also reflected by others. This is that the river needs to be reclaimed for the city in order to move further away from an industrial past. This reflects the arguments of Hewison (1983) and Wright (2009) when discussing the use of heritage as a way of dealing with economic change. If left alone, the riverbanks of the Clyde would represent a physical and mental 'blot' upon the landscape due to their inactivity, which would remind the city in a very powerful way of what it had lost:

I think it's the final testament to the fact that after all these years of regeneration we can now bear to re-habilitate our river again. Because the river was the symbol of our great past and has become the symbol of our great failure in the 60s and 70s and now again we can look at it and we can regenerate and restore and I think the Riverside Museum is a symbol of that too (Baillie Liz Cameron – 2009).

Consequently, the framing that Gordon helped create, followed by Cameron above, was then transmitted to officials who mobilised a need to open up these spaces for redevelopment in order to enhance the city's image. This meant that under this logic, after sufficient development in the city centre had taken place, these landscapes had to be dealt with in some way:

I think it's the river actually. We are trying to get activity back to the river and housing just doesn't do that on its own. We have turned our back on the river

since all the industries left, not that we ever did have access to the river anyway when all the dock yards were there because people didn't want to go down to the docks but we are trying to get access, permeability, we are trying to get actual river users to use the river itself (Elaine Murray - Development and Regeneration Service, 2009).

Murray, in her role as a city planner, reflects this need, and the museum then becomes one way in which the city can symbolically re-connect with the river. This does not mean that some were not wary of these linkages being made. For Bellamy the location and nature of the building created some contradictions:

I think they have destroyed an awful lot of the heritage and infrastructure of the Clyde and the history of Glasgow, in kind of ploughing down the whole of the historic buildings and putting up shiny steel and glass buildings but that's probably another debate (Martin Bellamy – Head of Research at GM, 2008).

Nevertheless, the desire to reconnect the city with the river, but also to use a piece of cultural infrastructure to do so, represents two long-running discourses within urban policy. The first discourse is that of waterside locations to place key infrastructure and the second being the use of the cultural sector to aid regeneration strategies. Through the process of creating new cultural spaces within the city, there is a further envisaging as to what the city should be and how people should behave in such spaces. The shift to using cultural infrastructure has been one that has been significant in Glasgow since the late 1980s and coincides with the wider policy discourse of the last twenty to thirty years. This began primarily in North America with civic-boosterism being promoted by cities such as Baltimore, which attempted regenerating part of their old industrial centre through the redevelopment of the industrial inner harbour areas into a retail and tourist location (Hula, 1990). It has also been further pronounced as a cure-all for cities with the more recent and high profile building of the Guggenheim in Bilbao, which gave further credence to such methods of regeneration (MacClancy, 1997). These approaches have also been quickly adopted by UK cities such as Manchester and Leeds through harnessing their canal networks to place buildings and by Newcastle using its waterfront locations to install the Baltic (Miles, 2005a). What this then reflects about Glasgow's development is that it is not doing these programmes alone, and that the making of place within a city is reflected in what other places do, especially those with an industrial heritage. Following Wright's (2009) argument, the re-appropriation of the river, which has involved the building of other cultural buildings<sup>78</sup> along its banks, has attempted to place Glasgow's industrial history as something that is firmly in its past. Martin Bellamy touches upon this in his quote above, since, by the removal of the vast majority of the industrial infrastructure, by placing it in

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<sup>78</sup> Locating buildings such as the SECC, BBC, STV, Science Museum, Glenlee Tall Ship, a cinema complex, hotels.

museums or by leaving tokenistic remnants behind (see figure 7.3 and Hewison, 1986), the city is able to plan a new economic future.



**Figure 7.3 – The Finnieston Crane left behind from the ship yard that was situated here – courtesy of Peter Hall (2009).**

Consequently, the rehabilitation of the river, as the quotes above state is also about a rehabilitation of the people towards a different economic approach for the city. As Charlie Gordon makes clear about the economic restructuring caused by de-industrialisation:

We're trying to create a place for people out of the river and it had always been a place just for industry ... that's what industry did, when we worked in heavy engineering and ship yards, we built things. And we sold them in exchange for hard currency. I view a tourist the same way I view a manufactured export, there are probably 30,000 plus jobs in the city of Glasgow dependent on tourism. There is an inverted snobbery about a lot of Glaswegians about tourism as they see it as servile industry and all the rest of it. But that's something culturally that we're going to have to change because too many livelihoods depend on it (Charlie Gordon – MSP, 2009).

In all the cases of waterfront and cultural regeneration, the actors each demonstrate the conflicting nature of such programmes and the contradictions they create in terms of the uneven development which they produce in each of their locales. This is especially true when considering how such projects actually benefit those who are most disadvantaged within the city (Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993). Key actors involved in the regeneration of Glasgow will argue that such (re)building can be legitimised in Glasgow because of the potential for it to make a difference to the overall population. This stems in part from the belief that the citizens of Glasgow have an increased sense of ownership over their

museums which means they are more likely to take advantage of such facilities. Thus, when confronted with a critique that disputes the ‘trickle-down’ benefits presumed from building the Riverside Museum, they state a similar defence in order to avoid such accusations, as expressed by the Head of GM:

It's not, you know we never had a militant period like Liverpool so it's communitarian rather than revolutionary and the museums are part of that tradition about people in Glasgow feel[ing] they own their museums. I mean people in Glasgow are surprised that, for example, anybody would be intimidated by the Kelvingrove (Mark O'Neil – Head of GM, 2009).

The ‘cultural turn’ also reflects the city's own historical experiments with using culture to improve the city's economy through attempting to reposition the city's image (Miles, 2005b). The Garden Festival in 1988 and hosting the Capital of Culture in 1990 left an indelible impression on city elites as they saw the potential<sup>79</sup> that such place promotion could have for the economy. The ‘cultural turn’ during this time has also been reinforced by a variety of ‘academic’ voices, most specifically the work of Florida (2002), meaning that cultural infrastructure is considered essential to building the creative economy:

I think that also, the thing about Richard Florida, I mean he describes how things work and then he extrapolates policy recommendations. So if you get lots of small coffee shops, in a gay friendly city with media facilities, you will generate creativity. The assumption that if you create small coffee shops you will bring in these things is, there are issues about cause and effect there about whether you can leverage this, but I think if you are trying to create a healthy prosperous city, it just makes complete sense to try to manage the cultural resources you've got so they contribute to that (Mark O'Neil – Head of GM, 2009).

Interesting in itself, Mark O'Neil shows how a US academic with a global reach has an influence upon the city's cultural planning. This also relates to a sense that Glasgow sits in competition with other locations (something Florida also sees as important in terms of ranking a city's ‘creativity’) and therefore a rationale develops that the city needs certain infrastructure to keep up, thus providing further reasoning for the need to build a new museum. Various interviews showed how city officials in some way felt that they were in competition with other locations, specifically in the UK (notice focus on Edinburgh below) but also across Europe. Kirsten McGurk, a marketing officer, reflected her perception towards the positioning of Glasgow in the UK:

I think possibly with other cities in the UK, we probably are competing with those because Glasgow and Edinburgh, and this is my perception but people are interested in Edinburgh because it is the capital city and it has a castle, whereas Glasgow competes, and is better placed for shopping, in terms of

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<sup>79</sup> Despite the conflicts created by such events highlighted by the ‘Culture Wars’ surrounding the Capital of Culture year (see Mooney, 2004).

eating, nightlife and theatres...we are definitely competing with other UK cities outside of London for tourists to come (Kirsten McGurk – Marketing Officer for Glasgow Museums CSG, 2009).

The views of councillor Bailie Liz Cameron further emphasizes this point with regards to inter-urban competition and the desire to have cultural infrastructure within the city:

I mean, when you think about it, our ancestors who built us the ships on the Clyde also laid down the foundation which any capital city, and this is the only time I'll mention our sister city, any capital city would be proud to have; three universities, the most prestigious art school in the country, look at the National Conservatoire – you know Edinburgh doesn't have a music school, we have it, the Dance School of Scotland, Scottish Ballet, Scottish Opera, all the national companies bar one here. So we have all that before we even start with the Riverside.

Within the words of Cameron there is a strong belief in cultural institutions as she sees them as giving a sense of 'culture' to the city. This has multiple uses for an enhancement agenda, in that it can contribute to the physical regeneration of the city, as in the case of the new Scottish Ballet headquarters (See figure 7.4).



**Figure 7.4 – The Scottish Ballet – one of the most recent cultural redevelopments for the city.**

They help create a sense of civic pride, and they create 'selling points' for the city to use when promoting itself as a location to tourists and investors. Finally, having such institutions allows Glasgow to remain competitive in comparison to other cities.

Therefore, within the city enhancement agenda for Glasgow, the process under which the legitimisation and the building of cultural infrastructure takes place happens through a multifaceted process. It is a process that takes place across different geographical scales and at the different levels of local government. This in turn leads to the development of the city's 'moral economy' through the decisions that city elites choose to make as they attempt to build their vision of the 'good city', which aims to appeal to both citizens and tourists. The decision to build a new museum therefore reflects how all these varying influences came together in creating a strategy that is considered best for Glasgow.

### **7.2.3 – Selling the City**



**Figure 7.5 – Glasgow's first place marketing initiative in 1983.**



**Figure 7.6 – The current place marketing logo for the city.**

Beyond the building of the physical landscape and the insertion of a flagship museum to enhance a city's image, one of the key elements in maintaining and presenting image has been the use of marketing to sell the city; in this case the using of museums as a place that can specifically promote the image of the city. Place marketing has had a relatively long history but for post-industrial cities this is a slightly more recent venture which has produced varied results for different places (Gold and Ward, 1994). Gold and Ward talk of the difficulty early place marketers had in finding ways to connect with audiences due to the difficulty of selling a place as opposed to a product, which often led to very confused messages being produced. This is a process that over time place marketers have become much more adept at doing, where place has been effectively commoditised by packaging it to citizens and probably more importantly to tourists. Figure 7.5 was Glasgow's first real attempt at rebranding itself through a marketing strategy, with Figure 7.6 representing the current strategy. They differ greatly in terms of external message and statement with regards the city. The first gives a sense of Glasgow's progression and improvement as a city, whereas the second makes a much more bold statement of self-confidence about the

city. The use of place marketing in Glasgow, as in other cities, has become directly focused upon the manipulation of perception and the focusing of a consumer's gaze upon the positives of the city. As Holcomb (1993) states, the entire point of all place marketing is to:

Construct a new image of the place to replace either vague or negative images previously held by current or potential residents, investors and visitors (Holcomb 1993:133).

Therefore, within the place marketing strategy currently in use by the City Marketing Bureau (CMB), which primarily aims at those outwith the city<sup>80</sup>, there is an invention of narrative around existing spaces in the city in order to portray a specific conception of lifestyle and design. There is also a sense within the branding of the city (Glasgow: Scotland with Style) that there is an allusion to a sense of exclusivity about what the city can offer the visitor. A look through the images promoted on their website (shown below in Figure 7.7) and their promotional literature characterize this.



**Figure 7.7 – Three images taken from the seeglasgow.com website showing the types of visuals used to promote the city by City Marketing Bureau.**

<sup>80</sup> The 'Scotland with Style' signs often adorn many of the main streets and attractions of Glasgow.

These pictures very much reflect the 'designscape' (Julier, 2005) that Glasgow is trying to create through its branding of the city. The images in Figure 7.7 purposefully convey a message about the city that is clean, fun, youthful, white, heterosexual and safe. Julier (2005) suggests that the term designscape is a term encapsulating the decisions made by elites with regards to marketing and branding through 'two-dimensional platforms'. This includes flyers, websites, copywrited symbols, adverts *et cetera*. For Julier these media act as 'hegemonic signifiers' for the city. Therefore the images above and the wider branding presented by the CMB represent directly the singular image that the city wishes to portray. This is reflected in the views of the head of the City Marketing Bureau, Tom Rice:

Our job basically is to win business for Glasgow, and assist in winning business for Glasgow, and a lot of that revolves around the grand proposition of 'Glasgow: Scotland with Style' and a lot of the time that means winning business, be that events business, convention business, inward investment anywhere where perceptions of Glasgow have a part to play in that decision making process (Tom Rice – Head of City Marketing Bureau, 2009).

For Rice, image is an essential in its ability to promote the city; to create the necessary 'perceptions of Glasgow' in order to attract investment; an investment that is considered to benefit all, and represents a fundamental belief for Rice in his practice, that investment into Glasgow ultimately benefits everyone, which in itself highlights one of the key 'truths' in city promotion. There is a belief in a 'trickledown effect' where the neo-liberal market will benefit everyone. Kearns and Philo (1993:3) highlight this dual purpose to 'selling places', as those who 'manage' such policies attempt to promote place in order to bring benefit to both the economic and the social. Therefore the creation of a brand that suggests some form of 'exclusivity' immediately shows who the city wishes to attract with its marketing and what the city wishes to hide away or gloss over. This is also reflected in the policy discourses surrounding the cultural development of cities (see DCMS (2004a) as an example), as museums fall under the remit of cultural industries where an emphasis is placed upon 'culture' to drive regeneration. This has been especially popular in post-industrial cities, as one of the biggest difficulties in place promotion is creating a unique identity that stands out from all others in the market. Thus the only unique asset that each city may possess is its cultural difference, as Bailie Liz Cameron comments:

The whole cultural world is one way in which we found that our city was different – we could sell it through that. But I believe that we always knew that we couldn't do that in isolation: that the museums had to remain as the heart of our city (Bailie Liz Cameron – 2009).

Cameron shows how the city has had to use its 'culture' and cultural industries to help drive the city's regeneration and for her the museum represents a key location for

implementing this approach. The museum is then a very useful attribute to have in selling the city. Thus there is a need for certain landscapes to be in place in order to base marketing upon and the building of a new museum gives a local authority the opportunity to invest in a municipal building which can make a wider statement about the city. Janice Lane, below, places the Riverside Museum within the wider context of the city's aspirations:

The Riverside is another one and I think you can look at the approach that Glasgow has taken in reinventing itself from being a dirty industrial, a quite frightening city which is why nobody would go there to being a place where people would come. You can think of Glasgow and you can think of art, you think of music, you think of something other than you know than its history, its industrial history from the 50's. That model you can see repeated in places like Barcelona as well and in Bilbao with the Guggenheim and what we do is very much linked up to that on a local level (Janice Lane – Head of Learning and Access, 2009).

In the selling of place in cities, the museum then becomes one location that can be used to create a clean, packaged and commoditised image of a city. Bellamy also reflects this view in terms of the wider strategies for selling the city, highlighting the relationship between place marketing and the role of the museum:

The Mr Happy campaign and the Burrell Collection both started in 1983 and I think there is a definite connection there in the whole perception of what the city is and where it's going and what the city wants other people to view it as. It is really, really important and I think the Riverside is kind of a reflection of it (Martin Bellamy – Head of Research at GM, 2008).

Therefore the Riverside Museum has an immense potential to promote the city through its image as it tries to escape from what early attempts to sell places suffered from, as Gold and Ward (1994) described, which was not having something tangible to consume. This is because in having such visually appealing architecture, a commodified landscape can be used to create a popular imagination of the city that can be promoted through various media, can sell place and potentially change perspectives. Further to this and beyond just visual interpretations of a city, the museum and its exhibits in themselves also offer a mechanism through which people's perspectives upon a place can be changed. Kirsten McGurk and Kirsten Tuttle below, both highlight this in discussing how Glasgow's Museums fit within this relationship:

For tourists, I would say it probably gives tourists a different perspective on the city. Because I think out there overseas there is still a perception of Glasgow as being a dirty, industrial and difficult place to live. When people come here for the first time they get a sense of a completely different city from what their perceptions were. And I think our museums really help to reinforce that (Kirsten McGurk – Marketing Officer for Glasgow Museums CSG, 2009).

I think even within the UK, and I know we've sometimes had people coming from London or Birmingham or whatever and I think they find even then the city, the museums really challenges their perceptions of what Glasgow is (Kirsten Tuttle – Marketing Manager CSG , 2009).

McGurk and Tuttle both suggest that the museum offers an interface with the public that allows the city a space to express the image that it wants the public to see and think about. In the previous chapter there was a discussion concerning the soft-paternalistic powers of the museum in a Foucauldian sense, but here is a different usage of the museum and its institutional power: the museum is not used directly to control but to internalise within visitors a different understanding to the city around them. Hence, in the 'creation' and selling of place, the image of a museum is essential in attracting people to the city, which helps to further legitimise the use of iconic architecture in museum design (see Section 7.2.4).

However, in creating and commoditising an image of Glasgow that is sanctioned and promoted by city authorities, there is a determined choice to cover up the less attractive or less sellable sides to the city. Within these choices, as Bourdieu (1991) would suggest, there is a form of *symbolic power* being used by what the city chooses to legitimise in terms of promoting Glasgow and what it chooses to hide. This is normal in the process of marketing place, but what becomes difficult is when this is compared to the aspirations of GM and its social inclusion agenda. As has been shown, there is an emphasis upon inclusion and access for all which conceptually does not fit with the symbolic image CMB wishes to create. In Section 7.3, how this relationship of civic boosterism sits against an inclusive agenda will be discussed by considering the tensions placed upon museum practice.

#### **7.2.4 – Iconic Architecture and the Flagship Museum**

From the inception of the Riverside Museum there has been a keen desire amongst city elites to make a bold statement in terms of architectural design for the city. This directly relates to some of the themes discussed previously in terms of place promotion, but the building and its design alone make a specific statement about the process of how museums and their designs become legitimised by city elites. The images (following) show a contemporary design with what is intended to be a wave-like structure that intends to suggest movement.



Figure 7.8 – Street level view – [museuminsider.co.uk](http://museuminsider.co.uk).

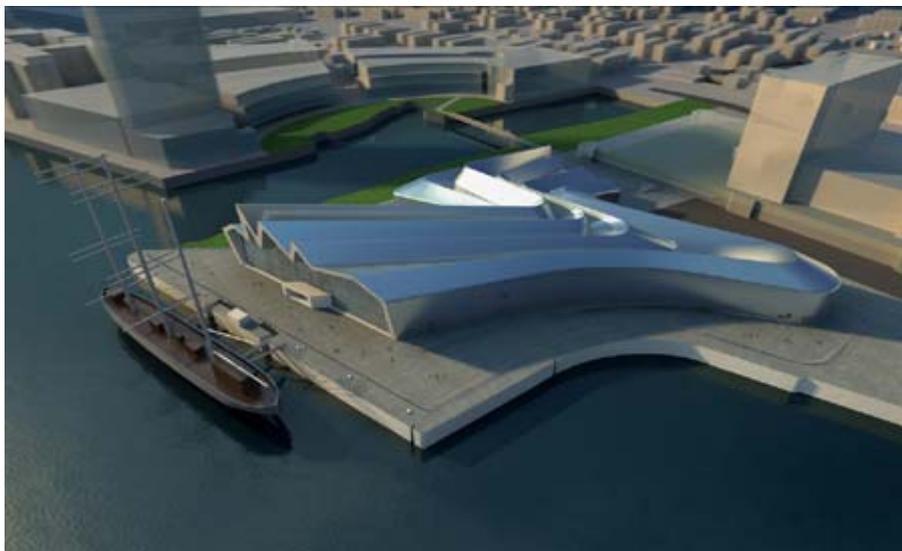


Figure 7.9 – Aerial view – [museuminsider.co.uk](http://museuminsider.co.uk).



Fig 7.10 – Museum under construction (Personal Photo – February 2010).

From the interviews two distinct opinions towards the architectural style were apparent, mainly split between those who largely sanctioned and pushed for the building (local politicians, place marketers, planners) and those who have the job of assembling and designing the museum (GM staff). The opinions largely reflected their professional positioning as each group understood differently what the museum was there for and the statement they wanted it to make for the city.

For those who initially championed the museum, their emphasis in terms of understanding the museum's architectural statement reflected largely what has been written about previously in this chapter. For them it was the next piece in Glasgow's progression that would help further change its image, with talk often focusing upon how the museum could create a 'Guggenheim effect'. Employing a 'starchitect' such as Zaha Hadid to design the museum also conveys a level of artistic and cultural status for the building and the city's image, as a high profile architect contributes to the importance of the building in its own right. In designing the museum, these beliefs meant that the final design would have to fit certain criteria in terms of the visual statement it would make. Functionally and aesthetically it was influenced by Gehry's Guggenheim, a chrome building on a waterfront location. Bailie Cameron gave her opinion as to what this museum is saying externally:

It's reminding everybody across the world that we've got, well basically the balls to commission a hugely controversial but marvellous, wonderful architect, and it's an iconic building on our riverside which has a connection with our riverside because of the ships (Bailie Liz Cameron – 2009).

In spite of Bailie Cameron's claim, the museum could not be considered unique though it represents a degree of confidence in the remaking of the city. As MacDonald suggests:

They present an image that we were saying that if we are going to put new buildings in, then we are willing to experiment with new designs and modern buildings (Alistair Macdonald – Acting Head of Development and Regenerations Services, 2009).

Cameron's statement further emphasises the belief that buildings on this scale will help build the profile of the city, and therefore they interpret the museum as an iconic statement of Glasgow's future. This is something Tuttle also views as she considers the need for buildings to stand out regardless of what is actually contained within them:

I think some of the buildings in themselves, Kelvingrove is a beautiful building. Even if you're not interested in art or culture or anything in there, I think it's a building that people would quite happily just go into walk around because it's a beautiful building. I think Riverside will be another iconic building when it opens, completely different but it will be another building in of itself that is architecturally significant without the collections that are in them, I think it's

that whole package and the location, it's almost the day out element (Kirsten Tuttle – Marketing Manager CSG)

For Tuttle the museum has to be an attraction in itself, an amenity that people would wish to visit regardless of what is inside. In this sense, the iconic building can overshadow what actually is contained within it. Again in the context of Bilbao, perhaps the most consistent critique to emerge has been the failure of the museum to connect with the surrounding Basque population where just building a visually impressive museum does not guarantee success, leading some to liken the arrival of the museum in Bilbao to an alien spacecraft landing (Gomez, 1998). In Glasgow there is awareness of the shortcomings of the Bilbao approach, countering this potential problem through the insistence that the museum's focus will still be upon transport. The Museum of Transport has been historically very popular in the city, especially in crossing social demographics. The Museum of Transport received the most diverse selection of visitors when compared to the rest of the city's museums, suggesting that, despite problems of physical access to the building, it was in fact the most accessible to the widest proportion of people in the city. For this reason, despite the new grand location for the collection, it is argued the collection itself will counter the potential for the new museum not to connect with the city's population. Interestingly, although still accepting the iconic nature of the project, Murray highlights the difficulty in chasing 'iconic' architecture and, unlike others, does harbour some reservations when expressing her personal opinion:

Well I have got my own personal opinions on that. I mean it's a bit like you go to the icon building shop, you know, when you get a good architect and she just plants it in. I mean I think it probably stifles architecture in a lot of ways to go along to the icon building shop and get one of those, so I don't know if I personally am in favour of it. You know there is a lot of good architects who don't get the chance to build things because of that. But, yeah, it is to do with reputation and you know what you are kind of getting at the end of the day. You know, what kind of building you are going to get so I suppose in terms of Culture and Sport Glasgow they wanted to make a huge statement (Elaine Murray – Development and Regeneration Service, 2009).

For those who are actually tasked with assembling the new museum, a slightly different, and at times more pragmatic view of the museum, is taken in terms of how this opportunity of being given a new museum can be used and how this can benefit the collection and the visitor experience. The design for them needed to say and do more than just look good, it needed to be functional for the purposes of holding the collection, but, as Devine suggests, they also wanted a building that did not immediately suggest 'transport museum':

What we didn't want was to have a shed basically...we wanted a building that probably challenged people's preconceptions of what a transport museum would look like but as well as that we wanted a building that made some link

or recognised the landscape that it was in and maybe suggested movement (Kirsty Devine – Senior Curator Riverside Project, 2009).

Devine details what GM wanted from the building and how they want it to be viewed in the wider landscape, although there seems to be some slight contradiction in how she wishes the building to be considered. From one perspective she wishes the building to fit with the landscape and from another she wants it to reorganise its setting and the collection it will hold. MacLeod (2010) argues for an ‘ethics to museum architecture’ that intends to build museums that are sensitive towards their locales, collections and visitors, so that when such a ‘massive capital investment’ in a museum is made that it is designed to be ‘sustainable’ in a social, environmental and ethical sense. In using this term, MacLeod comprehends the contested nature of developing an ‘ethics’, but states how it could be used to think about the production of museums:

A focus on ethics and a discussion of the ethics of the built environment can provide a way in to thinking about the nature of architecture and the ways in which architecture is both an ethical pursuit and embedded – in its physical form – with ethics. These are important ideas with which to engage and the aim throughout has been to attempt to shift the often anecdotal, informal and personal discussion of museum architecture into the field of ethics or, rather (and much more satisfactorily), to draw out the ethical dimensions of museum architecture and begin to identify what might be recognised as elements of ethical consensus on museum architecture within the museums profession (2010:3).

She highlights the design and building of The National Maritime Museum in Falmouth (see Figure 7.11) as an example of a building that fits with its surrounding landscape.



**Fig 7.11 – National Maritime Museum Falmouth (Personal Photo – April 2010).**

The architectural design purposely makes attempts to complement its surroundings as it is reminiscent of a boat shed on the harbour side, whilst at the same time having various features that make it stand out. As she suggests:

This building takes the geography, local building styles and materials as well as the heritage of and future vision for Falmouth into account in its design, an approach which has added great creative depth to the process and resulted in what can only be described as a positively iconic building (2010:8).

For Macleod this willingness to fit with the landscape and to build the museum through a set of ethics, related to a sense of place, suggests a 'considerate' approach to creating museum buildings which she feels all cities should follow rather than simply chasing the obtuse fully iconic. The extent to which the Riverside Museum and views of Devine fit with an ethics of museum architecture is difficult to deduce and will only become apparent over time. For the Riverside Museum, the wave-like form suggests a link with the river and it also complements other buildings styles that have been built along the Clyde. In stating that, will its iconic nature disenfranchise previous visitors? Given that the former site for the Museum of Transport was very popular and well-visited, will the new museum appeal to members of the public in the same way? Added to this will its location within a barren brownfield site mean it becomes dislocated from the rest of the city, especially with the wider GHMP on hold. For Devine a major need for the building has been such considerations, so that it is able in some way to reflect its surroundings:

I think museums are really bad for not really recognising and interpreting their surrounding area. They are just quite inward looking (Kirsty Devine – Senior Curator Riverside Project, 2009).

For the most part there is a general agreement in GM that this design will be successful and that it fits with the museological thinking of the service. They see it as an opportunity to make the city's collections more accessible to the public, which is directly in keeping with the wider aspirations of the service, even though the new location is relatively less accessible geographically than the former Museum of Transport. The belief that the museum fits its surroundings further reflects the discourse of inclusion where the museum is not seen as focused on itself but engaged with communities around it. Clearly, it is also hoped that the museum will improve the visitor experience in comparison to the old museum. Devine stresses this when discussing the failings of the old Museum of Transport:

Your visit begins when you are in the building. It doesn't begin before and we know that museum visits really do begin long before you get through the front door but we are really restricted on what we can do outside at the moment (Kirsty Devine – Senior Curator Riverside Project, 2009).

The architectural design and the setting of the Riverside Museum therefore allows for this issue to be countered, as visually a visit to the new museum will start long before an individual enters the building. Finally, Paul Weston (Design Manager for the Riverside Museum) not only supports these views, but he also alludes to something interesting when he considers how people in the city have taken to the design:

I think we have probably done quite a good job of making that building accessible and I was down in Govan yesterday for a meeting with the Govan community and one of them in the group described the building as grandiose and I think they were being, you know a back-handed compliment in a way, but you know I am on site regularly and the structure really is fantastic (Paul Weston, Design Manager – 2009).

The '*back-handed compliment*' largely highlights the difficulty and tensions that museum buildings of this scale create. The bold statement does not necessarily fit with what the public may want from a museum and, to some, could prove to be off putting, and so in this circumstance the building design may mean a visit never actually starts.

## **7.3 – Internal Processes**

For Glasgow Museums the opportunity to reinterpret its transport collection in a new purpose-built museum has been seen as a chance to further what they consider to be their own school of museological thinking. The Riverside Museum represents a second major HLF project for GM and they have intended to build from the work and success of the redevelopment of Kelvingrove Museum, although, as has been stated earlier, this was not a project driven by GM; they had not identified a need for a new transport museum, yet GM have fully embraced the project and are striving to implement the services vision for museums, one that attempts as fully as possible to put intellectual and physical access at the centre of what the museum does. This chapter will now move to deal directly with how GM has chosen to reinterpret its collection with an agenda that is focused upon social inclusion and the ramifications that this has in terms of placing objects. What becomes interesting in this part of the chapter is that, as interviews with the project team and the curators involved progressed, a sense emerged that local governmental agendas and pressures have had great influence upon how the project has been implemented.

### ***7.3.1 – Creating access and a socially inclusive museum***

The way in which major projects within museums are developed and produced has changed greatly contemporary times and this is reflected in the changes of governance of such projects. This section will therefore consider why such changes have taken place as

GM has sought to produce the Riverside Museum. Two major influences have influenced the way the museum has developed. The first is the changing set of challenges facing all staff involved with inclusion, given the new positioning and representation of objects in producing a museum that puts at its heart a remit based upon access, and secondly the creeping influence of managerial neo-liberal discourses upon museum management and how this directly affects the governance of museums. The drive towards a socially inclusive museum has come from various voices, as was discussed in Chapter Five, and in Chapter Six it was shown how the museum has attempted to reach groups outside its walls. Here will be a consideration of how this has been implemented further with regards to the discourses that have informed the practice of creating displays and exhibits for the Riverside Project, which will open in 2011.

### ***7.3.2 – The Curator, the Object and the Visitor***

The redevelopment of the Kelvingrove Museum, which finished in 2006, had a massive influence upon taken by the shape the development of the Riverside Museum. The two projects initially overlapped with the start of the Riverside Project beginning whilst the Kelvingrove Museum was still being completed. This meant that, as the vast majority of GM staff were already working on Kelvingrove, a second project team had to be set up that brought curators in from outside the service and placed them on short term contracts, as Devine describes:

We outsourced the curatorial team because there just wasn't anybody and we were told you know people were working on Kelvingrove and we couldn't borrow back the curatorial team so we have got a much smaller team (Kirsty Devine – Senior Curator Riverside Project, 2009).

The ideological foundations in terms of approaches to the displaying of objects were firstly developed in the production of the Kelvingrove and this reflects a turn towards contemporary museological thinking in curatorial practice (see Section 2.3.1). For GM this approach was initiated with the redevelopment of the People's Palace in 1996, and over time has been developed significantly by the service. The Riverside Museum has also been shaped by this approach which has meant GM has chosen to display objects in a manner that focuses upon increasing access both physically and intellectually. This has meant that over time, and continuing into the Riverside Museum, the social practices of curatorship have been reworked so that the process is less 'top down'<sup>81</sup>. This has meant a refocusing in the role of the curator in the museum:

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<sup>81</sup> These policy ideas have also been resisted by some; see Sandell (2003) for further discussion about curatorial change.

It was actually quite a difficult thing for the curators to do because in the past, when they were doing re-displays, basically the curator was in charge. They would act as project managers for a new display or exhibition and the designers and conservation team would basically work towards, work to them, but it meant that, I am not trying to be rude here, but it meant you could have displays skewed in a particular direction or you could have kind of overruns in terms of when things open and so on (Martin Bellamy – Head of Research at GM, 2008).

For curators having to implement this agenda, only socially 'relevant' objects should be collected, preserved and then displayed in a manner that allows the widest possible proportion of the population to be able to interact with them. This puts the onus on the curator 'knowing' their viewing publics, especially those that may be considered 'excluded'. In turn, they are required always to consider such groups when conducting their work, thereby shifting their way of thinking from being focused upon solely the objects held within collections Weil (1999). In order for museum professionals to further this understanding about being for 'somebody', there has been a reassessment of collections in terms of trying to understand what particular objects say to certain groups. This reflects Hetherington's (2002:192) comment, referring to '*multiple optics rather than a singular trained one*' (see Section 2.3.2), suggesting that the curator is no longer the only voice in shaping the regime of 'civic seeing' in the museum. In terms of categorising objects on display, this has meant a move away from following a specific disciplinary (ie. archaeological, artistic, botanical, technical *et cetera*) interest and instead to break down these practices and to re-present objects so that they follow a particular theme or narrative (this approach was greatly pioneered in the Kelvingrove). The aim is therefore to allow the viewer to observe the collection and (hopefully) identify with it, negating the need for any discipline-specific prior knowledge before entering the museum (Roberts, 1997):

It's a much more fractured way of using a museum than the kind of professional imposition of structure through a space. So what we did is we looked at the philosophy of the museum itself and how we wanted to display material and it's basically Mark O'Neil's idea, the story display approach. Basically having a broad theme for a gallery and within each broad theme there are a number of separate individual stand-alone stories within that theme. So that you can look at one particular story within the gallery and then move off and not feel that you have only got part of what that gallery has to offer you or you haven't understood the whole picture because what we are trying to do is break things up into smaller chunks (Martin Bellamy – Head of Research at GM, 2008).

Placing collections into broadly themed narratives has meant a change in emphasis in terms of what an object does when placed within a museum, and has directly affected how objects are to be displayed within the Riverside Museum. Rather than being solely focused upon the object that is dislocated from the world in which it was produced, here the object, through narrative, has to connect into something with which visitors can

identify. This means, rather than in the case of the previous Museum of Transport where the focus was placed upon the engineering and technology context of the object, here a social history of the object becomes more important, as Devine describes:

All our research to date shows us that people are really not interested in how a tram is designed, what they are really interested in is what it feels like to travel on one and that might influence or shape the direction the story goes in (Kirsty Devine – Senior Curator Riverside Project, 2009).

A large proportion of research for the Riverside Museum has focused upon developing social histories with people who used the various objects and this has now become a key prerequisite for any object to be displayed or collected. The object needs to have some form of social story attached to it in order for it to have social worth for the museum:

Significant either to the visitor or significant to the collection from a historical point of view and that's actually been the guiding principles for any display which is that it has to have visitor interest and collection significance and, if it doesn't meet those two criteria, we just rule it out (Kirsty Devine – Senior Curator Riverside Project, 2009).

Devine's comments are interesting because they show how the museum is no longer focused upon solely a 'fetishistic' obsession with collecting anything and everything but one that is related directly to what a public wants to see. Further to this, there is a desire also to break down the more traditional methods of collecting and displaying transport objects due to the need to make them more accessible to the public. One obvious example of this has been the decision in the Riverside Museum to move away from the use of text-based displays, as their research has shown this often fails to get their narratives across, partly due to the surprisingly low levels of literacy, as Devine points out:

People find it really difficult to read text in museums. You know, one in four people in Glasgow have below average literacy levels and that has a huge impact on how to disseminate information within a museum space. So why make it all text? Why not think about having audio as the main delivery form or a hybrid interactive in doing something (Kirsty Devine – Senior Curator Riverside Project, 2009).

This is further reinforced by the views of Sam Groves, who has been responsible for conducting visitor studies. As she explains the wider aspiration of how to display the transport collection differently and about what they want to learn from it:

We're also going to be displaying the transport collection in a very different and unique way in comparison to other transport technology collections. They tend to focus on the technology of the transport as in where it was made, who made it and how many nuts and bolts it had, the real technical detail, whereas what we're trying to inject into Riverside is much more a social history

perspective, so looking at the people behind the object (Sam Groves – Visitor Studies Curator Riverside Project, 2009).

The reinterpretation of the transport collection has therefore led to some new and innovative ways using a mixture of medias, but one concept that has increased and been focused upon greatly in the production of the Riverside has been the importance of the visual. This, to a certain extent, links to the 'iconic' nature of the building but, as Devine suggests, there is also a need to create a 'wow' factor with exhibits:

We also identified as well as the story displays, what we have called the key attracts which are the really big show stoppers in the museum and they are big spend as well, so we have a big physical presence in the museum (Kirsty Devine – Senior Curator Riverside Project, 2009).

This then suggests a real return to the use and importance of spectacle in museums which had been a rejected by museological practice in the early twentieth century (Bennett, 1995). The plans for the proposed layout for the Riverside Museum have been to consider the visual aesthetics, how objects are placed in relation to each other and how to create the balance between education and entertainment.

For the previous discussion, it is clear that there is a shift in terms of museological thinking relating to the power and agency of curators involved with the creation of a contemporary and socially inclusive museum. The social inclusion agenda changed the professional agency of the curator (although there are also other factors that have caused this and these will be discussed later in this chapter). At the same time, as part of the mission statement of GM, curators need to ensure that the museum is accessible. This represents a desire to break from the elitist principles of old museological practice – where the curator was considered always to 'know best' – and to accept that other voices are just as capable of extrapolating meaning from objects. This good curatorial practice in GM has to involve thinking about how other people will view an object, leading to their professional gaze immediately becoming split between thinking of the significance of the object and the object's significance to the public. Bellamy, below, neatly describes this changing relationship in the production of a museum:

[The museum must be] Intellectually accessible in terms of providing people with information that they might want to access. I think a lot of the displays were about the curator telling the public what they wanted the public to know rather than the other way around. We did an awful lot of work on evaluation, looking at what the public actually wanted to see and learn from the collections, even in terms of the number of stories and the types of stories (Martin Bellamy – Head of Research at GM, 2008).

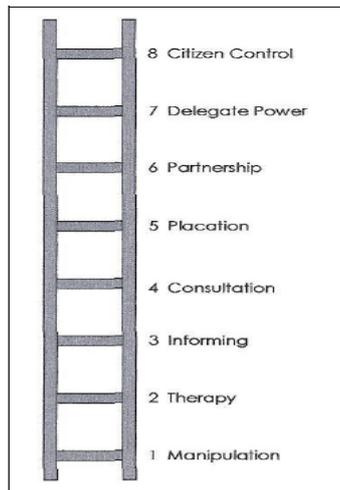
Bellamy also highlights in his comment a further way in which GM has sought to give visitors a voice in the development of its new museums. First started during the development of Kelvingrove, and then expanded upon in the Riverside Project, has been the use of advisory panels to test specific display ideas. Over the development of the project, the project team have discussed and tested their ideas with various panels, including a community panel, an access panel, an academic panel, a teen panel and a junior panel, where each fulfilled a specific remit in terms of the information project wanted by developers in order to gain feedback. The advisory panels therefore were used in a way that gave the project team the ability to test their ideas and potentially to give the public a voice in the production of the museum. This means that the latter were not involved in directly driving content or developing it, but did have the ability to voice concerns or highlight things that they may wish to see changed. Groves highlights this process in terms of how the panels were used:

Our panels are there for two purposes: they are there for us to consult with and to get feedback on what we are doing and to ensure that what we are doing meets the needs of the audiences. The other reason to having our panels is to give us some credibility when we are putting our ideas forward because sometimes we get pressure externally from the press or councillors as to why we are making certain decisions, so by taking issues to our community panel and getting their endorsement or not we then have the evidence to back this (Sam Groves, Visitor Studies Curator Riverside Project – 2009).

The advisory panels therefore did not offer a participatory approach to creating museum displays that potentially could be more fruitful in building connections with a museum, for the ability to develop ideas still lay with curators and the ability to sanction a display or not still remained with the project management team. As Devine states, the decision ultimately lay with professional judgement:

But then it really comes down to a judgement call and it comes down to I suppose what works for the greatest number of visitors and is there anything else that we can do that would help support these other visitors (Kirsty Devine – Senior Curator Riverside Project, 2009).

In understanding this public participation, Arnstein (1969) and Burns *et al* (1994) give useful starting points to understanding the nature of public participation in such projects. Below, Arnstein's ladder (Figure 7.12) highlights the differing levels of participation that can take place. As Devine suggests from her description of the process, control always rested with the project management team, and thus participation in this context was always just one of consultation:



**Figure 7.12 – Ladder of Participation adapted from Arnstein (1969).**

Burns *et al* (1994) improved upon Arnstein's ladder (see Figure 7.13) to provide a more nuanced guide to citizen participation, and in their model the use of the advisory panels would equate to 'Effective Advisory Boards'. These demarcations are useful when thinking about the role and agency of the citizens, curators and management in such processes. As Devine suggests, control always rested with the project management team, so participation under this agenda of inclusion represented a consultation process that allows for the museum to gain opinions from outside of their professional thinking. Therefore it acted as a tool for checking and then legitimising the decisions that had in effect already been made. This questions the extent to which this really offers an inclusionary practice of public participation, as, although the panels gave members of the public a voice, the expert knowledge of the curator and the project manager ultimately maintained the ability to decide content. This meant that the potential for other voices to be truly heard in the production of museum space was filtered and mediated by the professional consideration of key actors. This is a key process in the production of the Riverside Museum, since the results from the advisory panels have been central in legitimising the decisions made by senior managers:

The thing that we always say to them is that you are one stake holder within a whole series of stake holders and as well as speaking to the access panels we speak to the community panel, the junior panel, the teens panel and all have equal weighting. All those opinions have to be heard, and they will be heard, but it doesn't mean that they will always be taken on board and just being very upfront at the outset. All the panels have been really accepting of that but really good at coming forward with ideas so I don't think we have really had to disappoint to be honest (Kirsty Devine – Senior Curator Riverside Project, 2009).

<b>CITIZEN CONTROL</b>
12. Independent control
11. Entrusted control
<b>CITIZEN PARTICIPATION</b>
10. Delegated control
9. Partnership
8. Limited decentralised decision-making
7. Effective advisory boards
6. Genuine consultation
5. High quality information
<b>CITIZEN NON-PARTICIPATION</b>
4. Customer care
3. Poor information
2. Cynical consultation
1. Civic hype

**Figure 7.13 – Ladder of Participation adapted from Burns *et al* (1994).**

Coinciding with the use of advisory panels, there has also been a desire to be more aware about who uses museums through further visitor studies based upon who visited the now closed Museum of Transport, and therefore there has been a systematic desire to make sure specific displays are aimed at key audiences. In the museum's policy documentation these audiences are identified as follows:

- Families
- Under-5s
- Teenagers
- Schools (5-14 Guidelines)
- Visitors with sensory and mobility impairment (Riverside Museum Blue Print 2005:81).

Hence, when researching displays, curators have to have specific audiences in mind in terms of how they can present their research and how they can interact with specific groups. This again reflects a movement away from solely object-based research and one that means visitors are central to a curator's thought, as O'Neil comments show:

I've described focusing on our unique selling point which is real objects, working out and spending as much time studying visitors as studying the objects to make sure you are getting them in the right relationship (Mark O'Neil – Head of GM, 2009).

As can be seen by the selection of key audiences (above) there is a keen emphasis upon appealing to children and beyond that there is a real attempt to engage those with disability, therefore aiming to aid their museum experience and to ensure that content contains people with disability. The hope is to deal with what Delin (2002) considered to be a missing identity within British museums, as Devine explains:

Things that we said we absolutely have to deal with directly in terms of the displays that makes a more inclusive museum and that is to tackle disability as a subject matter in its own right but also to look at better representation across the displays (Kirsty Devine, Senior Curator Riverside Project – 2009).

Here a dual approach to facilitating a more accessible and inclusive museum is being taken where disabled attitudes are consulted upon what is best for their museum experience, but their voices and images may also be included within the exhibits. An interesting example of this approach has been the attempt to engage those with visual impairments, those who have been traditionally excluded (Hetherington, 2002) from the museum experience. What becomes interesting here in this context of social inclusion and access is how it is framed differently to that presented in the previous chapter, in that in the context of producing a new museum there is a desire to be responsive to ‘audiences’, as O’Neil states, rather than being solely focussed on those who are marginalised in society. This asks interesting questions about the way GM is choosing to interpret the meaning of inclusion in the production of Riverside Museum’s internal space. For museum professionals working on the Riverside Museum, inclusion has been interpreted as increasing accessibility physically, intellectually and through representational narrative displays. This suggests something different to the New Labour approach to social inclusion which, in rhetoric at least, was about taking a much more targeted approach to improving the lives of marginalised citizens. An agenda focussed on increased access will not fulfil this intention.

### ***7.3.3 – Neo-liberalism – Disciplining Practitioners***

What has been very interesting about following how practitioners have attempted to implement the concepts of access and inclusivity in the production of the Riverside Museum has been the apparent lack of influence that the wider entrepreneurial city agenda has had on this process. To a certain extent this reflects the interests of the ‘entrepreneurs’ as they have their iconic building, meaning the contents then become an afterthought. Therefore GM has been trusted to deliver the museum without interference (mainly due to the success of the Kelvingrove Museum) and the agendas portrayed in the first section of this chapter have had little impact on the second in terms of how content has been driven. However, the pressure to complete the project on time and on budget

has had a huge influence upon how the project has been governed by senior management and the behaviour of museum practitioners in the service. This highlights how the urban elite agenda has had an influence upon museum practice as failure to produce the museum on time would affect the image of the city, which has led to the legitimisation of certain behaviours that would normally be considered unacceptable. This reflected a wider structure of governmentality coming down to bear on practitioners in the production of the Riverside Museum. The local state's desire to maintain its competitive position through enhancing the city's image meant that a specific 'conduct of conduct' was produced by the management in the production of museum space.

The curator's position and role was not only changed as a result of the inclusion agenda, for changes in the governance structures through which curators operate have also resulted in changes in their status. Starting from the refurbishment of the Kelvingrove Museum and continued in the Riverside Project, there has been a progressive 'deskilling' (Braverman, 1974 and Sennett, 2008) of the curatorial role. For some curatorial staff this has meant little control over the content to be contained within the museum as the management team has sought to make almost all of the key decisions and primarily to reduce curators to the function of researcher. To a certain extent, when producing a museum on the size and scale of the Riverside, organisational structures are likely to be operated in authoritarian ways in order to complete the project, but within the management of the Riverside Project this often went beyond what some curators found acceptable. To them the process has borne '*an absolutely miserable time*' (Michael Nix – Research Manager for Transport and Technology, 2009) due to an over-bureaucratisation in the museum process, coupled with a strong desire of some of the Project Management team to control and micro-manage curators as well as other members of the Project management team. Thus, when disagreements arose, dissenting voices were quickly silenced:

I think it's quite widely known that there were a lot of staffing issues. A huge number of people left in the course of the Riverside project which is fairly unusual actually – the rate that people were going (Rowan Brown – former curator, 2009).

This became such a problem that in 2009 there was an internal investigation commissioned by GL into the misconduct of the management team where accusations of 'bullying' were made. However, due to the sensitive nature of this report, it was never

published and no disciplinary action was taken. Only one copy of the report exists and that is held by Ellen MacAdam, who is the current acting head of service<sup>82</sup>.

The following section will thus consider how this has taken place and why such behaviour became acceptable within management practices. As a caveat to this, before reading this section, it is very important to understand that it is not the intention to accuse or blame individuals for what has happened (that was the purpose of the investigation). This section wishes to consider what structural factors legitimised this behaviour, how this created a specific geography of power (Allen, 2003) and a set of the micro-practices that played out within the museum service.

### **7.3.4 – Geographies of Power in the Production of Museum Space**

In attempting to research the role of curators in the Riverside Museum it became very obvious that this would be a difficult process. Certain members of the management team were keen to ensure that access to the majority of curatorial staff was withheld, which was an immediate indication of the sense of control under which this project has operated. For management any distraction from the process of producing the museum on time was deemed as unacceptable and hence curators were not allowed to negotiate their own time in the workplace. The email from Devine below details why such access could not be granted<sup>83</sup>:

After consideration I will have to decline your request for interviews with the curators. As I'm sure you appreciate, the time pressures on a live project are significant and I have to weigh up the demands on the curatorial team to deliver the display content with requests for non-project work (Kirsty Devine, Senior Curator Riverside Project, Email Correspondence – 01/05/09).

Further to this, various curators who had worked with the Riverside Project in GM also refused to meet for an interview for fear of professional recrimination if anything to the detriment of the project was stated<sup>84</sup>. Again this highlights something about the working relationships developed by the Project Management Team. Through negating these set backs, conversations with management staff and other curatorial staff (who were willing to speak) within GM proved illuminating in shedding light upon the discourses and processes that have been used and the conflicts that have arisen in the production of the Riverside Museum to date. This section does not wish to 'spill the beans' but to cover the remit of

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<sup>82</sup> This was only disclosed to me due to a curator who took part in the enquiry informing me of its production; the report is not open to public access.

<sup>83</sup> Even despite this being sanctioned by the Research Department.

<sup>84</sup> This individual was offered full anonymity but was still uneasy about speaking so I did not pursue it any further.

the research questions, as it desires to show what tensions are created when trying to produce a new inclusive museum under the pressure of a regeneration agenda.

In understanding why such an over-bearing sense of control has been placed in the workplace, one that has seen a loss of ownership in work for curators, a demoralisation of staff and created a high turnover of people working on the project, it is essential to look at the context in which the project was created. Due to the structure put in place at the start of the Riverside Project, where curators from outside were brought in whilst existing GM curators continued to work on the Kelvingrove, this meant that to a certain extent the project was dysfunctional from GM at the outset. As Bellamy describes:

In a way it has been allowed to become a stand alone project because the focus was so much on Kelvingrove and the Riverside was left to get on and do its own thing and then suddenly once Kelvingrove is opened we are trying to now engage with Riverside and there is a bit of resistance like 'who are you?, what you are you doing?, this is our project' and a kind of a bit of a failure to appreciate that actually it's not your project, it's a Glasgow Museums project so there is a bit of friction there (Martin Bellamy – Head of Research at GM, 2008).

When the Kelvingrove was completed and the wider GM community was able to shift its attention to Riverside, as Bellamy states, this created 'friction' and for certain people their desire to have input was not welcomed. In interviews with Devine and Weston, who are both part of the Riverside Management Team, this real sense of ownership of the project came through along with a sense of urgency that no time or money could be wasted. This was reflected by both of them in the need to keep to schedules and not allow changes after decisions had been 'signed off':

So in a kind of really practical level my role is partly coordination of content and making sure that the curators stick to the programme, which in a live project is critical, because if we go off programme, we would get in to the whole realm of fees and fines. Making sure the content is all in a really sort of manageable format (Kirsty Devine – Senior Curator Riverside Project, 2009).

And:

Depending on the stage that you are at and, you know, one goes from the early stages where you are very inclusive and are welcoming of all ideas and of the input from panels communities and so on...then having to be able to hone those ideas down and I suppose that the challenges come in terms of people understanding the process and the programme so, then, one can't always have the same inclusiveness once decisions have been taken in order to hold on to financial budget (Paul Weston – Design Manager, 2009).

For Devine and Weston, time, financial restraint and the pressure to produce a quality cultural institution for Glasgow (that cannot be seen to fail) legitimated the need for a

systematic, strict and bureaucratic set of procedures in terms of turning curatorial ideas into content. This meant keeping to specific cut-off dates in terms of what needed to be completed by when and how research should be written up:

We were also quite clear to curators, we set up a sort of formal process for deciding stories so they knew that they would submit these documents, there was a time, a programme and they would submit them by a certain date. The core content team would review them (Kirsty Devine – Senior Curator Riverside Project, 2009).

This also led to a strong and rigid vision within the core management team of what the museum should contain and who it should be aimed at, which reflected earlier discussed work with regards visitor studies. Within this working structure, there is then a reduction of the role of the curator in terms of what they can do and how they can go about doing it. Braverman (1974:70) cites this as the splitting of work into a selection of 'limited operations'. Hence, due to the control of the core content team and the management team, the curators had little ability to influence the processes of what would be considered acceptable research or what would be considered the stories best to follow. As Devine (2009) states, curators were always *'one step removed from the decision making process in terms of feeding in to the project management team'* in terms of deciding what was to be used. To a certain extent this worked fine when the team was still detached from the rest of GM, but when further curatorial voices, who had previously worked on Kelvingrove<sup>85</sup>, wanted to become involved and offered different opinions to those expressed by the Riverside team, this created real difficulty. Two different cultures of working across the service had developed:

I mean there is an element of crossover in terms of staff being involved in both projects but the Riverside was started when Kelvingrove was in full swing and it was created as a different way of running a project because it was very much a brought in project team with a lot of short term contract staff and they have a very different approach to what they want out of the project...I think that there is a different philosophy and there has been a bit of kind of disjunction between the Riverside project and the whole of Glasgow Museums (Martin Bellamy – Head of Research at GM, 2008).

Bellamy talks about a difference in philosophies when talking about the two projects, and to a certain extent this difference in working practice and procedure meant a lot of curators felt dispossessed from many of the objects they had previously researched and worked with over the years. Rowan Brown, former curator who is now at the National Museum of Scotland, reflects this when discussing how the core content team selected curators to take on specific projects:

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<sup>85</sup> This is an important consideration because an argument could be made that some curators may be against the use of narrative displays but, having successfully worked on Kelvingrove, they were very much versed in this technique of displaying.

They seemed to be arbitrarily allocated to people. So the stories and the objects that you really have invested time in and were really passionate about: you didn't necessarily get to pursue. They were handed out to somebody else and there didn't seem to be any rhyme or reason. So people, naturally, the venue curators, naturally took quite a bit of offence at that, it was seen that all the exciting stories were kind of farmed out to people that were on temporary contracts and people that were trying to keep up with keeping the venue running, doing Kelvingrove and doing Riverside, just sort of got the dregs (Rowan Brown – former curator, 2009).

This then became highly demoralising for a lot of curators as they had little control over what they would be doing. Further to this, many curators felt pressured to present work in a way that specifically fitted with what the management team wanted or fear disciplining, censure or exclusion from the project. Michael Nix, who at the time of interview was still a curator at GM<sup>86</sup>, was one member of GM staff who consistently found himself in such a position:

They set up a core contact team which was to oversee the development of the content and I was told by the director that that was my job to chair the meeting. It was picked up by the project senior curator who felt that her role was to chair that meeting. There was a group of five managers and they just gave way – an absolutely miserable time. If I wanted to carry on in chairing the meeting, if I wanted any kind of assistance, if I came along with, expressed, particular point of view, it was automatically the opposite viewpoint taken. And it was very obvious that I was being deliberately excluded from meetings, particularly where I had a viewpoint that opposed theirs (Michael Nix – Research Manager for Transport and Technology, 2009).

Nix highlights how his ability to have agency with the project was prevented due to him disagreeing with the management team and, in further discussion with Nix, he was not the only one to be treated in this way as the project progressed. As the interview continued, he talked about how other curators had suffered similar experiences as the management team wished to retain as much control as possible. For Nix and others, this process was very upsetting and demoralising, which genuinely affected and individual's professional confidence, as he states below:

And people have told me that they've come in to work in the morning and they just sit there in the mornings thinking to themselves, I don't want to do anything; I don't want to work. So there is this real sense of demoralisation; devaluation of people. And at the heart of that is the relationship between delivering the project, and putting the delivery first; and not putting people first (Michael Nix – Research Manager for Transport and Technology, 2009).

In his final point Nix highlights the issues created through rigidly sticking to deadlines and targets, which is symptomatic of the effects of neo-liberal discourses upon management

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<sup>86</sup> Nix was central in calling for the internal investigation into the management team and has subsequently moved to a different museum service.

attitudes, and how this then affects how curators can go about their work. Sennett (2008:45) argues this in terms of what is meant by 'good work':

What do we mean by good-quality work? One answer is how something should be done, the other is getting it to work. This is a difference between correctness and functionality.

Sennett highlights a tension in the practice of the 'craftsmen' which is then reflected in the management of the Riverside project, where there is a split between correctness and functionality. For the managers in the museum put into a position where there is a specific set of pressures and conditions around them, this means they have to take a more functional approach to implementing the new museum, which guarantees the most likely possibility for the successful completion of the museum, on time and on budget.

The introduction to this chapter highlights where that pressure comes from. The possibility of failing to produce a museum that does not fit with the building's iconic image, that does not help promote the image of Glasgow, that is not seen to benefit the people of Glasgow, in terms of museum experience and in terms of local authority spending, means that it becomes very difficult for management not to become over-controlling in how it implements the production of a new museum. Hence, the delivery of the project becomes the key aim (the functional) which leads to the detriment of the work practices of the people who have role of producing the museum (the correctness).

## **7.4 – Conclusion**

In attempting to understand the production of Glasgow's urban landscape through the guise of cultural urban regeneration, the chapter has divulged a complicated set of discourses in which the city is entangled. The desire to remain competitive in the global economy has led to specific affects upon the urban landscape, most notably in its built form. Since the 1980s there have been policies created by the city's elites that have attempted to create the 'good city'. To do this, conceptions of the 'good' have aligned to form discourses and regimes of truth; these discourses have revolved around creating an image of Glasgow that is positive in terms of presenting the city in order to attract investment. A consistent strategy in this process has been investment in cultural infrastructure in order to help reinvent and maintain the city's image. The city enhancement agenda has therefore focused upon attempting to produce a vision of Glasgow that leaves its industrial legacy behind in order to promote a prosperous future. The Riverside Museum represents the latest manifestation of this process.

In unpicking these discourses, the chapter has shown how the museum has been entwined in arguments for city development. The museum has been shown to be one piece of infrastructure that Glasgow (like in other cities) requires in order to promote the city's competitive position. This is due to the 'External Projections' that are attributed to a new flagship museum in terms of image enhancement. Interviews showed that image was seen as key in retaining and improving Glasgow's international reputation, and therefore this sense of competition led to an entrepreneurial attitude to be taken by the city's elites. The Riverside Museum is therefore an architectural representation of the image that the entrepreneurial city wants to express. It very precisely reinterprets the disused landscape that it has been built upon, moving the city away from its industrial past by reimagining that part of the city, contributing further to the slow removal of industrial presences in the city's landscape. In order to succeed in this process, the museum needed to take an iconic form to visually create the necessary image. Zaha Hadid, with her reputation and design, provided the required image that Glasgow wished to express. The museum's role within this process of re-presenting the city is to act as an image that can sell the prescribed image of the city that place marketers want to present. Within this there is a symbolic exclusion taking place, as such landscapes have a role of covering over the images and problems, attempting to 'mask' the areas that the city does not want highlighted.

The production of a cultural-moral economy amongst Glasgow's key civic and professional actors has been central in the legitimation of the project. The interviews have denoted a real sense that citizens will benefit in a variety of ways from the museum, some of which are aligned to economic and political reasoning, with others drawing out more moral or social reasoning (though these are still grounded within an economic framework). This revolves around a set of discourses that see the production of the museum as part of creating a 'good city' and sees cultural investment as central to doing this. This again has connections back to Victorian investment in museums and other cultural institutions. Therefore the cultural-moral economy wishes to create landscapes for the city that can produce citizens who feel invested and proud of the city in which they live. Cultural nourishment of citizens is seen as a way that this can be achieved. Hence, in producing civically minded citizens through the building of an appropriate visual landscape, the desire is to develop the 'good citizen' who will then be invested in aiding the entrepreneurial aims of the city.

The production of space in Glasgow has resonance with Lefebvre's (1991) conceptual triad. Here space is shown to be shaped by the elites, technocrats and planners who command the representational space of the city. The discourses that they create pertain to the need for growth, which incorporates economic, social and moral justifications, which has led to the building of the Riverside Museum. This new cultural space therefore wishes

to embed a specific set of social practices that alter the lived experience of the city in order to guide the representation of space. In doing this the city can then use such a physical construct on the city's landscape in two ways: firstly, in the aforementioned lived experience of the city and, secondly, in the projections of image that such a building creates. The Riverside Museum therefore forms part of a wider governmental strategy that seeks to connect citizens and attract visitors to the city through the external aesthetic design of the building.

Whilst embroiled within this process in Glasgow, GM has attempted to produce a museum that negates, through inclusionary policy, the exclusionary politics that underlines urban regeneration. The production of museum space has sought to use a social history interpretation as a method of constructing knowledge around objects, the intention being that visitors will identify with objects to a greater degree. In following this process a key method in attempting to create a museum that does not just reflect curatorial knowledge and interests has been the use of advisory panels. This has been promoted as a way of producing a more inclusive and publicly attentive museum. However, in interviews with senior management it became clear that this acted more as a tool for legitimising and confirming the decisions that had already been made by curators rather than actually driving content. That aside, the move to reframe the museum through social history will be implicit in making the new museum even more accessible. For example, if the new museum was to have been an art gallery, the chances of exclusion would have been considerably higher. By being focused upon transport and coupled with the previous Museum of Transport's considerable popularity, the move to a social history focus in the Riverside Museum will further link the citizens of Glasgow and their experiences to the objects. Thus the museum should be a considerably more accessible and inclusionary space for citizens.

Finally, although the production of the Riverside Museum's space has sought to produce a museum that places access as the museum's primary goal, the pressures that such a high profile project placed upon museum staff produced a set of management practices that appeared to lead to a deskilling and loss of agency for curators. Evidently, the social practices involved in the production of the Riverside Museum were shaped so that spaces of dissent and disagreement were removed for the majority of curators in the production of the museum. The need for the entrepreneurial city to have a museum produced on time and to budget resulted in a 'conduct of conduct' that, for many, involved a set of unfavourable outcomes. The management practices that ensued represented how, unlike in Chapter Six where power was shown to have an enabling facet, in this instance it became a highly restrictive and overbearing set of management practices, focused on implementing its 'inclusionary' vision for the museum.

## **Chapter 8 – Conclusions**

### **8.1 – Introduction**

The museum in the contemporary setting has been shown to have a diverse range of roles which have shaped policy and practice in quite different ways. The introduction to this thesis began with three quotes. These set the foundations on which the chapters were built, where each quote identified a different position for the role of the museum in society. The first aimed to expand the use of museum collections so that they were as inclusionary and accessible as possible. The second sought to instil conceptions of citizenship and the third highlighted the desire to use the museum to regenerate urban areas. It has been the interplay between these positions in Glasgow that this thesis has sought to understand and which has been reflected in the setting of the research questions. The thesis, to this point, has mapped out the theoretical, methodological and empirical grounds towards the nature of museum production in a post-industrial city. What is left for this final concluding section is to draw out more fully how the concepts of social inclusion, citizenship and urban regeneration – the terms that have driven this research – that run through the empirical data are better understood in relation to the theoretical guides laid down in Chapters Two and Three. To a certain extent, some of this has been teased out in the empirical chapters but this conclusion will offer a more overt discussion about how theorists such as Lefebvre, Foucault and Bourdieu help make sense of the findings, and, in turn how this research will contribute to their ideas with regards to the museum. The final section of this chapter will then enter into a wider discussion of the involvement of museums in social inclusion, citizenship and urban regeneration agendas. This will take the conclusion beyond a consideration of such practices in Glasgow and into a wider discussion with regards to the way the museum has been positioned by governmental discourses.

### **8.2 – Implications of Findings**

The first research question aims to comprehend how the local state has fostered ideas of social inclusion and citizenship through GM. This was initially detailed in Chapter Five, where the local state agenda and the subsequent discourses that surrounded GM were analysed, and it was then built upon in the ensuing chapters. Within the history of the museum service in the Victorian period and into the present day, the city has seen its museums as a space for its citizens. It has created museums, from this perspective, that aimed to give citizens a greater cultural fulfilment through the displaying of objects in order

to educate them. It is this process that the local state wished to use to engender the concepts of social inclusion and citizenship into GM practice. This has taken place for two reasons: firstly, the state through GL has broadly shaped the way in which the city's museums have been positioned in its recent history. GL as a community interest company created in 2007 has sought to position GM in relation to its key strategic aims for culture in the city. In Chapter Five this positioning can be seen through how it values the role of culture in improving the city's citizens, seeing its position as a purveyor of cultural entitlement. It is the setting up of a cultural entitlement that can be provided by museums that positions the state's agenda for seeing museums becoming more inclusionary and being a space where a form of cultural entitlement can be expressed. Secondly, this has combined with a wider discourse that is outside the local state's remit; the professional development of museum staff practices. As was highlighted in Chapter Two, current museological thinking is very keen to find ways to make museums more relevant to their visitors and inclusive of their needs. It is thus these two combining discourses that have allowed the local state to develop museums that are socially active in society, with the purpose of finding ways to counter some of the drawbacks which the city has experienced through changing from an industrial city to a post-industrial location.

It is this final point that highlights how Lefebvre's conceptual triad discussed in Chapter Two links with the museum and the concepts of citizenship and social inclusion. As was discussed in Chapter Five, city elites wished to see the use of such policies to find ways to move citizens towards full employment<sup>87</sup>, and thus it is this reasoning for cultural provision within the city that aims to see such provision as a method of improving citizens. This is further highlighted in the linkages, shown in the chapter, between Glasgow-specific policy documents that link cultural objectives to those developed in the city's Community Plan. This aligns such discourses with the city's wider economic goals and desires to build the 'good city' (Ruppert, 2006). Hence the local state has shaped the discourses around GM so that the spaces of representation mediated by elites produce a set of social practices in the museum. It is the shaping of those social practices, seen taking place in Chapter Five, that result in the research followed in Chapters Six and Seven, as the local state harnesses the museum through an inclusionary politics to encounter the widest spectrum of citizens possible. Lefebvre's triad has therefore been a useful starting point to understand these processes in comprehending how space is produced in the city. This thesis has focused upon the production and usage of cultural spaces within Glasgow, specifically museum space, and in doing this it has shown how various different sets of competing objectives have assembled to produce a very definite set of discourses. The

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<sup>87</sup> As Levitas (2005) suggested, this is a common discourse in social inclusion policies.

production of these discourses usually reflect an individual's institutional positioning<sup>88</sup>, but largely they rotate around different understandings as to what a museum should be used for in Glasgow and how they should be employed to benefit the city and citizens.

The first research question also begins to unpick how the local state attempted to legislate for those that were considered excluded, using the museum as a space for engraining with such issues. This follows Ruppert's argument in proposing the concept of the 'good city' which intends to produce the 'good citizen':

The economy of cities is constituted by the practices involved in the pursuit of many ends and interests – including material and moral interests, and as such, these professional practices form a moral economy geared to shaping good citizens (2006:11).

Therefore, the discourses that surround social inclusion and citizenship being made by the local state through the institutional aims of GL are linked to both economic and moral arguments: moral arguments that really see it as a necessity to help those who are disadvantaged, but economic influences that see the potential to create citizens who can contribute back to the economy<sup>89</sup>. This framing of the museum discourses, was highlighted earlier in the thesis and is intrinsically related to Foucault's (2004) conception of governmentality, as introduced in Chapter Three, where they represent techniques that seek to manage the population, specifically those that in some way are seen to be marginalised. Seeing these concepts as governmental strategies of population management, the empirical chapters (Six and Seven) then divulged how they have shaped museum practice and participant experience.

The second research question asks how does GM implement a social inclusion agenda, including how this is read by those taking part, considering this an entangled and complex picture building upon such practices. As GM has implemented an inclusionary discourse across its service, it has found expression primarily through two outlets: outreach work and through changing how it chooses to display its collection. In Chapter Six, three case studies were followed to comprehend the ways in which museum staff interacted with members of public on projects that endeavoured to build a more inclusive museum service and aid citizens in accessing their cultural entitlements. These projects differed greatly in terms of application, but each in very different ways sought to break down barriers to participation and to build confidence and well-being in participants. This was framed as the 'will to empower' (Cruikshank, 1999) within GM and GL. It is this will to

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<sup>88</sup> For example, a city planner may see the museum as a space around which investment can be attracted, whereas a curator may see it as an opportunity to share knowledge with citizens.

<sup>89</sup> Quoted in Chapter Five, 'equipping people with necessary skills to play an active role in Glasgow's future success' (CSL, 2006:2): this highlights the moral and economic discourses.

empower, shown in all three case studies, that created a set of social practices that attempted to engage citizens in a relationship with the museum and *vis-a-vis* the local state. Central to the success of the Altered Images project was using art participation as a method for breaking down barriers to both the institution and the art contained within it, through a process of educating the 'learners' and their way of looking and thinking about art and the museum.

In this context, Foucault's understanding of power helps grasp the role of institutional power in such projects. This is not the dominating disciplinary power of the carceral network that Foucault represents in *Discipline and Punish*; it is a soft-disciplinary power of pedagogical intent (Pykett, 2009). Thus, in this context, the concept of soft-disciplinary power has been harnessed through the museum in a way that brings together the citizen and the state, by building a sense of belonging and identity with the city. By doing this the museum becomes as space for articulating, expressing and enhancing civic pride, as it is this that enables citizens to realise their cultural entitlement. The process of using the museum as conduit for civic pride through the soft-disciplining of outreach work therefore helps develop 'good citizens' who become more invested in the city as a result. The museum is therefore framed as an asset that, along with other cultural institutions in the city, can provide citizens with a civic nourishment that can improve how people view and relate to the city (as suggested by one council official: '*people deserve roses as well as bread*' (Liz Cameron – Chair of CSG, 2009). The process of removing barriers to the museum, as was shown in the Altered Images project, intentionally brought 'disadvantaged' and non-museum going members of the public into contact with the museum. The project then sought to educate them primarily about art, but in doing so it also informed them about what the museum is and how it was essentially there for them as much as anyone else to use. This process therefore created a strong link between citizen and museum that resulted in a greater sense of belonging to the city, produced through accessing their cultural entitlement.

The case studies also highlighted how such projects can lead to increased confidence and well-being for many who took part. In the Volunteer case study, for example, their embodied involvement with providing a museum service<sup>90</sup> changed the way volunteers related to and interacted with the museum and its objects. As they learnt more and became more involved with museum work, their sense of connection and belonging to the institution increased. In the Sacred Journeys project, the space given to participants to express their religious beliefs, but to also learn about others, made a real change to their conception of religious difference. Using the museum as a space for dialogue helped each of the pilgrims to understand their own religious identity more and gave them a greater

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<sup>90</sup> Guiding, researching, and helping with learning projects.

understanding and acceptance of others. This project highlighted what Stevenson (2010) (discussed in Chapter Three) wished to see develop with his conception of cultural citizenship, that is a dialogue between diverse groups that results in a greater respect for those of difference. The fermentation of social inclusion and citizenship in the museum relies on a set of power relations that Foucault describes; the micro-processes of internalisation that take place due to the social practices of the museum. It is therefore essential to think of activities that intend to encourage social inclusion and citizenship as a set of processes (the emphasis is strongly on the plural) that come together within the museum in order to empower and include citizens. There is no one single event or practice that creates this but an entire suite of *practices*, shown in each of the case studies that together internalise the potential of the museum as a space in the city for personal improvement. As Jill Miller stated (Chapter Six), it is this process that can connect the citizen to the wider state infrastructure (GL) in terms of providing more inclusive cultural provision.

In attempting to implement such a vision for cultural provision, the empirical data also showed how at times the internalisation of governmental agendas did not always follow such a well-delineated path. For various members across the three case studies, the governmental intentions of such strategies were often simply unknown or bypassed by their own agency. Participants often reworked (Katz, 2004) such intentions in order to gain the experiences and outcomes they wanted from taking part, thus creating an interesting contradiction in the discourses the GM and governmental policy suggest. Sharp *et al's* (2000) understanding of power and Foucault's own argument about power as not being '*totalising*', and that the individual '*is not a pre-given entity seized by power*' (1980:74), offer a useful viewpoint to comprehend how strategies of inclusion and citizenship development can be internalised and used to produce very different outcomes. In seeing the processes of involvement and the imbued power relations they create, the thesis has highlighted that such instrumental governmental strategies are interpreted and utilised very differently depending upon the individual. Therefore the comprehension of what it is to be a 'good citizen' in Glasgow, which is defined by differing sets of discourses, takes on a multitude of different outcomes when it is interpreted by individuals.

These empirical examples also show how another key theorist whose ideas were developed in Chapter Three have helped link an understanding between the concepts of social inclusion and citizenship. Bourdieu (1991 and Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) provides a strong critique through the notions of cultural and social capital as to how individuals are positioned in society. In encountering the museum and undertaking a learning process, participants were firstly able to expand their cultural capital. In the Altered Images project, for example, many participants gained the confidence to think and

talk about contemporary art, a subject that was previously unknown to them. It was the development of their cultural capital that helped them to see the enjoyment that could be gained from both art and visiting museums. This helped make the museum, a space that had previously been a 'no-go' area for them, accessible. By teaching and breaking down the cultural 'baggage' of contemporary art, the participants were introduced to the multiplicity of meaning that such works create. This helped them to feel included within that space, and to take advantage of a service that is provided for citizens of Glasgow. This was directly related to the artist in residence providing the group, through collaboration, with the necessary cultural capital to understand and comprehend the art they were viewing and producing. The question remains, however, what is the extent to which cultural capital remains without the support of an artist? An argument could be made that the group's cultural capital only existed through collaboration, and that the extent to which it made a lasting contribution to an individual's *habitus* is debatable. The project did break down many of the participants' uncertainties about visiting museums, potentially leading to a relationship with the city's museums, meaning that they may continue to visit and therefore continue to develop their cultural capital. However, the short-term success of the project leads to long-term questions about whether or not this will happen. This means that Bourdieu's conception of cultural capital needs to be understood as an ongoing process that must be continually acquired. This suggests a limitation to such projects lies in the extent to which they can enact real lasting change to an individual.

Secondly, social capital also played a key role in creating inclusionary spaces of citizenship in the museum. This was highlighted by the museum volunteers. For many of them, it was the ability to form friends and acquaintances in the museum that made volunteering such an attractive and sustaining activity. From this wider support, networks were built that for some of the volunteers led to finding ways to deal with past traumas or problems in their lives. It is therefore the ability to change, through participation, a citizen's *'habitus'*, the way in which they think about themselves in relation to the world around them (Bourdieu, 1977), that links the concepts of social inclusion and citizenship together in the museum. Thus, through Bourdieu's theories, a stronger understanding to social inclusion and citizenship in the museum can be comprehended which builds upon the previous theories of social practice and disciplinary power. For other volunteers, however, social capital had little influence upon their commitment to the museum. Many took part in activities due to very individualistic reasons which reflected personal interests or problems which they felt volunteering could address. Thus the accruing of social capital was an aside to their participation or was something that did not interest them.

In highlighting these volunteer perspectives, another side to the relationship develops through the concept of volunteering. Despite the real benefits it can give citizens, it represents a slightly more ominous agenda. Volunteering is perhaps among the more direct examples of 'making good citizens' as the soft-disciplinary influence of the museums feeds into a strong sense of governmentality. The promotion of volunteering in museums and more widely in Glasgow (Volunteer Centre Glasgow, 2009) represents how the activity is being used to change the relationship between state and citizen<sup>91</sup>.

Volunteering produces a very specific 'conduct of conduct' that expects citizens to take on responsibilities that may have previously been provided by the state or been unfulfilled. The purpose is either to fill gaps in existing service provision or to move services away from government responsibility, exemplified by the movement of service provision towards third sector organisations (see HM Treasury, 2007). Thus volunteering is positioned as a method for promoting neo-liberal conceptions of citizenship, as it has become a technique that the state promotes in order to place expectations upon citizens. Therefore the production of citizens who embody what Dean (2003:700) defined as a '*heroic consumers*' is essential in this process, as the state desires citizens who are not dependent and who can also give back to society in some way.

In Chapter Seven, moving away from an outreach approach, we see a different conceptualisation of social inclusion being mediated. For many of the curators and museum staff interviewed, social inclusion was not just a case of going out into the community, it was also a case of changing the way the museum displayed objects and constructed knowledge around those objects. In implementing and interpreting the concept of social inclusion for the Riverside Museum, the chapter showed how this and the neo-liberal positioning of an urban regeneration agenda had specific influences upon the external and internal production of the museum. The conception of social inclusion related most directly to making the museum itself as accessible as possible. Within the development of the Riverside Museum this was expressed by various voices throughout GM. This was outlined in the interviews with Mark O'Neil and Janice Lane, who occupied senior positions, but also by those directly tasked with producing the Riverside Museum such as Kirsty Devine, Sam Groves and Paul Weston. This highlights how the concept of social inclusion constructed by GM is key in comprehending how the organisation constructed its representation of space for producing the museum, as this is the space of professionals and technocrats that Lefebvre describes in his triad. For all of them, increased access was synonymous with creating an inclusionary museum. Therefore this was used as a justification for creating a more managerial approach to developing content

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<sup>91</sup> This incidentally connects to the current 'Big Society' agenda being pursued by the UK government.

for the museum as everything had to be 'on message'. A strong central vision as to how this would be produced was developed, meaning that key actors in this process sought to drive its implementation in highly prescribed and 'top-down' manner. For curators working in this environment, especially those not part of the outsourced team, this proved very difficult as it appeared to stifle their creativity and their ability to make decisions about objects. As Chapter Seven highlighted, the pressures of delivering such a high-profile public investment have greatly influenced the social practices that have sought to give voice to an inclusionary museum. In the interviews with those who found the process of contributing to the museum's development a highly frustrating and difficult one, it was the social practices of management that created these conflicts for them. The pressure to remain on schedule and to meet deadlines articulated how the competitive, neo-liberal growth agenda of the city had a disciplining influence upon its practitioners, especially those key actors.

Added to this, the chapter also showed how the management team sought to use various public panels to represent different perspectives on how best to develop the transport collection. This was a practice that began in the development of the Kelvingrove Museum and was continued for the Riverside Museum. In discussing the purpose of the panels with management, it became clear that their primary function was to act as a consultation exercise for developing curatorial ideas (Burns *et al*, 1994). Therefore the panels did have an influence on curatorial decisions, but they also represented a common practice that is seen in neo-liberal strategies where consultation acts as method for 'box ticking'. If this was to be seen as evidence for citizens taking an active role in the development of the museum, it would have to be considered a very limited and controlled input. This is because the participation offered was closer to a form of 'market research' rather than an engaged process where citizen and curator drove content development together:

I work with the curator and the editor and the digital interpretation manager and we review the story and then we will work out what we are going to say on each of the panels and the tone and the approach (Kirsty Devine – Senior Curator Riverside Project, 2009).

Devine's comments echo this sense of a highly mediated process that is used to check and confirm the validity for curatorial work. Paddison (2009) discusses such methods as appearing to offer an increased sense of participation in public decisions, but, as he, argues the result it to move decision-making further towards a post-political age. Therefore the use of such consultation exercises acts as a method for legitimising the decisions made by practitioners on the public's behalf. Hence, the consultation process is used as a technique for gaining participation, but due to the uneven power relationship

underpinning participation the views of those involved are always mediated and controlled.

To focus again on the shift from technology to social history in the Riverside Museum, the decision of how to present knowledge in and around objects greatly changed the positioning and the pedagogical purpose of the museum. This suggests a further link to the wider aims of the local state and the final research question. Bennett (2006) conceived of museums as creating a '*civic way of seeing*', and this concept is useful to consider because, in changing the way knowledge is constructed around the objects, a different political message is sent to visitors. When the Museum of Transport was first opened in 1964 and until its recent closure, it was a museum of transport and technology. The Museum of Transport sought to teach the citizens of Glasgow about technology and how it was used to create the objects on display. With the city no longer producing such objects (at least, not to the same scale), the need to steer individuals towards jobs in industry, and to celebrate the city's industrial endeavours, is no longer necessary. The technology of the objects is less important as it does not fit with the identity and civic way of seeing for a post-industrial city. The shift from the technological museum to a social history museum of transport at the Riverside Museum mirrors the economic and industrial changes that the city has faced over recent time. It is therefore apparent that understanding technology is less relevant (consigned to the past) to Glasgow (Wright, 2009). By focusing on people's experiences of the objects, it relegates the need to consider the technology powering the transport objects, reflecting the wider needs of the post-industrial city. To extend upon the work of Wright, the new approach to displaying the transport collection attempts to appeal to as wide an audience as possible. By focusing upon social history, it also attempts to link the objects to a collective set of 'Glaswegian' memories and identities which many can easily recognize. This creates a specific link between the present and the past that helps to reinforce a citizen's sense of belonging to the city. The soft-disciplinary power of the museum that shapes how citizens see and interpret objects is central to this, as it attempts to enhance a sense of civic pride so that citizens become more invested within their city. The opportunity to use the transport collection to do this has also been important as the well-established popularity of the Museum of Transport across socio-economic boundaries means that the collection already has a popular appeal that can be further enhanced to draw in more citizens.

The last point links into the final research question, which sought to see how such agendas of social inclusion and citizenship related to the dominant goals of the local state, particularly as regards urban regeneration and the enhancement of the city's competitive position. As has been shown in Chapters Five and Seven, Glasgow is a city that is very self-conscious of its image and the outward projection this makes. Having promoted itself

as a post-industrial location since the 1980s, museums have become a key node in the promotion of the city's image to citizens, tourists and business. This has meant that over this time the city has mobilised certain discourses so that it can invest in its museums as focal points of cultural infrastructure. The Riverside Museum is the most recent example of this taking place. The dominant goals of the state expressed by city elites have driven this process and, as was detailed in the aforementioned chapters, this is not always from a position that seeks to produce an inclusionary politics for the city. This is because such conceptions reflect a neo-liberal approach towards the importance of museums, where they are seen to provide a trickledown effect for the city as a whole. This discourse reflects Ruppert's (2006) conception of the 'moral economy' where regeneration discourses are created by professional practices that have both an economic and moral intent. In Ruppert's depiction, the moral economy was used to develop economic spaces which then needed 'good citizens' correctly to use them. Therefore a moralising language was used to delineate what practices citizens should be enacting in such locations for the good of the city. In applying this to cultural regeneration in Glasgow, the relationships to produce 'good citizens' are slightly more removed from economic concerns. This suggests that Ruppert's work needs to be more attuned to comprehend a cultural-moral economy, where citizens are not directly positioned towards economic concerns but towards civic investment. This is because creation of the 'good citizen' through the museum is one which wishes to create an increased sense of civic pride so that it can then be channelled into solving other societal concerns. The production of museums that are as 'open' as possible is essential in this process as it allows individuals to come into contact with a 'civic way' of seeing. It is this aim that attempts to produce citizens who see it as their responsibility to take advantage of their cultural entitlement in order to better themselves. The museum's position in a cultural-moral economy is to facilitate this process so that citizens can be aligned to social inclusion agendas and governmental conceptions of citizenship. Therefore the cultural-moral economy is not just focused upon producing citizens who simply benefit the city economically; it is also focused upon influencing citizens so that they behave socially and culturally in a manner that means they will be less likely to rely on the state.

In the context of the wider literature, the last three decades have seen the burgeoning of museum studies accompanying what has been called the museumisation of the city, meaning the deliberate use of museums to meet economic and social ends. This research has added to this literature through a critical account of the contemporary processes and power relations that take place when museums are positioned in this way. The thesis has traced these relations from governmental concerns, through to museum practice and then onto the museum users themselves. In doing this, the thesis has revised and refined how power should be conceived in the museum. By suggesting the concept of soft-disciplinary

power a much more nuanced understanding to the way museums interact with citizens has been detailed, moving away from the more 'traditional' accounts of the Foucauldian museum. In delineating this through empirical examples, the thesis has also shown the complexity and the openness of such power relations, showing that citizens are capable of interpreting governmental desires on their own terms. This gives considerably more agency to those who are considered marginalised in society in terms of how they rework the normalising ambitions of the state, which aims to produce more docile citizens. Therefore, in the application of this in relation to the museum's role as a space for fostering social inclusion and citizenship, there are qualifications and limitations to the degree at which the museum can have an impact. This revolves around the extent and depth to which the museum can impact upon society, as has been shown. GM has only been able, through its outreach work, to engage a small proportion of the population. This suggests that the wider governmental goals of New Labour are a little out of reach in terms of their overall ambition for the museum.

In following the museumisation of the city, the thesis has contributed to a more precise understanding as to how cultural assets are envisaged and implemented in the city. Through looking at the production of the Riverside Museum, the thesis has highlighted how the urban growth and enhancement agenda has produced a cultural-moral economy in the production of cultural space. By showing how elites envisage the 'good city' through the production of cultural infrastructure, the thesis has shown that although economic concerns are present, the production of 'good citizens' also requires cultural nourishment. This therefore refines Ruppert's (2006) work as, by encompassing the cultural, a stronger understanding is given to why museums are produced in the urban landscape. Further to this, the example of regeneration through the Riverside Museum has shown that it follows many of the discourses consistently found in other forms of neo-liberal regeneration. In showing this, there is the perennial question as to whether neo-liberal urban regeneration is socially divisive; Riverside suggests this will not necessarily be as simple as a zero-sum outcome. For example, just as Kelvingrove a century earlier, and in its recent refurbishment, had tapped into a sense civic pride (and even manufacturing such emotions to the city is itself a technique of governmentality), Riverside – with its display of the social history of transport and iconic building – may well generate similar feelings again for the city.

### **8.3 – Reflecting Back**

There is now a need to critically reflect back on what this thesis has achieved and to discuss some of the potential limitations that have occurred in its production. This will take place through two lines of discussion; firstly, to discuss why through the course of the

thesis, certain 'slippages' have occurred between the early literature review chapters and the later empirical ones. Secondly, there is also a need to think through how the methodological choices that have been made in the production of this thesis have greatly influenced the type of knowledge that has been produced, ultimately an epistemology question, and how orientation has inadvertently led to some of the before mentioned mismatches.

Initially, this thesis attempted to place Glasgow's museums within discourses of urban regeneration and wider governmental strategies that sought to promote the city for attraction of inward investment. Here, the primary focus was upon selling Glasgow as a post-industrial location that had moved beyond the trauma and negative externalities of industrialisation, followed by the processes and associated social problems related to de-industrialisation. This presented the city's museums as spaces that are produced within the urban landscape in order to fulfil a particular set of capitalist needs for the city (Lefebvre, 1991; Harvey, 1976), a process that could be observed from their inception upon the cityscape through to the present day (as was shown in Chapters Five and Seven). However, as the research process progressed, it became apparent that this was only one possible way of viewing the discourses upon which Glasgow's museums sit, and electing to follow an alternative set of discourses within the production of museum space and practice, has arguably led to some of the before mentioned mismatches. This particularly became apparent in Chapter Six, where something different to the promotion of regeneration discourses was taking place within the internal spaces of the museums, indicating a divergent discourse that greatly influenced the work being conducted and resultant lived experience of participants. This represented a discourse that, although had potential benefits for the longer-term image of the city<sup>92</sup>, was far more focused upon making museum services more relevant to the city's residents rather than promoting them to external investors. Thus, following this organisational discourse within the work of GM meant that the focus of the thesis shifted from comprehending museums as spaces of (cultural) regeneration, towards critically assessing them within discourses of cultural citizenship, and so the focus became more about 'selling places' internally to the city's population.

This innovative step, to move away from more structural and governmental concerns, represented a developing fascination as the research progressed, to understand further what cultural activity and participation actually meant to those involved. Through interviews and observation, Chapter Six builds a strong picture, highlighting the different ways in which the policy discourses created by governmental concerns, such as social

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<sup>92</sup> By making citizens more culturally involved there is the potential to create a larger 'audience' for further cultural investment.

inclusion and cultural citizenship, could in the process of being implemented, be interpreted by museum practitioners and participants in a number of innovative and lively ways. This suggested that, as the research attempted to understand the nuanced nature of such power relations, the focus became much more about understanding the nature of individual cultural experiences and how this led to a variety of productive outcomes for group members. This showed how such experiences could move beyond a pessimistic and critical gaze and suggest, by following Foucault's (1988) conception of 'technologies of the self', that a much more optimistic and pluralised account to power could be perceived in the work of 'outreach'.

Finally, a critical point to reflect back on is the way in which the choice to use participant observation and interviews as the primary research methods led to such an account being developed. There is no doubt that the choice of methods has directly resulted in the type of knowledge that this thesis has produced. For example, had a much more generalised research technique been used, such as visitor surveys, a very different account to cultural experiences would undoubtedly have been given. This would have created a much more 'detached' account, whereas being directly involved with the participants, experiencing with them a variety of cultural activities and seeing their transformations, led to a 'closer' account of such experiences. Therefore, it is these methodological choices that directly created the 'slippages' between the initial literature review chapters and the later empirical ones, as the thesis became more concerned in parts with interpreting the lived experience of participants rather than the structural concerns of the local state.

## **8.4 – The 'Glasgow Model' and Beyond**

The final section of this conclusion and thesis will now move to cover two final discussions in order to draw this thesis to a close. The first part will directly engage with what could be termed the 'Glasgow Model', as throughout this thesis the work of GM and the wider intentions of the local state have been under scrutiny. This will therefore bring together a variety of threads in terms of characterising Glasgow's attempts to sell itself as a post-industrial location. The second part will then move the discussion beyond Glasgow, to give some final thoughts on the role of cultural practice in relation to much more structural arguments surrounding its position in relation to promoting urban regeneration, citizenship and social inclusion.

In researching the position of Glasgow's museums within the wider apparatus of the local state, this thesis has shown how such institutions are situated in a variety of different and sometimes competing or contradictory discourses. This multiplicity of trajectories for the various museums represents how at different levels of governance, different frictions

(Paddison, 1988) are encountered in the implementation of policy. Within the urban setting of Glasgow, this has led to a unique set of circumstances which have helped produce a distinctive museum service. This is a museum service that has in part been produced through having to deal with tensions created from such divergent discourses, and in stating this, it becomes apparent, as shown in Chapter Five, that such work needs to be placed within a longer history of 'selling' Glasgow through cultural infrastructure such as museums. This started in the city's late-Victorian period, where use of international exhibitions and the building of Kelvingrove represented articulations of the city's growing wealth and status that attempted to make powerful external statements, through to attempts in the 1980s to reinvent the city's image and economy towards a post-industrial future, where new articulations of culture and the building of the Burrell museum made specific statements in order to move away from an industrial past. And, on to the present day, where the building of a flagship museum is again being used to continue a tradition of image enhancement through the building of cultural locations. However, throughout the city's history such institutions have not just been built with the sole purpose of creating grand external messages; they have also integrated strong paternalistic intentions too. This is built upon a strong tradition in Glasgow, derived from the days of 'municipal socialism' of the Victorian period, through to the decision to build the Riverside Museum, that such spaces offer vast benefits to the city in being able to improve citizens' lives. Hence, to a certain extent the uniqueness of the Glasgow Model, its diverse set of museums and socially engaged museological approach, is built upon a failure to break away from a top-down approach in its attempts to provide cultural infrastructure for the city. The Riverside Museum is an example *par excellence* of this taking place, where the city leadership decided that this was the approach to be taken and subsequent layers of government articulated this vision into reality. This therefore reflects the continual shifting terrain of discourses that envelop the museum, as its role moves between being a catalyst of regeneration (selling the city) to a place of social inclusion ('connecting' people with each other and into the job market) to cultural citizenship (promoting their well-being) and reflects the much broader and contested terrain of cultural planning within the city. It is this realm of cultural planning within Glasgow, and the lack of a defined cultural planning system for the city, that leads to such a paternalistic and top-down approach taking place where the city council and the CIC, Glasgow Life, can continue to make decisions regarding cultural provision with little in the way of a more inclusive or participatory approach being taken.

Having depicted how Glasgow has attempted to mediate the different discourses that surround the production of museums in the city, this final section of the thesis will end by broadening the discussion to consider again, in light of the empirical data, those wider goals set for the museum by New Labour's desires (detailed in Chapters Two and Three)

to make museums more socially responsible and inclusive. Within the policy documents that articulated these goals, there was a real sense that the museum could be used to make a lasting difference to those in marginal situations in society. New Labour sought to engage the museum in their own political ideology towards citizenship and social inclusion, and wished to see the museum become a space that could engender various policy goals. Illustrations of this taking place have been the renewed interest in the museum as a space for citizenship development, the linking of museums to social inclusion and justice agendas, and finally an attempt to reassert the position of museums in society as a space for cross-generational learning (Lifelong Learning). These policies, and the political discourses that constructed them, meant that the museum became a medium for promoting a New Labour ideology. This has been reflected in the conceptions of citizenship and inclusion that have been created around the museum (as discussed in Chapter Three). In Glasgow we see that similar policy trends have been adhered to despite, as expressed in Chapter Five, a claim that Glasgow to a certain extent operates as 'a city state'<sup>93</sup> or that it was implementing such policies long before New Labour was in office<sup>94</sup>. The fact remains that similar pathways have been taken. Thus, in summing up this positioning to the museum, a final question will be asked: to what extent can we expect the museum, and an enhanced accessibility to its cultural entitlements, to create a truly inclusionary society?

Fraser (2003) argues that, in order for society to be more just and inclusive, there is the need for two politics to be in place; as she states: *'It is my general thesis that justice today requires both redistribution and recognition. Neither alone is sufficient'* (2003:9). Only together, Fraser argues, can any form of social justice or inclusion take place. The politics of recognition serves to acknowledge that a marginalised group exists and has a right to express itself politically in public. A politics of redistribution attempts to ensure that their position of marginality is changed in a material form. The case studies in this thesis suggest there was a sense that the museum was involved in enacting a politics of recognition. In attempting to locate marginalised citizens and cater for their needs, and in order to connect them to their cultural entitlements, GM created spaces in the city that allowed citizens to express themselves, which resulted in an influential statement being made to those that were involved. Despite this, in interviews with those involved, even with such positive experiences helping them to deal with a whole variety of issues, it did not appear to have created any material change in their lives away from the museum. Added to this, the outreach work depicted in this thesis was only ever able to engage with a very small number of people. This questions both the reach of such work and the extent to which it can truly engage even a politics of recognition in any meaningful way, let alone

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<sup>93</sup> Charlie Gordon – MSP, 2009.

<sup>94</sup> Mark O'Neil – Head of GM, 2009.

a politics of redistribution. This was highlighted by curators in the Sacred Journeys project, who were disappointed that their exhibition and attempts to build interfaith dialogue never went beyond a small selection of people who regularly attended. Meanwhile in the city, issues related to faith-based crime/sectarianism still remain. It is these realities that question the extent to which the museum (and indeed, cultural policy more generally) is able to tackle exclusion and (in the case of Sacred Journeys) prejudice. There is a disjuncture in terms of what policy states a museum can do in theory and what it is actually equipped to do (Tlili, Gewirtz and Cribb, 2007). Belfiore (2002, 2006 and 2009) reflects upon this difficult position with regards to the role of cultural activity in creating a socially inclusive society. She argues that such policies have little value in truly dealing with the root causes of an unequal society. Therefore, Frazer and Belfiore come to argue that cultural policy fails to address, on its own, the wider systemic problems of society, hence meaning that the museum as an institution in its own right cannot have the impact that the state or even some museum professionals may wish it to have. It has at times been inappropriately placed as an instrumental actor within society, suggesting it would be better positioned as having a more constitutive role (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000). This is reflected in Harvey's comment: *'The trouble with all of this cultural emphasis is that it has directed attention away from the general problem'* (1993:14), suggesting that a shift towards a politics of recognition hides the more important work of a politics of redistribution; and to a certain extent this is one view that can be taken from my empirical findings.

However, in presenting a Foucauldian account of the museum, a much more intricate and nuanced set of power relationships have been shown to be taking place. Through the production of museum space and the social practices that have ensued, the empirical chapters are rich in findings that suggest that on an individual level the institutional power of the museum can produce an enabling potential. This allows citizens to interpret such power and experiences on their terms and to side-step the highly prescriptive governmental agendas that frame such museum work. Therefore, in this context, the museum can have an influence upon the everyday lives of participants or visitors but only in very a limited and potentially short-term fashion. This suggests that, overall, the museum's ability to produce a soft-disciplinary power can only ever go so far in producing good, docile citizens.

Finally, in characterising the Glasgow Model and then by broadening the discussion beyond, this thesis has given an account from an institutional and governmental perspective, and has shown how the strong paternalistic intentions (throughout the city's history) towards the planning of cultural investment, has led to a unique set of circumstances being developed in Glasgow. However, this interestingly only addresses

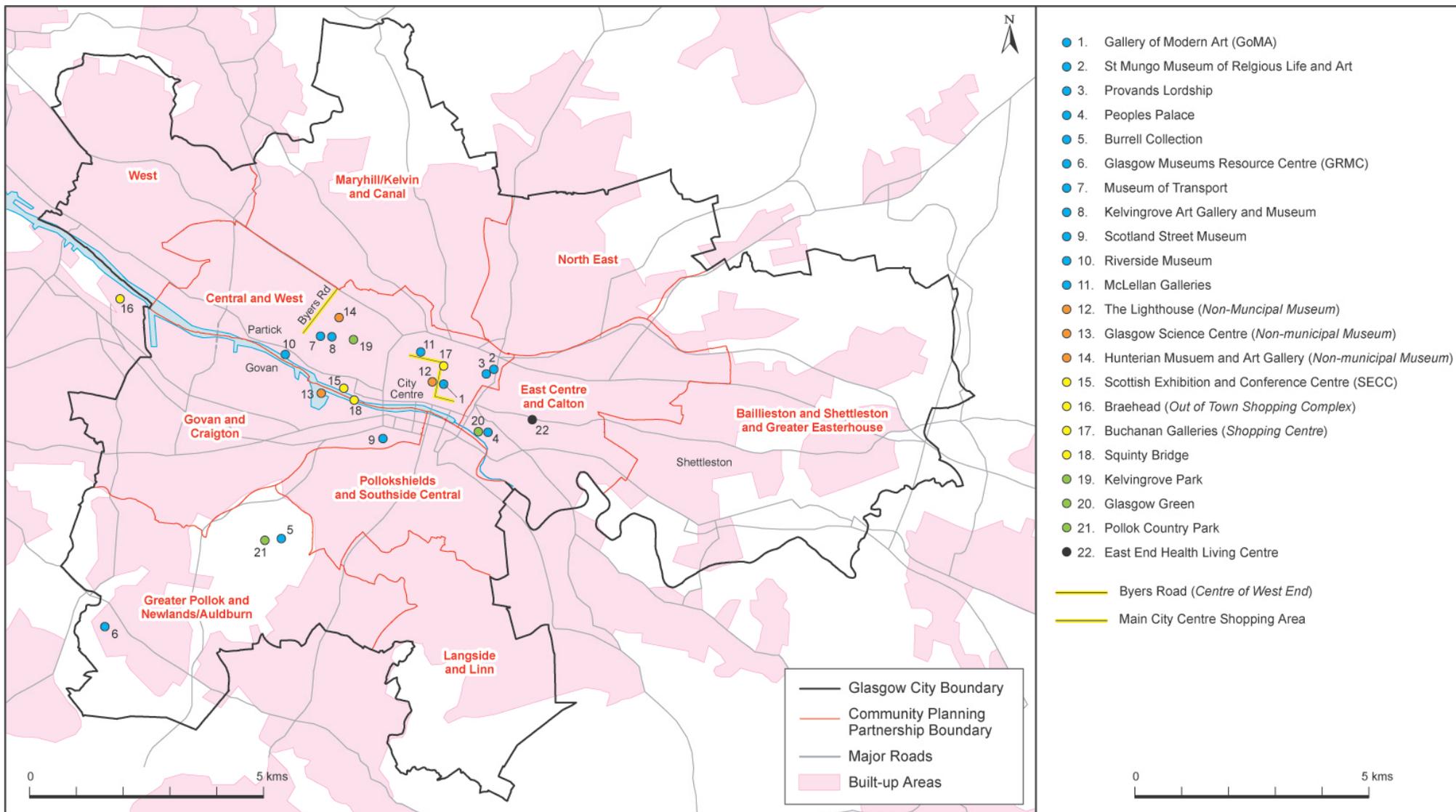
the role of the arts and culture within society from one perspective and opens up a much wider set of questions with regards to their role in non-governmental and non-institutional settings. Museums are not the only organisations and spaces that offer the opportunity to become culturally involved, and the state is not the only provider of such activities. Therefore, this final section wants to broaden this research project to think primarily about what happens when such cultural practices move beyond the institutional setting of the museum.

In following the practices of GM and the subsequent effects upon participants, a question that kept slipping into my thoughts was the extent to which the institutional setting of the museum and the surrounding governmental discourses really mattered to processes of soft-disciplinary and self-transformation taking place within the various groups. The museum offered a fertile research setting, but did it really matter with regards to the micro-practices of these groups? One way perhaps to understand further this matter would be to take a more comparative approach to a variety of different cultural activities. For example, alternative possibilities could firstly, following the work of GM's Open Museum, explore a museum without a location. This would prove fascinating, potentially uncovering the power relations between curators and participants played out away from the institutional setting of the museum. Added to this there are a variety of artists and cultural practitioners who produce socially engaged work, with excluded groups, with no governmental or institutional setting and therefore this would also produce an interesting comparison to see how such different motivations and discourses impact upon individuals. Another possibility could also be the type of activity being conducted. There are a variety of activities discussed in this thesis, but do differing forms of cultural activity produce significantly different outcomes within individuals? Finally, there is also a need to consider how market forces influence the nature of cultural experiences. As Wu (2002) noted, there has been a growing trend in businesses sponsoring cultural activities and influencing the work of cultural practitioners<sup>95</sup>. Do such investments change the nature and resultant outcomes of such work? All these questions seem equally engaging 'jumping-off' points to continue research into what is an ever more intriguing and captivating field.

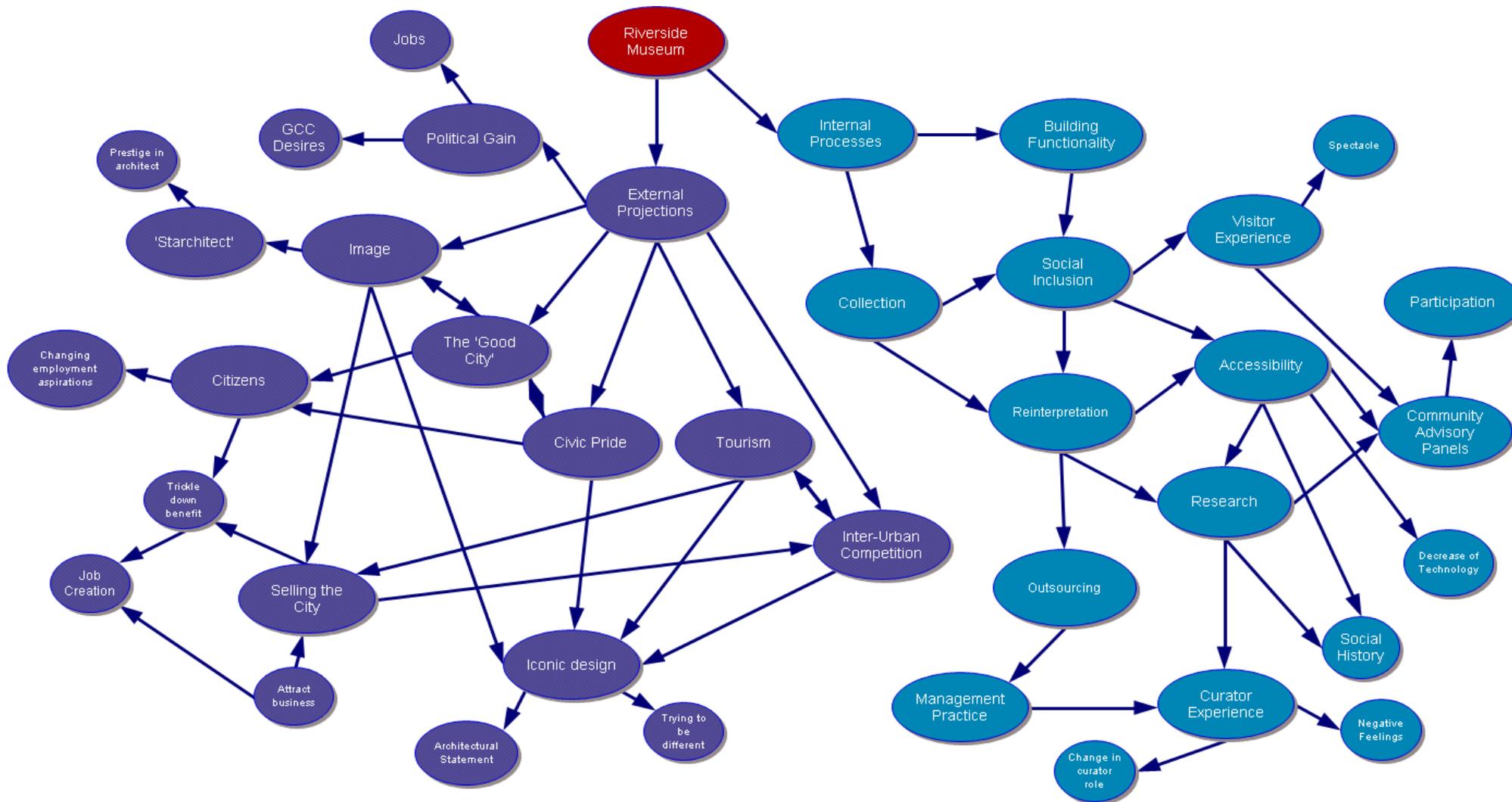
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<sup>95</sup> For example, when the Riverside Museum opens, BAE Systems will be sponsoring part of the Learning and Access provision for the new museum

# Appendix A – Map of Glasgow and Important Locations



## Appendix B – Coding Tree Example – Riverside Museum



## Appendix C – Coding Table – Riverside Museum External Projections

Code Name	Description	Where the code came from	Example of Code
Image	Essential in promoting the city	Interviews with elites	In terms of external marketing you are very much using imagery that people can visit
The 'Good City'	Discourse describing practices for making good citizens	Ruppert, 2006	There is an inverted snobbery from a lot of Glaswegians about tourism as they see it as servile industry and all the rest of it
Civic Pride	Desire to make Glasgow better than anywhere else	Interviews with elites	Very much a statement you know Glasgow's self confidence
Tourism	Reason for building the museum	Wider entrepreneurial discourse	And everyone is competing from the same pot for audience share
Inter-urban competition	Need to compete with other cities	Wider entrepreneurial discourse	I think possibly with other cities in the UK, we probably are competing with those
Starchitect	Importance of having a prominent architect	Interviews with elites and museum staff	It's reminding everybody across the world that we've got, well basically the balls to commission a hugely controversial but marvellous, wonderful architect
Selling the City	Need to promote the city's image	Wider entrepreneurial discourse	a lot of that revolves around the grand proposition of 'Glasgow: Scotland with Style'
Iconic Design	Need for museum to a 'location' in itself	Interviews with elites and museum staff	I think Riverside will be another iconic building when it opens, completely different but it will be another building in of itself that is architecturally
Jobs	Suggestions that regeneration will provide further jobs	Interviews with elites/Policy documents	who don't have the sort of skills to adapt to the more diversified economy we've got
Political	Data that discusses the political backing the project received	Interviews with elites	The Riverside museum was the idea of the leader of the Council Charlie Gordon
Changing Employment Aspirations	Moving citizens towards service industry jobs	Interviews with elites	That that's finished lets move on as opposed to saying in more detail what bits could be made to work...Glasgow decided anyway to go with the service sector
Attract Business	Need to create such location to attract business	Interviews with elites	But also to drive the policies of a city council towards visitors, conferences
Architectural Statement	Prestige in the city being able to build such a building	Interviews with elites	They present an image that we were saying that if we are going to put new buildings in, then we are willing to experiment with new designs
Trying to be Different	Need to create 'Glaswegian' landscapes	Interviews with elites and museum management	The whole cultural world is one way in which we found that our city was different

## Appendix D – Coding Table – Riverside Museum Internal Processes

Code Name	Description	Where the code came from	Example of Code
Building Functionality	Need to make building accessible to all	Policy Documents/Interviews with museums staff	I think we have probably done quite a good job of making that building accessible
Collection	Changing the collection for the new museum	Policy Documents/Interviews with museums staff	We're also going to be displaying the transport collection in a very different and unique way
Accessibility	Reason for collection reinterpretation and building change	Policy Documents/Interviews with museums staff	I suppose it's about making and giving as many effective ways of communication between people and objects
Reinterpretation	Issues to do with changing how the collection is displayed	Policy Documents/Interviews with museums staff	I think a lot of the displays were about the curator telling the public what they wanted the public to know rather than the other way around.
Social Inclusion	Central agenda in expression of new museum space	Policy Documents/Interviews with museums staff	Social inclusion kind of underpins the whole of what Glasgow museums does.
Visitor Experience	Need to understand what the visitor wants and needs from new museum	Policy Documents/Interviews with museums staff	People find it really difficult to read text in museums. You know, one in four people in Glasgow have below average literacy levels
Research	Process in learning how to display objects and relate them to visitors	Policy Documents/Interviews with museums staff	Our panels are there for two purposes: they are there for us to consult with and to get feedback on what we are doing, and to ensure that what we are doing meets the needs of the audiences
Outsourcing	Discussions around delivery of museum and personnel brought in	Interviews with museums staff	We outsourced the curatorial team because there just wasn't anybody
Management Practice	How the management has organised implementing the new museum	Interviews with museums staff	one can't always have the same inclusiveness once decisions have been taken in order to hold on to financial budget
Curator Experience	Opinions of curators	Interviews with museums staff	I think it's quite widely known that there were a lot of staffing issues. A huge number of people left in the course of the Riverside project

Change in Curator Role	Curators opinions on their position in the process	Interviews with museums staff	It was actually quite a difficult thing for the curators to do because in the past, when they were doing re-displays basically, the curator was in charge.
Negative Feelings	Curators feelings implementing the new museum	Interviews with museums staff	And it was very obvious that I was being deliberately excluded from meetings, particularly where I had a viewpoint that opposed theirs
Spectacle	Need for internal layout to match external image	Interviews with museums staff	the key attracts which are the really big show stoppers in the museum
Decrease of technology	Changes in how the collection is displayed	Interviews with museums staff	All our research to date shows us that people are really not interested in how a tram is designed
Social History	Changes in how the collection is displayed	Interviews with museums staff	what we're trying to inject into Riverside is much more a social history perspective, so looking at the people behind the object

## **Appendix E – Glasgow’s Other Museums**

### **Glasgow Museums Resource Centre (GMRC)**

The Glasgow Museums Resource Centre was built in order to hold the un-shown parts of the GM’s collection and it opened in 2008. It is a state of the art museum store for the city that is accessible to the public through an arranged tour. The centre is on the South Side of the city in an area called Nitshill.

Glasgow Museums has developed a diverse set of museums in order to tackle what it sees as its key strategic goals. Each of the museums is significantly different and reflects the key museological concerns of the service at either the time of its opening or building.

### **Scotland Street School Museum**

Designed and built by Charles Rennie Mackintosh between the years of 1903-06, it was originally a school that eventually closed in 1979. It was then converted into a museum and presents the history of education in Scotland and is primarily aimed at school children.

### **Provand's Lordship**

The Provand’s Lordship is Glasgow's oldest remaining house, which was built in 1471. It sits opposite the St Mungo Museum in the city centre. It is largely furnished with 17<sup>th</sup> century furniture.

### **People's Palace**

The Palace was built in 1898 as a glasshouse and museum for the population of the East End; it sits within Glasgow Green and is the furthest east in the city of all the museums. Since the 1940s it has been used to tell the social history of Glasgow with its last major reinterpretation being in 1993.

### **The Open Museum**

The Open Museum is a museum with no specific location (but is based at GMRC). It was started in 1990 and pioneers outreach work for the service. It consists of various handling kits that are sent out to different community groups in order to allow greater access to the collection and it also facilitates community groups to develop their own exhibitions.

### **The Burrell Collection**

Built in 1983, the Burrell Collection is situated in the South of the city within the grounds of Pollok Park. It was built to house the collection of Sir William Burrell and contains a unique art collection, reflecting his interests. The museum has not had any large scale change in its displays since its opening. The building of the Burrell also sat within the wider regenerative aims of the city at that time as the city wished to reinvent itself as a post-industrial location.

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