Regulation and the Roles of Art Museum Education in China and Taiwan

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Abstract

This thesis examines the current educational roles of art museums in China and Taiwan under diverse political regimes and social regulation. It is based on case studies of five art museums at both the national and local levels in these two locations. The selection of the case study museums under different levels of governance is aimed at not only identifying the museums' educational roles, but also understanding how the diverse external influences have shaped the roles of museum education. The data collected through the case studies derives from interviews with the Museum Director and Head of education of each institution, together with non-participatory observations of the educational activities conducted at the case study museums.

The thesis is underpinned by the theoretical foundations primarily of Tony Bennett, Antonio Gramsci, Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu. The thesis begins with the adoption of Bennett's concept on the instrumentality of culture. It takes on Bennett's view on culture as a constituted field of government, and examines the government policy related to museum education to demonstrate the distinctiveness of culture as a produced surface of social regulation. In this regard, governmental programmes which aim to transform the conduct of the target groups are inscribed into specific cultural institutions. Following this is an investigation into the power-relations of the case study museums based on the concept of governmentality of Foucault. In this approach, the case study museums are viewed as social apparatuses for social management. The practices of the museums are adjusted according to their relationship with their governing bodies and other cultural institutions and organisations involved in these power-relations. The study argues that museums' educational roles are not only regulated by the 'top-down' power from the government, but also the actors who are involved in the field of museum education. To claim this, the analysis chapters investigate the adjustments to the educational roles at the bottom level of the educational practices of the case study museums, based on Bourdieu's concepts of field, capital and habitus. Finally, the thesis concludes with a comparison of the roles performed by the selected museums at different levels of governance and under diverse political regimes. The study argues that different theoretical frameworks are better

suited to understanding one historical period and set of circumstances than another. The Gramscian framework helps us to understand Chinese and Taiwanese cultural policy and practice respectively under past regimes (e.g. under Mao, or under Martial Law), while the Foucauldian and Bourdieuean frameworks allow for a more articulated understanding of the contemporary situation.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Research Motivation

The Chinese settlers in Taiwan (as distinct from the aboriginal Taiwanese groups) and the influence of Chinese culture and society formed commonalities and a relationship between China and Taiwan prior to the 20th century. Since then, the isolated relationship between these two locations has been exacerbated by a breakdown in communication and heightened political divergence. In the second half of the 20th century, education followed a path laid out by the diverging political principles of these two locations, and subsequent change that occurred to these political principles resulted in a loosening of the political control over the current educational and cultural practice. Due to the lack of communication and the difficulties associated with in obtaining research resources from across the Taiwan Strait in the past, limited research has focused on the comparative understanding of museum practice and museum education in China and Taiwan. Nonetheless, growing exchanges on museological sources have been conducted by museum professionals in China and Taiwan at several cross-strait museum conferences since the 1990s (Chinese Association of Museums, 2002). With this, and the attempts by both governments to develop a museum and cultural sector, utilising museum education as an additional resource for school education and public education, the amount of relevant research and comparative studies are expected to increase in both countries. However, to date, no research has been undertaken on the roles of art museum education and the power relations between the government and museum practice under the social and political conditions of China and Taiwan. Filling this gap, therefore, provides the rationale for, and, originality and value of, this study, which is important because the vast majority of studies in this area are located in the west.

Another factor is the relatively recent introduction of museum education in both China and Taiwan, meaning that this research is able to examine the power relations within this area as a burgeoning set of practices as opposed to an established one, with all of the dynamic political dimensions that this brings with it. A final consideration relates to the theoretical

frameworks used in the western museological literature for understanding the exercise of power in the museum context, especially the sphere of education. The most ubiquitous frameworks relate to theorisations of hegemony, governmentality and political agency, introduced by authors such as Antonio Gramsci, Michel Foucault, Tony Bennett and Pierre Bourdieu. These theoretical frameworks were developed in response to a specifically western historical experience of power relations and, in contrast, this study will apply them in relation to the field of museum education in China and Taiwan. The aim of this is both to shed light on the Chinese and Taiwanese situation and possibly to enrich the theoretical frameworks in question. In this context, one of the main achievements of this thesis is to develop these theoretical frameworks so that, while remaining distinct, they do not work against each other or compete as systems for understanding power relations.

Among all the theoretical frameworks applied in this research, the key theories underpinning the research on power relations are Gramsci's hegemony and Foucault's governmentality. Hegemony is concerned with the possession and intention of power imposed from a centralised location, whereas the latter aims to elucidate the effect of the exercise of power and the field of its application. The use of these frameworks is intended to shed new light on the cultural practices in China and Taiwan and upon the applicability of the theoretical frameworks themselves. By taking these theories into account, the research understands that the methods of power transmission operating in museum practice today in China and Taiwan may be different due to their diverse political systems *or* the power relations in cultural practice may be unaffected by the diversity of political regulation in these two locations. The research aims to examine how state power is exercised, the effects of the exercise of power, and the roles of the cultural institutions in China and Taiwan. This study argues that both China and Taiwan have shifted from an authoritative state under the authoritarian leadership of Mao Zedong and Chiang Kaisheck to a power relation between government and cultural practice that is closer to a capitalist state. It is identified that China as a communist country today no longer pursues state-education for the political education of the masses - for the formation of a hegemonic society in order to win the consent of the populace through the entire complex of practical and theoretical activities, as in Gramsci's civil society (Adamson, 1980: 165), whereas the

government's power is enacted diffusely, as micro-power, as described by Foucault, where power is not only imposed from above, with only one origin.

With this motivation in mind, the questions that arise and guide this research are:

1. What power relations exist between the government and cultural practice in China and Taiwan today?

2. How is the education *practice* of the case study museums in China and Taiwan regulated?

3. What are the roles of art museum education and the factors that influence the *roles* of museum education in the case study museums?

1.2 Aims and Objectives

Table 1 provides a detailed breakdown of the aims and objectives of this research:

Aim	Objective
1. To examine the socio-political conditions in which art museum education and government regulations regarding museums been developed in China and Taiwan.	1a. To investigate the development of museum education in the two locations. 1b. To examine the social and political conditions in which museum education have developed in the two locations. 1c. To understand how museum education is utilised for different policy ends.
2. To understand how the education *practice* of the case study museums is regulated by their governing bodies and related institutions.	2a. To investigate the power relations between the case study museums and their governing bodies. 2b. To understand how the case study museums are regulated by their governing bodies and other cultural institutions and organisations.
3. To investigate how the educational *roles* of the case study museums are shaped and adjusted.	3a. To examine the characteristics and scale of each case study museum. 3b. To identify the relationships between the actors and activities involved in the practice of museum education. 3c. To investigate how western educational theories and practices influence the educational practice of the case study museums. 3d. To identify the authority that the museums' senior officials possess with regard to their educational practice.

[Table 1] Research aims and objectives

1.3 Research Position

I am a Taiwanese national, who grew up in Taiwan until I came to the UK to study for my Master's degrees several years ago. Living and growing up in a region which is so close to mainland China, but having little opportunity to gain much information about the contemporary state of China through education in Taiwan up until the late 1980s, sparked my curiosity about modern China. This attempt to learn more about China today is evident from the research I undertook for my first Master's degree and my current PhD research. Having studied Fine Art for my first degree and Modern and Contemporary Art for my first MA, I wrote my MA dissertation on the politics and appropriations of contemporary art in China and Taiwan. The differences and similarities between China and Taiwan as a result of their shared background and distinct political regimes have always fascinated me.

Rather than confining myself to a research interest in 'Taiwan' as the main subject, I saw where my interests lay and my advantage in conducting research themed on 'China' as a Mandarin speaker, who has the ability to read both traditional and simplified Chinese to uncover material unknown to the wider research community. Therefore, I conducted this PhD research with the aim of understanding more about how museum education is influenced by the state and power relations under different political regimes. My research interests may appear to the readers of this thesis as partial and subjective in supporting certain political objectives i.e. pro-China or pro-Taiwan; however, I can affirm that debating the politics of China and Taiwan or the relations between the two is not my main interest, but, rather, the comparative study of the societies and social issues of the two political regimes. This enabled my research to answer my own questions and to contribute to the western research community. The fact that I have studied abroad for many years has enabled me to view the current affairs of China and Taiwan from a foreigner's perspective. This has limited the extent to which my viewpoint has been affected by the media and current political affairs in China or Taiwan, and has enabled me to make what I hope is a fair judgment of the analysis throughout this thesis.

1.4 Chinese-English Translations

As a result of the nature of this research and the different romanisation systems used to translate names in Mandarin Chinese, throughout the thesis, the Chinese names of the cited Chinese authors are translated into English according to the Hanyu Pinyin system and the names of the Taiwanese authors are translated according to the Wade-Giles spelling system. A document named 中国人名汉语拼音字母拼写法 (*Zhongguo renming hanyu pinyin zimupinxiefa*, The Spelling Techniques of Chinese Names in Hanyu Pinyin), published by the Committee for Reforming the Chinese Written Language in 1976, with regard to the official approach to spelling Chinese names in English,[1] states that, when using Hanyu Pinyin, Chinese names should be spelt as they are pronounced in Chinese; namely, the surname is followed by the first name, rather than *vice versa*, as with western names. Furthermore, all Chinese words in this thesis are supplied with their Pinyin spelling and translations in English in a consistent order. The Chinese characters supplied for the Chinese names and book names are shown in either simplified or traditional Chinese in accordance with the origin or location of the author.

1.5 Definitions

1.5.1 *Museum and gallery education*

Museum and gallery education is defined by Hooper-Greenhill (1991:1) as activities with educational purposes undertaken by museums and galleries as educational institutions, or, more specifically, as teaching sessions and events organised for adults and children. Hooper-Greenhill (1991: 5) adds that education in museums and galleries is associated with lifelong learning and with providing education linked to other educational institutions. Falk and Dierking (2000) note that learning in museums possesses the nature of a 'free-choice'. "Free-choice learning tends to be non-linear, is personally motivated, and involves considerable choice on the part of the learner as to what to learn, as well as where and when to participate in learning. In comparison to school education, museum and school education is different in that the former is free-choice rather than attainment-directed learning as in

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[1] The document is available from the website of the Ministry of Culture at: http://www.moe.edu.cn/edoas/website18/02/info19802.htm

schools." (Screven, 1969 and Gurian, 1981, cited in Liu, 2002: 24) Learning in art

museums is through visual media instead of verbal media, as in schools, and museum

education serves the general public, rather than schoolchildren and schools. The report,

Museums for a New Century: a Report of the Commission on Museum for New Century,

published by the American Association of Museums (AAM, 1984: 59), suggests that:

> it is the educational function of the museums that appeals to visitors seeking to make sense of their world. Museums offer broader continuing education than do schools. They convey information but they are far more than 'three dimensional textbooks', for they stimulate translation of the original into the context of personal values.

The educational practice of museums and galleries is not confined to the space in a

particular building, e.g. the museum sites. Graburn (cited in AAM 1984: 59), from an

anthropological point of view, perceives museum learning as a potential for constructing

cultural self-confidence and bridging the barriers of class and ethnicity. In this thesis, the

examination of museum and gallery education focuses on the educational activities that the

case study museums organise for diverse audiences, and the activities selected are not

confined to those conducted in the physical museum setting.

1.5.2 *Regulation, social regulation and the regulation of culture*

According to the Oxford Dictionary of English (Soanes and Stevenson, 2003) and Collins

English Dictionary (2006), 'regulation' in general means: 1) a rule, principle or condition

that governs and directs procedure or behaviour by an authority; 2) the act or process of

regulating or being regulated. In addition to these basic dictionary definitions, various

theorists have contributed further elucidation. Thompson (1997: 3) suggests that regulation

has a number of meanings, depending on the context. It can refer to something as specific

as government policies and regulations; however, at other times, it has the more general

sense of the reproduction of particular patterns and order of signifying practices. The usage

of the term 'regulation' in this thesis is interpreted in two ways; the first is that museum

education aims actively 'to regulate' in order to achieve the government targets, and the

second is that museum education is 'being regulated' passively by the government to

achieve certain objectives. These two interpretations of the word 'regulation' are

exemplified throughout the study, using case studies from China and Taiwan, to understand how museum education 'is regulated' and what museum education can do 'to regulate' the population. The study argues that museums are a means of social regulation for achieving and maintaining the social order, as regulation can be regarded as a form of social control over people's bodies, minds and behaviour. If the control is effective, it shapes their attitudes, beliefs and actions. In some cases, it reinforces the existing patterns while, in others, it changes them (Edwards, 1988: 1).

Regulation is often perceived as the attempt by a state to produce or prevent certain outcomes. It is considered a restricted action in safeguarding the rights and interests of the citizens, such as the regulation of health, safety, the environment and public goods (Cumming, 1968). However, it is equally important to note that providing protection or safeguarding rights is another method of control. Formal regulative activities normally occur within both adaptive and socialising institutions, and the service of these institutions reaches the population by virtue of their membership of the central social institutions. Cumming (ibid: 16-17) states that "when these services were left aside, however, there remained another, perhaps larger, group of agencies whose primary activity was social regulation of one sort or another". Hence, regulation exists in two transferable forms, 'services' and 'regulative activities', conducted by the social institutions. Their two forms shared the same meaning, albeit manifested in two different ways.

As mentioned previously, regulation can be regarded as an act of regulating or a state of being regulated. Although the act of regulating is often associated with the attempts of a government, the authority of regulating can also be held by forces other than a government. For instance, art museum education in this study is considered to be regulated by the forces not only of the governments of China and Taiwan, but also the institutions themselves, other cultural and education institutions/organisations and the individual actors involved in operating museum education. Thompson (1997: 3) explains this diverse influence upon the outcome of regulation as follows:

Regulation does not mechanically reproduce the status quo. It is a dynamic process that is often contested, and while the outcome is likely to be affected by economic pressures and power structures, […] also depends on the specific circumstances and on the creative actions of individuals and groups.

Among the different types of regulation, it is 'social regulation' which is the particular focus of this study when considering the potential educational roles performed by art museums. The term 'social regulation' often relates to the welfare of society and has become prominent in the last few decades (Bagheri, 2000: 24). Social regulation "focuses on the conditions under which goods and services are produced and distributed, as well as physical features of the products" (ibid). Although social regulation is connected to 'social norms', it can be further defined as regulation associated with rules and systems for social control. Therefore, this study examines not only regulation by the government, but also the cultural systems in which museums operate, by which they are regulated, and within which museum activities are adjusted.

In addition to social regulation, this thesis examines the regulation of culture, as museums are cultural institutions and their activities are cultural. The regulation of culture in sociology is closely related to the regulation of social relations, especially the institutionalised processes by which the social order is produced and reproduced (Thompson, 1997: 10). Museums can be regarded as being principally control institutions, like those of the mental health and the legal-judicial systems. The education services provided by museums are a form of social control which is welcomed and sought after, being perceived as helpful and constructive guidance (Edwards, 1988: 7). This coincides with the specific role of culture in the 19th century to bind societies together and facilitate social change. Bennett sees the 19th century European museums sharing the same concept as the Panopticon, as public museums were places for the self-regulation of the working classes and the inculcation of certain forms of public behaviour. The idea of the Panopticon that Foucault employs in his book *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison* is another way of understanding the concept of regulation. The design of the Panopticon allows a supervisor in the central tower to observe the prisoners in their cells. In each cell, each prisoner is alone, individualised and constantly visible (Foucault, 1991: 200). In the

Panopticon, there is no use of force to constrain the convict to adopt good behaviour; bars, chains and heavy locks are replaced by self-regulation under surveillance. Foucault (ibid: 202-203) states that:

> he who is subjected to a field of visibility, and who knows it, assumes responsibility for the constraints of power; he makes them play spontaneously upon himself; he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he becomes the principle of his own subjection. By this very fact, the external power may throw off its physical weight; it tends to the non-corporal; and, the more it approaches this limit, the more constant, profound and permanent are its effects: it is a perpetual victory that avoids any physical confrontation and which is always decided in advance.

The exhibitionary architecture of the 19th century public museums allows the public to watch over itself, incorporating a principle of self-surveillance and regulation, and thus "allowing the public to double as both the subject and object of a controlling look, the museum embodied what had been, for Bentham, a major aim of panopticism – the democratic aspiration of a society rendered transparent to its own controlling gaze" (Bennett, 1995: 101).

1.6 Methodology

In this section, the nature of the study, the methodological justification, and the theories selected in the theoretical framework to underpin the research will be clarified. The methodology section provides both practical and theoretical approaches, which are employed to investigate the research questions. The methodological approaches offer explanations regarding why particular methods were chosen to answer the research questions in a valid and reliable fashion.

1.6.1 *The nature of the research*

- Qualitative and exploratory research

This research applies qualitative research as the major methodological approach. Qualitative research is designed to explore the meanings, definitions, metaphors, characteristics and symbols that exist within its social context (Burns, 2000: 10-12). Regarding qualitative research on art education, Eisner (1979:12) states that qualitative research is concerned with processes rather than consequences, with organic wholeness rather than specific variables, and with meaning rather than behavioural statistics. This echoes Mason's (2002: 3) definition of qualitative research, as "it is grounded in a philosophical position which is broadly 'interpretive' in the sense that it is concerned with how the social world is interpreted, understood, experienced, produced and constituted". Qualitative research emphasises 'holistic' forms of analysis and explanation to produce a rounded, contextual understanding based on rich data (ibid: 3-4). The value of qualitative research is that it is relatively flexible. It studies what people are doing in their natural context; investigating processes as well as outcomes and meanings as well as causes (Hammersley, 1992, cited in Silverman, 2006: 349).

This exploratory research is undertaken to offer an insight into a situation which has not yet been explored in depth. The exploratory aspect of the research aims "to generate new ideas and weave them together to form grounded theory, or theory that emerges directly from data" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, cited in Stebbins, 2001: 9). By applying exploratory methods, the study investigates and explores the roles of art museum education in China and Taiwan under diverse influences. The methods applied in this research are 'investigative' and for 'discovery'. The term 'investigative' is used for the inquisitive processes of examining and investigating. In the sense of the exploration for 'discovery', it aims to discover an unfamiliar, unexplored research area in order to produce a better description and understanding (Stebbins, 2001: 2-3). In other words, the nature of this study is a broad but thorough investigation of the current roles of art museum education and how it is moulded within its social, political, cultural and educational contexts in China and Taiwan respectively.

- Comparative research

The other qualitative research method which is chosen for the study is comparative research. Similar cases, with many variables but different outcomes, are compared to see where the key differences lie. Cases that have the same outcome are examined to see which conditions they share in common, thereby revealing the necessary causes. The main purpose of this research is to reveal the differences in the roles of art museum education in China and Taiwan as a result of the individual influences to which each location is subjected. Hence, it would be beneficial to compare the roles of museum education in China and Taiwan, and between different levels of governance, to detect any differences. The comparison is based on the roles of education in the case study museums explored in the study to identify the differences and similarities, and further to discover the influences and causes of the variations in the roles of museum education.

1.6.2 *Methodological approaches*

The data used for this research involve primary and secondary sources. The primary data are collected through interviews and observations conducted at the five case study museums in China and Taiwan. The secondary data are primarily employed in the introductory chapters (Chapters 3 and 4) to investigate the relationships between museum education, government policy, and the wider socio-political and socio-cultural contexts. The following sub-sections present the methodological approaches adopted for the study and the justification for these methods being employed in this research. It begins with an illustration and justification of the application and analysis of the secondary data in this study, followed by an introduction to the selection of the case study museums, and the methods used for the collection and analysis of the primary data.

- Secondary data analysis

One of the major research methods for this exploratory research was the analysis of the secondary data. The analysis of secondary materials included the related literature, research reports, journal publications and online databases. A predominant amount of research using secondary data is analysed in the literature review, which surveys the amount of work

devoted to the research topic and previous research related to the current research questions. Historical research into secondary resources is the other main method applied to this research. Most of the secondary data were gathered from three locations (the United Kingdom, China and Taiwan) in the form of electronic or printed books, academic journals, theses, conference proceedings and government reports. As the policies and regulations regarding education and museum education in China and Taiwan are not all available through publications in the UK, the aid of online resources was necessary for this research. These include official government websites where reports and regulations can be found, such as the China Education and Research Network, People's Education Press, and the Cultural Policy Library.

- Case study research

Case study is a common research strategy in many subject areas; it allows investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events (Yin, 2003: 1-2). "Case study is used to gain in-depth understanding replete with meaning for the subject, focusing on process rather than outcome, on discovery rather than confirmation." (Burns, 2000: 460) Yin (2003: 13-14) defines a 'case study' as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident". Yin (ibid: 14) states that:

> the case study inquiry copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points, and as one result relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion, and as another result benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis.

In this study, five art museums at different levels of governance are selected in China and Taiwan. Interviews and observations are the techniques used for the collections of the primary data collection from the selected museums. How these two techniques are employed in the data collection at the case study museums will be introduced in the

following sections, followed by an introduction to the characteristics of the case study museums and the reason for selecting these institutions.

- Case study selections

The museums chosen for the case studies are the National Art Museum of China (NAMOC), the National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts (NTMOFA), the Guangdong Museum of Art (GDMOA), the Taipei Fine Arts Museum (TFAM) and the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts (KMFA). Among these institutions, there is a national museum selected in China and Taiwan respectively, a provincial museum in China, and two municipal museums in Taiwan. This provides the study with data collected from both national and local museums. The second chapter of *The Responsive Museum: Working with Audiences in the Twenty-first Century* looks at the role of the government and how it has brought about significant changes through policy and legislation. Lang, Reeve and Woollard (2006: 19) state that:

> anyone studying the place of museums and galleries in society has to understand both politics and government policy at the national and local level. The relationship of the government, both national and local, with its cultural institutions largely determines their function within the community and the type of services that they deliver.

The aim of this case study research is to gain insights into how government regulation influences the role of art museum education in specific institutions at different levels of governance in China and Taiwan. The case studies enabled data from the observations of the educational practice, the viewpoint of the museum officials on the autonomy of the museum education practice, and the museums' educational roles to be collected.

The characteristics of the case study museums will be introduced in more detail in Chapters 6 and 7 as part of the data analysis by examining the museums' governing bodies, funding structures, collections and exhibitions and their educational provision. There follow a figure and three tables containing information about the case study museums. Figure 1 shows the
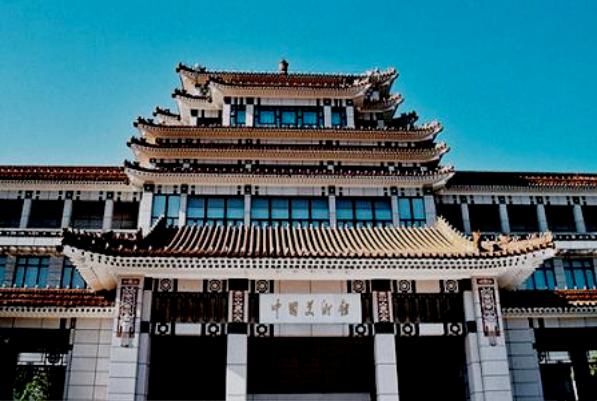
geographical location of the museums. The National Art Museum of China is located in Beijing. It was the first art museum to be founded in China and is the only national art museum in China today. The other national case study museum, the National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts, is located in Taichung, a city on the central west coast of Taiwan. This museum was founded in 1988 as a provincial museum. As a result of downsizing the government, the museum's governing body was changed to the Council for Cultural Affairs (CCA) of the central government in 1999. The three local case study museums are the provincial museum and the two city museums. The Guangdong Museum of Art was founded in 1997 as a provincial museum, and is located in Guangzhou, the capital of Guangdong province. The two city museums, the Taipei Fine Arts Museum and the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts, are both located in Taiwan. The Taipei Fine Arts Museum was the first art museum in Taiwan, founded in 1983 in Taipei, the capital of Taiwan. The Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts was founded in 1994, in Kaohsiung in southern Taiwan. Tables 2 and 3 contain pictures of the museums and general descriptions of their locations and buildings, the theme of the museums' collection and exhibition, and the focus of the current educational activities. Table 2 provides information on the two national museums in China and Taiwan respectively, while Table 3 introduces the local museums in the case studies. In addition to these two tables, Table 4 provides an at-a-glance summary of the annual budgets, government bodies, observed educational activities, and mission statements of the case study museums.

Initially, the Shanghai Art Museum was chosen as a case study because of its significance in promoting modern and contemporary art in China. It was considered that gaining an insight into its role as a leading art museum in China would assist the study in forming a holistic understanding of the roles of art museum education in China. However, the Head of Education at the Shanghai Art Museum was on maternity leave when the appointment was made for an interview, and her replacement was unable to participate. Regrettably, therefore, the Shanghai Art Museum was eliminated from the list of case study museums. However, the exclusion of the Shanghai Art Museum has not affected the research results or the quality of the data collected for the research analysis as there are other local museums in the case studies from which the research data could be collected to

complement the data collected from the national ones. Regarding the omission of the two National Palace Museums, the reason for this is due to the nature of the case study museums chosen for the study. The study is centred on the role of 'art museum education', with particular reference to modern and contemporary art museums. Therefore, as a result of the nature of the museums, the two Palace Museums, whose collections and exhibitions are centred on Chinese relics, were not selected for the case study analysis.
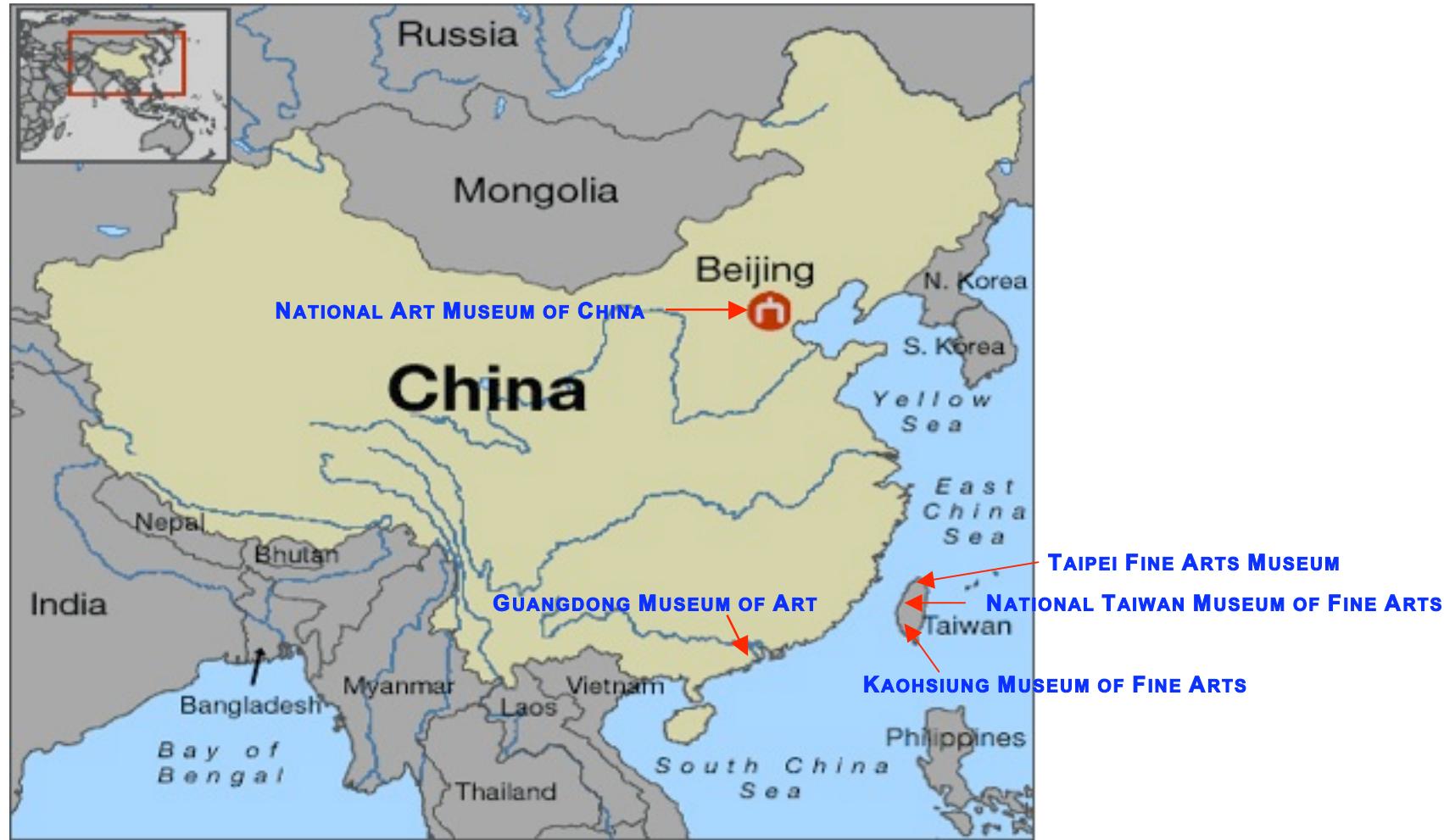
[Figure 1] Geographical locations of the case study museums

	National Art Museum of China	National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts
Museum photos		
Founding and building	- Founded in 1963 as the only art museum at the national level in China. - Overseen by the Ministry of Culture. - The architectural design, both inside and out, is based on an ancient Chinese building. The yellow roof symbolises the power of the Chinese Emperor.	- The museum was founded as a provincial museum in 1988. In 1999, the governing body was changed to the Council for Cultural Affairs and the museum became the first art museum at the national level in Taiwan. - The museum is surrounded by a park where outdoor displays are held. - It is now funded by the Executive Yuan (central government) through the Council of Cultural Affairs (equivalent to the Ministry of Culture in Taiwan).
Collection and exhibition	- The museum collection is centred on the modern and contemporary artwork of Chinese artists dating from around or shortly after the creation of the New China in 1949. - Exhibitions are held of the work of both international and Chinese artists. - The museum runs exchange or touring exhibitions to promote Chinese art.	- The collection consists of Taiwanese artwork spanning from the Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1911) Dynasties, through works of the colonial period to the modern and post-war era. - The exhibitions are centred on the artwork of Taiwanese artists. - The museum hosts the International Biennale Print and Drawing Exhibition, Taiwan Art Biennale and Asian Art Biennale.
Educational activity	- The educational aspect began by providing lectures for museum visitors in 2004. - The Education Department was established in 2005. - The target audience are the citizens of Beijing and minority groups. - The educational provision focuses on children's art education, museum/school collaboration, and lectures for university students in Beijing.	- The museum's collections and exhibitions are utilised as resources for 'recreational education' and 'outreach education' to serve family based audiences and school groups. - The museum provides online educational resources to schoolteachers. - The museum promotes online art learning. - There are spaces in the museum dedicated to art education: a Picture Book Area, a Children's Play Room, and a Teachers' Resources Centre.

[Table 2] The case study museums: national museums

	Guangdong Museum of Art	**Taipei Fine Arts Museum**	**Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts**
Museum photos			
Founding and building	- Established in 1997 in Guangzhou, the capital of Guangdong province and overseen by the Guangdong provincial government. - The museum is located on an island in central Guangzhou. Near the museum, there is the Xinghai museum hall, established in 1998. The island is now an exclusive and affluent area of the city. - There is a 5000 square metre sculpture garden surrounding the museum where outdoor displays are held. - Two other branches of the museum were established in 2003 and 2006 respectively in Guangzhou through the sponsorship of local building construction companies.	- Founded in 1983, this museum supervised by the Taipei Education bureau. The supervision was handed over to the Department of Cultural Affair of Taipei city government in 1999. - The first modern and contemporary art museum in Taiwan. - The museum is located in the Taipei Art Park where outdoor sculptural displays are held.	- The museum was founded in 1994 and located in the Neiweipi Cultural Park on the outskirts of Kaohsiung city. - It is overseen by the Bureau of Cultural Affairs of the city government. - The museum has a Children's Museum of Art, established in 2004.
Collection and exhibition	- The collection is centred on the 20th century and contemporary Guangdong art, and overseas Chinese contemporary art. - The museum hosts the Guangzhou Triennial. - The museum endeavours to collaborate with overseas museums to promote Chinese contemporary art.	- The museum's collection comprises artwork by both Taiwanese and international artists. - The museum hosts the Taipei Biennale and exhibitions seeking to promote international art exchange.	- The collections and exhibitions are centred on the works of Taiwanese artists, especially those native to southern Taiwan. - The two major categories of the museum's collection are: sculpture and calligraphy.
Educational activity	- The Education Department was established in 2004. - The Training Centre was opened in 2000, providing fee-paying art classes for local schoolchildren. - A mobile museum project was begun in 2007 at the museum.	- The museum runs fee-paying art classes for Taipei citizens. - The Art Resource Centre acts as a supplement to experiential learning for children's art education for school and family groups. - Close museum-school collaboration was established in 2008 (written into the curriculum). - The museum has provided learning opportunities for civil servants, based on the lifelong learning project, since 2002.	-The museum integrates and provides art resources for the local community through schoolteachers and volunteers. - The educational activities of the museum are designed based on the concept of cultural diversity, such as aboriginal culture in Taiwan. - Multi-media and interactive distance learning are provided online for education outside the museum. - The museum provides learning opportunities for civil servants based on the lifelong learning project since 2002.

[Table 3] The case study museums: local museum

	Annual budget	Funding bodies	Activities observed	Mission statement
National Art Museum of China	In 2008, the Education Department received £10K.	- Art Division, Arts Department, Ministry of Culture - Private sponsors	- 18 Oct 2008: guided tour and drawing session for disabled children. - 18 Oct 2008: guided tour activity session for members of staff of the museum sponsor, UBS. - 19 Oct 2008: lecture for university students based on a current exhibition, the UBS Art Collection: 1960s to the present.	- The museum is dedicated to the collection, research and exhibition of modern and contemporary artistic works in China. - To provide art education for the general public, especially teenagers.
National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts	In 2006, the museum received 414,724,000 Taiwanese dollars (around £8.3 million; the latest annual budget provided on the museum website).	- Council of Cultural Affairs (CCA), Executive Yuan. - Private sponsors.	- 6 Sep 2008: educational activity for the 13th International Biennial Print Exhibition, R.O.C. and the exhibition, Indelible Marker: Woodblock Printing in Taiwan (1945-2005). - 7 Oct 2008: guided tour for pensioners from the Bodhi Ren-ai Senior Citizens' Home.	- To safeguard Taiwanese art from the late Qing Dynasty and promote digitised learning, archives and exhibitions. - To provide art education for children and local communities. The museum aims to connect art with the daily lives of museum audiences.
Guangdong Museum of Art	Impossible to obtain from the museum.	- Department of Culture, Guangdong Provincial Government. - Sponsors, mainly local building construction companies.	- 20 Sep 2008 from 8.45-10.15 observed sketch class at the galleries for the Guangdong Triennial, from 10.30-12.00 observed calligraphy class, and from 14.00-17.00 observed advanced art class. - 21 Sep 2008, from 10.30-12.00 observed an art class for pre-school children.	- To promote contemporary Guangdong art and overseas Chinese contemporary art. - To provide art education for the local community and the citizens of Guangzhou city.
Taipei Fine Arts Museum	396,843,930 Taiwanese dollars (around £7.9 million) in 2010.	- Department of Cultural Affairs, Taipei City Government. - Private sponsors	- 31 Aug 2008, educational activity of the Educational Exhibition for primary schoolchildren. - 10 Sep 2008, educational activity for the visit of Taoyuan Primary School.	- The museum promotes modern and contemporary Taiwanese art and acts as a link for sharing art between Taiwan and other countries. - To enhance Taipei citizens' quality of life through art.
Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts	2,182,200 Taiwanese dollars (around £43K) in 2008.	- Bureau of Cultural Affairs, Kaohisung City Government. - Private sponsors	- 12 Aug 2008, observed the participants' interaction with the displays in the galleries of the Children's Museum of Art.	- The museum collects and exhibits Austronesian art, and showcases the history of the arts in Taiwan. - Museum's objective: localising international art and globalising local art.

[Table 4] At-a-glance summary of the case study museums

- Interview development

The type of interview employed in this study was one-to-one interviews with the Directors and Heads of Education at the case study museums. Appendix 1 provides a list of the case study museums, the names of the interviewees and the dates when the interviews were conducted. The interview questions were designed to be open-ended and semi-structured to allow the interviewees to elaborate on their responses. McCormick and James (1983: 204) identify the benefit of using open-ended and semi-structured questions as being "to predetermine responses with deliberately structured questions in advance, however allowing space for the interviewees to formulate their replies with the open-ended nature of the questions".

Two sets of interview questions were drawn up for the museum Director and the Heads of Education respectively (the interview questions are listed in Appendices 2 and 3). The questions aim to explore the insights into how the educational activities and the educational department are run, the museums' educational objectives and which actors are involved in the museums' educational practice. More specifically, the interview questions for the Museum Directors are structured to explore the relationship between the governing bodies and the museums, how funding affects the educational activities, and how much autonomy the museums possess with regard to the planning and content of their educational activities. On the other hand, the questions for the Heads of Education are focused on the relationships between the education department and the other museum departments, the current education practice and the target audience, and the collaboration of the education department with other educational and cultural institutions. The interviews lasted approximately an hour, and were tape-recorded, transcribed by the researcher and then verified by the interviewees. Of the eleven interviews, one is a paper interview and two of the others were not recorded, at the request of the interviewee. Although the transcripts of the paper and non-recorded interviews are shorter than the others, since the interview questions are identical, the responses to them all are considered valuable and contributed to the data analysis chapters (Chapters 6 and 7) of the thesis. Before the interviews were conducted, a consent form allowing quotes from the interview to be used in the thesis was

signed by each interviewee (see Appendix 4 for an example). The transcriptions were provided to all of the interviewees to give them an opportunity to correct or clarify them, if necessary. This is in line with Newcastle University's ethics procedures and standards (http://www.ncl.ac.uk/hss/research/ethics).

When conducting the interviews, the critical criteria for a good research interview, initiated by Kvale (1996), were taken into account. Kvale (ibid: 20) indicates that researchers are required to possess "the methodological awareness of question forms and to be able to focus on the dynamics of interaction between interviewer and interviewee, [and to pay] attention to what is said". The nature of interviews involves understanding and making assumptions about the situation, which distinguishes interviews from casual conversations (Denscombe, 1983 and Silverman, 1985, cited in Denscombe, 2003: 163). In addition to information recorded from the responses to the interview questions, the researcher made field notes on non-verbal communication, the clues behind the statements and the environment in which the interviews were conducted in order to provide additional information.

The ten chosen interviewees are believed to be the key players in the field. The information obtained from them was considered credible and eligible in offering an insight into the perspectives of the administrators at a higher level of the museum administration. However, the researcher was aware that some of the interviewees might have been reluctant to express their views as a result of their age and position, particularly in China, as these individuals may have experienced the Cultural Revolution. As a result of the political concerns, the interviewees may have only expressed partial views or even been unwilling to answer the questions at all. These obstacles were taken into account when conducting the interviews; for instance, the researcher encouraged the interviewees to elucidate their answers, and all the interviewees' answers were analysed in a fashion whereby their reliability and factuality were measured. To enable the interviewees to answer the questions fully, the researcher continued the conservation with them after the tape recorder had been turned off to acquire extended information about certain interview questions, since the interviewees may have been more willing to elaborate further when the conversation was

no longer being recorded. By these means, the researcher added to her stock of background and contextual knowledge without compromising the ethical standards under which she was working, for none of the insights gained through this method are directly attributable to information received from any one named individual. In addition to those obtained from the interviews, data collected by observing the educational activities and secondary data were used to complement the information acquired during the interviews in the analysis to support the argument throughout the thesis.

- Non-participant observation

Observation is the other method used in this study for the primary data collection, in addition to the interviews. The reason for choosing this method is reflected by Cohen, Manion and Morrison's (2000:305) view that the benefit of utilising the observation approach is that it enables researchers to see things at first hand in live situations in a natural setting in order to complement the information obtained from interviews. The aim of applying observation as one of the data collection procedures is that, in this way, the researcher obtains an understanding of how educational activities are undertaken by museums in real situations. The information obtained from the observations was intended to assist the study to understand how the educational activities are conducted by the museums, the nature and characteristics of these activities, the pedagogy and the responses from the participants. This provided an understanding of how 'education' is perceived, considered and conducted by the case study museums, as supplementary to the interview data and the secondary sources. The type of activity and the audience groups for which they cater were not particularly selected during the preparation of the fieldwork (see Table 4 for details of the activities observed). The idea was that the researcher observed any activity which was available while the fieldwork was being undertaken at the museum site after acquiring the consent of the Head of Education and the staff who led the activities. The reason for observing more than one activity was to ensure that different types of educational activity could be observed and recorded for later analysis. After the fieldwork was completed, the observation notes were categorised and themed for further data analysis combined with the data obtained from the interviews. Appendix 5 contains the field notes

recorded at the Taipei Fine Arts Museum's annual Educational Exhibition.

Non-participant observation is distinguishable from other forms of observation, such as systematic and participant observation. During the observation, the researcher's role was that of a third party, detached from the activity's operators and its participants. There were key elements that were taken into account when conducting the observations; for instance, the setting for the activity, the content and duration of the activities, and the age and behaviour of the participants. The observed activities were recorded by adopting the method of descriptive recording. Descriptive recording is flexible, and allows the researcher to consider "the context of the behaviours, their sequences, their meanings, and to use naturally occurring events as the starting points and finishing points of recording sequences" (Simpson and Tuson, 1995: 46). Descriptive records provide a detailed record of what is done during the activities observed and in what way. In the field notes, observations of behaviour and the physical and social contexts in which it occurs, together with the perspectives and interpretations of the social actors, are recorded (Foster, 1996: 45). In addition to the field notes, photographs were taken during the observed activities to capture the ongoing moments of the educational activities. The photographs provided the researcher with an account of the characteristics of the sites, the behaviour of the participants and the actions of the museum educators involved in the activities.

- Data analysis

The evidence obtained from the case studies for the data analysis contains both visual and verbal data, such as transcriptions of the interviews, notes from the observations and any related documents gathered from the case study museums. For the analysis of the data, the computer programme, NVivo 8, was used to code the interview data and the mutual coding of the interview data with other data, such as the photos of the observed activities. Although the interview transcripts for this study were few in number (eleven in total), with the assistance of NVivo 8, a systematic, organised data analysis was accomplished. The application of this software enabled the researcher to retrieve the coded interview conversations without difficulty and to code the different sources of data indexically.

For the coding of the data, the researcher began by importing the interview transcripts into NVivo 8. The sentences/paragraphs which were coded on paper were then coded under certain nodes. The nodes were created using hierarchical levels (e.g. 'tree nodes' which contained one parent and several child nodes) and the coded text was dragged and dropped into the existing nodes. Once the transcripts had been coded, they were subsequently organised into different folders with other coded transcripts related to them. These folders of 'child nodes' can then be grouped together under a parent node that allows the nodes to be organised into a hierarchical structure; for instance, as shown in Appendix 6, there is a parent node of 'museum and government' with child nodes of 'autonomy', 'evaluation', 'other objectives', 'funding', 'governing body', 'government regulation', and 'government's attitude and requirement'. The tree nodes enable the study to locate particular nodes and other nodes that are relevant to them. The designation of the nodes ensures that the coding is in line with the key themes extracted from the objectives, thereby certifying the indispensability of the coding of the nodes.

1.7 Theoretical Frameworks

Theories were selected from Tony Bennett, Michel Foucault, Antonio Gramsci and Pierre Bourdieu as the conceptual foundation underpinning the study. The theoretical framework was initiated by a concept of Tony Bennett regarding the instrumental use of culture in setting the operations of museums as part of governmental programmes. Foucault's concept of modern institutions as disciplinary technologies for social order and control will be addressed in relation to Bennett's concept of museums as cultural technology which act on the targeted population for the transformation of manners and behaviour. This is followed by the differentiation between Foucault and Gramsci's models of power and the way in which power functions; this aims to examine the exercise of power and the power relations between the state and cultural practice. The last two chosen frameworks are selected to explore how museum education is regulated and shaped by various factors: Foucault's power/knowledge and Bourdieu's field, habitus and capital. Power/knowledge is considered in the study to explore the educative function of art museum and examine the

idea that museums are sites where knowledge is formed, pre-coded and transmitted. By adopting Bourdieu's interlinked concepts of field, habitus and capital, art museum education is considered as a 'field' in which different actors and actions are involved in shaping the roles of art museum education. Finally, the chosen theoretical frameworks will be presented in an integrated diagram to illustrate how these chosen frameworks are employed collectively to assist the study in identifying the roles of art museum education and answering the research questions.

On the whole, these conceptual frameworks are intended to connect aspects of established ideas as a theoretical basis for the study, through which the roles of art museum education can be interrogated in a broader perspective and from diverse angles. However, it should be noted that the aim is to employ the theories throughout the thesis compatibly, rather than attempting to coordinate the different theories into a holistic system of thought. The details and workings of these theoretical frameworks will be revealed as the thesis progresses in relation to institutional and practical examples which can ground them. It should also be noted that there will be varying concentrations of theory throughout, according to the need, in places, for contextualising descriptions (for example, of the case study museums, or of government organisations). This means that the interplay between analysis, description and generalisation will not be uniform throughout.

1.7.1 *The use of museums: the governmental deployment of museum education*

Bennett (1988, 1995) defines the early public museums as technologies for self-regulation and self-surveillance in serving the governmental programmes for civic reform. The exhibitionary complex manifested by the late 18th and 19th century museums provides instruments for the moral and cultural regulation of the working class. 'The exhibitionary complex' is the title of a paper, which Bennett published in the *New Formations* in 1988. Through his concept of the exhibitionary complex, Bennett demonstrates the instrumental use of museums by the middle class as a means of social control over the working class. Bennett's later concept of the relationship between culture and state, as a supplement to the exhibitionary complex, provides a demonstration of the governmental utilisation of culture

while specifying that culture is deployed within governmental processes for social management (Bennett, 1992a: 397). Bennett (2006) sees both 19th century and contemporary museums as platforms for the exchange of meanings and values, and for the 'flow of things'. Reflecting on Clifford's community perspective of contemporary museum practice as 'contact zones', 19th century collecting and exhibition practices share the same concept as that which encompasses the inter-cultural communication and transnational relationships of colonialism and empires, echoing the idea of the contact zone museums as vehicles for the representation of different groups and cultures (Clifford, 1997: 192-193).

It is argued by Bennett (1998: 195) that cultural forms and activities are instrumentally and politically fashioned by their government's deployment for specific social, cultural and political ends. In both a 'bottom-up' community policy and 'top-down' policy, state interventions can be found, and cultural policy, if being 'for the community' also means working through and by governmental means. Modern forms of government can be seen as relations of mutual dependency to the degree that the bottom-up politics often depend on and are generated by the top-down forms of government (Bennett, 1995: 195, 203). Bennett (ibid: 195) states his view on the politics of cultural studies and the role of intellectual workers in responding to the bottom-up/top-down polarity proposed by O'Regan (1992):

> […] the practice of intellectual workers both is, and is usefully thought of, as a matter of 'tinkering with practical arrangements' within the sphere of government – that is, the vast array of cultural institutions, public and private, that are involved in the cultural shaping and regulation of the population – in ways that reflect the genesis of cultural politics from within the processes of government, rather than viewing these in the form of a 'bottom-up' opposition to policy imposed from the top down.

Bennett's approaches to the analysis of the relations between culture and power combine both the Foucauldian and Gramscian models of power. Bennett (1998: 67) indicates:

> for both Foucault and Gramsci, then, modern systems of rule are distinguished from their predecessors in terms of the degree and kind of interest they display in the conditions of life of the population. There is the further consideration that both attributes to modern systems of rule a new kind of concern with, and attentiveness to, the subjective lives of the subordinate classes. Foucault's concept of liberal government thus shares some affinities with Gramsci's concept of consent in the

stress it places on the need for governmental objectives to be accomplished by developing these in the form of self-acting imperatives which individuals will voluntarily follow in pursuing their own ends rather than via the impositional logic of rule *d'état*. Both thus see the way in which power is exercised being subjected to a fundamental change in the early modern period in view of the degree to which it comes to be caught up in a more thorough and extensive set of relations and practices aimed at bringing about a more extensive knowledge of, and voluntary transformations within, popular forms of thought, feeling and behaviour by inscribing these in new contexts and apparatuses. It is for this reason that both accord culture an enhanced role in the structure and functioning of modern systems of rule.

However, Bennett (ibid: 68) also suggests that "it would be misleading to see the Gramscian position as a variant of Foucault's understanding of 'the microphysics of power' in view of the degree to which, in the former, power is understood as arising from a highly unified and centralised origin rather than being dispersed in its operation and constitution". Bennett (ibid: 70) states that:

> Foucauldian optic focuses on those matters which tend to be neglected with the Gramscian paradigm. […] Foucault's interest has accordingly focused more on the technological aspects of the mechanisms of power where these are understood to include the field of subjectivity but in ways which (i) do not attribute any necessary or invariant form (consent) to the relations between individuals and power, and (ii) do not equate the field of subjectivity with that of consciousness.

Bennett's concept of the museum as cultural technology responds to Foucault's view of disciplinary technology in the regime of bio-power for social management. Foucault explains bio-power as an art of government; under this new regime, "political reflection was broadened to include almost all forms of human activity" (Rabinow, 1984: 15). Humans, therefore, become the object of systematic political attention and intervention, and the human body is an object controlled and manipulated through the mechanism of disciplinary technologies (ibid: 17). The aim of disciplinary technology is enacted through different institutions, such as schools, prisons and hospitals. In each setting, control and regulations are imposed to transform and improve the conduct of the population, which becomes the subject in knowledge and power (Foucault, 1991). This is a new way of governing the modern state, first discovered in 18th century Europe. The significance of governmentality is that the state of the government is defined by the mass of the population

rather than the territory that it covers. This state of government "is grounded in its population and […] refers and has resort to the instrumentality of economic knowledge, would correspond to a society controlled by apparatuses of security" (Rabinow and Rose, 2003: 245). The lives of the population and their mechanisms are brought into "the realm of explicit calculations and made knowledge-power an agent of transformation of human life" (Foucault, 1998:143). This concept is extended by Bennett by applying it to refer to the purpose of early art museums as transforming the behaviour and manners of the general public (Bennett, 1995). For Bennett, museums are regarded as modern technologies where governmental programmes are implemented for targeted objectives.

With Bennett's notion of the governmental utilisation of culture and the function of modern institutions as sites where techniques are deployed for social regulation, and Foucault's bio-power and governmentality as the basis, the first section of the theoretical framework adopts Bennett's analytical approach to explore the roles of art museum education for social management. It is stated by Bennett (1992a: 398, 401) that specific forms and arrangements of culture are incorporated into governmental programmes aimed at the transformation of the morals and manners of the populace, and high culture was and remains subject to governmental instrumentalisation in order to render it useful as a means of social management. Therefore, to understand cultural activities fully, it is necessary to deconstruct it and analyse each of the elements by which culture is utilised as an instrument for the governmental deployment of culture. This refers to a sectional analysis of how the governmental purposes are deployed through art museum education when applying the concept to the study. The aim is to examine 'how education functions through governmental programmes in art museums'. This theoretical model is represented through four sequential processes, as illustrated in Figure 2. According to Bennett, firstly, the attributes and forms of conduct which serve as the 'targets' need to be established. This is followed by the identification of the 'techniques' proposed to maintain and transform the targets. Subsequently, an understanding of how these techniques are assembled into particular 'governmental programmes' is required. Finally, the inscription and incorporation of such governmental programmes into the practice of specific 'cultural

technologies' are examined. The terms used in Figure 2 are substituted for expressions associated with the study, as demonstrated in Figure 3.

| Targets | → | Techniques | → | Governmental Programmes | → | Cultural Technologies |
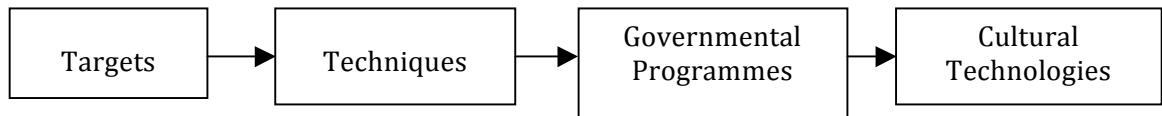
[Figure 2] Governmental utilisation of culture

| Morality, Behaviour, Ethics, Manner, Political Beliefs, National Identity | → | Suzhi Education, Spiritual Civilisation, Red Tourism, Patriotic Education | → | Culture Policy, Education Policy | → | Museums, Schools |
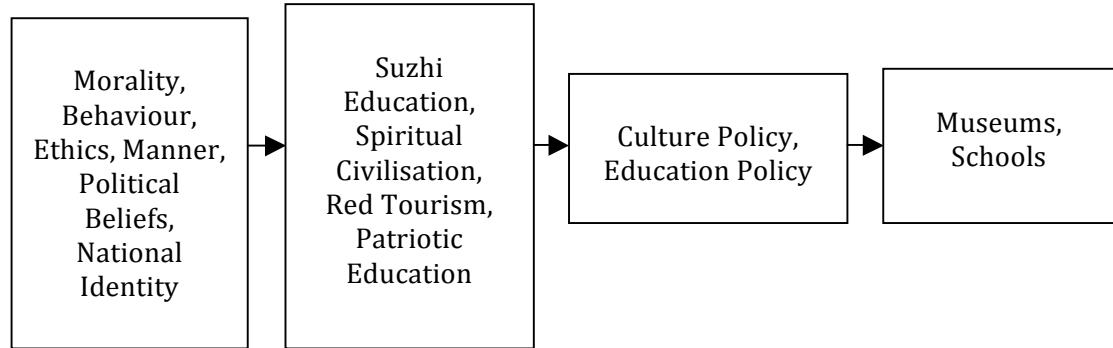
[Figure 3] Sectional analysis of the instrumental use of museum education

The model is employed for an analytical view of the instrumental use of art museum education for governmental goals and deployments. In the process of realising the governmental 'targets' through museum education, the specific forms of conduct that are addressed by the government must be identified first, such as the improvement of the morality and behaviour of the general public or, more precisely, in the Chinese context, the enhancement of schools' 'human quality education' (also known as 素质, *Suzhi* or Well-Rounded Education) and patriotic education, that was proposed as the accountability of museum education by the government. *Suzhi* education contrasts with exam-based education in promoting all aspects of learning, such as values and morality, for holistic,

well-rounded human development. In '关于深化教改推进素质教育的决定' (*Guanyu shenhua jiaogai tuijin sushi jiaoyu de jueding*, The Decision about the Enforcement of the Education Reform and Promotion of Suzhi Education), it is stated that, to cultivate the human resources that China needs for its transitional society, the quality of the education and human resources is crucial. Suzhi education is believed to be realised in all types of education for all age groups. In addition to this, 'moral education' is addressed in implementing Suzhi education in particular: it is designed to enhance and cultivate what are perceived to be good manners, behaviour and ethics (State Council, 1999). In this respect, museums, with their distinct learning style and resources, are believed to be the ideal facilitators in assisting schools to provide *Suzhi* education. The content of Suzhi and moral education, and how museums are utilised for the implementation of this regulation, will be discussed further in Chapter 4. Additionally, the governmental policies and guidelines by which museum education and the collaboration between museums and schools are regulated will be examined.

This study argues that museum practice in China and Taiwan currently is a reflection of Bennett's discussion of 19th century museums as the vehicles for popular education as well as the instruments for the reform of public manners (Bennett, 1995: 90). The educational programmes for schoolchildren, the general public, minority groups or civil servants at the case study museums are conceived in order to demonstrate the museums' interest in endorsing equal accessibility for and adequate representation of different cultures. However, underlying all the intentions to serve the best interests of the public, museums and governments act in the interest of the political parties and social elite in preserving the status quo that benefits them, although this may not easily be detected. Bennett's model of the governmentalisation of culture will serve as a theoretical foundation for the discussion in Chapter 4, where the model will be integrated into the content of the chapter when examining government policy, cultural and educational projects, and issues tackled by means of museum education. Although the model employed seeks to justify the argument of the instrumentality of culture and the utilisation of cultural institutions for social control, it should be noted that, in his recent article in *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*, Bennett (2006) acknowledges his overstatement in his earlier work on the

exhibitionary complex regarding the ability of museums to influence all groups in society. Bennett's model of the governmentalisation of culture provides a foundation for the discussions later in the thesis. However, on the basis of this concept, it is necessary to recognise that the nature of museum visits could circumscribe a museum's ability to reform or influence the public.

1.7.2 *Combining Foucault and Gramsci: the flow of power*

The conceptual framework of this section is based on Foucault's governmentality and bio-politics, and Gramsci's concept of hegemony; both theories are concerned with the governance of modern societies and the exercise of power. Through the employment of these theories, the study aims to understand the roles of museum education in the state's circulation of power, and the relationships between the state and cultural technologies.

- Governmentality

State power or the power of the state is exercised through different paths according to Foucault and Gramsci. In Foucault's theories on the governance of modern times, power is exercised to administer the population through social apparatuses and disciplinary machinery for the management of the population. Governmentality is about power as a productive, rather than a repressive, force (Foucault, 1991: 194). In modern times, the sovereign laws which are imposed on humans have been adapted to the tactics of governance to solve problems with the social order, and the population and institutions are the technologies for the exercise of power (ibid: 138). The life of the population and its regulation are the rationality of bio-politics, and the regulation of the population is achieved through forging technologies and institutions (Rabinow and Rose, 2003: introduction). In Foucault's words, 'governmentality' is a new art of government: the needs of the population are the subject, but also the objectives of the government to achieve certain ends (Rabinow, 1984: 258-272). Modern governments maintain social order by displaying their interest in welfare of the population and, in return, they fulfil their own interests and objectives.

In the new form of administration and management, power is enacted through the 'disciplinary institutions'; the modern form of governance brought the population and its mechanisms into the realm of explicit calculations and the citizens are totally integrated into techniques that govern and administer it (Foucault, 1998: 143). Foucault's disciplinary power is "concerned with the normalisation of behaviour designed to harness the productive and reproductive capacities of the body" (Cronin, 1996: 58). This concept is reflected in the instrumentality of the 19th century public museums which were utilised to facilitate education for civic regulation as disciplinary mechanisms. It should be noted that, in modern liberal societies, there is a dual effect of regulating the population: on the one side, is 'liberty', and, on the other, is 'discipline' (Foucault, 1991: 259, cited in Frenander, 2008). In order for the state power to be exercised, diverse institutions of the state are targeted, which ensure the maintenance of production relations and the origins of bio-politics as the techniques of power presented at every level of the social body for the calculated management of the populace (Foucault, 1998: 141). The procedure, analyses, reflections, calculations and tactics formed jointly by the institutions allow the exercise of a very specific, albeit complex, form of power to target its target population. In this way, power is circulated diffusely and enacted at every level of society. In addition to the centralised location, power is enacted through several other locations in the local, regional and material institutions (Foucault, 2003: 244). It should be noted that the power of the population is addressed in governmentality. The role of the population becomes another source of power opposed to the state, and the technologies of the self and technologies of domination are woven together to form the art of governance. The purpose of this, in Bennett's words, is "to allow the people, addressed as subjects of knowledge rather than as objects of administration" (Bennett: 1995: 98). Namely, the exercise of power is tied up with the active role of knowing by placing the population in the centre 'to know' than 'to be known'.

- Hegemony

Power, as Foucault notes, is productive and comes from all-encompassing opposition between the rulers and the ruled at the root of power relations. Power relations act as a general matrix, with no duality extending from the top down, which influences limited groups to the very depths of the social body (Foucault, 1998: 94). There are differences to be found between the Foucauldian and Gramscian models of power in terms of the paths of the exercise of power and the origin of power. In hegemony, a top-down power comes from the dominant to the dominated in order to gain the *consent* of the other classes and to exercise the control of the means of production (Gramsci, 1971: 244, 260). Hegemony is a 'normal' form of government whereby rule through domination is the form of political control (Adamson, 1980: 173). It is understood that the birth of the modern state and the hegemonic power have replaced the bloc of social forces with active hegemony, and power is held by the leading class and dominant group as the historic blocs. The modern state abolishes certain forms of autonomy, which are reborn in other forms: parties, trade unions, cultural organisations (Buci-Glucksmann, 1980: 274). The hegemonic role is described as "a point of intersection where many of [Gramsci's] other conceptual commitments – culture, ideology, language, totality, intellectual, revolution, and political education dialectic – could be brought into mutual rapport" (Adamson, 1980: 176).

The concept of the grouping of 'state' and 'civil' society as an integral state needs to be understood in order to understand the concept of hegemony fully. In Gramsci's expansion on the concept of the state, "the articulation of the hegemonic apparatus into its constitutive elements – economic, political and culture – involves more than just the model of reproduction, and orients the expansion of the concept of the state to something else: the double relationship of state/class and state/society" (Buci-Glucksmann, 1980: 67). In a civil society, consent is given by the great mass of the population as the dominated group to the dominant group, which provides direction for the regulation of social life; in a political society, coercive power is imposed by the apparatus of the state to enforce discipline for consent (Gramsci, 1971: 12, 243). In the notion of the 'integral state', the sphere of hegemony (civil society) and the sphere of coercion (the state) are lumped together, so that power is diffused through civil society, and also embodied in the coercive apparatuses of

the state (Simon, 1982: 72). The integral state is described by Gramsci as a new concept of the nature of power as 'hegemony armoured by coercion' (Ibid: 27).

The function of the state as 'educator', making the dominant class capable of absorbing the entire society and absorbing it to its own cultural and economic level, needs to be noted. The ideal of the educative, ethical and cultural state is "to raise the great mass of the population to a particular cultural and moral level which corresponds to the needs of the productive forces of development, and hence to the interests of the ruling classes" (Gramsci, 1971: 258). Through Gramsci's conception of the ethical state, a democratic citizenry is rhetorically incorporated into the processes of the state (Bennett, 1995: 98). Through educative projects implemented by the ruling class via social apparatuses, both public and private, educative pressure is applied to individuals in order to obtain their consent (ibid: 242). Gramsci states that "the state must be conceived as an 'educator', in as much as it tends precisely to create a new type or level of civilisation" (Gramsci, 1971: 247).

This idea of the ethical and educative state joins the concepts of Gramsci and Foucault together. In both Foucault's governmentality and Gramsci's hegemony, the state apparatuses are the arms of the government for the implementation of the state projects. The only difference is that Foucault's model is based on his observation of a democratic society, while Gramsci's hegemony focuses on the depiction of the power relations for the domination of a communist state. These two different models of power relations share the same idea, which is that the state apparatuses are governmentally fashioned, regardless of whether they aim to consolidate political principles or foster the welfare of the population. The only discrepancy between Foucault and Gramsci, as Bennett (1995: 91) pointed out, is that the Gramscian model is institutionally indifferent in ways which a Foucauldian perspective can usefully temper and qualify.

1.7.3 *Museum education: a means of knowledge creation*

Another of Foucault's concepts which will be drawn on for the next model of the theoretical framework is the concept of power and knowledge, which are the joint notions

which are essential to the constitution of social management. According to McGuigan's interpretations of the Foucauldian concept, public museums can be seen as cultural technologies, where the configuration of knowledge and power is produced through its institutional and organisational structures and processes (McGuigan, 1996: 7). Knowledge functions as the distribution of power, the relations of power-knowledge are not static forms of distribution; they are matrices of transformation (ibid: 99). In the power-knowledge relations, the population is rendered a subject to know. Rather than rendering the populace visible to the power for discipline and punishment, as in the orientation of prisons, museums present to the population that power as their own (Bennett, 1995: 98). Through the exercise of power, knowledge is produced and transmitted through the apparatuses of knowledge as a special technique of power for social management by rendering the self-governance and transformation of individuals (Foucault, 1998: 145).

In applying Foucault's concepts of power/knowledge to the study, art museum education is regarded as an activity through which knowledge is produced and the circulation of power is enacted. It is considered that knowledge is constructed through museums and it is through museum education that government power is reinforced. Bennett argues that 19th century museums were disciplinary and pedagogic institutions of governmental programmes for transforming public morals and manners, and tackling the problem of order (Bennett, 1988: 86). This reflects the assertion of Foucault (1998: 95) that no power is exercised without a series of aims and objectives, and through disciplinary technologies, "docile body may be subjected, used, transformed and improved" (Foucault, 1991: 198). In considering the roles that art museum education plays in China and Taiwan as technologies of power and mediators which transmit knowledge, it is crucial to investigate what the governmental targets are for museums' educational practice and the different roles targeted by museum education. Museums' roles in facilitating education for community empowerment, civic pedagogy and moral education as part of their responsibility towards society illustrate this.

To illustrate this concept further, Figure 4 provides a diagram which demonstrates the position of museum education in the power/knowledge relation and the targets which are

created through museum education to maintain the state power. The knowledge which is produced through museum education, therefore, transforms the behaviour or reinforces certain thoughts of the populace to achieve the objectives proposed by the government. On the face of it, or as far as it is possible to tell from the available evidence, museum education is seen by those involved as designed to achieve the objectives that are proposed by the current governments of China and Taiwan. Therefore, it can be understood that the power of the government can be strengthened and the objectives of the current regime fulfilled. The question of whether this is desirable may be answered differently according to the perspective taken, whether by politicians, museum workers or visitors. From the current governments' perspectives and that of the museum officials, museum education can act as a mechanism for achieving the government's objectives, as stated by the interviewees of this research in Chapters 6 and 7. However, it should be noted that it is impossible to test such a claim fully, given the evidence available. The argument that art museums produce knowledge through the education they produce will be consolidated later in Chapter 4 in relation to Bennett's argument on the governmental utilisation of culture. It is argued in Chapter 4 that museum technologies implement government objectives through museum education as a process of knowledge production and transmission in China and Taiwan.
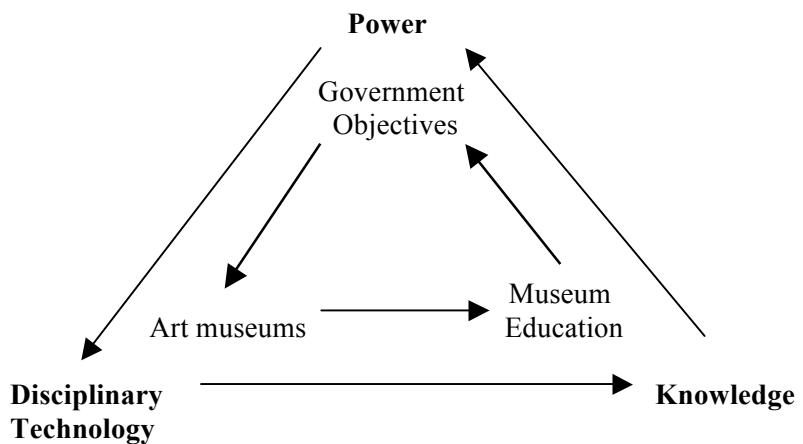
[Figure 4] The adoption of the concept of power/knowledge in museum education

1.7.4 *Bourdieu: field, habitus and capital*

- The concept of the field

The last theoretical framework, which is applied to the analysis of the case studies, is based on the interlinked concepts of field, habitus and capital, articulated by Pierre Bourdieu. The idea of applying Bourdieu's theories is to demonstrate that museums, as social agents, are run by different sets of social relations. The reason for applying the concepts of Bourdieu to this study is the similarities and differences between Foucault and Bourdieu in terms of how power is transmitted. Jenkins (1992: 90) refers to Bourdieu's model not as one in which 'power and authority flow from the top down'. Bourdieu argues that power is exercised by different actors in the field, so the state should not be considered the primary source of power. However, both Foucault and Bourdieu are interested in the social location of power and resistance to power, whereas it is difficult to identify these phenomena in Foucault's theory of disciplinary power (Cronin, 1996). Therefore, the employment of Bourdieu's theory allows the research to study the context, complexity and contestation of museum education.

Field is interpreted by Jenkins as a social arena or social space within which the struggles of the actors take place through their activities aimed at seeking specific resources, stakes and capital, and access to them. The stakes are classified by Jenkins as 'cultural goods (life-style), housing, intellectual distinction (education), employment, land, power (politics), social class, prestige or whatever – and may be of differing degrees of specificity and concreteness' (Jenkins, 1992: 84). The actors operate to pursue capital as a valuable resource over which they exercise control for their legitimisation of power (Swartz, 1997: 122-123). The 'actors' are social agents, which can be both individuals or institutions, by which the social positions in a field are structured (Jenkins, 1992: 85). The term 'actors' used in the thesis, especially in Chapters 6 and 7, refers to not only the museum staff but also the players from other groups in the field of museum education or elsewhere. The positions which make up the field compete for the field's specific forms of capital. Namely,

the actors' concerns in a field are the preservation and improvement of their positions (ibid: 85, 86). The amount of capital is equal to the amount of power that a person possesses (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002: 23).

Museum education is a cultural field, which is not only constituted by institutions and rules, but also the actions between institutions, rules and practices (ibid: 22). In museum education, the actors can be the governing bodies of the museums, museum directors, museum educators, schools and schoolteachers, sponsors of museum activities, artists and the museum audience. The actions of the actors can be the production and distribution of knowledge, the facilitation and service of museum education, and the exchange of benefit for commercial, educational or cultural ends. Museum education, therefore, is a cultural production, a field shaped by different invisible relations which struggle for their power and position through the accumulation of capital. The capital which is being struggled for can be symbolic capital from the field of power or politics, cultural capital produced by artistic and educational value, or economic capital generated from popular consumption and marketing. The capital is the process within, and product of, a field (Thomson, 2008: 69). The fields constituted for their museum education can differ with regard to different museums. For each museum, the fields of its education can be positioned diversely with access to specific capital. Thomson (ibid: 68) explains this by illustrating 'the field' as a football field:

> A football field is a boundaried site where a game is played. In order to play the game, players have set positions – when the football field is represented in visual form, it is as a square with internal divisions and an external boundary, with the set positions marked in predetermined places. The game has specific rules which novice players must learn, together with basic skills, as they begin to play. What players can do, and where they can go during the game, depends on their field position. The actual physical condition of the field (whether it is wet, dry, well grassed or full of potholes), also has an effect on what players can do and thus how the game can be played.

Thus, a field of practice is regulated by rules, the players' skill at the game (the actors in the field, in the words of Swartz and Jenkins) and the conditions of the field. The factors that influence the success of a game are varied and should not be considered as the 'rules' laid

down for the game by the regulators. Bourdieu refers to social life as a game which consists of occupied social agents, so that whatever happens on/in the field is consequently boundaried (Thomson. 2008: 68-69). However, what Bourdieu sees in fields are the invisible relations between the actors which shape their actions, rather than speaking of a concrete, manifest concept of groups, organisations or institutions (Swartz, 1997: 119). The concepts of field, capital and habitus are connected; therefore, to understand 'museum education' as a cultural production requires beginning with the comprehension of the social conditions in which museum education as a cultural production is shaped, rather than only regarding education as something produced by a museum as an 'institution' (ibid).

The following sub-sections introduce the concept of habitus and capital as the other integral parts of our understanding of human activity and how they will be employed in the study.

- Habitus

Habitus is defined by Bourdieu as a property of social agents; these agents can be institutions, groups or individuals. The habitus of the social agents comprises a "structured and structuring structure" (Bourdieu, 1994: 170). The 'structured' habitus refers to one's dispositions accumulated from one's upbringing; on the other hand, the 'structuring' of one's habitus shapes a person's present and future experiences. This can be explained further by Bourdieu's earlier definitions of habitus, quoted by Swartz (1997: 100-101). The definition by Bourdieu in 1966 is:

> a system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a *matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions* and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks, thanks to analogical transfers of schemes permitting the solution of similarly shaped problems.

A later version of the definition of habitus states that it is:

> a system of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes

without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them.

When applying the concept of habitus to understand how an action is regulated, it is necessary to take internal subjectivity into account in addition to the external regularities. Dispositions are the variables that influence human activity, on which the practices and perceptions of social agents are based. Namely, the way of thinking and doing things of social agents would not be exactly the same due to the individually possessed habitus and dispositions. The actions and activities carried out by the actors in a field can become a routine, as habitus operates as the result of the 'structuring structure' of habitus. It is suggested by Jenkins that a specific habitus is generated for each field and that there are homologies between fields (Jenkins, 1992: 86-87). Field is both the product and producer of the habitus; it also generates its own specific habitus (ibid: 84, 90). Bourdieu (2005: 148) argues that, to understand the interactions between people or to explain an event or social phenomenon, it is necessary to examine the social space in which interactions, transactions and events occur. It should be noted that cultural practices, individual dispositions and social structures are integral, and that individual subjectivity affects the field of human activity. In this sense, the dispositions of the actors, such as the case study museums, museum directors, museum educators, museum sponsors and school teachers, involved in the field of museum education will have to be examined when analysing museum education as a social activity.

- Capital

'Capital' is another concept to be addressed and further used in the data analysis in Chapters 6 and 7. Different forms of capital exist as valuable resources within the fields of social activity, and a field may contain different types of capital to the others as a result of the key properties being defined differently in each field (Swartz, 1997: 122-123). "At stake in the field is the accumulation of *capitals*: they are both the process within, and product of, a field." (Thomson, 2008: 69) The definition of 'capital' to Bourdieu is broader than the use of 'capital' as an economic term. Bourdieu extends the sense of the term 'capital' by "employing it in a wider system of exchange whereby assets of different kinds

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are transformed and exchanged within complex networks or circuits within and across different fields" (Moore, 2008: 102). In this sense, immaterial and non-economic forms of capital, such as cultural and social capital, can be seen as 'the other' forms of economic capital, which are part of the stakes held by the participants in the fields. Specifically, there are four different forms of capital nominated by Bourdieu: economic (money and assets); cultural (forms of knowledge, taste and cultural preferences); social (affiliations and networks); and symbolic (things which stand for all of the other forms of capital and can be exchanged in other fields, such as credentials) (ibid: 69). These different forms of capital are partially transferable to other forms. Calhoun, Gerteis, Moody, Pfaff and Virk (2007: 263) describe how, just as one can cash in stocks to buy real estate, a person can 'cash in' social capital to attain a job that increases one's economic capital. In the analysis of the field of museum education in Chapters 6 and 7, each type of capital possessed by the agents in the field will be identified and, therefore, the positions of the agents can be distinguished based on the amount of capital they possess.

Among the different types of capital mentioned, cultural capital can be in three different states, as, firstly, it refers to the ensemble of cultivated dispositions that are internalised by the individual through socialisation and that constitute schemes of appreciation and understanding. Thus, it exists in an *embodied* state. Secondly, cultural capital exists in an *objectified* form, referring to objects such as books, works of art, and scientific instruments, for the use of which specialised cultural abilities are required. Thirdly, cultural capital exists in an *institutionalised* form, which means the education credential system for Bourdieu. Higher education and good educational credentials are necessary in order to gain access to desirable positions in the job market and so acquiring economic capital (Swartz, 1997: 76-77). In addition to this, symbolic capital is a type of capital that must be understood, as its meaning cannot be deduced from its name, unlike the other forms of capital. Symbolic capital is defined by Bourdieu as being twofold: the instrumental character of symbolic capital covers the values, tastes and lifestyles of certain social groups that bring a social and cultural advantage or disadvantage to their members as well as qualitative differences in forms of consciousness within different social groups (Moore, 2008: 102). It can be understood that the fields of symbolic capital are unequal to the

economic fields, and unequal relations and social inequality can be reproduced through each field of symbolic capital. The production of these unequal relations is linked to *habitus* and the amount of cultural capital possessed by each social group. Namely, groups which hold a higher amount of cultural capital would have relatively more symbolic capital; hence, this enables them to occupy a higher status quo and become the advantaged in society. This phenomenon can be seen when this idea is applied to the field of museum education; that is, the actors or groups which hold the higher amount of cultural capital are likely to be those who dominate the power relations in the field. "Fields are structured space of dominant and subordinate positions based on types and amounts of capital." (Swartz, 1997: 123) In this sense, those who possess more valuable resources may exercise a certain degree of monopoly power over the distribution of capital, and the subordinates attempt to usurp the advantages in the fields. Hence, the struggle for power operating in these fields is waged over both symbolic as well as material resources (ibid: 124, 136). Museum education in each of the case study museums is composed of diverse actors and activities; therefore, the forms of capital held by the actors vary between different institutions. In the analysis chapter of this thesis, the various kinds of capital that exist in the field of museum education will be demonstrated.

1.7.5 *The integrated model*

This section presents an integrated model, developed by the researcher, that encompasses and incorporates the theoretical frameworks discussed previously. The model demonstrates how different theoretical frameworks are collected jointly to underpin the research. The model, as shown in Figure 5, demonstrates four areas in which the role of art museum education can be analysed. The analysis based on this integrated model will be represented throughout different chapters of this thesis. A chapter can be oriented to emphasise one or more of the four roles contained in the model. The model can be examined section by section, when focusing on one potential aspect of museum education; however, it could also be a model with four conjoint sections, which demonstrates the roles that museum education plays and by which the roles of museum education are adjusted.
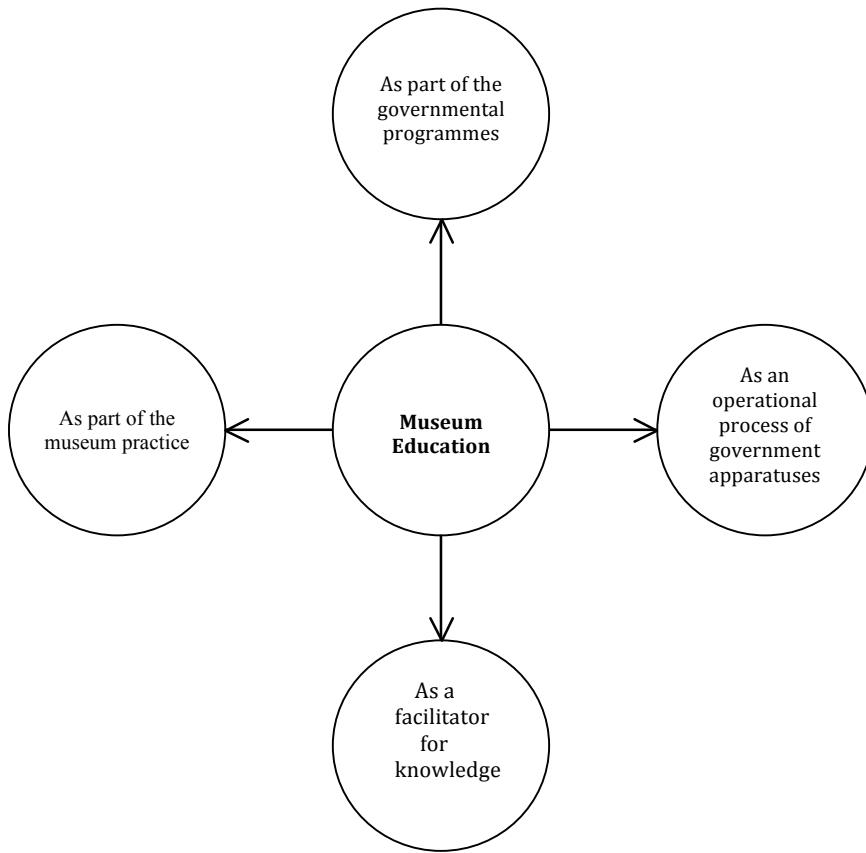
[Figure 5] Potential roles of art museum education

In Figure 5, the definition of museum education as 'part of the governmental programmes' is extracted from Bennett. According to Bennett, museum education is interpreted as a technique for fulfilling governmental objectives, and its role is determined by the government's objectives and policies. How museum education is utilised in China and Taiwan for different policy ends and government objectives will be examined in Chapter 4, entitled 'Art museum education in China and Taiwan: a field of government policy'. In the next analytical area, art museum education is defined as 'an operational process of government apparatuses'. The analysis of the roles of museum education here is based on Foucault and Gramsci's theories on power relations. This underpins the content of Chapter

5, entitled 'Power relations: between the states, the cultural sectors and museums'. The aim here is to understand how the roles of art museums are shaped in relation to the roles of institutions and the relations between the state, local government and institutions. The next of the four analytical areas identifies what kind of roles art museum education can play. In this section of the diagram, museum education is defined as 'a facilitator of knowledge'. With regard to this role, museum education is a technique which provides education and knowledge, as exemplified through Chapter 4, entitled 'Art museum education in China and Taiwan: a field of government policy', Chapter 6, entitled 'The field of art museum education: national museums' and Chapter 7, entitled 'The field of art museum education: local museums'. However, the role of the facilitator of knowledge is never neutral, as what is provided is necessarily associated with certain targets that the museums are required to achieve. This is reflected in the social constructionists' contribution to the social sciences with regard to the social construction of people and social life. Social constructionism claims that social practices are political and characterised by the discipline and practice of psychology as partial, value-ridden and derived from implicit vested interests (Burr, 1998: 14). Different truths, knowledges or 'common senses' construct social phenomena in different ways, and entail different possibilities for human action (Burr, 1995: 15). Therefore, educational programmes, objectives of education and target audiences vary from one institution to another, depending on which achievements are sought. In the integral model, the role of museum education is considered to be shaped by the field and habitus of museum education at the bottom level of museums' educational practice. This role is operated as 'part of the museum practice', and influenced by the actors and field relations involved in museum education. Chapters 6 and 7 elaborate and examine this role in most detail, based on the case studies of the selected museums. As mentioned above, in 1.7.4, this requires the analysis of the relationships between the actors in the field of museum education and the capital that the actors are struggling for to be taken into account.

This integrated model is applied to the research to achieve a thorough analysis and provide a multi-dimensional view of the possibilities that can affect the roles that art museum education plays in China and Taiwan. The argument based on Figure 5 is that the roles of museum education are determined and shaped by the four major dimensions. These roles of

education differ from one institution to another, even when the country or region in which the museums are situated is identical. The theoretical frameworks and methodological approaches introduced in this chapter will be applied to the analysis throughout the following chapters. The next chapter provides a review of the literature that is relevant to this study. The development, current issues and theories of museum education in western countries, such as the UK and US, and in China and Taiwan, will be discussed in this chapter. The utilisation of museums' educational roles for other objective ends in both the West and in China and Taiwan will be examined based on the existing literature. This will be followed by the subsequent chapter, which provides a contextual account on the socio-political and socio-economic conditions of China and Taiwan, in which museums and their educational roles were developed and adjusted.

Chapter 2. Museum Education: Changing Roles, Responsibilities and Possibilities

2.1 Introduction

The literature review in this chapter is presented in two parts, each representing the evaluation and analysis of the current literature related to the research area. The first part reviews the literature in both English and Chinese on the changing roles of museum and art museum education in the UK, America, China and Taiwan. Hooper-Greenhill (2007a: 367) suggests that, to analyse museum education today, one has to understand its past and present as well as its large-scale, historical change. The approach which is adopted in the first half of the literature review aims to demonstrate how the educational roles of museums and galleries have changed as a result of diverse influences since they were first recognised in each location. With regard to the educational roles that Chinese and Taiwanese art museums fulfil the chapter examines the museological practices of both the earliest and contemporary museums in these two locations to unveil the changing roles and new responsibilities of museums and galleries, in relation to the governmental objectives and societal conditions.

The second half of this chapter is intended to demonstrate the potential roles that museum education can play in western societies i.e. nation-building, identity construction and social inclusion. The understanding of the potential and perceived roles of museum education in the West acts as a prelude to the exploration of the roles of art museum education in China and Taiwan in the remainder of the thesis. Finally, the knowledge gaps in this research field and the research contribution to the current literature will be identified in the conclusion of this chapter.

2.2 Museum and Gallery Education in the UK and America

Education in museums has been widely addressed both in theory and in practice in western countries. The philosophy of museum education that emerged through teaching and learning with objects and specimens in theory and practice has been discussed (Hooper-

Greenhill, 1999: 229-256). In practice, museums have been recognised as ideal sites for learning and teaching (Hein, 1998; Hooper-Greenhill, 1994a, 1999; Falk & Dierking, 2000). Furthermore, research has been carried out on the attainment of museum visitors as well as on visitors to museums within their own social and personal contexts (Falk & Dierking, 2000; Hooper-Greenhill, 2006a, 2006b). The following section examines the changing educational roles and the influence behind the changes in museums and galleries in the West, with a particular focus on examples from the UK and America.

2.2.1 *The changing roles of UK museums and the drive behind the phenomenon*

Hooper-Greenhill (1989, 1994a, 1994b, 1999, 2000, 2006a, 2006b, 2007a, 2007b) published a wide range of literature on the educational roles of museums in the UK in terms of both history and current practice. Loan services, organised school-visit programmes and object lessons were the main elements of museum education when museums began to fulfil their educational role in the UK in the 19th and early 20th centuries (Hooper-Greenhill, 1994c: 232, 258-259). From the 1970s onwards, and particularly in the early 1990s, the communicative roles of museum were explored and new approaches to museum education were introduced, such as interactive exhibits and discovering learning for building new relationships with new audiences (ibid: 259). The role of the museum audience changed too. Museum audiences changed from being passive receivers into an active public who engages in educational activities in order to gain more dynamic experiences. In the past ten years, the roles of museum education in the UK have broadened, and modifications have been made in accordance with government policies geared towards economic, educational and social objectives. Alternatively, it is possible to point to non-governmental influences on the changes in museum's educational role, such as developments in the field of learning theory, which have changed the relationships between museums and their audiences (e.g. Reeve and Woollard, 2006: 5). However, it should be noted that, while such developments may not be initiated by the government, they can be utilised or enmeshed within the context of cultural politics.

In the UK, museums have changed from being providers of education into being the creators of new relationships between museums and their audiences. Museums have changed from having school pupils as their primary target audience into institutions which appeal to and welcome all. The role of museum and gallery education has shifted from being a passive provider of education through object lessons and loan services to becoming more proactive, endeavouring to bring in new audiences, create new partnerships with other industries, initiate increased engagement with local communities and realise the possibility of life-long learning. Behind the shift in the roles of museum education, it is suggested by Hooper-Greenhill (1994c: 240-241) that factors such as the adjustment of the funding structures and sources, changes to government policy and changes in the school curriculum are the major influences. The reduction in government funding made the roles of museums and galleries more market-oriented, market-sensitive and cost-effective, in order to secure adequate financial sources. Lang, Reeve and Woollard (2006: 23) suggest that museums and galleries are encouraged to undertake visitor research-based projects that show clear benefits for the public, performance indicators and appropriate policies and strategies in order to receive funding. In linking museum resources to school education, the National Curriculum provides museums and galleries with guidelines to follow in creating new opportunities to achieve further connections based on the mutual needs of museums and schools (Moffat, cited in Hooper-Greenhill, 1991: 71). Furthermore, education activities in museums and galleries are marketed to show their relationships to Programmes of Study and Attainment Targets and the various levels of attainment at which children in different Key Stages are working (ibid: 73).

All of these changes to the roles of museum education can be regarded as a result of the emphasis in government policy. When the Labour government came to power, the emphasis changed from culture that was to be promoted through marketing and customer services to 'education, education, education'. The Labour government attempted to create a new cultural field which was given specific tasks (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007b: 16). Four central themes - to promote access for the many, to pursue excellence and innovation, to nurture educational opportunities, and to foster the creative industries - were identified in the Department for Culture, Media and Sport's (DCMS) comprehensive spending review,

published in 1997. Between 1999 and 2006, government capital was invested in school-focused museum and gallery learning to strengthen the capacity of museums and galleries to support children and young people's education (DfES, 2004). The state-commissioned reports, *A Common Wealth: Museums and Learning in the United Kingdom* and *A Common Wealth: Museums in the Learning Age*, which influenced museums as learning organisations, were published in 1997 and 1999 respectively (Anderson, 1997, 1999). The former set targets for the development of museum education and made key recommendations regarding how museums could achieve those targets. It was believed that education through museums contributes towards social change. The later report has been used to guide policy development and policy decision-making in the cultural sector in order for the potential of museum education to be realised fully. Furthermore, museum learning is placed on the agenda for museums at the national, regional and local levels. In May 2000, the policy document, *Centres for Social Change: Museums, Galleries and Archives for All*, was published. This set an access standard for the cultural sector and the role of museums in England for social inclusion (DCMS, 2000). The Museums, Libraries and Archive Council (MLA) launched the *Inspiring Learning for All* (ILFA) programme to assist museums to develop 'good practice' in learning across the UK, and the Museums Association (MA) launched the *Campaign for Learning through Museums and Galleries* (CLMA) that operates as a think tank for developing ideas for future learning in museums.[2]

Further to the governmental agencies' development of the provision of good, effective learning practice in museums, the learning or social outcomes of museum learning are measured through the support of the MLA. The ILFA website states that the Generic Learning Outcomes (GLOs) and Generic Social Outcomes (GSOs) as findings will assist museums to develop and improve their programmes and to support museums in their funding bids.[3] The GLOs refer to the five learning achievements of 'knowledge and understanding', 'skills', 'attitudes and values', 'enjoyment, inspiration and creativity', and 'activity behaviour and progression'. The GSOs aim to achieve 'stronger and safer communities', 'strengthening public life', and 'health and well-being' through community-

[2] http://www.inspiringlearningforall.gov.uk/, and http://www.clmg.org.uk/
[3] http://www.inspiringlearningforall.gov.uk/toolstemplates/

based projects. The idea of GLOs' as a means for collecting evidence of effective performance brings museums under the management of education and culture. Since 2003, three national studies have been conducted which produced evidence of the outcomes and impact of learning in museums (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007a: 61). Some of the participants indicated how working with GLOs has begun to build a stronger professional community within their organisation:

> […] the Generic Learning Outcomes have given us a language and a framework to demonstrate to more traditional learning providers the unique contribution that museum, archives and libraries make to the learning agenda. This will help us to develop local learning partnerships to deliver community learning based on individual learner's needs. It will also help us to make more effective bids for external funding as we can now demonstrate learning outcomes (Williams, cited in Hooper-Greenhill, 2007a: 59).

On the other side of the policy agenda of the GLOs, debate has arisen among museum professionals, artists, curators and cultural commentators regarding responding to the government policy by showing their concern about losing museum professionalism in the climate of enlarging and strengthening the impact of museum education. The publication of *Art for All?: Their Policies and Our Culture* explores the involvement of the state in shaping the activities and responsibilities of art museums in relation to their publics. The central point of the debate is that the opening up of museum culture from one of scholarship and expertise to an account that relates positively to the lives of diverse publics might result in the dilution and undermining of cultural professionalism and scholarship (Wallinger and Warnock, 2000). It is stated by Wallinger and Warnock (ibid: 77) that:

> art organisations should be open and welcoming to the whole large of British society. But in meeting these targets, they must protect the freedom of artists and those who facilitate them to make art that in no way corresponds to the political goals of government.

In other areas, the government-funded enquire research project by Engage, the National Association for Gallery Education, suggests that there has been resistance to the quantitative emphasis of the GLOs and their prescriptive nature as measures (Taylor, 2006,

2008). These government-initiated schemes to improve and support museums' educational provision for targeted outcomes can be found not only in the UK, but also in other developed countries. In 2007, a conference was organised by the Centre Pompidou on the initiative of the French Ministry of National Education, Higher Education and Research, and the French Ministry of Culture and Communication on the evaluation of the impact of arts and cultural education. Experiences of the evaluation and impact of arts education in European countries, Canada and America were shared during the conference (Centre Pompidou, 2008). The conference acted as a forum for researchers to exchange their ideas and experiences related to how a greater role for arts and cultural education in schools through different educational, pedagogical and methodological approaches might be achieved. One contributor to the conference indicates that the conference speakers were well remunerated for speaking to several hundred French school teachers and practitioners. However, it was, after all, a government-initiated conference, endorsed by paid academics to back up the development of the government policy (Whitehead, personal communication, 7 Sep, 2009).

In reflecting on the circumstances in the West, government publications published by the Council of Cultural Affairs on organising and evaluating museum education can also be found in Taiwan, such as *How to Conduct an Evaluation of Museum Education* by Hsu Chun (2000) and *How to Plan Museum Educational Activities* by Shih Ming-fa (2000). In China, a conference similar to that organised by the Centre Pompidou, entitled 'Art Space for Education's Sake: China-U.S. Conference on Art Museum Education', was held in 2008 at the National Art Museum of China with the support of the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Culture and the State Administration of Cultural Heritage. It appears that the Chinese and Taiwanese governments have begun to regulate museum education in order to maximise the influence and potentiality of museum learning. In the UK, the educational roles of museums, what museum education offers and for whom museum education is designed have changed over time. In recent years, government policy and objectives have had a strong influence on the roles of museum education. It should be noted that the ways in which museums respond to the situations which changed the roles of museum education vary, and this is related to the nature of the external powers that each museum faces.

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Hooper-Greenhill (1994b: 135) notes that "the situation of change has been resented and resisted in some institutions, others have had change violently forced upon them, while some few museums have been able to negotiate change in a planned and purposeful way". This explains how, although museums operate under shared external forces and influences, it is possible for them to respond differently to the social, political and cultural conditions outside the institutions. The observation of Hooper-Greenhill reflects the response of museums in China and Taiwan to their shared external forces. However, it reveals only half of the story. Through the case studies, this study reveals that, despite the differences in the social and political conditions of each museum, a top-down operation of power, with minor resistance from the museums, is observable in the museums in China and Taiwan. This shows that, although public museums possess power over their educational practice, the general guidelines for museum practice are in line with government policy.

2.2.2 *American examples of museum education*

Museums and art museums in America have long been regarded as learning institutions with a role as an 'educator' (Falk, Dierking and Foutz, 2007; Silver and Newsom, 1978). As early as the 1870s, the value and role of art museum education in America were being debated (Lovano-Kerr, 1985). In a chapter entitled 'The Historical and Philosophical Foundations of Art Museums in America' in *Museum Education: History, Theory, and Practice*, Zeller (1989) provides a detailed account of the historical and philosophical underpinnings of art museum education in America. In the chapter, Zeller views the purpose of museum education in American art museums as pragmatic for the constitution of good taste. Many American art museums were created during the industrial and economic expansion after the Civil War with the aim of uplifting the tastes of the workers, and the education provided by art museums at the time was pragmatic, instructive and intended to be useful (ibid: 13). The former role of pragmatic art education can be regarded as didactic pedagogy driven by commercial and economic motivations to inform the production of art. A commonality can be found between the early American art museums and those existing in 19th century Britain, as the pragmatic role of American art museums can be linked to a 19th century British museum, the South Kensington Museum (now

known as the Victoria and Albert Museum), as a model. The museum was founded for the improvement of public taste in design, and the application of fine art to objects of utility (Victoria and Albert Museum, 1976: 5). During this period, applied art and excellent workmanship were highly regarded. In 1835, a Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures was appointed by Parliament "to enquire into the best means of extending knowledge of the arts and of the principles of design among the people". In 1852, the Department of Practical Art, under the Board of Trade, was established to administer the existing art schools and "to establish museums, by which all classes might be induced to investigate those common principles of taste which may be traced in the works of excellence of all ages" (ibid). In addition to museums' pragmatic role, another purpose of museum education was to supply aesthetic education for the middle class so that they might maintain their cultural hegemony over the working class. This is comparable to the educational role of museums, described by Bennett (1995) in *The Birth of the Museum* as being to regulate the behaviour and manners of the working class through museum activities.

In the development of museum education, the concept of 'community' played a central role in the educational services of museums. In the practical approach of art museum education in America, there was a shift from object lessons and didactic learning as a visitor-centred learning approach to museums as community-based institutions that provide social services and social welfare. The concept of a museum for the community and community education was initiated worldwide in the post-war era, and came to be regarded as one of the major functions of museums in the 1970s (Chadwick, 1980: 22-25, 57-63). In America, the museum's role as being to serve the community and fulfil the community's needs is widely discussed in the current literature. Weil (1999) describes the recent development in American museums as progressing from being *about* something to being *for* someone. Weil indicates that museums have changed their focus of being collection - and preservation - oriented to providing educational services to the general public. Arthur Parker, the long-standing vice president of the American Association of Museums (AAM), devoted to the pragmatism and publicness of museum education, believes that museums play a proactive role in serving the community (Zeller, 1989: 36-37). Dnilov (cited in Huang, 2001: 3)

categorises museums' community services as one of their basic educational activities, along with school services.

In recent decades, the transforming society has stimulated museums to rethink their education role as to provide not only 'education' but also communication, learning, leisure and entertainment. According to the needs of contemporary audiences, museums have become proactive and their educational role has become important. To conclude the review of the development of museum education in the UK and America, comparable approaches and developmental directions were undertaken in both locations. Museum education has shifted from object-based school lessons to the enhancement of the communicative roles through adopting diversified learning approaches. Museums have taken into account the community's needs and what they can offer to the community. Furthermore, museum education today takes place anywhere, as it is no longer an activity confined within the space of a museum building. The ultimate role of art museum education is to render museum collections useful and accessible in their aesthetic, social and educational dimensions.

2.3 Art Museums and their Education in China and Taiwan: Theory and Practice

The current literature on museum or art museum education in China and Taiwan is relatively small and inadequate regarding the research topic of this thesis in comparison to that published by scholars on the educational practice of museums and galleries in the West. However, the amount of English literature published on the practice of Chinese museums has increased noticeably in recent years (Abasa and Liu, 2007; Denton, 2005; Shao, 2004, 2005; Vickers, 2007). Although literature published in Mandarin Chinese in the People's Republic of China is relatively greater in volume in comparison to that published in English, research and literature specifically on the *educational* role of museums and galleries remain in their infancy in China. In comparison, literature on museum education in Taiwan can be found with less difficulty, although the subject matter is limited to visitor studies, museum-school collaboration, museum education for the community, and evaluations of the educational programmes of museums.

Scholars and museum professionals in China and Taiwan have begun to research museum and gallery education (Huang, 2006; Liu, 2002; Liu, 2007; Yan and Zheng, 2006; Yan and Yang, 2009). However, no research on the past, current or changing roles and instrumentality of museum education in China or Taiwan could be found. Among the four works of literature mentioned above, Yan and Zheng's *社会化视野下的博物馆* *(Shehuihua shiyexiade bowuguan jiaoyu,* Museum Education under Socialisation) and Yan and Yang's *博物馆教育新视阈* *(Bowuguan jiaoyu xinshiyu,* A New Dimension of Museum Education) are regarded as the most relevant to this study. These texts address issues of how museum education can be utilised for all-round education, moral education, patriotic education, community development, and for school education and identity construction in China. They examine what the new roles of museum education might be in China after 1978. The aim of this study is to fill the gap by providing an identical account that investigates the roles of museum education in both the national and local art museums in Taiwan and, furthermore, to understand the differences and similarities between the educational roles performed by art museums in China and Taiwan under their respective political regimes and in both the regional and national museum contexts.

2.3.1 *Learning and education theory*

The educational role of museums has become more active and museum education is now associated not only with learning 'in' the institution but also with the concepts of life-long learning, leisure and entertainment, and the enrichment of life. This shift is reflected in the changing learning theories, methods and practices of education. The literature on learning and teaching in museums is considered extensive, although most of the work has been done in Britain and North America (Hooper-Greenhill, 1999: 21). The following section introduces the learning and education theories which are employed in museums and art galleries in the West, before considering the learning theories employed by art museums in China and Taiwan. Section 2.3.2 provides an understanding of the different types of learning theory and pedagogy adopted by museum educators in China and Taiwan over

time. The practical aspect of museum education and the shift in the educational practices of museums in China and Taiwan will be explored in section 2.3.3.

- John Dewey and George Hein: constructivist theory

Among the learning theories available, Dewey's experiential learning can be considered the modern learning theory which led to the constructivist approach to the theory of museum education. The learning theories of Hein, and Falk and Dierking, share with Dewey the concept of 'experience' in learning. Dewey proposed a form of unstructured progressive education, believing that education is more important for understanding students' actual experience than an attempt to deliver knowledge as a one-way conversation delivered by teachers, as in traditional education. Based on his theory of experience, Dewey states that learning is achieved through every experience, and that each experience is stored and carried on into one's future learning. Namely, past experience always interacts with present learning. Dewey describes this experience of learning as 'continuity' and 'interaction'. In addition to addressing the significance of the experience achieved through hands-on activities, Dewey asserts that 'thinking' is as important as learning through experiencing (Dewey, 1966: 171). The interconnection between experiencing and thinking is explained by Dewey (ibid: 145-146) as follows:

> Thinking, […] is the intentional endeavour to discover specific connections between something which we do and the consequences which result, so that the two become continuous. Their isolation, and consequently their purely arbitrary going together, is cancelled; a unified developing situation takes it place.

Dewey (1933) sees the human mind as a meaning-making organ, relentlessly driven to make sense of its world. Alongside these notions of 'experience' and 'thinking' in education, Dewey (1956: 9, 1966: 199) considers learning as *active*, involving not only individual experience but also the consequences of a direct interactive activity. This relates to the learning theories of constructivism and active learning, such as that of George Hein. Hein's constructivist learning approach asserts that knowledge is constructed by the learners themselves through the 'experience' of hands-on learning. Hein's constructivist

learning can be regarded as the further development of the Deweyan learning theory, as it not only identifies that learning depends on the meaning attributed to the experience by the learner, but also recognises that knowledge is constructed by the learners themselves during their learning process. The pedagogy of the constructivist theory is to allow learners firstly to interact with and experience sensory data and then construct their own knowledge. Like Dewey, Hein considers that learning is hands-on as well as something to think about. According to Hein, learning is active, sensory, constructive and mental, as it happens in both action and in the mind. Further to the connections between Dewey and Hein, Hein's principles of learning explore other aspects in the process of learning, such as language, learning as a social activity and learning as contextual. Below is a summary of the set of principles of learning proposed by Hein (1991):

- Learning is an active process in which the learner uses sensory input and constructs meaning out of it.

- Learning is a process of meaning construction. It is mental, as it happens in the mind.

- Learning involves language: the language the learner uses influences the learning.

- Learning is a social activity associated with the connection between the learners and other human beings, such as their teachers, peers, family, and other learners.

- Learning involves the social aspect of learning rather than a one-to-one relationship between the learner and the objects.

- Learning is a contextualised process; it cannot be separated from the rest of the learners' lives, experience and knowledge.

From the principles listed above, in addition to the shared concepts of the active learner and learning in mind as a reflective activity shared by Dewey and Hein, Hein considers learning

as a contextualised activity which is constituted by the interactions during the process of learning as a social experience. This aspect of social interaction, in Hein's view of learning, can be linked to Falk and Dierking's interactive experience model and contextual model of learning, in which learning is holistic and complex, as it considers the contexts in which the learning is situated (Falk and Dierking, 2000).

- Interactive experience and the contextual models of learning

The learning models of Falk and Dierking (1992, 2000) - the interactive experience model and the contextual model - are relatively similar to the theories of Dewey and Hein but act as an expansion and re-configuration of these theories. In addition to considering museum learning as a contextualised and interactive experience, Falk and Dierking (1992: 6) identify that learning in museums is a continually shifting, interactive experience between the personal, social, and physical contexts. The two learning models of Falk and Dierking demonstrate a clear link with Dewey's experiential learning and Hein's idea of contextualised and social interactive learning. The interactive experience model can be visualised as a three-dimensional set of three intersecting spheres, each representing one of the three contexts (ibid: 4) (see Figure 6). The interactive experience model predicts that a visitor's experience can best be understood by examining, over time, at the series of critical intersections of these three contexts (ibid: 6). The interactive experience model suggests that all three contexts should contribute significantly to the museum experience, although not necessarily in equal proportion in all cases (ibid: 7).
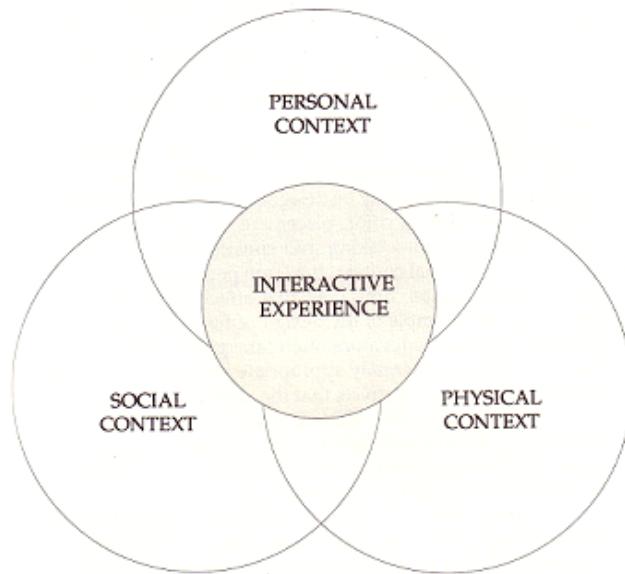
[Figure 6] Interactive experience model
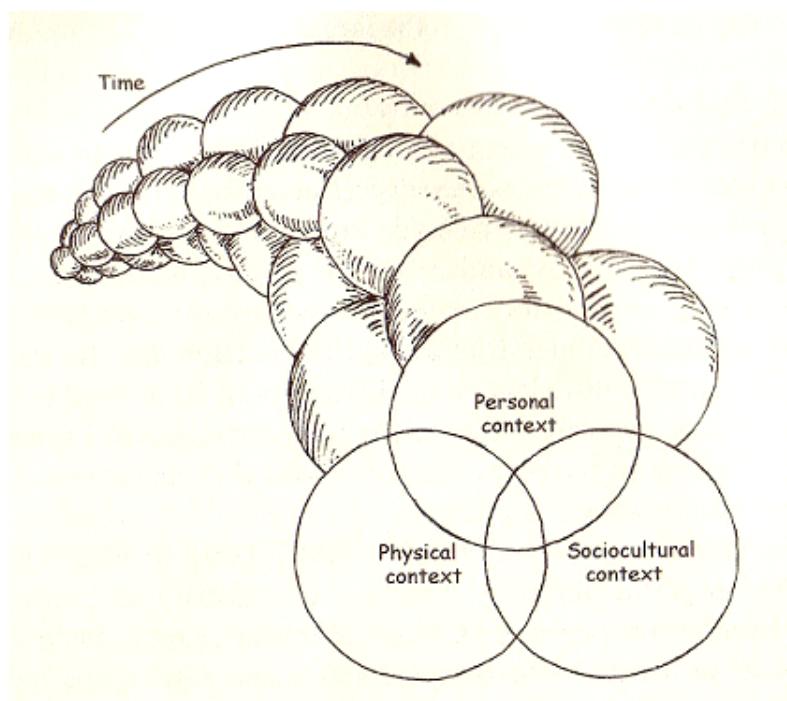
[Figure 7] Contextual model

The contextual model, as shown in Figure 7, shares the aspects of the interactive experience model. However, it further considers the contextualised temporal development of the learner's interactive experience with regard to museum learning. The contextual model is defined by Falk and Dierking (2000: 10) as follows:

> The contextual model posits that all learning is situated within a series of contexts. In other words, learning in not some abstract experience that can be isolated in a test tube or laboratory but an organic, integrated experience that happens in the real world. We argue that learning is a product of millions of years of evolution, an adaptation that permits an ongoing dialogue between the whole individuals and the physical and sociocultural world he or she inhabits.

Although the linkage between Dewey, Hein and Falk and Dierking can be traced, Falk and Dierking's model for museum learning considers the 'physical context', which is absent from the other learning theories. According to Falk and Dierking, learning is influenced by the overlapping personal, social and physical contexts of each individual when he or she learns. Learning is contextualised and interactive, while maintaining individual experience as the result of the diverse contexts that are integrated into the learning experience of each learner. Although Falk and Dierking have been prominent in theorising museum learning, some of their thinking is unaligned with that of other contemporary theorists associated with constructivism. Hooper-Greenhill (2007a: 39-40) notes that there are strands of Falk and Dierking's thinking that can be regarded as problematic; namely, the ecological approach to the concept of culture which is associated with behaviourism, and the linkage between learning and functionalism. Falk and Dierking regard learning as an adaption that produces measurable changes in behaviour, which enable individuals to survive in society. From this behaviourist stance, learning can be measured, which differentiates the theories of Falk and Dierking from that of Hein. The other concept that Hooper-Greenhill criticises is the idea that learning aims to enable individuals to fit into pre-existing social arrangements in accordance with a functionalist vision. Hooper-Greenhill indicates that the theories of Falk and Dierking represent the approach that applied in North America;

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however, in Europe, the influence of French thinkers, such as Bourdieu and Foucault, has been strong (ibid: 41).

- Communication theory

In both the first and second editions of her book entitled *The Educational Role of the Museum* (1994c, 1999), an overview of the different communication theories and how they are employed in a museum setting can be found. Hooper-Greenhill conceptualises communication in museums according to two models: the transmission model and the cultural model – communication as a process of transmission and communication as a part of culture (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000: 12). The previous communication model is largely based on the theory of Shannon and Weaver (1975). Hooper-Greenhill (2000: 15) describes the transmission model of communication (see Figure 8) as follows:

> The model understands communication as a linear process of information-transfer from an authoritative source to an uninformed receiver. Knowledge is seen as objective, singular and value-free. The receiver of the message to be communicated is conceptualized as open to the reception of the message, which is received more or less efficiently, and in the same way by all.

transmitter	medium	receiver
curator	designer	educator
selects objects writes captions	produces and installs exhibits	organizes materials and activities for school and general visitors
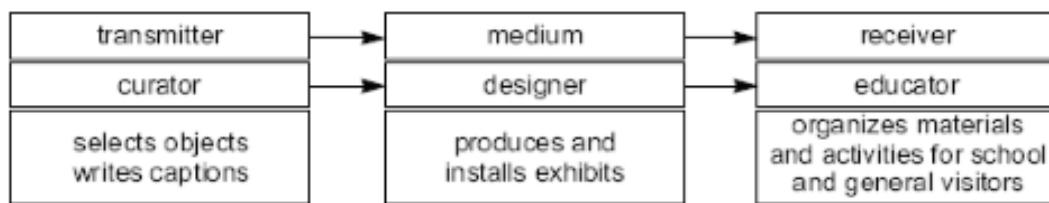
[Figure 8] Transmission model of communication

The other model of communication, the cultural model, as demonstrated in Figure 9, is summarised by Chen, Ho and Ho (2006: 6), as follows:

Based on the constructivist paradigm, communication is understood as a cultural process of negotiating meaning, which produces 'reality' through symbolic systems such as texts, objects, artworks, maps, models and museums. It is the ritual or cultural view. The view proposes that 'reality' has no finite identity, but is brought into experience, is produced, through communication.
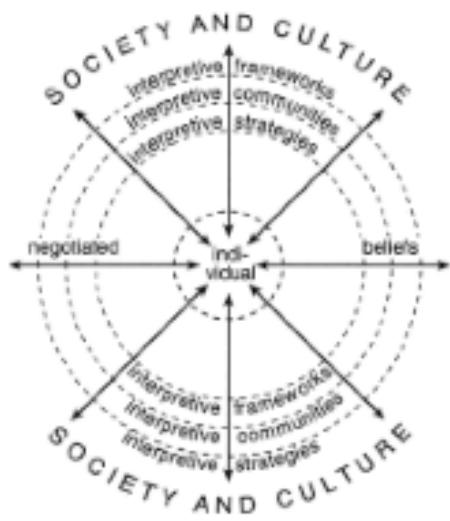
[Figure 9] Cultural model of communication

Hooper-Greenhill (2000: 17, 22) regards the values of the modernist museum as explicable by the transmission approach to communication and the adoption of the cultural model in post-modernist museums for a negotiated process of making meaning as part of the complex, unequal culture of everyday life. The communication models introduced by Hooper-Greenhill reveal that the post-modern museums have moved away from the traditional, linear, communicative model of the modern museums' stress on 'teaching' to ones which are visitor-centred, focusing on 'learning' and 'interpretation'.

The transmission model can be regarded as the traditional museum educational pedagogy of being curator-centred, in which the meaning of the communicative objects is defined by the sender, and the role of the receiver is cognitively passive. However, in the cultural model, the evaluation of information by, and feedback from, the receiver is likely to be neglected. More precisely, this approach focuses on the technological processes of communication and pays less attention to its social and cultural implications (Hooper-Greenhill, 1999: 16). On the other hand, the cultural model advocates that learning is socially constructed. A connection between the cultural model, Hein's constructivist approach, and Falk and Dierking's interactive experience model can be detected here. What is shared between these learning models is the fact that museum visitors make their own sense of experience and construct meanings for themselves based on their social environment.

The role of 'communication' makes the cultural model distinctive from the other models. "Communication is understood as a process that binds groups and societies together within a specific time-frame; sociality and mutuality are important concepts." (ibid: 16-17) Communication is understood as a process of sharing, participation and association (ibid: 69). Shared interpretation, beliefs and values can be achieved through an active meaning-making process. Overall, the education and learning theories on learning in museums are underpinned by the constructivist approach to learning. The theories recognise that meaning is constructed by the learners themselves in the process of meaning-making. The meaning-making process is based on the integral interactions between their own experiences and the physical and social contexts that belong to them. Therefore, as the theories developed, it has been suggested that the learning experiences carried on from the past or constructed during the learning is crucial, as well as the role that the physical and social environment plays in the learning process. Hooper-Greenhill (ibid: 21) indicates that "learning includes facts, but also experiences and the emotions. It requires individual effort, but is also a social experience. In museums, it is the social experience that frequently is best remembered". However, as the finding of this study unveils, Hooper-Greenhill's observation about the adoption of the cultural model among post-modern museums may be inapplicable to the current practice of Chinese museums as the study suggests in Chapter 7, as not all post-modern museums are the same, and the study further concludes in Chapter 8 that, in China,

the museological practice may be influenced by the western museums as much as by the local museums, where a common ground for educational practice and the general social circumstances are shared.

2.3.2 *Learning theories applied in China and Taiwan*

Western learning and educational approaches are reflected in the museum education in China and Taiwan, such as informal and non-formal learning (Dudzinska-Przesmitzki and Grenier, 2008), object-based learning (Paris, 2002), self-directed learning (Tough cited in He, 2000: 11), discovery learning (Bruner cited in Hooper-Greenhill and Moussouri, 2001: 4), and experiential learning (Dewey, 1938). The influence of meaning-making and the constructivist paradigm, identified by western museums in the 1990s, such as the theories of Hein (1991, 1998) and Falk and Dierking (1992), can be found in the educational practice of some of the case study museums. The educational principles for learning adopted by museums in China and Taiwan accords with the major learning theories mentioned in the previous section. However, the educational principles do not appear to be shared by all of the adopted theories.

Among the established theories, only the translated works of Falk and Dierking can be found in Taiwan.[4] However, western educational theories and practices can be found in some of the literature published in traditional Chinese in Taiwan. Liu Wanchen, a well-established scholar in the field of museum education studies, has published two books, 美術館教育理念與實務 (*Meishuguan jiaoyulinian yu shiwu,* Thoughts and Practices in Art Museum Education) (2002) and 博物館就是劇場 (*Bowuguan jiushi juchang,* Museums as Theatre) (2007), which introduce educational theories and practices, especially the museum-school collaborations in North America, and the concepts of interpretation and communication in museums towards Taiwanese museum professionals. In her first book, the educational theories of researchers, such as Falk and Dierking, and Hein and Gardner, were introduced. This book can be considered the first guidebook to art museum education

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[4] The literature is *The Museum Experience* by Falk and Dierking translated into traditional Chinese in 2002, and *Questioning Assumptions: An Introduction to Front-End Studies in Museums* by Dierking and Pollock translated into traditional Chinese in 2001.

for museum professionals in Taiwan. Currently, no western literature on museum educational theories has been translated into Chinese. Translated books containing the theories of researchers such as Hooper-Greenhill and Hein cannot be found in the Chinese-speaking world. Through interviews with the directors of the case study museums in China, it is understood that the influence of western educational theories and practices occurs through exchanges between museum professionals, and there are no specific theories or practices for the Chinese museums to follow (Fan Dian, Interview: 19/10/2008; He Lin, Interview: 18/10/2008; Wang Huangsheng, Interview: 22/09/2008; Liu Duanling, Interview: 22/09/2008).

- Dewey's democratic education

Dewey, as the forerunner of constructivist learning theories in the West, has clearly had an influence on East Asia. Dewey's learning theory was first adopted by Chinese intellectuals when democracy and the learning of science and art were promoted in the early 20th century. This can be regarded as a period of intellectual renaissance, when Dewey's thoughts were influencing the Chinese educational system. Among Chinese intellectuals, Hu Shi played a significant role in spreading Dewey's educational concepts, the relationship between education and society, and education and democratic politics. Moreover, a group of Dewey's students, such as Tao Xingzhi, Jiang Menglin, Zhang Boling, Ping Youlan and Guo Bingwen, promoted Dewey's thinking and acted as interpreters when Dewey made his speeches while touring China (Yuan, 2001: 136). Before and after Dewey's trip to China, in addition to his theories, western scholars, such as the American educationalist Paul Monroe and the geologist Amadeus William Grabau, visited China to publicise their ideas, and the philosophies of Russell and Nietzsche were introduced into China (ibid: 134, 159).

Under Dewey's influence, education in China in the 1920s aimed to cultivate a 'perfect personality' and develop a 'democratic spirit' (Dewey, 1973: 22, cited in Hoyt, 2006: 21). The terms 'perfect personality' and 'democratic spirit' are direct translations of the Chinese recording of Dewey's lectures that were delivered in China between 1919 and 1920. To

understand the meaning of the terms better, they can be explained as '人格' (*Renge,* moral integrity) and '民主思想' (*Minzhu sixiang,* democratic beliefs and thoughts). Dewey's progressive education is seen as a means of achieving a social goal; namely, the improvement of society (Hein, 2006: 349). Dewey's emphasis on traditional education as hierarchical and undemocratic can be seen as a reason why his theory and ideas of pragmatism were employed by the Chinese to promote democratic citizenry. However, Hoyt (2006) argues that pragmatic democracy and Confucian morality share the same idea, as they are both intended to promote 'self-improvement'. Hoyt (ibid: 24) states that pragmatic democracy, like Confucian morality, was generated for self-improvement and democracy, and it is obtained through everyone's efforts, and through efforts made on a daily basis. In responding to Hoyt's expression of the commonality between Confucianism and democracy, the study suggests that it is necessary to be aware of the difference between the two, as Confucianism is regarded as hierarchical and inherently conservative. The proponents of Confucianism emphasise the maintenance of the existing order, while democracy is regarded as being egalitarian to allow for progressive change to optimise the workings of the social order and the machinery of the state. It is necessary to understand that radical change, modernisation and democracy could contradict the inherited value of Confucianism. For instance, Confucianism was most attacked in China when the need for radical change was called for, such as during the events of the May 4th Movement, the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution.

- Discipline-Based Art Education

In his book, *Experience and Education*, Dewey (1938) states the methods for progressive education accord with humanistic and democratic ideals. In Chapter 3 of his book, entitled *Criteria of Experience*, it is argued that traditional schools are non-democratic and harsh, while democratic social arrangements promote a better quality of human experience. In opposition to Dewey's concept of 'teach the child, not the subject', the American Discipline-Based Art Education (DBAE) is another learning theory that, although opposed to the concepts of Dewey, was widely employed in China and Taiwan in the 1990s.

DBAE is an approach to art education developed by the Getty Education Institute in the 1980s. Its principle advocator, Eliot Eisner, suggested that DBAE "ought to engage youngsters in the making of art, it ought to help them learn how to see visual qualities in both art and the environment, it ought to help them understand something about the relationship of art to culture over time, and it ought to engage them in conversations about the nature of art itself" (Eisner, 1990: 424, cited in Trend, 1992: 70). DBAE aims to impart a well-rounded view of art through studying art work by using four different disciplines which are tailored to the specific age and level of learners: 1) art production - students learn skills and techniques in order to produce personal, original artwork; 2) art history - students study the artistic accomplishments of the past and present as motivation, examples of style or technique, and as discussion topics, especially in relation to cultural, political, social, religious, and economic events and movements; 3) art criticism - students describe, interpret, evaluate, theorise and judge the properties and qualities of the visual form, for the purpose of understanding and appreciating works of art and understanding the roles of art in society; 4) aesthetics - students consider the nature, meaning, impact and value of art, are encouraged to formulate reflective, 'educated' opinions and judgments about specific works of art, and examine criteria for evaluating works of art (Dobbs, 1998: 3-4). DBAE was adopted and considered as an appropriate model of art learning for China. It was signified in the guidelines to the art curriculum of 1992 that art classes are compulsory for art learning so the approach of the DBAE is suitable for China (Li, 1997: 2). It is believed that the understanding, adoption and application of the DBAE significantly strengthens and encourages the development of schools' art education. In Taiwan, in the late 1980s, scholars who studied abroad brought back the idea of DBAE. DBAE-related publications were published by Taiwanese scholars of art education with diverse views on how the adoption of DBAE might complement art education in Taiwan (Hou, 1994: 29-31). In educational practice, DBAE was included in the programme content of the mobile museum project of the National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts for the participants to consider 'what is art?' and 'what is an art museum?' This concept is incorporated in the hands-on activities at the museum, which emphasise the *experience* of learning (Huang, 2004: 49). This links the pedagogy employed by the museum educators at NTMOFA to the learning theories of

Dewey and Hein, even though the direct influence of the western museological theories is difficult to detect.

DBAE was employed more profoundly in schools' art education in China and Taiwan than museum education. In museums, constructivist theories have been observed to be favoured by museum educators. Museums in Taiwan have been found to have adopted Hein's constructivist theory on experience and interactive learning. Among Hein's various learning approaches, didactic, discovery and constructivism are the types of learning which are utilised more often than stimulus-response in Taiwanese art museums. Didactic learning has been adopted in gallery labelling for guided tours and adult visitors. Discovery and constructivist learning are widely used by art museums with regard to children's art education. For example, the case study museums have all constructed new learning spaces for learning from experience and through self-discovery: this is especially important in the case study museums in Taiwan. In this dedicated learning space, learning is associated with the idea of different perspectives and no answers are definite, but linked to learners' personal background and experience. The Art Experience Corner at the Taipei Fine Arts Museum, the Family Room at the National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts, and the galleries of the Children's Museum of Art at the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts are where the methods of constructivist learning are employed in educational activities. More evidence of the content of and pedagogy used in these activities will be provided in Chapter 4. Liu (2007) proposes that all of these learning spaces accord with the concept of 'theatre'. The nature of the space of the Art Experience Corner is described as an 'experimental theatre' (ibid: 54). This educational space is located in the basement of the museum; the layout of the space is similar to a theatre, with the stage at the centre surrounded by the seating area (see Figure 10).

[Figure 10] The layout of the Art Experience Corner

The Family Room at the National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts is a learning space which exemplifies the concept of discovery learning and the idea of 'discovery theatre', as categorised by Liu (2007). In this space, as seen in [Figure 11], learning is based on the museum collection. Through the method of discovery learning, knowledge is not transmitted directly to the learners by the educators; rather, it is explored by the learners themselves through the activities in which they participate. The galleries of the Children's Museum of Art at the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts (see Figures 12 and 13) are another example of how the museum employs discovery learning. The galleries demonstrate a stronger intention to 'educate' than to 'display', as museum galleries usually do. In these galleries, children learn through participation, and knowledge is constructed by the participants themselves through hands-on activities. For instance, the colour game (Figure 12) involves the participants rotating the wheels to discover a new colour as the colours on the wheel become mixed. The story reading area (Figure 13) is where story books are displayed for parents to read to their children. Although each of these three learning spaces represent individual styles of learning 'theatre', elements such as 'hands on' and 'interactive learning' are shared.

[Figure 11] Family Room at NTMOFA

Photo: Y. J. Chen

[Figure 12] Children's Museum of Art: the colour game

Photo: Y. J. Chen

[Figure 13] Children's Museum of Art: story reading area
Photo: Y. J. Chen

Contrary to the learning theories adopted in the museums in Taiwan based on Hein's educational theories, the educational activities of art museums in China appear to be employing the didactic and discovery learning methods. In the Chinese case study museums, there is no dedicated space allocated to museum education. Only the Guangdong Museum of Art has a Training Centre which provides art classes at weekends. The organisation of the Training Centre is separate from the museum's Education Department. With the lack of space available for museum education, the educational activities of the two Chinese case study museums can only be conducted in the museum galleries. In the Chinese art museums, a gallery tour is an essential component for both adults and children. For children's art education, it is common for the activities to start with a gallery tour that adopts the didactic approach, followed by drawing attention to didactic components such as labels and panels, which lead to questions and prompt the visitors to discover things by themselves (Observation notes: 21/09/2008, 18/10/2008). Based on the content of the

current educational activities and pedagogy, art museums in China and Taiwan employ the theories of Dewey and Hein most profoundly. The learning approach of Falk and Dierking, and Hooper-Greenhill's cultural model of communication theory, do not appear popular in the case study museums. More examples of the educational programme of the case study museums will be provided throughout the thesis.

2.3.3 *Shifting educational practices*

Museum establishments and museum education are both imported concepts in China and Taiwan, and practice in art museums has only been conducted in these two locations for approximately thirty years. In Taiwan, art museum education began when the first art museum was established and, in China, art museum education only started in the 1990s - four decades after the first public art museum opened. Notwithstanding its relatively recent development, the educational role of art museums has matured and diversified in China and Taiwan today, possibly as a consequence of the influence of western museological theories and practices. Currently, the education practices of the art museums in these two locations involve providing educational projects for school students, support for schoolteachers, advocacy for lifelong learning projects, and educational opportunities for the general public. All of these current education practices provided by the museums can be regarded as a result of the influence of the West or the orientation directed by the government regulations. The existing literature, with reference to pedagogy, has demonstrated that museum education practices in China and Taiwan today have diversified from the traditional models of learning practices for museum education towards innovative learning approaches. It appears that the concept of education in art museums in China and Taiwan has gradually shifted from 'education' towards 'learning' and 'outreach'. According to Abasa and Liu's (2007: 402) observation, the pedagogy which is employed by Chinese museums ranges from linear and didactic presentations, such as lectures and guided tours, to dialogic and experimental programmes. In some museums, such as the Beijing War of Resistance Museum, former soldiers are employed as guides to deliver first person narratives that support the traditional linear communication (Mitter, 2003: 292). Museums in China have developed a wide range of educational programmes using modern technologies for both on-

site and online visitors, and "since 1994, increased attention has been given to the availability and suitability of out-of-school experiences at cultural sites, as well as the role of mass media and technology" (Fairbrother, 2006, cited in Abasa and Liu, 2007: 396). Museum education in Taiwan has undergone comparable changes in theory and practice. Huang (2006) indicates that the term 'outreach' has replaced that of 'education'. For creating effective learning and the equal distribution of resources, the term 'outreach' has acquired equality with museum education and is used with similar prevalence. The increased number of cultural and art institutions and the perceived needs of the general public have contributed to the changes made to the education practice from a quantity to a quality-focused approach. Currently, innovative learning methods and the construction of new learning spaces are on the art museum education agenda. Art museums in Taiwan have revealed their attempts to maximise the effectiveness of collaboration with schools, which can be considered a result of the government regulation (TFAM, 2007; Huang, 2004).

Art museums in China and Taiwan in the past ten years have focused on enhancing the quality of museum education and broadening it for a wider audience; examples will be provided in Chapter 4. At the end of the 20th century, museum practices in China and Taiwan were a means of providing a bridge between society and museum audiences. Not only had museums realised that the mission and role of their education were different, but the demands of the audiences had changed, as society was changing at an ever quickening pace. Art museums, in responding to the shift in society and the perceived requirements of the general public, sought to enhance the experience of their visitors. Art museums in Taiwan today are constructing a closer relationship with the general public, and the role of education in art museums is now as crucial as collecting, preserving, and exhibiting artworks. A new relationship between institutions and audiences has been constructed by providing a better visiting experience for museum visitors. Comparably, Chinese museums have started to view their audiences as participants and have begun to provide education that is accessible to all. Lu (2008: 160) notes that the quality of the educational service should be one of the criteria for museum evaluation. Li Xuhong (2003), the previous Director of the Education Department of the Guangdong Museum of Art, acknowledges the changing needs of the general public in the new era and states that the responsibility of the

museum is now to re-consider and re-examine its educational provision in order to produce the most effective learning activities for its audience. Furthermore, the idea that art museum education plays a crucial role in enhancing art literacy among the populace has been addressed by scholars in both China and Taiwan (Huang, 1994: 149-150; Ma, 2000: 58; Wang, 1993: 50-51). For the young, the significant result of art learning outside the school space has been recognised and, with reference to the adult elderly population, the idea of life-long learning and a learning society has been raised to signify diversified learning opportunities.

公眾化 (*Gongzhonghua,* publicness), i.e., the extent to which cultural provision is intended for wide public consumption and public welfare, is currently identified as a central theme of art museum education. The Director of the Guangdong Museum of Art, Wang Huangsheng, refers to museums' publicness by addressing the 'public policy' of the museum. The term 'public policy' is adopted to refer to the methods, strategies and targets of the museum's public service. Wang (2008: 12-13) states that "the idea of the public policy is to maximise the benefit of the general public from the service that the cultural sector provides". He Lin (2008: 44-45), Director of the Education Department at the National Art Museum of China, addresses this concern by stating that, since 2004, NAMOC has conducted its educational practices in accordance with the diverse needs of their audience for museum education in order to be more accessible to all. Based on the statement by these Chinese museum professionals, fulfilling the publicness of museum education involves understanding the needs of the museum audience and providing appropriate educational services for the audience, according to their needs. The changing educational practices and shifting adaptations of the learning theories in China and Taiwan may be influenced by the museological practices being conducted abroad; however they may also be attributed to the effect of government objectives and policies. The museum professionals' beliefs and attitudes regarding their educational services are additional elements which should be taken into account when considering the educational roles of art museums in China and Taiwan. As identified in sub-sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2, the educational roles of museums are subject to government objectives for different policy ends, so governmental influence is considered by the study when examining the changing roles of

museum education in China and Taiwan. In the following part of the thesis, Chapter 4 is underpinned by this argument, while Chapters 6 and 7 focus on the field of museum education in order to analyse the educational practice of the case study museums at the bottom level and to examine the influences that contribute to the shaping of the role of museum education by the actors involved in that field.

2.4 Partial or Neutral: The Significance of the Role of Museum Education

The review of the literature on museum education in the UK, America, China and Taiwan identified how the practices and roles of museum education have been propelled by various influences, resulting in a shift in the educational practices and theories employed by the museums. In the following sub-sections, based on the reviews of the western museological literature, the aim is to offer an account of the roles and potential significance of western museums. The mission and roles of museums and art museums have been widely discussed and are contested issues in western museology.

The themes of the following literature review are centred on the symbolic and ideological roles of museums, and the roles of museums regarding social inclusion and cultural regulation. The review uncovers the significant roles that art museums can play and are performing in the West. It begins with the ideological role and power disseminated through the sites of museums and art museums. This is based on the assertion of art museums as places of authority, by and within which power is displayed, the rituals of citizenship are endorsed, and the symbolic content and messages are produced and transmitted. This is followed by Bennett (1995) and Hooper-Greenhill's (1992: 167-190, 2006a: 235-243) arguments about museums as disciplinary technologies. Both scholars argue that museums are where knowledge is circulated in order to regulate the conduct of the public. Finally, in 2.4.3, museums' new challenge in orchestrating the different voices and values from diverse cultures and communities for social inclusion and identity formation will be addressed (Ashley, 2005; Bennett, 2006; Clifford, 1997; Witcomb, 2003).

2.4.1 *Symbolic power and the ideological role of art museums*

Museums have been identified as places which operate as institutions for the collection of knowledge and information, through which, symbolic content is generated and distributed among the working class (Thompson, 1995; Bennett, 1995). 19th century museums formed a close relationship with other exhibitionary spaces for the construction of a national identity and imagined communities (Anderson, 1983; Bennett, 1995; Crampton, 2003; MacDonald and Fyfe, 1996). The argument that art museums are the sites of symbolic power, authority and ideology has been broadly addressed, particularly in the studies of the 19th century American art museums and national museums (Crooke, 2000; Einreinhofer, 1997; Fyfe, 2000; Sherman, 1989). The birth of the American art museums was a symbol of prosperity, power, and prestige (Einreinhofer, 1997). American art museums began their educational mission with the public art education of the citizens with democratic concerns rather than for the regulation of the public behaviour of certain classes, like the early European public museums. Followed by the example of the Louvre, American art museums symbolised the triumph of American democracy. The educational purpose was placed at the core of the art museums, and the educational opportunities provided to the citizens were presented with the purpose of symbolising the power of American democracy (ibid: 18-19).

The ideological role of art museums and their space is another argument that has been examined by western scholars. Duncan (1991: 90) argues that museum space is less neutral and transparent than is claimed. In Duncan's casting of art museums as ceremonial monuments carrying concepts and functions comparable to those of Greek temples, medieval cathedrals and Renaissance palaces, it is argued that:

> the museum is a complex experience involving architecture, programmes displays of art objects, and highly rationalized installation practices. And like ceremonial structures of the past, by fulfilling its declared purposes as a museum (preserving and displaying art objects) it also carries out broad, sometimes less obvious political and ideological tasks.

Duncan's assertion reveals that museums are the ritual of citizenship, and art museums and gallery space are viewed as the carefully constructed stage on which secular ceremonies

with hidden ritual content are performed (Duncan, 1991, 2005). However, this applies not only to museums and galleries' use of the conventional rhetoric of public buildings, but also modern art museums that represent art objects that function as an iconographic programme (Duncan and Wallach, 2004).

2.4.2 *Disciplinary power of museum education*

Bennett (1995) and Hooper-Greenhill (1992, 2006a) both posit the role of modern public art museums as places for educative and civic functions for the dissemination of disciplinary knowledge. Both Hooper-Greenhill's concept of art museums as a disciplinary institution and Bennett's notion of an exhibitionary complex argue that the modern public art museums are disciplinary technologies, through which knowledge and bodies are shaped and orders are placed. The main argument behind the concept of museums as disciplinary institutions, as Hooper-Greenhill (2006a: 235-236) indicates, is that "knowledge is not value-free; interests shape the meaning that is constructed about social events in the present and the past, and thus knowledge is always value-laden". It is based on this value-laden assumption that knowledge transmitted through disciplinary institutions is pre-coded towards targeted results. Bennett quotes Hooper-Greenhill on the functions of the early public museums as "the elite temple of the arts and that of a utilitarian instrument for democratic education" as an instrument of disciplinary society (Bennett 1995: 89).

In western modernisation, the opening of modern museums, accompanied by other new cultural technologies, such as libraries, theatres and Great Exhibitions, symbolises the concept of cultural conduct through public education with the aim of regulating, educating and entertaining the general public (Greenhalgh, 1989; Bennett, 1995). In museological practice, museums are frequently being charged with reproducing narratives and value that privilege those with power (Hooper-Greenhill, 2006a: 236). Braithwaite, Coglianese and Levi-Faur (2007: 3) indicate that "governments and governance are about providing, distributing and regulating", "regulation can be conceived as a larger subset of governance that is about steering the flow of event and behaviour, as opposed to providing and distributing" and "when regulators regulate, they often steer the providing and distributing

that regulated actors undertake as well". In the process of regulating, regulators often only consider their own interests and are less concerned about those of the general public. However, it may be insufficient to recognise the early public museums as disciplinary technologies of the dominant class for the discipline and order of the lower class. In his study of the architectural and institutional development of public museums in the 19th century, with particular reference to the National Gallery, Whitehead (2005a) suggests that the development of the early public museums is not only seen as a calculated strategy for public management, but is also constituted by the relations of power between agents from different social classes.

In responding to and comparing the purpose of the formation of the modern cultural technologies that appeared in the West during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the following literature review provides an account of the value of the early Chinese museums. Hsu (2003) and Shao (2004) argue that the first Chinese-sponsored museum founded by the Chinese elite in 1905, the Nantong Museum, was designed to manifest Chinese modernity through 'exhibitionary modernity'. Shao indicates that the practice of the western Great Exhibitions and the construction of cultural institutions influenced the Chinese elites in the early 20th century; the cultural phenomenon that occurred in western countries propelled the actions of the advocators to establish museums of their own. Shao's understanding of the initiation of the early Chinese museums as a demonstration of the ambition of the Chinese elites and the Republican government to become involved in social renewal and to pursue western modernity is slightly different from the concept of the 'exhibitionary complex' performed through the western public museums. The early Chinese museums are exclusive to the elite groups, and the idea of adopting and welcoming western aesthetics, philosophy and sociology represents the reflections of the Chinese elites on the fulfilment of cultural transformation and revitalisation. By undertaking culturally-related projects, the nation was determined to adopt the model applied in the West in the hope of developing a modern China. With this concern, the birth of museums in China was a form of social regeneration and cultural renaissance for the modernisation of society rather than an 'exhibitionary complex' for the disciplinary power of museums. The birth of the first Chinese museum was symbolic and ideological rather than regulative and disciplinary.

2.4.3 *Museum education for social inclusion*

Conversely to the assertion that museums are a regulative force for public conduct based on the reviewed literature, Ashley (2005), Bennett (2006), Clifford (1997) and Witcomb (2003) deem modern museum practice as a means of promoting inclusive participation and communication for different cultures rather than perceiving museums as having political meanings and ideology. The observations of the scholars in this category consider the museums themselves as communities in which different sets of interests can be expressed. Among them, Clifford (1997) developed a model of 'museums as contact zones' in analysing museum practices as an arena in which different interests are involved. According to Clifford, the power and influence that emerged in museums does not arise from a single origin of authority, but is rather a field in which different cultures, values and differences contend. Bennett's idea of museums as a 'differencing machine' is comparable to this view. The new concept of a 'differencing machine' challenged Bennett's previous idea of an 'exhibitionary complex'. In the concept of museums as a differencing machine, Bennett identifies the operations and power relations of museums from a broader perspective, which involves the awareness of the museums themselves that are nowadays actively involved in the transitions of globalisation, transnational cultural exchange, and the transformation of the public sphere. Bennett (2006: 59) expresses the new challenge for museums as follows:

> The challenge now is to reinvent the museum as an institution that can orchestrate new relations and perceptions of difference that both break free from the hierarchically organized forms of stigmatic othering that characterised the exhibitionary complex and provide more social invigorating and, from a civic perspective, more beneficial interfaces between different cultures.

In comparison to the 19th century European museums of social regulation through 'exhibitionary complex', Bennett (2005: 542, 2006: 59) argues that the 20th century museums are of the same type, albeit through the mediation of the relations between different cultures. The view of museums as a space in which a diversity of culture is

displayed and interactions between people and objects are achieved is exemplified in another paper that Bennett (2005) published around the same time. Bennett addressed that the 21st century museums are being refashioned as institutions where socialisation, interactions and exchanges occur; however, through the facilitation of museums for social networking, this 'cultural objecthood' (abstract entities – like art, prehistory, community or national heritage produced through relations between individual objects that are assembled together in museums) is produced and mobilised in the context of programmes of social and civic governance which aim to order and regulate social relations in particular ways (ibid: 521). In a more recent publication, Bennett qualifies his 1988 idea of the exhibition complex as parts of the global networks organising flows of things, people and expertise. Bennett (2006: 48) states:

> the formation of the modern public museum should be considered as part of the development of a broader "exhibitionary complex" – a somewhat clumsy neologism for a network of institutions in which earlier practices of exhibition were significantly overhauled in being adapted to the development of new forms of civic self-fashioning on the part of newly enfranchised democratic citizenries. While this argument took account of the totalizing exhibitionary frameworks that aimed to encompass "all things and all people in their interactions through time," it did not adequately recognize the respects in which museums and exhibitions were themselves actively implicated in the organization of new international networks, promoting new transnational forms of cultural exchange and perception.

However, it is still inadequate to verify that the contact zone museums and museums as differencing machines are entirely autonomous from governmental objectives. Bennett (1998: 189-213) argues that culture is governmentalised and asserts that culture is a field of government. In Bennett's view, both the early public museums and contemporary museums perform as a site of government and are exercised as a produced sphere of government. Art museums are, therefore, understood as public spaces but are not always, if ever, neutral with regard to the government, and communities and museums are both situated in the fields of government. While contact-zone museums and eco-museums encourage participation and communication, their roles in shaping a sense of community and creating a shared identity is performed as a civic pedagogy as activities of the government. Bennett's position on the flow of power has changed since his earlier work. In comparison

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to his earlier observation on museums in early modernity as cultural technologies in which power is enacted through institutions to achieve targeted outcomes from the subordinate class, power flows through a bottom-up approach with the 21st century museums through relations between objects, and between objects and persons in configuring social relations and creating new entities. The issue raised here would have to be that the public art museums may not be created only for the benefit of the public but, rather, that museums are regulated by the state and controlled by those who are privileged to be certain powerful groups in society and so able to operate forms of social hegemony. To this end, regardless of the significance of museums in constructing national identity, fulfilling a symbolic and ideological role, or considering cultural diversity by rendering the difference of cultures to be articulated, governmental intentions regarding the projects of museums of any sort and in different periods of time cannot be overlooked.

2.5 Conclusion

The characteristics of museum education in both China and Taiwan and in the major western countries studied in the literature review can be identified as being for public education, seeking to enhance aesthetic appreciation, and offering educational resources. In comparison to western museums, that have public education as their founding purpose, museum education in China and Taiwan only begins to reach the whole population with the support of government policies. Museums act as the providers of educational resources to the community and local schools, and this is noticeably linked to governmental community projects and the reform of school education in China and Taiwan.

The review of the literature, especially the second half, revealed the potential roles that the education of art museums can perform, which surpasses 'learning', 'art education' and 'recreation'. No matter what the museums and art museums' perceptions of the significance of their educational roles may be, they remain spaces for communication, and information distribution and exchange. It is crucial to note that the process of museum education involves knowledge being transmitted through museum educational activities. Hooper-Greenhill (2006a: 235) indicates that much attention has been paid to the production of

knowledge through museums, especially with regard to the ideological framing of museum narratives and the democratic and inclusive intentions developed by museum education practices. One of the major aims of museum education is to distribute knowledge, and it is necessary to recognise 'the value of knowledge', as Hooper-Greenhill points out. If knowledge is produced with a given 'value', the educational roles of museum education will become broader and multifaceted, in addition to the pedagogical role that museums perform. The statement of Hooper-Greenhill evokes a critical argument on what the contents of knowledge museum education nowadays could really distribute if knowledge contains value. It is worth considering if museum education can be a mediator which delivers the voices of the state, since today's museums and art museums are endeavouring to bring in new voices, invigorating the society with different ideas and cultures.

This chapter has discussed the educational roles that museums and art museums play in both the west and in China and Taiwan. It has been identified that there are other potential roles that museum education can perform and have been performing in the West, such as promoting social inclusion, identity construction and nation-building. These possible roles of museum education in China and Taiwan have not yet been revealed and will be discovered in the following chapters. It is critical to examine the roles of museum education on the basis of understanding the socio-political and socio-cultural contexts in which the educational practices are embedded. The following chapter offers an account of the political and social changes that have occurred in China and Taiwan since the late 19th century, with the aim of understanding the development of the cultural policies and cultural establishments in these two locations and the circumstances in which these changes occurred.

Chapter 3. Museums, Cultural Policy and Cultural Facilitation: In Diverse Socio-Political Contexts

Postmodern writers suggest that any understanding of the here and now cannot be achieved without digging into the past to expose the critical ways in which the past moulds the present through reshaping ideas, renegotiating relationships and repositioning practices.

Hooper-Greenhill (2007b: 368)

3.1 Introduction

Cultural policies signify the directions of a government's initiatives towards the development and regulation of cultural affairs. It indicates a government's direction regarding the implementation of culturally-related activities and is affected by the broader government agenda for diverse ends. The definition of cultural policy published by UNESCO (Mark, 1969: 9) is that, through the making of cultural policy, "certain criteria for cultural development should be defined, and that culture should be linked to the fulfillment of personality and to economic and social development". Miller and Yudice (2002: 1) provide a further definition, which is that "cultural policy is embodied in systematic, regulatory guides to action that are adopted by the organisations to achieve their goals".

The previous chapter argued that the roles of museums in China, Taiwan and western countries are changing in relation to the government objectives and social conditions. Acting as a continuation of the previous argument, this chapter suggests that the cultural policy in China and Taiwan guides the development of cultural affairs, whilst being influenced by the political agendas and social and economic changes over time. In both locations, 'culture' has been and remains oriented by politics and government objectives. The other argument underpinning this chapter is that, although China is still a communist state, its power relations in museum practice would currently fit a Foucauldian model of disciplinary regulation rather than a Gramscian model of hegemony. As proposed in Chapter 1, in museum education practice, the power relations could be explained by

different models as a result of the divergence in the political systems of China and Taiwan. However, the chapter argues that a shift from a Gramscian towards a Foucauldian model to explain the power relations between museum practice and the government in line with political and social change can be found in both China and Taiwan. This shift in the models of power can not only be identified by making a comparison between the cultural policy of the past and present under different political and social circumstances, but also through conducting an analysis of the museums' displays, collections, education and administrative systems. This chapter emphasises the shifting focus of cultural policy along with the political and social changes, which provides evidence to support the argument of the transition from the Gramscian towards the Foucauldian model of power. In the later chapters, different aspects of evidence will be provided to support the argument of the study.

Throughout the analysis of the chapter, the following questions will be explored: what did the governments in China and Taiwan intend to achieve through their cultural policy, and how have their cultural policy, the development of cultural affairs and the political conditions related to and influenced each other since the late 19th century? This chapter presents an account of the socio-political contexts in which the shifting cultural policy which orients the role of museum education was, and remains, embedded. In addition to this, the development of policies related to cultural establishments in China and Taiwan since the late 19th century to the present day will be examined respectively, to explore cultural development at different stages alongside the major political shifts and events, and analyse the significance of cultural policy promulgated by the governments at different periods of time to understand how the changes came about and why. The chapter will respond to one of the research questions to show how the diverse political regimes have affected the making of cultural policy to demonstrate the power relations between the government and cultural practice in China and Taiwan today and the model of power that explains this most appropriately.

3.2 The Contemporary Social and Political Contexts of China and Taiwan

3.2.1 *The first half of the 20th century: political turmoil, foreign influence and modernisation*

Our examination of the contemporary social and political contexts of China and Taiwan begins in the late 19th century, when the two locations began to progress individually in their respectively formed power and modernity. For centuries, Taiwan was isolated from its surrounding countries until the period of Global Navigation by the European powers in the 15th to 17th centuries. Taiwan was discovered by the Portuguese in the mid-16th century, and they named it, 'Ihla Formosa', or the 'beautiful island' (Lin and Keating, 2000:1). Following the Portuguese, the Spaniards and Dutch both occupied Taiwan, with the Spaniards being driven out by the Dutch in 1642 (Hung, 2000: 20-26). During the Dutch colonisation period, a number of expeditions were made to pacify the recalcitrant natives. These expeditions were the result of the massacre of 60 Dutchmen at Mattau in 1629, and the war ended when the natives promised to help the Dutch in their wars (ibid: 28). After ruling Taiwan for 38 years, the Dutch were driven out by Ming loyalists, in 1662. The leader of the Ming loyalists, Cheng Chengkung, hoped that, by using Taiwan as a base, he could retake mainland China from the Qing Dynasty (Lin and Keating, 2000: 11-13). From 1683, Taiwan was administratively considered to be a prefecture of Fujian province. Before becoming a province of the Qing Dynasty in 1885, Taiwan was an undeveloped island, detached from China, occupied by a non-Chinese native population and the descendants of south Chinese immigrants (Gordon, 1970: 1, 3). A decade after Taiwan had become a province of the Qing Dynasty, it was ceded to Japan by the Qing court, in 1895 (Gordon, 1976: 558-559).[5]

Although China began its governance of Taiwan as early as the 17th century, the strategy towards Taiwan during the Ming and Qing Dynasties can be considered passive, with few strong attempts to make major interventions except in the areas of agriculture and water conservation (Chiu, 1979: 12; Hsueh, Tai and Chow, 2005: 57). During the governance of the Qing court, interventions, such as the development of railways, telegrams, postal services and schools began in Taiwan (Copper, 1996: 16-18). However, the establishment

of cultural institutions, such as museums, did not commence until the Japanese colonisation of Taiwan. Chang (2006) traced the origin of Taiwan's museum enterprises to the Japanese occupation, when exhibition halls, educational centres and regional museums were established by the colonial government. From the perspective of the Japanese government's attitude towards the cultural establishment in Taiwan, cultural institutions, such as museums, served as an arena for cultural exchange, introducing Taiwanese customs and products to Japanese tourists, and publicise the national might of the Imperial Japan through the museum's representation of the colonised to the colonisers (Chang, 2006). The establishment of the Taiwan Governor Museum is a perfect example of this, as it was designed to commemorate the Japanese governors and their achievements in Taiwan. The symbolic power of the colonisers is reflected in the display of the magnificent statue of the Japanese governors and the architectural design of the museum as a Greek temple in which the ritual of the colonised could take place. The exhibitions of the museum showcase the colonial government's research on the 'colonised' and are categorised into three themes: natural history, craft industry and historical artifacts. Japan's colonial period shaped the mannerisms and customs of the Taiwanese, and influenced Taiwanese society in terms of its language, music and lifestyle (Government Information Office, 2010). Among all of these influences, during the colonisation period, language education was the most radical method used for the assimilation of the Taiwanese (see Chapter 4, page 170-171).

The Japanese colonisation lay not only in political and economic exploitation, but also in its imposition of Japanese culture and customs onto the Taiwanese and aborigines (Ching, 2001: 7). During the Japanese colonisation period, the population of Taiwan was composed of immigrant Han Chinese and Taiwanese aborigines - classified into nine tribes according to the Japanese linguistic and cultural data but later identified as consisting of 14 official tribes (Council of Indigenous Peoples, 2010). In their display on Taiwanese indigenous people held at the Paris World Exhibition in 1900, the Japanese anthropologists, Ino Kanori and Torii Ryuzo, classified the Taiwanese aboriginal groups as 'savages'. Varutti (2010a: 2) regards the action of the Japanese anthropologists as a contribution to the legitimation of

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[5] As a result of the Sino-Japanese War of 1984-1985, Taiwan and a small island, Penghu (now a county of Taiwan), were ceded to Japan by China for 50 years, following the signing of the Treaty of Shimono on April 17, 1895.

the Japanese occupation of Taiwan. The development was uneven in colonial society. Unlike in the 'plain' area of western Taiwan, where the capitalist model of production was gradually introduced and the existing class relations were exploited by the colonial government, the aborigines of the 'mountainous' territory of eastern Taiwan remained largely 'underdeveloped' (Ching, 2001: 135). Ching views the purpose of the Japanese rule of the aboriginal groups as being for the purpose of controlling the aboriginal population and exploiting the resources, stating that "the goals of the Japanese were to confine the aborigines and incorporate them into standard administration units, to restrict their hunting activity, to encourage rice cultivation, and, finally, to exploit the abundant forest, timber, and camphor resources" (ibid, 135-136). The unequal relationship between the colonisers and the colonised can further be detected in the historical photographic material. Based on her observation of the displays of indigenous cultures in Taiwanese museums, Varutti (2010a: 4) states that historical photographic material reveals the unequal relations in the politics of representation between the scientific authority of the photographer and the subjugated subject of the representation, whilst at the same time creating and projecting the aesthetic canons of the colonial powers.

The late 19th century, until the Communist Party established the People's Republic of China in 1949, was an unsettled period, involving foreign influence, modernisation, revolution and the Civil War. At the end of the 19th century, after the Opium War, the arrival of the western power reinforced the slow decomposition of the Qing Dynasty. With the anxiety caused by the falling regime and the attempt to reform the old China, the Imperial Court launched the 'Hundred Days Reform' in 1898, hoping to restore new order to the Qing Empire by embarking on economic, industrial and administrative reforms. In the aftermath of the Treaty of Shimonoseki, China's bright, successful younger generation of Confucian scholars collaborated in urging continued resistance to Japan, and strengthened China's power by developing new structures for the country.[6] Under this reform, the concept of *ti-yong* (体用), from the Chinese words for 'essence' and 'practical use', formed a complete Chinese phrase (中体西用 *zhongti xiyong*) to indicate that Chinese learning should remain

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[6] As a result of the first Sino-Japanese War, the Treaty of Shimonoseki was signed. Details of the Treaty can be found on the website of US-China Institute, University of Southern California: china.usc.edu/ShowArticle.aspx?articleID=405

the essence with Western learning being used for practical development (Spence, 1999: 224). The late imperial period of China was a time of foreign invasion and domestic rebellion, and intellectuals began to re-examine Chinese society and make changes to it, such as the termination of military examinations, modifications to the content of the civil service examinations to include questions on both Chinese and western subjects, the institution of modern schools, the encouragement of foreign study and travel, and the liberation of women from foot-binding (Hsu, 2000: 408-412). In 1912, the new Republic was established, followed by the Revolution of 1911, in which the Manchu Dynasty was overthrown.[7] The revolution to overthrow the Qing Dynasty and establish a new Republican government was led by the western-educated Dr Sun Yatsen and his revolutionaries, based on the need for political innovation, the influence of foreign revolutions, and the tradition of nationalistic revolution (ibid: 452-454). The thousand years of Chinese monarchy was ended by the establishment of the Republican government in 1912.

The early Republican period was an unstable one: it was ruled by a succession of militarist leaders until 1928, many of whom controlled only parts of China at any one time (Mitter, 2004: 13). Therefore, the unsettled history did not end as a result of the founding of the Republican government, but marked, in fact, the beginning of a major revolution in China, the Civil War (1927-1950) (Westad, 2003: 35-66; Van de Ven, 2003: 137-140).[8] During the Civil War, the War of Resistance broke out against Japan (1937-1945), also called the Second Sino-Japanese War or the Anti-Japanese War, which led to a suspension of the Civil War (Van de Ven, 2003: 209-225). The Civil War was significant for China-Taiwan relations in the latter part of the 20th century since, after 22 years of battling against the Communist Party, the Nationalists were defeated and, consequently, they retrenched in Taiwan. By the end of the war, China and Taiwan were occupied by the Communist and the Nationalist Parties respectively, which have governed these two locations with individual political regimes since 1949.

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[7] The Qing Dynasty, also known as the Manchu Dynasty, since the Manchus founded it, a non-Chinese people who originated from the northeast of China in the 12th century. The Manchus conquered the Ming Dynasty in 1644.
[8] Various versions of the starting point for the Civil War are recorded in the current literature available. The study here considers the beginning of the Northern Expedition of the Nationalist to be the starting point of the war.

It should be noted that economic and social progress were central to both the Nationalists and the Chinese Communist Party. In late 1946, the Nationalists started turning their attention to the issue of political and economic reform. Alongside the administrative reforms, in February 1947, the Nationalist leader, Chiang Kaishek proclaimed an emergency economic reform programme with the intention of offsetting some of the difficulties affecting the cities by combating inflation and securing supplies. During the economic reform, Westad (2003: 75) states:

> the government froze all wages at their January levels and introduced price controls for a number of essential goods, including rice, wheat, and oil. It also started supplying government workers in the cities with food stuffs, fuel, and clothing at fixed prices. For a brief period, these reforms halted the growing disenchantment with Guomingdang rule in the cities.

Economic development was central to the approaches of the Chinese Communist Party even during the Civil War, as the 'north-east model' of economic development that emerged by 1948 followed both inherited Nationalist practice and Soviet advice in stressing the rapid growth of defence and heavy industries according to the state plan. Large volumes of material were translated from Russian on the practice of the 'high Stalinist' Fourth Five-Year Plan (1946-50). On Soviet advice, the concept of nationwide planning was reintroduced with the PRC's first annual economic plan in 1951 (Strauss, 2007: 27).

The birth of Chinese museums was the result of a series of promotions proposed by intellectuals to demonstrate Chinese modernity. The Nantong Museum, founded by an industrialist, Zhang Jian, in 1905 in Nantong city, Jiangsu Province, is considered the first museum to have been established in China by a Chinese national.[9] This first domestically managed and developed museum, the Nantong Museum, was conceived by the Chinese elite with a notion of exhibiting Chinese modernity - 'exhibitionary modernity' in Shao's words (2004).[10] In the early days of the Republic, thinkers such as Chen Duxiu and Lu Xun

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[9] Zhang Jian, also known as Zhang Qian.
[10] For more information on the founding and founder of the Nantong Museum, please refer to www.ntmuseum.com/1.asp

embraced the western influence and urged for changes in order to modernise China. During the May Fourth Movement, the old classical form of writing was abandoned for a vernacular language, thoughts emerged about new political systems, and the social conventions of the traditional relationship between men and women were discarded (Mitter, 2004: 14-15, 18). In the aftermath of the May Fourth Movement, reformers embarked on different approaches to tackle problems such as warlordism, the feudal landlord system, and the foreign imperialism faced by China in the hope of rejuvenating the country (Spence, 1999: 302). Among the leading intellectuals of the May Fourth Movement, the president of Peking University, Cai Yuanpei, addressed the importance of promoting art education along with other issues which were intended to promote such as democracy and a belief in science, for China's modernisation. In the same year as the May Fourth Movement, in Cai's speech entitled '文化运动不要忘了美育' (*Wenhua yundong buyao wangle meiyu*, Cultural Movements should not Forsake Art Education), the establishment of public museums and art museums was urged. Furthermore, based on Xu Beihong's observation abroad, he suggested that building art museums was more crucial to China than founding art schools. Xu believed that establishing art museums was the only way to endorse art and that art museums are public institutions that improve aesthetic appreciation and the cultivation of the mind (Ma, 2000: 59). The role of art during the May Fourth Movement is comparable with that of the early American art museums for the improvement of taste in art.

With the advocacy by the intellectuals, the development of cultural provision appeared slow and largely unsupported due to the unsettled political circumstances. Ma (2000: 59) describes the development of art museums in China in the period from 1900 to 1949 as 'from the birth to an early death'. Critically speaking, during this period, there were only two public art museums established; namely, the Palace Museum established in 1925 at the palace of the Ming and Qing Dynasties as a museum for ancient art and cultural relics, and the National Art Exhibition Hall. The art museums founded at this time were believed to be establishments with a purely exhibitionary function (Lai and Lu, 2006). As a result of the War of Resistance against Japan, the latter had to face closure, with all of its collections having been lost during the war.

3.2.2 *Socio-political conditions in transition: from hegemonic power to disciplinary regulation*

- The Kuomintang (KMT) regime of the Chinese nationalists: politics, cultural policy and identity issues

1949 was the year when two diverse political regimes were implemented in Taiwan and China respectively. Since then, Taiwan was ruled by the Kuomintang (KMT or Chinese Nationalist Party) until the end of the 20th century and China was under the control of the Communist Party with steady economic progression after the Open Door Policy. The end of the 20th century and the start of the 21st was the point when Taiwan underwent political transition and China began to see success in its growing economy. The study argues that this, to some degree, oriented the aims and content of their cultural policy. From 1949 until today, although the two countries operated under diverse political systems, a comparable path of how 'culture' is regulated can be found. The following section reveals the changes that were made to the content of the cultural policy to understand how and why these changes occurred, and which model of power provides the better explanation of the current situation regarding the relationship between power and culture in China and Taiwan.

After 1949, Taiwan was ruled by the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) as a relatively democratic political regime compared with the Communist regime in China. However, the regime was authoritarian as a result of the implementation of Martial Law. The voice of the Taiwanese and the Taiwanese aborigines in the government was almost silenced under Martial Law (Chai, 1986: 1310). During the KMT's rule of Taiwan, the party controlled most of the non-governmental organisations, with the major party members in charge of the key offices of the organisations, such as the labour unions, and cultural and educational groups (Cohen, 1996: 25). The KMT influenced the news, publishing, and film industry via censorship, and the important political decisions in Taiwan were made by and within the party (Copper, 1996: 102). Albeit the general public elected mayors and local representatives, senior government officials were appointed by the party in the 1950s and

60s, so it was almost impossible for 'Taiwanese' to be appointed (Wakabayashi, 1989: 38). The social and organisational control of the KMT over the population of Taiwan is not far from the approach undertaken by a communist government. The political ideology of 'one China', 'three principles of the people' (三民主義, *Sanminzhuyi*) and the political leaders (Sun Yatsen and Chiang Kaisheck) provide the rationale for the foundation of the authoritative state in Taiwan. The KMT's slogan of the 'three principles of the people reunite China' (三民主義統一中國, *Sanminzhuyi tonyi Zhongguo*), which signified the KMT's determination to reunite China, sustained the political rationality of the KMT and justified its strategies of corporatism. The government regulation of the KMT regime can be considered to be in tune with Gramsci's model of hegemony, as power is held by the KMT and the forms of autonomy are abolished and replaced with the power of the parties, trade unions and cultural organisations (Buci-Glucksmann, 1980: 274).

Facing the arrival of new rulers and, as a consequence of the authoritarian rule of the KMT, an anti-Chinese attitude was triggered by the outbreak of the 2/28 Incident in 1947, which made the Taiwanese question the mainlanders' (Nationalists') pursuit of democracy and freedom (Chou, 2003: 212). This was an island-wide uprising, provoked by the Nationalist authorities, during which around 30,000 Taiwanese were killed by the Chinese Nationalist Army (Liao, 1993, cited in Wanek, 2002: 173). Under the rule of the KMT, Taiwanese culture was treated as a Chinese sub-culture by the Nationalist government: "the islanders had not only to learn a new identity and a new language, but also a new history – a Chinese history in which Taiwan [had] a very modest place in the margins" (Wanek, 2002: 176). A campaign was launched based on a policy named '山地平地化' (*Shandi pingdihua*, Making the Mountains Like the Plains) of the 1950s to incorporate the aborigines within the customs of the Han Chinese (Harrison, 2003: 351). The period of Martial Law under the rule of the Nationalists was commonly known as the '白色恐怖' (*baise kongbu*, or 'white terror') period. It refers to the persecution, killing and/or imprisonment of Taiwanese intellectuals and social elites by the Nationalist government in the 1950s and 60s. The extreme control of the KMT resulted in actions to challenge the regime by the activists in search of political freedom and human rights (Chai, 1986: 1311). On the 10th of December 1979, International Human Rights Day, an event was held in Kaohsiung to celebrate

Taiwan's democratisation at the end of the Nationalist authoritarian rule, which came to be known as the 美麗島事件 (*Meilidao shijian*, or 'Formosa Incident') (Ming, 1981: 12-15). This was an intended peaceful demonstration that became violent, with riot police using tear gas on the demonstrators.

During the early regime of the KMT, the cultural policy and the establishment of museums mirror the preservation of the value of Chinese culture in the post-Japanese colonial era. The 'Chinese culture' which was promoted by the KMT is described by Wanek (2002: 176) as the 'Chinese sub-culture':

> the KMT government holds the view that Chinese culture by and large has been done away with by the Communists in the PRC, but that it has been salvaged by the Nationalists refugees who brought it to Taiwan in 1949. In order not to be entirely forgotten, Chinese culture must therefore be upheld in Taiwan. This is achieved by making the Taiwanese culture a Chinese sub-culture.

In the 1950s, the cultural policy of the KMT may be unclear, as there were no concrete policies to be found. Taiwanese museum professional, Chang Yuitan (2006: 65), states that, during the KMT regime, the government's focus was on the immigrant personnel and, therefore, it had no energy to spare for cultural affairs.[11] However, Chang's assertion may be slightly arbitrary as, during the initial stage of the KMT rule, while the government's attention on cultural undertakings may not be apparent, its attempt to promoting Chinese cultural identity through history museums and education centres provides evidence of the KMT's cultural policy at that time. The National Museum of History, the National Taiwan Arts Education Centre and the National Science Education Centre were institutions that were established in the 1950s, overseen by the Ministry of Education, with Chinese-style buildings. The National Museum of History was the first public museum to be established by the nationalist government. The museum's mission in its early days was "to strengthen national ethos and stimulate mind building" and the exhibitions and collections centred on Chinese artifacts and history. During Chiang Kaishek's regime, the educational system, cultural affairs and media were controlled by the leadership of the KMT, and the Chinese

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[11] In the same article published by Chang in traditional Chinese, the term 'immigrated personnel' refers to the livelihood of the million soldiers who fought for the Nationalists and went to Taiwan with the Kuomintang.

theme of the displays and collection of the National Museum of History can be interpreted as the KMT's emphasis on Chinese consciousness rationalising itself as a Chinese government in Taiwan.

Moving on to the 1960s, the KMT's attempt to uphold the Chinese identity in Taiwan can be located through cultural projects such as the establishment of the National Palace Museum in 1965 and the Commission for the Renaissance of Chinese Culture in 1967. The National Palace Museum was established in Taipei, with its collection centred on the artefacts of the Sung, Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties. These collections were originally held within the Forbidden City in Beijing by the last Qing Emperor, Puyi. With the decline of the Qing Dynasty and the founding of the Republic of China, the National Palace Museum was inaugurated in 1925 to preserve the imperial collections and palatial treasures from the various Chinese dynasties, so that all members of the public and future generations would henceforth be able freely to enter the Palace to admire this cultural inheritance of humankind. As a result of the War with Japan and the Civil War, the collections of the Palace Museum were transferred to the southern branch in Nanjing, then later transferred to Taiwan by the Nationalists (National Palace Museum, 2010). The transportation of the collections of the Palace Museum took several years and the aim of this, according to the official statement by the National Palace Museum, was because the Nationalists were eager to preserve the ancient Chinese collections from being destroyed by the Chinese Communist Party. However, on the other side, the significance behind the KMT's efforts to safeguard the Chinese imperial collections and art treasures could be that, by possessing these, the KMT can uphold its legitimacy as a Chinese government based in Taiwan. The National Palace Museum in Taiwan is overseen by the Executive Yuan (the highest administrative organ). The provisional board of directors of the Museum were selected by the Executive Yuan and the museum was named the Chungshan Museum in honour of Dr Sun Yatsen, the founder of the Republic of China. The museum first opened to the public on the centenary of Dr Sun Yatsen's birthday (ibid). The transportation of the collections and establishment of the museum signifies the central theme of the KMT's cultural policy of that time, which may have sought to demonstrate the *chineseness* of the

party to the population of Taiwan compared with the legacy left by the Japanese colonial government.

In addition to opening the National Palace Museum, which showcases the collection of imperial treasures originally held in the Forbidden City, the Nationalist government set up a 'Commission for the Renaissance of Chinese Culture' in 1967 to be responsible for cultural undertakings to restore Chinese culture and strengthen Chinese ideology in Taiwan (Council for Cultural Affairs, 2008a). The Nationalist leader, Chiang Kaishek, was the first Director of the Commission. At the start of the book entitled 中華文化復興運動與國立故宮博物院 (*Zhonghua wenhua fuxing yundong yu guoli gugong bowuyuan*, The Movement of Chinese Cultural Renaissance and the National Palace Museum) by Chiang Foutsung (1977: 1, 64), the significance of the renaissance of Chinese culture is described as:

> The five-thousand years of Chinese culture is splendid and glorious, however it is being demolished by the bandits of Communism. Recently, the outburst of the Red Army and the Cultural Revolution, prosecuted the people and destroyed the culture. We have to protect the national culture, revive it for the renaissance of the Chinese culture.

In the chapter on the mission of the National Palace Museum, it is stated that:

> Chinese culture is unbreakable, the more it is being destroyed, the better it shines. Therefore, if there were the Cultural Revolution of the Communist bandits, there would be a cultural renaissance of President Chiang Kaishek.

From the above quotations, the purpose of setting up the National Palace Museum and starting the movement of Chinese cultural renaissance appears ambiguous. The Nationalists state that the aim was to preserve Chinese culture and prevent it from being damaged by the Communists. However, the language used suggests that Chiang's anti-communist ideology could be perceived as a means of political propaganda. In terms of cultural undertakings, the cultural policy is centralised on one theme of Chinese culture. Cultural interventions and participation emphasise the consciousness of Chinese cultural identity while the educational system, media and cultural affairs were directly controlled by the leadership

and censorship of the KMT (Mao, 2008: 587). In this instance, the reproduction of political ideology becomes a function of hegemonic apparatuses, and museums act as 'educators', in Gramsci's words, to create a new type or level of civilization (Gramsci. 1971: 247).

- The lifting of Martial Law and the new political party

Taiwan began to embrace democratic politics, with the founding of the country's first opposition party, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) in 1986. Although the DPP was declared illegal when it was first founded, it was signalled by the President that Martial Law and the ban on political parties would soon be lifted (Leng, 1996: 21). The political life before and after Martial Law changed noticeably – the power that had been concentrated in a single leader and his ruling party during the 38 years of Martial Law was gradually transferred to the people and other political parties. It was not until after the death of Chiang Chingkuo in 1988 that the split in the state and close state-society interaction started to appear (Leng, 1995: 92). As the son of the Nationalist leader, Chiang Kaishek, Chiang Chingkao's rule was less authoritarian compared to his father's, he allowed the founding of the opposition party, lifted the Martial Law and the restrictions on the media. Winckler (1984) describes the transition from Chiang Kaishek to Chiang Chingkuo's rule as from hard to soft authoritarianism. When Chiang Chingkuo became the first prime minister, the percentage of Taiwanese being appointed in his cabinet was increased to 38% in 1972 and thereafter, until 1984, the percentage stayed at 40% (Chi, 1996: 519). Chiang Chingkuo's policy removed restrictions from the society and granted rights to the people. The lift of the restrictions on the media enabled public opinion as a power of regulation. After succeeding the presidential seat from Chiang Chingkuo, Lee Tenghui carried on the direction of Chiang's policy with 'localisation' to underpin his policy. The ending of Chiang Chingkuo's era was a transition of the power relations between the state and society from the Gramscian to Foucauldian model of power. Nine years after Martial Law was lifted, national elections were held for Taiwan's leaders and national representatives (Chao and Myers, 1998: 6). The performance of the DPP started to become better in 1989 after changing the party's focus from 'mass movements to public policy issues', it captured one-

third of the total seats (50 seats) in the 1992 Legislative Yuan election (ibid: 25). It took the DPP a decade to win the presidential seat from the KMT in 2000 (Tien, 1996; Wu: 2001).

The KMT and the DPP are currently the two major political parties in Taiwan, each of them possesses a different claim with regard to identity issues and their relationship with China. The two political parties showed contradictory ideologies on the national identity questions. The view of the KMT is that the people of Taiwan are Chinese and Taiwan is a part of China. Conversely, the DPP asserts that Taiwanese people though mainly ethnically Chinese, have the right to self-determination and Taiwan and China are two separate sovereign countries (Fell, 2005: 86). However, there are commonalities found in the KMT and DPP's policy on independent defence, economics, and social welfare. For instance, both political parties are now addressing issues such as human rights (equal opportunities of learning and employment, ethnic rights) and democratic policy (KMT, 2010; DPP, 2010). In their approach to the economy, both parties aim to ensure full employment and improve financial and taxation systems. Both parties aim to ensure the principle of 'the sovereignty of the people'; the KMT now regards 'Taiwan' as the principle concern of its policies, and declares that its policies are for the benefit of the people. In contrast to the DPP's promotion on Taiwan's independence in the past, the Party now regards the cessation of confrontation between the governments on the two sides of the Taiwan Strait as an important issue in its defense of peace and independence, as well as foreign policy.

After the lifting of Martial Law, a gradual shift in the model of power from Gramsci to Foucault can be found. This shift explains the major changes that happened to the power relations between the state and society in line with the political and social changes. For many decades, under the leadership of the KMT, an inclusive single-national identity was promoted and not much attention was paid to the diversity of cultures/languages/ethnics that coexisted in Taiwan. Changes on the issues of national and cultural identity began to occur in the late 1990s when the KMT's cultural policy shifted to focus on Taiwanese local identity in contrast to Chinese identity. The cultural policy of the DPP continued to promote Taiwanese culture when it became the ruling party. Although the KMT has returned to power after winning the presidential seat in 2008, cultural policy has continued

to focus on the diversity of cultures/languages/ethnics. The evidence of this will be exemplified in the following section.

- Cultural policy after the Martial Law

Cultural policy in Taiwan entered another stage with the lifting of the Martial Law Act in 1987. Although Taiwan did not engage in democratic politics immediately after the abolition of Martial Law, influence on the shifting content of cultural policy can be detected from a gradually liberated society and transformed nature of politics. President Lee Tenghui, succeeded to the presidential seat in 1988 following the death of Chiang Chingkuo, son of the Nationalist leader, as the first president born and bred in Taiwan. The focal point of Lee's policy is 'localisation' for the formation of Taiwanese identity, and local culture and Taiwanese culture were the major themes of this time. Led by the Council for Cultural Affairs, policies such as 社區總體營造 (*shequ zongti yingzao*, Community Infrastructure Establishment) and 地方文化館 (*difang wenhuaguan*, Local Cultural Centres) are to promote urban townships, regional identification and the re-establishment of the independence of different ethnic groups. Furthermore, 'cultural diversity' is another essential element in the construction of national identity in addition to the promotion of 'localisation'. A movement of re-evaluation of the natural and cultural heritage has led to the proliferation of cultural and ecological parks, villages and 'protected areas', and to the development of a 'heritage conscious society' (Blundell, 2006, cited in Varutti, 2010a: 2). This emphasis on the cultural heritage developed in a political and ideological context marked by a revival of indigenous cultures and identities, is understood as instrumental to the crafting of a Taiwanese national identity culturally independent from mainland China (Rubinstein, 1999, cited in Varutti, 2010a: 2). Varutti (2010a: 4) researched the representations of indigenous cultures and identities in Taiwanese museums and marked the importance of pre-history in the making of national and indigenous narratives. In responding to scholars such as Blundell on the interpretation of pre-history Taiwan as an attempt to territorialise local identities and install a 'sense of place', Varutti's viewpoint is parallel to the argument of this study, namely that political endeavours cannot be removed from cultural undertakings. In claiming Taiwan as a society which is constructed and

shared by various cultures, the historical path of the Taiwanese aboriginal is inscribed into the context of Taiwanese national history, making Taiwan a place of the indigenous groups and of the Chinese descendents as opposed to the Chinese identity claimed by the KMT regime.

The most recent objective in the cultural affairs in Taiwan is to promote local culture and balance cultural development between major cities and local communities. The cultural administrative system underwent a major reform, Cultural Affairs Bureaus began to operate under local governments around the year of 2000 in addition to the Council for Cultural Affairs, which is equivalent to a Ministry of Culture. Cultural affairs were no longer directed by the central government but tailored to suit community needs and reflect local culture. In contrast to cultural institutions being regulated by the central government for the formation of Chinese identity and the party's Chinese authenticity during the rule of the KMT, power has been decentralised to provide local governments with increased autonomy on local cultural affairs in the post Martial Law era. The power relation between the state and culture of the former period can be described as a Gramscian hegemonic state where power is held at a very central location, and the educational system, media and cultural affairs were directly controlled by the leadership of the KMT for political end (Mao, 2008: 587). The latter period of cultural policy places local culture at the centre where government power is exercised through a diverse range of social apparatuses such as museums and local cultural centres as depicted in the Foucauldian model of power. Although there are differences between the two power models in terms of the path of power, cultural related activities in Taiwan in both the past and present are accorded with specific messages depending on the objectives of the ruling parties.

Currently, while cultural and creative industry was a main theme of the development of cultural policies in many countries, Taiwan engaged in promoting creative industries too, aiming to exalt Taiwanese local heritage and art. The initial scheme of this was introduced in 1995 at the Conference of Creative Industries held by the Council for Cultural Affairs. In 2002, creative industry was listed as one of the key points in the 挑戰2008: 國家發展計畫 (*Tiaozhan 2008: guojia fazhan jihua*, Challenge 2008: Plans for National Development)

(Executive Yuan, 2002). In this policy, the development of cultural and creative industry is one of the ten areas for the national development which aimed to foster creativity and support talent in arts.[12] The definition and value of developing creative industries are elaborated in the 文化創意產業發展法 (*Wenhuachuangyichanye fazhanfa*, Act for the Development of Cultural and Creative Industries) (Council for Cultural Affairs, 2009). The concept of creative industries is industrialising culture to expand the market of cultural related production, and adding value to industrial productions by attaching cultural significance to the products. This is reflected in the idea of the OTOP (One Town One Product) project supported by the Ministry of Economic Affairs for local resources and specialties to be integrated in locally produced products to stimulate industry as well as introducing local characters and cultures.

- Cultural policy during Mao's era

Ahn (1976:230) wrote in the year of Mao's death that the Communist political system is about ideological commitment to Marxism-Leninism as a guide for action. Mao Zedong, as the supreme leader of the Chinese Communist Party, consolidated the Communist political ideology of the people through a series of policy making, power reinforcing and ideology reforms. Through the transformation of the reforms, the Party aimed to reform the social structures and mould *correct* political ideology among the people. The country was ruled by the Party through 'unit culture', and all party authority is exercised through the work unit and its directing party branch. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, culture means:

> [...] among other things, social structure, styles of living, modes of thinking, concepts of values and morals, art and literature, interpersonal relations, and currents of intellectual thought. Through the work unit, the party controls each of these areas of life and thereby creates its own 'unit', or party, culture (Lin and Robinson, 1994: 137).

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[12] For the English version of this government policy published by the Government Information Office, please refer to:
http://www.gio.gov.tw/taiwan-website/4-oa/20020521/2002052101.html

In the field of art and literature, artists and writers were required to take on a completely 'left' ideology and dogmatism if they wish to publish and perform, they were "forced to 'sink themselves' into the lives of the works, peasants, and soldiers, 'the only real life', in order to write and produce 'what workers, peasants, and soldiers [were] pleased to see and hear". The content of art and literature was reduced to propaganda, the role of artists and writers are close to party-directed educators of the people (ibid: 139). Liu (1983: 47) considers that in this situation, the creation of works of literature and art as a complex mental process is overlooked and the basic laws of art are neglected.

Even though the content of artistic production was monitored by the Communist Party, during the event of the Hundred Flowers Movement of the 1950s, ideological control appeared to be relaxed over the intellectuals. The principle of 'Let One Hundred Flowers Bloom and One Hundred Schools of Thought Contend' was delivered by the speech of the Director of the Party's Propaganda Department, Lu Tingyi, to declare the aim of the Movement as to flourish art, literature and science, in addition to consolidating the state power, developing the economy and education, and strengthening national defences (Lu, 1957: 4). It was mentioned in the speech that the policy was to "bring into full play all that is good and useful in society in order to give better service to the people, and pool [our] efforts to create a flourishing art and literature and put [our] scientific work on a level with the best in the world" (ibid: 15). As a result of the Movement, artists, scientists and writers were granted freedom in speech, creation and criticism, which is in contrast to the Party's control towards art and literature previously. However, the genuine purpose behind the Movement of flourishing art and literature is curious as the active participants of the Movement subsequently became the targets of harsh condemnation during the Anti-Rightist campaign and ended up in labour camp exile (Hua, 2001: 54). It can be argued that the policy encourages free expression for the convenience of the state to identify the dissidents effectively *or* the Movement was in fact encouraging free debates which were thought to have a role to back up socialist ideas. The genuine purpose of the event is intricate and difficult to detect as from the literature available, historians' interpretations of the event are varied with their individual stand point and argument. Another event, the Great Leap Forward took place after the Hundred Flowers Movement in 1958 to tighten the control of

intellectual activity again. The event aimed to mobilise human resources, hastening the pace of social transformation in the countryside and boosting economic development, as a result, little freedom for developing traditional culture remained (Lawrence, 1998: 55-65). It is stated by the Party's cultural spokesman that cultural works must more directly serve socialism and the socialist ideology (Croizier, 1970: 25).

Followed by the events mentioned, the Cultural Revolution, which lasted for ten years from 1966 and 1967, was a further strike against Chinese legacy. During the Cultural Revolution, Mao's thought written in the 'little red book' was a new essential guide to proletarian ideology, and the 'four olds' – old ideas, culture, customs and habits were meant to be diminished (Meisner, 1977: 313, 315; Robinson, 1969: 40). All books which are unrelated to Marxist-Leninist and Mao's thought, were in unrelentingly high-risk conditions. Thurston (1987, cited in Knuth, 2003:186) depicts the event of book-burning conducted by Red Guards as "at Zhongshan University of Canton, the Red Guards first burned all the books from the collection of Western classics; then they burned all texts not obviously Communist or Maoist; and then they burned the library building itself". Furthermore, all schools were closed and millions of the young people were encouraged by the Cultural Revolution's leaders to demolish old buildings, temples and art objects in their towns and villages (Spence, 1999: 575). There was no concrete cultural policy during the Cultural Revolution, the principles behind sanctioned artistic creation can be regarded as the government's outlook on the arts and cultures of the time. During this period, artworks were themed and artistic expression was restricted to one purpose as to propagate Maoism. Many of Mao's images appeared in poster portraits as a god-like figurehead. The posters were often bright with yellow and red colours, with Mao smiling and standing in the centre of the crowds. The cult of Mao was visible in politics as well as in the daily lives of the proletariat as Mao's posters are commonly displayed in households. Benewick (1999: 124) illustrates the content and significance of Mao's posters as:

> the posters in which Mao shares space, mainly with crowds, seek to humanize, secularize, and narrow (but not close) the distance between him and the viewer. At the same time, the cult of his personality is projected and he adds authority to the message.

The theme of the posters reflects the formulaic description of Mao as "our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman" developed by Lin Biao, Head of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) (Spence, 1999: 575). In addition to posters displayed domestically, many organised exhibitions were held for the worship of Mao or to discredit politicians in opposition. An exhibition named Long Live the Victory of Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line was opened at the National Art Gallery on 1 October 1967 and toured the nation subsequently, where 1,600 works were shown and some are advertised as by workers, peasants and soldiers. Another exhibition entitled Mao Zedong's Thought illuminates the Anyuan Workers' Movement opened at around the same time at the Museum of Revolutionary History by the national labour union as part of the campaign to discredit Liu Shaoqi (King, 2010: 43). The political purpose of the 'art' and exhibitions was explicit, clear and excluded to political propaganda as *the only* form and content of art of the time. Policy related to cultural undertakings during Mao's regime mirrors the hegemonic control of a communist state as described in the Gramscian model of power, *hegenomy*. For Gramsci, revolutionary intellectuals such as artists and writers are organisers such as civil servants and political leaders, they not only function in civil society and the state, but also in the productive apparatus (Simon, 1991: 90).

- Post-Mao era: Deng and the economy reforms

In the late 1970s, with Mao's explicit note of 30 April 1976 'with you in charge, I am at ease', Hua Kuofeng ascended to Mao's role as Chairman of the Central Committee of the CCP and Chairman of the Military Affairs Commission for a short period after Mao's death. However, criticism of Mao began after the arrest of the Gang of Four and resulted in Hua's downfall (Gardner, 1982: 120-140). As Mao's legend gradually came to attack, with the return of Deng in 1977, Hua's authority was slowly diminished. Unable to compete with Deng's powerful connections in the Party and the army, Hua was removed from power in 1981, which symbolises the end of the Chinese 'leftism' (Spence, 1999: 609, 640-641, 645). The period after the end of the Cultural Revolution and the death of Mao sees the emergence of new changes to the cultural administrative system and slightly increased freedom on artistic expression. National and local cultural apparatuses, which were ceased

to exist in 1967 were reassembled and the Ministry of Culture was reconstituted in 1975 (Eber, 1979: 211). The 'Scar', a short story attacking the Cultural Revolution, in which writers and artists were able to express themselves with increasing, although limited, freedom was published in 1977 (Lin and Robinson, 1994). In March 1978, in Article 14 of the new Constitution, the government's new directives on culture redefine the role of intellectuals, writers and artists (ibid: 203, 207-223). From this point onwards, China underwent economic reforms, steady economic progression and new direction for its cultural policy.

By 1978, China's leaders had reached the conclusion that to foster rapid growth and development, the economy needed to be restructured to enhance the productivity and efficiency, and market-oriented reforms should be adopted (Blejer, Burton, Dunaway and Szapary, 1991: 3). Under the reform, government control was decentralised for a macroeconomic management, and local government authorities have gradually been given freedom in their implementation. As a result, the pace and degree of reform were varied across regions of the country. For instance, in some areas, local authorities have seized the initiative and pushed ahead with reforms, while others only adopted the minimum required to fulfil the central government's directives (ibid). However, the attention towards the economic reform resulted in deficient ideological control, which can be considered as a cause of the Tiananmen crackdown in 1989. The Tiananmen square incident was a hazard, which showed that maintaining the 'correct' political ideology and keeping the Party's authority were an issue for the Communist Party. The leadership was in decline during and after Deng's years; authority and ideological terms had changed over time. Instead of being a supreme leader of the Party, Deng was a senior leader, Long (1995: 57) states:

> under Mao, power struggles were conducted under the banner of purity. Leadership and policy decisions – whatever their cause – had to be justified in ideological terms. Under Deng, the reverse is true. Ideology has to be justified in pragmatic terms – whether or not it will make China richer and stronger.

Mao's dogma during Deng and the post-Deng era was challenged. Both the Thirteenth Party Congress of 1987 and the Fourteenth Party Congress of 1992 show a decreased amount of focus on the ideological authority, however an increased attention on the

economic management (ibid). Deng made 'emancipating the mind' his top priority. In the last twenty years, outdated doctrines and ideas have been replaced by new ideas and theories that are compatible with social progress. The 1990s onwards, China continued its reforms towards a marketised system as well as coping with the post-Cold War world where ideological differences have been less important (Mitter, 2004: 14). The approach of the Chinese government on people-centred principle, the rule of law, private property, civil society, harmonious society, and political civilisation have transcended traditional political ideology (Yu, 2008: 44). This responds to the argument in the introduction of this chapter, that although China is still a Communist state, ideology control may no longer be the issue solely concerned by the Chinese government. The reality is that the state is now regulated through a less direct approach through issues concerning welfare and wellbeing of the population and this associates the Chinese approach to social management with Foucault's governmentality where the direct power imposed on the population is substituted for governance with tactics which aims to solve problems of social order (Foucault, 1991: 138). Today, China is a Communist country but play the game as a capitalist state. The observation of Dirlik (2008: 170) as follows illustrates that the People's Republic of China has changed and so has the world:

> it is not the world of imperialism against which socialism promised national liberation and autonomy. Neither is it the world of the Cold War, which pitted capitalism against socialist efforts to keep it at a distance. It is the world of a global capitalism that is willing to accommodate socialism as long as it plays by the rules of capitalism. And it is a world in which the meaning of capitalism itself is sufficiently blurred to allow self-professed socialists a modicum of ideological self-respect in their claims to socialists commitments even as the societies they lead are progressively reshaped by the forces of capitalism.

Increased government's effort on encouraging artistic creation, for instance, launching art festivals and supporting classical arts can be found since 1978. The 1990s was when the Chinese government began to rethink about cultural establishment and cultural provision following the end of the Cultural Revolution and the economic development emphasised previously. This includes the change of management style from micro to macro management, increased authority and decision-making power for cultural institutions, collaboration between local governments and enterprise, and redistribution of cultural

resources (Ministry of Culture, 1997). Through training minority artists and building cultural facilities in minority-inhabited areas, shows the government's attempt in endorsing minority culture and heritage (People's Daily, 1999). In several cultural policies, promoting cultural industry is addressed with the same accent as the economic progression. A new cultural department, the Department for Cultural Industries, was established reporting to the Ministry of Culture. From the content of the cultural policies, the government's attempt in cultural affairs is as strong as its concern on the economic development. In 十五期间文化建设的若干意见和深化文化事业单位改革的若干意见 (*Shiwu qijian wenhua jianshe de ruogan yijian he shenhua wenhua shiye danwei gaige de ruogan yijian*, The Opinions on the Tenth Five-Year Plan on Cultural Establishment and Reinforcing Cultural Sector Reforms), promoting cultural industries, together with social and economical development, were officially revealed as the three targets of development in the 21st century (Ministry of Culture, 2001). Another policy published a short time ago, 文化产业振兴规划 (*Wenhua chanye zhenxing guihua*, The Plans for Invigorating Cultural Industry), in announcing the detailed plans for developing cultural industry (Chinese Central Government, 2009). This document states that the development of cultural industry is aimed to meet the cultural needs of the people and act as an impetus for the adjustment to the economic structure for the economic development. Furthermore, a speech entitled 'Chinese Culture towards the 21st Century: Strategies and Commitments', delivered by Sun Jiazheng, the Minister of Culture, aiming to meet the increasing demands of the general public on cultural provision and ensure their full cultural rights (People's Daily, 2000). In the most up-to-date cultural policy, 文化建設'十一五'規劃 (*Wenhuajianshe 'shiyiwu' guihua*, The Eleventh Five-Year Plan for Cultural Establishment), issued by Sun Jiazheng in 2006, addresses that culture belongs to the people and that cultural development is a long-term constructive process (Ministry of Culture, 2006a).

Currently, what *culture* means to China is no longer a method of propaganda for broadcasting political messages, as cultural policy today associates with what the government attempts to achieve for social regulation through an indirect approach emphasising social welfare, cultural divergence and identity building. In recent cultural policy promulgated by the Chinese government, promoting free access to museums for the

general public is a means of promoting patriotic education and red tourism to enhance national pride and strengthen national identity (details of patriotic education will be provided in Chapter 4). Analysing the government objectives and cultural policy assists the study in understanding power relations in museum practice in China in corresponding to Foucault's concept of governmentality and bio-politics. Governmentality explores how the conduct of the self might be linked to the management of the household and the running of the state and bio-politics is to designate what brought life and its mechanisms into the realm of explicit calculations and made knowledge-power an agent of transformation of human life (Gunn, 2006: 716; Rabinow, 1984: 265). The politics of the body or bio-politics are with reference to Foucault's work:

> the investment of the body with properties making it pliable to new technologies of control; the emergence of normalisation; the investment of power from an absolute sovereign to a magnitude of regulative agencies located throughout the social body; and, the advent of the empirical human sciences, making possible these new technologies of control (Hewitt, 1991: 228).

More precisely, bio-politics is about a new way of governing, and the control of modern governments by placing the life of the population at the centre of governmental strategies of policy planning. Power relations like bio-power are much more complex than a single source of power, since in bio-politics, the sovereign power belongs to those who possess the authority, but also those who are governed. Supporting public museums to provide free access for the public gives the opportunity to those who are targeted 'to know', and to provide a sense of being included and cared for. This, then, becomes a process of policy implementation of the Chinese government to achieve governmental objectives of patriotic education. The regulation entitled '中共中央关于建构社会主义和谐社会若干重大问题的决定' (*Zhonggong zhongyang guanyu jiangou shehui zhuyi hexie shehui ruogan zhongda wenti de jueding*, The Major Issues Concerning the Construction of Socialist Harmonious Society Announced by the Central Government) states that education as a priority and the endorsement of equal education are key to educational development (Zhou, 2006). The initiative of providing equalised learning opportunities is linked to the broader government agenda i.e. to respond to the educational right of the people to provide equal opportunity of education to children who live in rural areas and who are minorities (Yang, 2006: 63).

However, the increased learning opportunities, free museum admission, and inclusive learning policy can be linked to the implementation of government agenda of patriotic education, hence, behind the good cause of the government policy is to achieve government objectives by placing the needs and welfare of the general public as the priority.

3.3 Progress in the Cross-Strait Relationship

The separation of China and Taiwan caused by the divergence of their political regimes resulted in individually-formed political and social norms. From the late 1970s to the early 1980s, a series of radical concessions were undertaken by the Chinese officials to pursue the aim of reunification. In 1979, the National People's Congress Standing Committee issued a 'Letter to Our Taiwan Compatriots'. This was followed by the two proposals in the 1980s: the NPC Standing Committee Chairman articulated Nine Points Proposal in 1981, which represented the effort of the Chinese government to pursue answers to the resolution of China-Taiwan relationship. Another proposal named 'One China, Two Systems' was announced by Deng Xiaoping in 1984 on Hong Kong and Taiwan problems. Concessions were sought through people-to-people contacts and peaceful reunification, whilst offering Taiwan a high degree of autonomy in maintaining its own social and political system (Nathan, 1992: 208). The start of the inter-communication between the two was followed by low-level and indirect trading and official conversations engaged in by representatives from each government, concerning the progress of the relationship between the two (Wingrove, 1995: 254).

Progression on the cross-straits relations was developed progressively in the early 1990s through two intermediary organisations, which represent each side of the Strait. Through the Association for Relations across the Taiwan Straits (ARATS) and the Strait Exchange Foundation (SEF), authorised talks were held with an aim to promote exchanges and improve relationships between China and Taiwan. In addition to ARATS and SEF, the National Unification Council and the Mainland Affairs Council are the two agencies that represent the Taiwanese government in dealing with cross-straits relations and the desire to achieve government objectives. Although these exchanges appeared positive on resolving

issues and reconstructing the relationships between the two governments, Taiwan's political reform, economic prosperity and search for international recognition resulted in complexities in reconciling the relationship between China and Taiwan. Tension rose between the two in the last decade as a result of Taiwan's progress in pursuing democratic politics such as the effort of the Taiwanese government to engage in diplomatic relations with America in 1996, the President's declaration of the Taiwan-China relationship as a 'special state-to-state relationship', and the submission of the KMT to the main opposition party after the success of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) in the presidential election in 2000 are all factors which result in deteriorating relationship between China and Taiwan (Online NewsHour, 2000). After the 2000 election, the DPP became the ruling party of Taiwan. This event signified that the KMT was no longer the ruling party controlled by the Nationalists, and the mainlanders, committed to the reunification through the KMT's power in Taiwan had been withdrawn.

The policy of the Chinese government toward Taiwan has changed several times since the late 1970s. However, the basis of the policies and strategies toward the cross-strait relationship has remained unchanged. The uniform assertion of the Chinese government is that Taiwan is part of China, and there is only one China which includes mainland China and Taiwan. The statement of 'one China' can be found in both White Papers on the Taiwanese issue and China's policy toward Taiwan in 1993 and 2000 (Taiwan Affairs Office of the State Council, 1993, 2000). In responding to China's 'one China' policy, although Taiwanese authorities admitted in the policy document on the cross-strait relationship published in 1994 that there is only one China and that mainland China and Taiwan are both part of it, the definition of 'China' in this document only refers to Taiwan's connection to China 'historically, geographically, culturally and ethnically'. After the opposition party, the Democratic Progressive Party succeeded the Nationalist party in the presidential election in 2000, the definition of the relationship between China and Taiwan was changed to '一邊一國' (*yibian yiguo*, one country on each side) (Liu, 2005: 259). Since the late 1990s, China began to consider accepting Taiwan's right to maintain its current status as a highly autonomous region if ever China and Taiwan are peacefully united. If nothing else, this to some degree shows that China is presently willing to make an

effort to reconstruct its relationship with Taiwan on the basis that the two can be reunited in due course as the exchange and communication between the two have increased significantly from officially communication to direct air traveling between the two since July 2008. From 1949 to 2008, travellers travelling between the two locations had to fly via a third destination such as Hong Kong or Macau. Direct travel between China and Taiwan has brought increased tourists from China to Taiwan and appear to be easing the tension in the cross-strait relations by diminishing the boundaries between the two (BBC, 2008a). Furthermore, before the approach of the Chinese New Year, two pandas were sent to Taipei Zoo as diplomatic gifts from the Chinese government (BBC, 2008b). The action of the Chinese and Taiwanese governments of offering and accepting the gifts could symbolically signify the attempt of the Chinese government on Taiwan's unification with China when the pandas' names spelt the word '团圆' (*tuanyuan*, reunion) in Chinese. If not, at least it represents China's effort in making a reconstructed relationship with Taiwan.

The regaining of power by the KMT in March 2008 was and remains very likely to orient the Taiwanese government's directions on cultural affairs yet again. Evidence of this has been shown through the decision to construct the southern branch of the National Palace Museum, proposed by the DPP. The proposed museum was themed on the cultural connections between Taiwan and the rest of Asia to evoke a new identity and new cultural consciousness, which is very distinct to the theme of the main branch (National Palace Museum Southern Branch, 2009). Under the governance of the KMT, the southern branch no longer sticks to its original theme, and the museum is now expected to be a theme park based on a Chinese folk story named the 'Journey to the West' (also known as 'Monkey') or a 'museum of flowers' (TTV, 2009; The Liberty Times, 2009). From the shifting orientation of the new branch, the attempt of the DPP to construct a new Taiwanese identity through multi-cultural awareness is as strong as that of the KMT in preserving Chinese culture in Taiwan by representing the history and art of China through the displays and collections of the National Palace Museum. The new Taiwanese identity, which represents multi-cultural Taiwan challenges the centralised KMT ideology, whereas the old KMT ideology was only about the recognition of the Chinese identity. The key argument which has been demonstrated through this chapter is that, although China-Taiwan relations have

been rebuilt, the cultural policy in Taiwan is notably politically-influenced to support the construction of a national identity, either the Chinese identity as a whole or the Taiwanese identity in opposition to the Chinese policy of unification. Comparably, cultural policy in China is utilised for certain ends, for the consolidation of the national identity through different means, which include museums, museum education and museum-school collaborations. The relations between 'government' and 'culture' and how cultural institutions are utilised as branches of mechanism to implement government policy for the benefit of the general public coincides with the model of power relations of Foucault which helps to explain how museum education is regulated in China and Taiwan today. How the regulation of the cultural sector and museum education is best explained through the Foucauldian model will be elaborated further in the following chapters with the study of the instrumentality of museums and museum education, government regulation and museums, and the power relations in the *field* of educational practice of the case study museums.

3.4 Conclusion

The study of cultural policy and the development of museums as cultural establishments in this chapter is concluded by examining and comparing the socio-political conditions in China and Taiwan, and their impact on the shifting content of cultural policy in these two locations. In both China and Taiwan, as a result of the political circumstances and political transitions, museum development, the role of museum education and cultural policy were directly affected by the political affairs. In addition to the political pressure, economic expansion can be considered as a further stimulation for the governments' attention towards cultural affairs. Towards the end of the 20th century, when first Taiwan and subsequently China embarked on economic development, economic growth has had an influence on both governments' emphasis on their cultural policies. The economic progress has changed China significantly socially and economically. The new changes created a chance for the Chinese government to recognise the significance of cultural facilitation and education in arts and humanities. A similar story can be told about Taiwan. Taiwan's politics were transformed from a situation with restrictive Martial Law to the liberalisation of human rights, from the KMT as the only ruling party for 40 years to the direct presidential

elections of the 1990s. The economic growth in Taiwan laid a foundation for the cultural establishment of the 1980s. All of this evidence reveals that the government's decisions regarding cultural policies are tightly linked to the countries' political condition and economic stability.

With regard to the shifting national identity of Taiwan, the national identity of Taiwan has changed from the Chinese identity promoted by the Nationalist party and Chiang Kaishek and his son to the Taiwanese identity promoted by Presidents Lee Tenghui and Chen Shuibian since the early 1990s. As Lu (1999: 295) describes the change in cultural policy has resulted in changing cultural identity, and the changing cultural identity has subsequently contributed to the changing national identity. When the DPP was in power, Taiwan's independence, cultural independence, and the identity of ethnic groups were promoted. It is generally accepted that nation states are the production of social elites and state strategy, and Taiwan is no exception. The narratives of a nation state are associated with the redefinition of culture and cultural identity, and democratisation has changed the state-society interaction in Taiwan (ibid).

With reference to the policies for cultural affairs and cultural establishments, the policies and guidelines have reflected in cultural related activities in China and Taiwan, although, on occasion, there is no explicit statement indicating the current foci on cultural establishment, due to the governments' stress on the political issues. A range of shifting aspects of cultural policy can still be detected from the changes in the governments' political actions in many instances in China and Taiwan. For instance, during the Cultural Revolution, cultural matters did not receive much attention compared to the government's attempts to promote the communist ideology and the implementation of the class struggle. In Taiwan, during the first two decades of KMT's rule, not only were freedom of speech, assembly and publication restricted under Martial Law, but cultural, educational and social developments were implemented with a strong aim to nurture and enhance Chinese culture. Thereby, when politics was the main concern of a government, cultural initiatives and organisations are inevitably manipulated to promulgate political principles, ideology or intentions. Cultural policy was, therefore, undoubtedly, incorporated into the party's actions

for the purpose of serving the politics. The roles that museums in China and Taiwan play are not only 'policy-driven', but also 'politics-driven'. The emphasis on cultural policy is distinct in different periods of time in China and Taiwan, and this is a result of the strategies of the ruling parties to utilise cultural matters for social and political objectives. Currently, cultural policies, not only in the two locations studied in this chapter, but in many other countries also, contribute to other policy objectives greater than the values that the policies can generate for cultural and aesthetic ends. The initiation of this cannot be categorised as 'bad' or 'good'; rather, it is inevitable for arts and cultural policy to be utilised for other purposes.

Nonetheless, as the 21st century approached, new moves towards the making of cultural policy started to emerge in both China and Taiwan. When creative and cultural industries and the concept of the new museology began to spread in the West from the 1990s, both the Chinese and Taiwanese governments launched their way of engaging with this new global trend. Now, cultural policy in both China and Taiwan is centred on the encouragement of cultural and social engagement through community-based cultural participation. The authority for cultural affairs has been devolved from the central to local governments to address regional developments. Cultural establishments and policies may differ from country to country in order to suit the demands of society; however, at the same time, cultural policy elsewhere around the globe had become an example suggesting new practices for both the Chinese and Taiwanese governments. This demonstrates that cultural sectors and cultural policy makers in China and Taiwan have begun to locate the countries' cultural affairs in the global context, and to consider the models adopted in other countries when devising cultural policies tailored for themselves.

The content of the next chapter will serve as a continuation of the issues discussed in this chapter on the influence of politics and government objectives on cultural policy and cultural affairs. In addition to affirming 'culture' as part of governmental practice, Chapter 4 examines the details and provides examples on how cultural practice, especially museum education, has been incorporated into governmental projects in order to meet government objectives in China and Taiwan.

Chapter 4. Art Museum Education in China and Taiwan: A Field of Government Policy

4.1 Introduction

It was argued in the previous chapter that museums are regarded as technologies through which governmental objectives can be implemented for social, political and economic ends under different political regimes in China and Taiwan. Acting as a continuation of the previous argument, this chapter aims to explore how art museum education has been utilised to support government objectives, and examines how the educational roles of art museums have been shaped and adjusted by the government priorities and regulations regarding school education, cultural policy and community-based projects. The principal argument of this chapter is that culture in China is regulated in a manner similar to a modern liberal state in accordance with the Foucauldian model of power, despite China being a communist state. The chapter further argues that museums are utilised to achieve government objectives through providing social welfare to the population. The study demonstrates that museum practice is China and Taiwan is oriented by government objectives, although there has been a shift in cultural affairs away from solely serving politics towards enhancing cultural and social engagement through community-based cultural participation, and equal accessibility to cultural activities.

By adopting Bennett's concept of the governmental utilisation of culture, the chapter investigates the deployment of governmental purposes through art museum education. Bennett (1988) argues that early public museums are disciplinary institutions which operate governmental programmes for civic reform and self-regulation. *Culture* is viewed by Bennett (1992b: 23) as a particular field of government. When considering culture as a particular 'surface' for social management, Bennett suggests that it is necessary "to think of culture as a historically produced surface of social regulation whose distinctiveness is to be identified and accounted for in terms of (i) the specific types of attributes and forms of conduct that are established as its targets, (ii) the techniques that are proposed for the maintenance or transformation of such attributes or forms of conduct, (iii) the assembly of

such techniques into particular programs of government, and (iv) the inscription of such programs into the operative procedures of specific cultural technologies" (Bennett, 1992b: 27). Figure 14 shows Bennett's sectional analysis, which was addressed in Chapter 1. This sectional analysis will be employed in this chapter to understand how the arrangements of culture are incorporated into governmental programmes via certain techniques to achieve governmental objectives.

| Target, attributes and forms of conduct | → | Techniques used to transform the attributes and their conduct | → | Assembly of the techniques into governmental programmes | → | Inscription of the governmental programmes into cultural technologies |
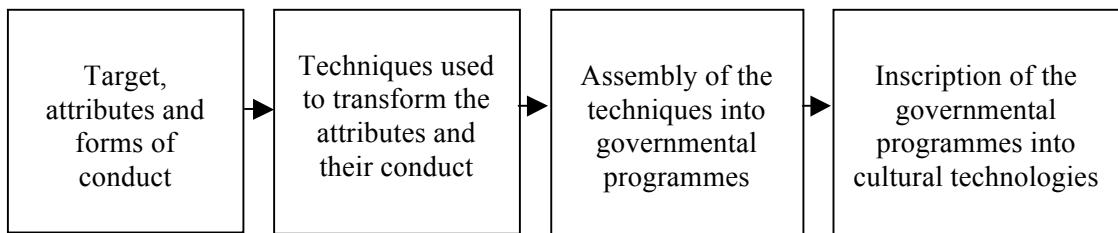
[Figure 14] Culture: as part of the governmental process

In this chapter, the art museums in the case studies are considered as cultural technologies and their education practice is regarded as the techniques through which the targets and implementations of the governmental programmes can be achieved. The study argues that governmental purposes can be deployed through museum education in China and Taiwan for different ends. Sub-sections 4.2 and 4.3 will examine the cultural policy, education policy and community engagement projects relevant to the practice of museum education to understand how government objectives are implemented through art museums. This focuses mainly on the analysis of the governmental deployment of museum education for its social and educational potential. This is followed by section 4.4, which investigates museum education from a bottom-up perspective. Issues concerning the local community have become one of the major concerns of the museum sector in China and Taiwan and this section aims to identify how the relationship between a museum and its local community has been constructed, what the government's objectives in museums' community-based project are, and how they are achieved in China and Taiwan respectively.

4.2 Cultural Policy and Museum Practice in China and Taiwan

Cultural policy reflects a state's aspirations regarding its targeted social conditions and every country has a unique formula for how its cultural policy is utilised in accordance with government agendas. The following section aims to understand how museums as cultural technologies are operated through cultural policy to achieve broader government agendas. It examines government targets in cultural policy in China and Taiwan and the utilisation of museum education through cultural policies. It is addressed by the researcher that the employment of education practice by art museums may not be addressed perceptibly or explicitly in the cultural policy of the two locations, however, possible linkages between museum education and the government's regulation for cultural end can be detected.

4.2.1 *The usefulness of cultural provision: what can culturally related policy do in China?*

It was only in the 1980s that public education and the service functions of museums began to be invoked in China (Peng and Lu, 2007). The major art museums in China, such as the National Art Museum of China, the Shanghai Art Museum and the Guangdong Museum of Art, did not initiate their educational practice until the late 1990s. For the past few years, the Chinese government has been engaging in cultural projects to broaden access to cultural resources for a wider range of audience. In this way, access to cultural resources is not only a privilege for those who possess a higher amount of cultural capital, but also accessible to those who were excluded from receiving cultural services previously. This government initiation started by offering free admission to museums visitors who are under 18, and concessions to the elderly, military personnel and those with disabilities (Ministry of Cultural and State Administration of Cultural Heritage, 2004). More recently, public museums, memorial halls and sites for patriotic education have become free for all (Ministry of Culture, 2008).

- Spiritual civilisation

The role of museums in fostering spiritual civilization was addressed in the 1982

Constitution, which revealed the belief of the Chinese government in the development of '精神文明' (*Jingshen wenming*, spiritual civilisation) to accompany the country's progress in terms of material culture (Wang, 2001: 511). Spiritual civilisation, according to the Chinese term, is reflected in two aspects; firstly, the progress of science, arts and education and, secondly, people's political thoughts and beliefs. Spiritual civilisation is achieved through the enhancement of both the material and spiritual conditions of Chinese citizens through the increased accessibility of cultural services. In 2002, a publication entitled '社会主义精神文明建设概论' (*Shehui zhuyi jingshen wenming jianshe gailun*, An Introduction to the Construction of Spiritual Civilisation for Socialism) was published by the Chinese Central Government, providing the principles and policies for the development of spiritual civilisation, the progress made in the construction of spiritual civilisation since the opening up of the Chinese state, and the aims, tasks and requirements for the enhancement of spiritual civilisation. The Chinese government has revealed that the cultural capital of Chinese citizens needs to be improved in order to reach the level of the growth in the material civilisation (Chinese Central Government, 2002). As China is a communist state, and as strengthening 'people's political thoughts and beliefs' is identified in the definition of spiritual civilisation, spiritual civilisation could easily be associated with a political project for ideological concerns. However, in a series of enforcements for the improvement of spiritual civilisation, the proportion with regard to the development of communist thoughts, beliefs, and morality has decreased gradually since 1979, when the enhancement of spiritual civilisation for the purposes of socialism was first addressed. Since the 1990s, the aim of constructing spiritual civilisation for a socialist society has changed into the enhancement of the conduct and manners of Chinese citizens, the cultural civilisation of towns and villages, and the social environment and social order (ibid). This shows the transition from Gramsci to Foucault's model of power of the role of cultural activities and the relations between state and culture. As the researcher attempts to convey in other chapters based on the analysis of the structure of the cultural system, the government regulation of China today is not exercised solely through the coercive power of the political party imposed by the state apparatuses over the consent of the population but, rather, the control of social order is achieved through the management of the population by addressing the population as the 'subject' of knowledge. A comparable observation is made by Keane

(2000) that:

> […] in China, culture is no longer simplistically equated with ideology. Its function is no longer one-dimensional, that of educating and training the mass population. Instead culture is formally recognised as having material and spiritual components, with the latter ideally operating as a check on the excesses of the former and culture is embedded in programmes of economic reform.

In weighing up the concerns of the Chinese government regarding its economic and cultural policies, it is evident that the priority has shifted from economic development to the proposal of plans for cultural development every five years to accomplish economic and social development. From 1995, five-year guidelines for the development of culture have been initiated following the five-year plans for economic development, which were initiated in the 1950s (Hsiao and Lin, 2002). Currently, three sets of plans for the development of cultural affairs have been issued, each of which contains an evaluation of the achievements of the previous period, the aims and guiding principles, and the tasks to be completed in the forthcoming period (Ministry of Culture, 1997, 2001, 2006a). Under these guidelines, a substantial amount of government capital has been spent on founding and refurbishing cultural establishments, such as public museums, at both the central and local levels. In addition to government regulations on cultural establishments, the broadening of cultural provision is achieved through museum education practice, as confirmed by the Museum Directors and the Heads of Education of the two case-study museums in China (Fan Dian, Interview: 19/10/2008; Wang Huangsheng, Interview: 22/09/2008; He Lin, Interview: 18/10/2008; Liu Duanling, Interview: 22/09/2008). The details of this and how the museums respond to the government regulations and the autonomy of museum education will be provided in Chapters 6 and 7, where the analysis will be centred on the power relations of the actors and activities in the field of museum education at the case-study museums.

- Red Tourism project

The project of Red Tourism provides further evidence of the implementation of government objectives through cultural institutions. The project was launched in 2003, combining

economic, cultural and political objectives. It refers to organised themed tours to selected revolutionary sites, landmarks, memorial halls and sites that are important to the Communist history with the intention of preserving revolutionary history and enhancing patriotism nationwide in China (Xinhua News, 2005). Precisely, the Red Tourism project was about "tourism activities conducted at revolutionary bases or historic sites which could contribute to a better understanding of national or revolutionary history, enrichment of tourists' knowledge about parties, histories and revolution and arousal of patriotism" (Wang, Wu and Peng, 2008: 14). The project is supported by a five-year strategic plan named '2004-2010 全国红色旅游发展规划纲要' (*2004-2010 Quanguo hongse luyou fazhan guihua gangyao*, 2004-2010 Guidelines for the Development and Planning of Red Tourism), published by the National Development and Reform Commission in 2004. Under the Guidelines, 12 'red tourism areas', 30 'red tourism routes', and 100 'red tourism classic scenic spots' are designated (Xinhua News, 2005). In addition to enhancing the consciousness of nationalism and patriotism among the general public, the Red Tourism project fosters regional economies and tourism as well as preserving and making what the state sees as the best use of the revolutionary heritage for patriotic education. The Red Tourism phenomenon is a reflection of the early European public museums when modern European citizens were rendered a subject to see and given the power to learn. Here, the Chinese population is provided with the opportunity to learn and be reminded of their national history. They are addressed as 'the subject' in this cultural programme that is regulated by the state to promote control of the social order. The 'knowledge' provided here is attached to values and purposes. Knowledge, as Hooper-Greenhill (2006a: 235) notes, is value laden and produced with given 'value'. It is, therefore, necessary to understand the inclusive intentions developed by this specific cultural programme and the messages that it attempts to convey. In the Chinese context, the projects of Red Tourism and Patriotic Education aim to foster a sense of national pride and strengthen national identity through learning about the national history and shared memories of the nation.

4.2.2 *Cultural policy in Taiwan: the instrumentality of museums*

In comparison to the government objectives achieved through cultural policy and cultural

bureaucracy in China, museum education in Taiwan is regulated under political pressure to accomplish a greater degree of political possibility. Culture and politics are inseparable in Taiwan, and a political party's objectives for other policy ends are intertwined with cultural and arts policy. The objectives for cultural establishments and cultural policy reflect the aims of the Taiwanese government for social unification and reform, as discussed in Chapter 3. In comparison to the early art museums of China, as exhibitionary spaces, and the lack of publicness, the educational role of cultural institutions was recognised relatively early in Taiwan, as the majority of art museums there have established educational departments since their establishment in the 1980s and 90s, although the educational provision of the museums was only centred on basic instruments, such as guided tours and lectures.

Museum education does not appear to be directly regulated in Taiwan's recent cultural policy; however, it is due to its potential for engaging communities and drawing in new audiences to cultural participation that museum education is included in the government policy. Since the late 1990s, cultural policy in Taiwan has begun to address issues surrounded by 'community' for community engagement and regeneration. The details of this will be addressed in 4.4.2. Among the projects and policies themed on community engagement, 'cultural citizenship' is the project through which local residents become involved in community-based cultural and art affairs. It aims to construct a shared identity among the Taiwanese population of the Han Chinese and minority groups by recognising their shared culture, histories and memories (Chen and Liu, 2005: 80). The project reveals the government's attempt to show that Taiwanese culture is not dominantly represented by Han Chinese culture, as emphasised by the KMT government previously, but also by minority cultures which have been neglected in the past, such as the Taiwanese aborigines. In this way, the inclusive cultural policy acknowledges the history and culture of the Taiwanese ethnic minorities as constituting what construct Taiwan today.

Museums' educational provision, based in the local community, such as mobile museums, form an additional linkage between museum education and the local community. For instance, a project was launched in 2002 targeting museum education as a method for the

enhancement of the quality of human resources. This project requests civil servants in Taiwan to participate in lectures or other educational activities organised by cultural or educational institutions to collect their yearly learning points that are required by the government (Central Personnel Administration, 2009). This shows that museums are obligated to provide educational resources according to the government's requirements. In providing educational resources for the implementation of the government project, the Museum Directors, Heads of departments and the education team, who are predominately civil servants employed by the government, are involved in the cultural shaping and regulation of the population. As Bennett (1998: 195) suggests, the cultural institutions and intellectual workers reflect the genesis of cultural politics from within the processes of the government, rather than in a form of a 'bottom-up' opposition to policy imposed from the top down.

4.3 Education Policy and Museum Practice in China and Taiwan

4.3.1 *Prior to the Education Reforms*

- Education in China and Taiwan in the early 20[tt] century

Western ideas were welcomed by the new generation of intellectuals in the fields of literature and education in the early 20th century in the coastal areas through the influence of foreign businessmen, missionary schools and Chinese returning home after being educated abroad. In the early years of the Republic, scholars such as Dewey and Bertrand Russell visited China in an attempt to make schooling available to a wider section of the population and modernise the educational system (Mauger, 1974: 5). Mackerras (1998: 79-80) suggests that during the Civil War, education was a means of social control, as students were urged to undertake technical and military training to develop a sense of morality. During the anti-Japanese war in China, urban students were sent to the rural areas to promote basic education and spread propaganda against the Japanese (ibid: 81). This is comparable to Gramsci's idea of the state as an 'educator' as, in Gransci's words, an educative, ethical and cultural state aims "to raise the great mass of the population to a

particular cultural and moral level which corresponds to the needs of the productive forces of development, and hence to the interests of the ruling classes" (Gramsci, 1971: 258). In the first half of the 20th century, although western educational ideas spread to China, as a result of the unsettled circumstances, education was accorded specific purposes for political ends.

Comparable to the education in China in the first half of the 20th century, education in Taiwan during the Japanese colonisation orchestrates Gramsci's concept of an educative state for the creation of a new type or level of civilisation (Gramsci, 1971: 247). As a colonised country, colonial education i.e. language instruction and dualism was a method applied by the Japanese government to exercise hegemony and control over the colonial masses in Taiwan (Altbach and Kelly, 1978: 105-114). The instruction in language was implemented for the colonisers to assimilate certain beliefs and values. Taiwanese children who were fluent in Japanese were permitted to enter top-ranking primary schools. Outside schooling, the colonial government taught Japanese and Japanese values to adults in the rural districts to realise the aim of implanting 'Japanisation' among the natives' thoughts and lifestyle (Tsurumi, 1979: 624, 627). In the words of Tsurumi, education and assimilation were the two key components of the Japanese colonial policy in Taiwan, and 'education' was an instrument for attaining the assimilation of the colony (ibid: 617). 'Dualism' is defined by Altbach and Kelly (1978: 7) as the existence of two distinct types of school systems, managed by the coloniser for both the coloniser and the colonised. The curriculum and educators were specifically drafted in and chosen; schools were categorised into Metropolitan schools to serve the children of the colonisers, and common schools for the education of Taiwanese children, so that the colonial government could spread an organised political ideology by means of education among the Taiwanese in the initial stage of colonisation.

Prior to the recent educational reform which took place in China and Taiwan in the 1990s, education can be understood as being associated with political education, especially before the end of the major political events and control, such as the Cultural Revolution in China and Martial Law in Taiwan. During the Cultural Revolution, a series of campaigns was

launched for mass mobilisation under Mao's regime which emphasised the remoulding of the political ideology by means of propagandised movements and education. The education of the proletariat was the main concern at this time and the aim was to educate them to become the backbone of the Communist party (Price, 1970: 30-31). This aim was continued and amplified during the Cultural Revolution when Mao's works and quotations, documents relating to the Cultural Revolution, and the criticism and repudiation of bourgeois teaching materials and methods were all integral to the content of school education (ibid: 91). In *Education in the New China: Shaping Ideas at Work*, Turner and Acker (2002: 44-46) compared the education model of the Maoists (1949-1978) and the reform model (1978-present) in a chart entitled 'historical trends in China's educational provision'. Turner and Acker identify that the role of education has shifted from being a mechanism for Maoist political, social, and economic modernisation into one for market, social, political, and economic reform. The connections between intellectuals and political power have been weakened, and more attempts have been made to develop scientific innovation and creativity. The previous model views Maoist/Marxist unitarianism as the absolute truth of the party whereas, in the reform model, knowledge is viewed as 'truth' (ibid).

During the same period in Taiwan, the development of education was, on the one hand, built on the foundation of the education system founded by the Japanese, and, on the other, viewed as an aid for building a national consensus. Hsu (2006: 116) indicates that language education and political ideology, following the principles of Dr Sun Yatsen, were introduced in school education to strengthen the legitimacy of Chinese culture in Taiwan and eliminate the influence of the Japanese colonisation period on Taiwanese society. In restructuring the educational system in Taiwan, education became job-oriented and it was considered that it must be guided by the government policies of the nationalists to advance patriotism and national unity. In this, Copper (1996: 71) sees that "Confucian learning was de-emphasised; Sun's writing, military strategy, and science and technology were accorded a higher place in the curriculum". During the Martial Law period, educational institutions at all levels were under firm regulation by the National government. Gramsci noted that, through educative projects implemented by the ruling class through social apparatuses, both

public and private, the educative pressure is applied to individuals in order to obtain their consent (Gramsci, 1971: 242).

Based on his analysis of the reports of the Ministry of Education from 1966 to 1993, Ju Haiyuan states that the authoritarian character of the government can be found in the educational system, namely the emphasis on 民族精神 (*Minzu jingshen*, national spirit) in the educational policies. This emphasis on 'national spirit' became a means of cultural hegemony; it was disseminated through school education and so influenced the lives of students (Fan, 2003: 14). Under this circumstance, schools as the apparatuses of an ideological state, school education with regard to the content of the curriculum, the length of the classes and the means of assessment were all under direct state control.

- Methods of teaching and assessment

For many years, education in primary, junior middle, and senior middle schools in China was orientated towards exam-based education, geared towards making students successful candidates for higher grade schools (Su, 2002: 47). Under this educational system, the students' homework load is heavy, the teaching methods are rigid, and sometimes the daytime classes are accompanied by evening or weekend tutorial classes. 'Rote-learning' is applied as a common teaching method for humanities subjects, especially Chinese. The subject is taught by the teacher reading texts aloud, word by word, and the students repeating it, to memorise the material being learnt. The situation in Taiwan is comparable. The increase in creativity, the alleviation of students' study burden, and the overall development of students are issues that were tackled by the educational reforms in both China and Taiwan. Some schools in China have begun to hold more than one major exam, and students can choose how many exams they wish to take and choose the best scores from their exams for their graduation record. The students' ability and other skills which cannot be tested through exams are considered by the schools in addition to using exams to assess what they have learnt (Yang, 2007: 187-188). The promotion of the new educational reform aims to enhance the overall quality of education to promote the complete

development of students, and cultivate their thinking and practical problem-solving ability (Su, 2002: 41).

4.3.2 *Museum-school collaborations and the Education Reforms*

The relationship between museums and schools has grown closer since the launch of the education reform in China and Taiwan. Evidence of an enhanced relationship between schools and museums as a result of the educational reform can be found not only in Taiwan and China but also in other countries, such as the United Kingdom. The valuable quality of education in a museum setting for the on-site learning of school groups was signalled two decades ago under the Educational Reform Act, introduced in 1988 in England and Wales. This was the first time that detailed learning programmes and Attainment Targets had been laid down for teachers in these two countries. Furthermore, in 1991, written guideline was published by the National Curriculum Council for museums to follow. Hooper-Greenhill (1991:73) states that the educational reform and new curriculum provided guidelines for museums on their work with schools, and the specific context within which they can present objects and activities.

In Taiwan and China, the resources provided by museums and the learning experience offered in a museum or gallery setting were acknowledged to be valuable for the curriculum introduced under the education reform. The new Grade 1-9 Curriculum and the Arts and Humanities Curriculum in Taiwan, and the all-round education (also named human quality, well-rounded or *Suzhi* education) in China, offered a foundation for further cooperation between museums and schools. Arts and Humanities are one of the learning fields indicated in the Grade 1-9 Curriculum. It replaces the traditional school curriculum, which was categorised according to seven learning fields. The aim of the curriculum was to equip pupils with key competencies through providing a more flexible learning and teaching environment (Chinese Comparative Education Society Taipei, 1996: 5). The new philosophy of all-round education in China was in contrast to the traditional, examination-orientated education. The collaboration between museums and schools has increased and the relationship between the two has been strengthened as a result of the new learning

method promoted by the education reform. The discussion and argument in the following sections centre on how the partnerships between the two institutions developed in China and Taiwan under the education reforms, with examples of schools-museum collaboration, and the current approaches to the partnership between the two institutions in these two locations.

- Art museum education for schools: examples from the Taipei Fine Arts Museum (TFAM) and the National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts (NTMOFA)

In Taiwan, guided by the concept of providing diverse learning methods and a flexible teaching environment for the Grade 1-9 Curriculum, museums and galleries at different levels of governance have been recognised as venues which have the potential to provide additional resources and different learning experiences to school education (Ministry of Education, 2003). From an educator's perspective, community museums are essential to school education under the scenario in which schools are positioned at the centre of receiving resources from local museums, or locating museums as learning venues where the knowledge that the schoolchildren obtain can be attributed to different knowledge fields of the school curriculum. Chu (2009) argues that both curriculum models, the school-centred and the integrated curriculum, underpin the key concepts of learning in the Grade 1-9 Curriculum. The models highlight the significance of the role of community museums in assisting local schools. In the model of the school-centred curriculum, schools are set at the centre of their community where public and private local museums become ideal places for local schoolchildren to learn. On the other hand, the integrated curriculum is about facilitating integrated learning related to different subjects in a museum setting. It locates local museums at the centre of learning, which offers knowledge that complements the learning of diverse subjects on the school curriculum. According to Chu's observations of schools and local museums in Yilan, in both of the curriculum models, museums are indispensable to school education.

From the museums' perspective, the new curriculum of the education reform has stimulated museums in Taiwan to reflect further on their learning methods and space. At TFAM,

schoolchildren are central to the museum's learning programmes. In responding to the curriculum and to maximise the collaborative potential with schools, museum education departments in Taiwan have embarked on creating innovative learning methods and spaces for learning, such as the Art Experience Corner at TFAM. This newly created space offers a different learning experience to classroom learning, while providing diverse perspectives on modern art by engaging the participants in exhibition-related, hands-on activities. Figure 15 illustrates the layout of the Art Experience Corner. The photos were taken by the school teachers when a group of schoolchildren from the Taipei Municipal Xihu Elementary School were participating in the educational activity in the Art Experience Corner at TFAM (Magic & Creative, 2007).

[Figure 15] Educational activity at the Art Experience Corner at TFAM
Photo: Magic & Creative

The idea of having this new learning space for a more diverse, creative and interactive form of learning has been adopted by other museums in Taiwan, such as the other two case study museums, the National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts and the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts. TFAM describes the learning at the Art Experience Corner as follows: through activities such as 'observation and comparison', 'group discussions', 'game and performance', or 'body movements', the participants learn about the relationship between art and everyday life; they learn new ways to appreciate different artworks, and build a

sound foundation in art education and appreciation (TFAM, 2007). Generally, each educational session at TFAM begins with a tour of the gallery, followed by activities in the Art Experience Corner. At the end, worksheets are given to the students for them to explore the exhibitions in the gallery further with the guidance and assistance of their teachers (Chuan Yuanwei, personal communication, 10 Sep, 2008).

A comparable approach to TFAM regarding the creation of innovative learning spaces is employed by the National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts. The Learning Theatre at NTMOFA is aimed at providing interdisciplinary learning based on museum collection. Art learning in the Theatre involves working collaboratively with different senses; it is interactive and combines diverse learning experiences (Figures 16 and 17). In addition to the newly constructed space in museums for interactive learning, educational resources are provided online as teaching materials for schoolteachers. For instance, the Teacher's Resource Centre offers online learning materials to help schoolteachers to implement the Arts and Humanities Curriculum, such as worksheets and teachers' packs (Huang, 2004). In addition, the museum's online galleries offer interactive learning via the Internet for learners of different ages and at diverse learning levels.

[Figure 16] (left) A section of the Learning Theatre at NTMOFA. Photo: Y. J. Chen
[Figure 17] (right) Jigsaw puzzle of the paintings from the museum collection. Photo: Y. J. Chen

- The perceived value of museum education in Chinese schools

In China, the relationship between museums and schools has become closer since the early 1990s, followed by the newly implemented curriculum and the Education Law. The decentralised educational system under the education reform shifted the focus of Chinese education from the 100 mark system of grading towards an all-round education (also known as *Suzhi* or well-rounded education, introduced in Chapter 1) by promoting all aspects of learning for well-rounded human development (Yi, 2006; Zhang, 2001). The '中国教育改革与发展纲要' (*Zhongguo jiaoyu gaige yu fazhan gangyao*, Guidelines for Chinese Educational Reform and Development) (1993) and the '关于深化教育改革全面推进素质教育的决定' (*Guanyu shenhua jiaoyu gaige quanmian tuijin sushi jiaoyu de jueding*, Decision on the Promotion of All-Round Education through Educational Reform) (1999) placed emphasis on the promotion of all-round education for all students, helping them not only to be proficient at passing exams but also to develop rounded skills and a knowledge of subjects which are not included in the exams, such as art education, moral education and sports. The philosophy of all-round education is in contrast to traditional, examination-orientated education, which means that, by implementing this new concept, education provides students with diverse learning to equip them with different capabilities (CHINASZJY, 2009). Under the reform, the historic dependency on tests as a form of assessment is reduced and, at the same time, schools gains increased autonomy over assessment and the curriculum (Zhao cited in Abasa and Liu, 2007: 402). The '关于深化教育改革全面推进素质教育的决定' (*Guanyu shenhua jiaoyu gaige quanmian tuijin sushi jiaoyu de jueding*, Decision on the Promotion of All-Round Education through Education Reform) states that the aim of all-round education is for students to learn to be a person, learn to know, and learn about physical labour, living, sports and art appreciation, in order for them to be cultivated as socialist citizens with ambitions, morality, good manners and self-discipline. The concept of Suzhi education is comparable to the learning theory of Falk and Dierking, introduced in Chapter 2, as Falk and Dierking regard learning as an adaption that produces measurable changes in behaviour, which enable individuals to survive in society. In respect of all-round education, museums, with their distinct learning style and experience, have become ideal facilitators in assisting schools and the education system to

provide education for the improvement in the quality of students (State Council, 1999). Din (1999: 94) addresses the benefits of using museums for school's all-round education as the advantages of collaboration between museums and schools include the interdisplinary nature of museum education and the more relaxed learning environment that museums are able to offer. In the Education Law promulgated in 1994 by the Chinese government, it is stated that schools and other educational institutions should organise and conduct educational activities collaboratively. It also affirms that museums and galleries, as social, cultural and educational institutions, should provide easy access to educational opportunities for schoolteachers, students and the general public (Ministry of Education, 1995).

A collaborative relationship between museum staff and schoolteachers has been identified in China. Research has shown that museum and school collaboration provides education that is different from the traditional learning environment, and that it is beneficial to incorporate the different learning settings of both schools and museums (Zou, 2001; Dong and Xing, 2001). Zou (2001) notes that museum education is notably divorced from school education and that there is a reliance on the museum professionals to connect the two, as well as a need for government regulations to strengthen the linkage between the two institutions. Collaborative partnerships between museums and schools have just been initiated in China; therefore, relatively little literature can be found on this new issue. The published research mainly advocates how museums can complement education in schools; however, discussion of how precisely museums and schools collaborate with each other has been largely neglected. The relationships between museums and schools have developed and been recognised by educators and museum professionals, as both are institutions for social education (education for the general public) in China. The enhancement of communication and strengthening of the linkages between the school curriculum and museum the educational programmes have been suggested in order to create closer partnerships between the two institutions (Ou, 2000). In practice, museum resources are integrated for interdisciplinary learning. For instance, in Beijing, an educational project was organised and launched jointly by the Beijing Museum of Ancient Architecture and the Beijing Yucai School in 1995. With the advantage of being based on a heritage site, the

museum possesses abundant resources for providing teaching materials on the various subjects taught in the school curriculum. For instance, the study of the structure of ancient Chinese architecture offers students an opportunity to undertake scientific observation and experience an aesthetic appreciation of the temples (Zhong, 2006).

4.3.3 *Recent approaches to museum-school collaboration*

- A closer relationship between the cultural and education sectors

In both China and Taiwan, museums and schools are two different sets of cultural bureaucracies, managed by diverse administrative systems. Although the educational reform has drawn the relationship between museums and schools closer, it is only recently that the government regulations have begun to address the collaborative relationship between the cultural and educational sectors specifically. Evidence of the joint collaboration between these two sectors can been found through the examples of the case study museums, such as the Taipei Fine Arts Museum and the National Art Museum of China. Between February and June 2008, TFAM worked in partnership with the Taipei Cultural Bureau and the Taipei Education Bureau on a project named 'Discovering the Beauty of Museum Collections' to cultivate a sense of art appreciation among 10-year-old schoolchildren (TFAM, 2008). Under the governing bodies' objectives, schools should hold 3-6 hours of art classes at TFAM each year. Through the museums' website, it can be understood that the museums in Taiwan aim to offer educational resources to local schools in the form of online teaching/learning resources and teacher training. It appears, that although the link between museum and school education is not stated in the government regulations for some regions in Taiwan, museums have shown their awareness of the need to render their resources available to school education, possibly due to the influence of educational practices worldwide. The study suggests that museum education in Taiwan can be regulated by government objectives, while being influenced by other forms of practice and pedagogy elsewhere. Evidence and details of this will be provided in the analysis chapters (chapters 6 and 7) and the conclusion of this thesis to demonstrate how the role and practice of museum education can be shaped by diverse influences, including the actors

involved in museum education and the educational practice overseas.

- Museums for patriotic education

Currently, in China, museums and historical sites are cast as venues for facilitating patriotic education, the aim of which is to enhance a sense of patriotism and national pride among Chinese nationals, especially young people, through museum visits. Patriotic education is regarded as being a necessary approach for the strengthening of national identity, and is considered a method for preventing the recurrence of the Tiananmen Square Incident in 1989, as Chinese officials believe that this incident was a result of insufficient political education (Xinhua News, 2004). The rationale for setting museums as the basis for promoting patriotic education is driven by the objectives of the Chinese government regarding identity construction and national unification. Mitter (2003: 118) suggests that, under Mao, war memories remained undiscused, but the dynamics of the reform after 1978 and the Tiananmen uprising of 1989 forced the Chinese government and the public to turn back to the experiences of the 1930s and 1940s to understand their place in the world at the turn of the 21st century.

The 'Notice of Enforcement of Patriotism and Revolutionary Education through Cultural Relics' was the first national regulation clearly to identify the educational function of historical museums and sites, particularly among young people. It is stated in the Preface to this regulation that:

> … it [The Notice of Enforcement of Patriotism and Revolutionary Education through Cultural Relics] is an objective, vivid, authentic and creditable way to conduct patriotic education by using rich cultural relics. This is easily accepted and understood by teenagers. The propaganda department of CPC (Communist Party of China) and other related authorities at different levels of government should make full use of these valuable resources, and rely on museums, memorial halls and other revolutionary sites as regular educational bases outside schools to conduct patriotic and traditional education (Abasa and Liu, 2007: 396).

Under this regulation, historical museums and memorial sites are the venues where school groups can learn about the history of the country in order to create a sense of belonging and

identity among youngsters. The campaign for patriotic education began in 1994 with the publication of a new set of 'Guidelines for Patriotic Education' and 'Outline for Conducting Patriotic Education', which state that reading patriotic literature, singing patriotic songs and watching patriotic films are regarded as important methods for providing patriotic education among primary and middle school students (Xinhua News, 2008b). The initiatives of the Chinese government in promoting patriotic education are intended to construct a national unity through knowing about *selective* history and culture at venues which represent specific historical narratives. It is considered by Vickers (2007) that, in this approach, socialist advocators are no longer the only national heroes and the ideology of the class struggle is no longer promoted. Instead, the ancient past, such as Confucian values, the Yellow Emperor and the Great Wall, which are shared by and can be used to bind together the Chinese decedents in mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan, is celebrated. The newly selected history that is presented via patriotic education contrasts with the emphasis of the past on the Civil War between the Chinese communists and Taiwanese nationalists. This reveals the Chinese government's attempt to avoid becoming involved with sensitive histories and topics which could present an obstacle to unity in mainland China between the minorities and the Han Chinese, and the peaceful unification of China and Taiwan. This, according to Mitter (2003: 120), is because the Chinese government is fostering a new nationalism, inclusive of all Chinese, regardless of party affiliation and, more controversially, nationality, but finding a common enemy to oppose in order to bring China together.

China is a vast country which contains Han Chinese as the majority and 55 ethnic minority groups (Chao, 2005: 114). In the representation of the material culture of the ethnic minorities, the Chinese government acknowledges cultural diversity and represents ethnic minority cultures through presenting museum displays to create a shared culture and imagined community among the Chinese public. For instance, the China Ethnic Museum (the Chinese Ethnic Culture Park), as an anthropological museum which preserves, reconstructs, collects and displays the culture, history and social life of the Han Chinese and the 55 ethnic minority groups in China, is selected as one of the bases for patriotic education. However, Varutti argues that, in terms of museum representation of the ethnic

minorities' history, there is a systematic, selective omission of references to this group's non-Chinese, pre-Communist past. Varutti (2010b: 76, 78) states that "the partial museum representations of ethnic minorities' past may be interpreted as an attempt to bridge the gap between memory and history by transforming selected and partial memories into official history" to create a sense of imagined and artificial harmonious relations in which no tension exists.

In Chinese, 愛國 (*aiguo*, patriotic) literally means 'love one's country'. Patriotic education can be understood as being intended not only to promote the glory of the national past but also to remind the nation of its national humiliation and insecurity in order to construct an official nationalism, as observed by Callahan (2004). Patriotic education, in China, is therefore introduced to construct a sense of patriotism by knowing and remembering the humiliation which the country has encountered. The narrative of national humiliation is reproduced via textbooks, museums, popular history books and virtual exhibitions. Callahan indicates that the redressing of national humiliation is treated as natural, with very little critical commentary on it (ibid: 206). The study argues that the remembrance of the national humiliation can be regarded as a way of evoking patriotism among the Chinese public as opposed to strengthening and enhancing their 'love' for the nation-state. The constantly evoked revolutionary memories of the Japanese invasion, the wars with Japan and the civil war with the Nationalists are appropriate examples of this, as the Nanjing Massacre Memorial and the Anti-Japanese War Museum (the Museum of the War against Japan) are both listed as the bases for patriotic education and the Red Tourism project. Commemoration of war history has become a method for inspiring patriotism and China sees itself as a victim in recalling the Nanjing Massacre. The Chinese President, Hu Jintao, uses the term '八榮八恥' (*Barongbachi*, literally 'eight prides and eight humiliations', meaning incidents which the nation is proud of, or humiliated by) to underline that national pride and humiliation are key to patriotic education (Qi, 2006: 6; Zhen, 2006: 9). This approach of the Chinese Government in recalling selective memories of national humiliation to strengthen the national identity is, in fact, employed in many other countries. Lim (2008, 2010) sees this 'victimhood nationalism' as a working hypothesis for consolidating national solidarity across the generations and this is found

transnationally in Korea, Poland and Israel, with Japan and Germany as the counterparts, as victims are unthinkable without victimizers.

Currently, there is no art museum listed as a site for patriotic education. The reason for this could be that while, in China, art museums and history museums are both under the supervision of the Ministry of Culture or local cultural bureaus, the two types of museum are overseen by the arts departments and the administration of cultural heritage respectively at the next level down. Although art museums are not listed as bases for patriotic education, like the Yellow Emperor's tomb or the Great Wall, art museums are found to launch exhibitions for the dissemination of history and to improve the understanding of the country among the general public. For instance, the exhibition of the Dunhuang caves launched by the National Art Museum of China (NAMOC) marked the first occasion when the art of the Dunhuang caves was exhibited in an art museum. It successfully attracted visitors and was a major cultural event during the Beijing Olympics of 2008. During the exhibition, painting activities were organised for teenagers and children. Tickets were distributed to schoolchildren in Beijing city, inviting them to visit the exhibition with their parents (Xinhua News, 2008a). The example of NAMOC shows that, although the linkage between art museums and patriotic education or the Red Tourism project is relatively weak in comparison to the history museums, art museums still demonstrate their potential to be utilised for patriotic ends, although in a more subtle way.

4.4 Art Museum Education and the Community

4.4.1 *Museum education for the community*

ICOM indicated in 1971, for the first time, that museums were agencies for serving their communities (Chadwick, 1980: 58). According to Weil (2007: 35-36), museums are envisioned by some as ideologically neutral instruments of communication, available for communities to use in pursuit of their communal goals. Whether a top-down or bottom-up approach is taken, the ultimate aim of museums is to facilitate education in their 'community'. This section examines the way in which museum education is utilised for

community objectives through art museums in China and Taiwan to understand the educational roles of art museums in their community.
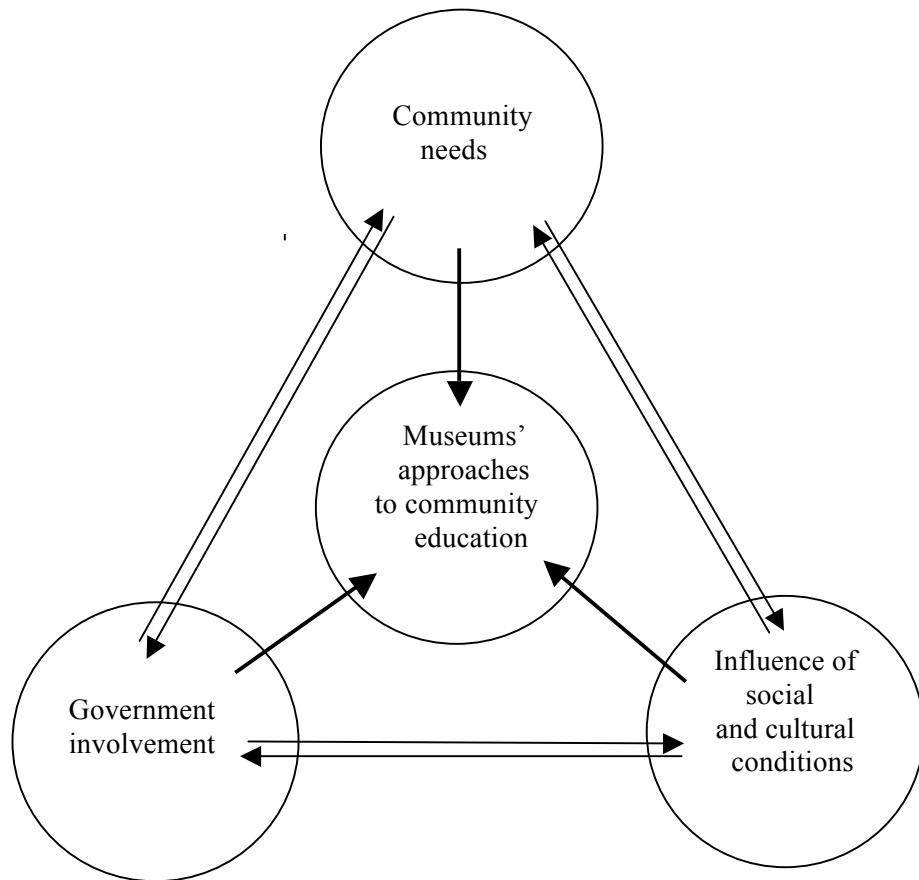
[Figure 18] Influence of museums' educational approaches on community education

The educational approaches to community education can be considered as a result of the community needs, the influence of the social and cultural conditions, and the government's intervention in community development, as demonstrated in Figure 18. All three factors influence each other and there is no unique direction of influence: each one can influence or be influenced by the others. The approaches used in community education are implemented

in different forms at each institution. How museums select these approaches is a result of the social, cultural and economic conditions in which they are embedded. The educational provisions for the local community provided by art museums in China and Taiwan are classified by the study into the three most popular forms: mobile museums, loan exhibitions and art/training classes. The following sub-sections will exemplify how art museums use these forms of educational services to engage with their local community.

- Mobile museums

A 'mobile museum' is a common educational approach employed by art museums in China and Taiwan for community education. The specifics of this vary from one institution to another as a result of the differences in the community needs, economic situation and social circumstances of the museums. '广东城乡巡回展览' (*Guangdong chengxiang xunhui zhanlan*, Education Comes to Villages) is a project that is considered to be an extension of the original mobile museum projects of the Guangdong Museum of Art (GDMOA). In this new project, the education that GDMOA provides is extended to towns and local schools in rural areas as part of the museum's outreach service. The aim of this mobile museum project is to increase accessibility to educational resources for the regional audience. In comparison, the National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts (NTMOFA) formulated its mobile museum project as a solution to the museum's closure during its reconstruction after the 921 Earthquake. The 921 Earthquake struck Taiwan on the 21st of September 1999, causing the second-highest casualties in the history of Taiwan, whereby 2,418 people died and 11,569 were injured. The earthquake registered 7.3 on the Richter scale, with its epicentre in central Taiwan, where Nantou and Taichung Counties were the worst-affected areas.[16] The mobile museum project of NTMOFA was originally initiated in 1998 at four selected schools in Taichung city. Due to the 921 Earthquake and the subsequent closure of the museum from 1999 to 2004, the project was expanded to reach schools on the eastern coast of Taiwan and remote areas, where fewer museum outreach services can be accessed.

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[16] Information obtained from the Ministry of the Interior: http://sowf.moi.gov.tw/stat/topic/topic325.htm.

The theme of the mobile museum project of this time is defined by NTMOFA as 'art museum, education, lifelong learning and community' (NTMOFA, 2001: 34-35).

The programme of the mobile museum project of NTMOFA includes the learning and experience of art, museology, art appreciation and creative experience. It employs the concept of DBAE (Disciplined-Based Art Education, introduced in Chapter 2) as the basis for the activities, aiming to encourage the participants to consider 'what is art?' and 'what is an art museum?' The educational approach of the museum changed from activities centred on visitors' experience and participation to art education that involves creation, appreciation and criticism through educational activities carried out at primary schools in rural Taiwan (Huang, 2004: 71-72). For example, at Xiulun primary school in Xinzhu county, which children from the Taiya tribe attend, the museum introduces the schoolchildren to the art and culture of the Taiya tribe through art appreciation and creation (ibid: 50). The mobile museum project of NTMOFA can be understood to be a result of the changing social circumstances of the institution and government guidelines on education at the time. In 國民教育九年一貫課程總綱要 (*Guomin jiaoyu jiunian yiguan kecheng zonggangyao*, General Guidelines for the Nine-Year Integrated Curriculum), it is indicated that educational institutions such as art museums, libraries and cultural centres should provide additional learning opportunities and resources to school education (ibid: 49). This reveals that, by 1998, direct government guidelines had begun to regulate museum practice.

Another example of the education approach of a mobile museum by an art museum in Taiwan is the Kaohsiung Fine Arts Museum (KFAM) project entitled '藝術送到家' (*Yishu songdaojia*, Sending Art to Your Home). In this project, museum curators and exhibitions are sent out into the local community to introduce art to those who have not had the opportunity to visit the museum. In comparison to the mobile museum project run by NTMOFA, that of KFAM places emphasis on art appreciation. The Museum Director, Li Chihkang (Interview: 13/10/2008), indicates that, in this mobile museum project, museum collections are loaned out to venues such as the City Council or hospitals for temporary display. The museum provides guidance on how the artwork should be displayed and, once the institutions become familiar with the process, they are welcome to contact the artists

directly to have their artwork displayed at their institution all year round. A link between the approach of KFAM's mobile museum project and Falk and Dierking's Interactive Experience Model of learning, introduced in Chapter 2, can be detected. According to the learning model, an individual's 'physical context' is one of the contexts that influence people's learning experience. For KFAM, placing 'art' in one's familiar setting could contribute to the overall learning experience, as the museum audience selects physical contexts to visit, as 'distance' is one of the considerations for people when deciding where to spend their free time (Falk and Dierking, 2000: 57). KFAM exhibits at local venues that the local residents visit as part of their daily life increase the citizens' access to art. However, as the museum has failed to assess how the changing physical context has helped learning about art, therefore the depth and quality of learning is difficult to measure.

Museum education appears to be a facilitation of museums with *or* without the meddling of the government policy. In retrospect of all the mobile museum projects carried out by the art museums in China and Taiwan, KFAM is closer to a loan exhibition/service in comparison to the nature of the mobile museum project organised by NTMOFA, and the mobile museum project of GDMOA is again different from the other two. This demonstrates the individuality of the museums in planning and organising their educational activities to correspond to their own social circumstances, as each museum is situated in its own *field* with specific resources and social agents that struggle for power and capital. Hence, the *field* of museum education of each case study museum is individually recognised. How the *field* of each institution is constituted and structured will be discussed further in Chapters 7 and 8.

- Loan exhibitions/services

The rationale of loan exhibitions is comparable to mobile museums as both are outreach services of museum resources. The only difference between these two types of service is that some loan exhibitions involve the generation of economic resources for the institutions. In this practice, museums generally have a power of choice regarding the organisations to which the exhibitions are loaned. Take the Kaohsiung Fine Arts Museum as an example,

which chooses to loan out its collections for temporary display to places such as local city councils and hospitals. The receiving institutions are required to pay a small fee in return for the loan of the collections, transport and insurance. Comparable to loan exhibitions are the teaching services provided by museum educators or curators at selected educational institutions. The services which are provided/loaned by the museums aim at the dissemination of knowledge through the museum staff. For instance, in order to bridge the gap between museum exhibitions and their audience, GDMOA holds lectures at local universities, given by the museum educators, curators or artists, depending on the major of the students and the theme of the lecture (Liu Duanling, Interview: 22/09/2008). This approach is also adopted by NTMOFA, whereby the museum staff provide lectures themed on Taiwanese art for literacy classes and general knowledge courses at a local university. In contrast to the lectures held by GDMOA as out-of-school, extra-curricular activities, the lectures organised by NTMOFA are part of the school modules, so the students are obliged to take them (Wang Wanju, Interview: 03/09/2008).

- Art/training classes

The last educational service provided by museums in China and Taiwan to the local community comprises on-site art classes for the general public or classes specifically designed for children's art education. An example for each of the two different types of art class will be illustrated in the following. To provide art education to the local community, the Taipei Fine Arts Museum offers art classes for a small fee to Taipei citizens both on weekdays and at weekends. These classes are intended for art learners at various levels and of different ages. There are three terms of art classes per year; each term, the museum attracts around 1,000 students to register for the programme (Chuan Yuanwei, Interview: 10/09/2008). Since December 2009, these classes have been replaced by lectures on artistic appreciation related to a variety of contemporary issues. The original space for the Citizen's Art Classes is being transformed into a space for children's art education, which was opened in late 2011 (TFAM, 2010). In comparison to the art classes of TFAM, those of the Training Centre at the Guangdong Museum of Art incur tuition fees. The classes are only for pre-school children and schoolchildren aged between 7 and 15. They include

calligraphy, sketching and drawing at different levels, and are only run at weekends when the participants are not at school. The Director of the Training Centre, Li Xuhong (Interview: 20/09/2008), notes that, under the one-child policy, these art classes are exceptionally popular with parents in the region, as it is considered an incomparable experience to learn art in a museum setting, as the content of the classes synchronises with the museum exhibitions.

The museums' art classes, mentioned above, are a means of generating funds. Based on the observation of the five case study museums, the study discovered that the art classes do not appear to be part of the educational provision of the two national museums; however, they are popular with the local museums in the study. Both the Taipei Fine Arts Museum and the Guangdong Museum of Art provide art learning opportunities in a class-based setting. The only difference between them is that one is for adult education and the other for schoolchildren. According to the activities which the researcher observed at the Guangdong Museum of Art, some of the activities aim at giving the participants a creative experience, although, the pedagogy used is distinguishable from that employed in western museums. All of the classes provide hands-on experience, although the participants were not encouraged to be involved in a meaning-making process or dialogue with the programme leader. Learning which fits into the constructivist framework suggested in Chapter 2 cannot be found in the educational activities at GDMOA. The learning approach reflects the style of learning in Chinese schools where there is often a lack of creativity and interactions between the teacher and learners. For instance, in an art class for pre-school children that the researcher observed on the 21st of September in 2008, the teacher, Huang Zijun, showed the students storybooks containing drawings of a famous Chinese illustrator, Jimmy, while introducing the materials and techniques that the illustrator employs (see Figure 19). This was followed by the distribution of an A4 sized photocopy of Jimmy's drawing to each of the students which the students started to copy onto a blank sheet of paper with a black pen which they had been given. Near the end of the class, the students who had finished copying the drawing were encouraged to add grey shading to their drawing using the ink, water and brushes provided on the table.

[Figure 19] Art class at GDMOA
Photo: Y. J. Chen

The other art class (see Figure 20), observed by the researcher on the 20th of September in 2010, was organised for children aged between 7 and 10. The students were led by the class leaders to the galleries to see the works of the Guangdong Triennial. The idea was for the students to select an artwork as the basis for their work and develop their own drawings based on what they see. There were few instructions provided to the students or conversations to stimulate their thoughts or creativity. The participants were left to create their own work of art (Observation notes: 21/09/2008).

[Figure 20] Educational activity at GDMOA
Photo: Y. J. Chen

4.4.2 Museum education in community-based cultural projects

- Community Infrastructure Establishment and Local Cultural Centres

In both China and Taiwan, community-based cultural projects have been conducted for the past decade. These projects mainly focus on community regeneration, community cohesion and local tourism. In Taiwan, a project named '社區總體營造' (*Shequ zongti yingzao*,

Community Infrastructure Establishment or Community Totality Management) was initiated in 1994, with the objective 'to construct a sense and ideology of community totality through the community's participation in public affairs, and in further creating a sense of belongingness' (Government Information Office, 2008). This project was re-addressed in 2000 as one of the six general directions in the government's cultural policy (Cheng, 2004). The objective of this project is to discover the cultural resources which belong to the local communities by restoring the local heritage, compiling historical and literacy data, and ultimately regenerating communities by enhancing tourism and the economy. Another project of the Community Infrastructure Establishment is to establish locally-based museums named '地方文化館' (*Difang wenhuaguan*, Local Cultural Centres). These local cultural centres are themed on local history, industry and the arts to preserve the local culture whilst also supporting tourism and economy. It is a local-government-led cultural project for constructing cultural centres with local resources for a balanced cultural provision between the major cities and the regions. The cultural centres represent the local characteristics and traditions with the aim of constructing a shared cultural community while also presenting and promoting the regions to tourists. Although the general term for this project is 'local cultural centres', in reality, the establishments take the form of provision of small, local museums, ecological parks (eco-museums), and memorial halls in the memory of or to claim merit for the prominent local elites. The local cultural centres are, to some extent, distinguishable from museums. The National Development Initiatives (2009) defined them as follows:

> museums are where cultural relics are exhibited and heritage which belongs to the civilisation of human beings is preserved. However, except insofar as they facilitate education and provide entertainment, [the purpose of] local cultural centres [is to] sustain local culture and regenerate communities.

For tourism, local cultural centres provide an opportunity for tourists to learn about the local characteristics, history and industry. According to the NDI, local cultural centres accelerate human relationships, enhance quality of life and promote the bonding with community values, to the advantage of the community (ibid).

As a local cultural centre, the Gold Ecological Park is an example which is comparable to the concept of the eco-museum (Figure 21). The museum was established in 2004 in Jinguashi, a mountain town in Reuifang Township. The town was a major location for gold mining in the early 20th century. Today, the museum preserves the ecological landscape and the mining culture. By engaging the community in the museum project, the museum assists the community in constructing collective, shared memories (Gold Ecological Park, 2009). In addition to the main site of the museum, as shown in Figures 22 and 23, the original sites, such as the Gold Refining Building and the Benshan Fifth Tunnel, have been preserved as part of the ecological park. The local people are encouraged to become involved in stimulating local development. With the community as the foundation, their participation in community-based cultural redevelopment helps to promote the unity of the community. Drawing on a western perspective, O'Regan (1992) indicates that the policy development of the state seeks to defend or restore the community from the point of view of disadvantaged recipients or those who are excluded from such policies. The same concept is discussed in Rowse' work, *Arguing the Arts* (1985), as an example of arts policy in the Australian context supporting community arts, social equity and community involvement.
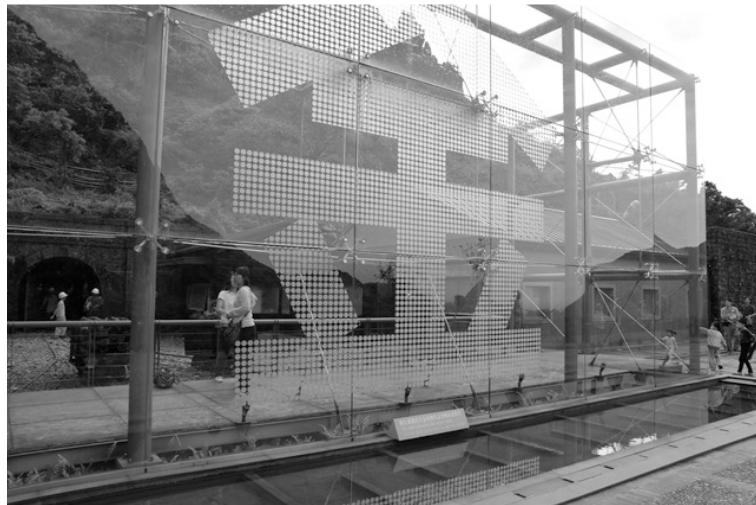
[Figure 21] The Museum of Gold (the main site of the Gold Ecological Park)
Photo: Y. J. Chen

[Figure 22] Gold Refining Building
Photo: Y. J. Chen

[Figure 23] Benshan Fifth Tunnel
 Photo: Y. J. Chen

- Integrated Cultural Spots

In China, constructing Integrated Cultural Spots (*Zhonghe wenhua zhan*, 綜合文化站) is on the agenda of the Chinese government in order to expand the cultural provision to the local communities in central and western China, where less cultural contact can be found. This project was first proposed in the early 1980s, readdressed in the 1990s, and remains in the government's cultural plans for the future (Ministry of Culture, 1997, 2006a). In the current project, major activities such as broadening the radio and television services for public communication, providing public cinema screenings in villages, increasing cultural engagement by providing mobile services, such as mobile exhibitions or performances and library services, and building or reconstructing approximately 250,000 cultural spots, were being undertaken to broaden cultural services (State Council, 2005; Ministry of Culture, 1992, 2006b). Although, by 2005, 34,593 cultural spots had been constructed, covering ninety-seven percent of the villages in China, there were still 26,712 villages without integrated cultural spots or with an integrated cultural spot with less than fifty square meters of floorage (Ministry of Culture, 2007). As a result of the government's over-emphasis on economic progress and social development of the 1980s, there was insufficient funding and personnel allocated to this project. The vast area to be covered, considering the population and dimension of the country, is another cause for the failure of popularising the

cultural facilities in rural China (Ministry of Culture, 1997). The Ministry of Culture has announced its goal to allocate more funding to this project to ensure that there would be an integrated cultural spot for each village by 2010 (Xinhua News, 2009).

4.5 Conclusion

Through the arguments outlined by this study in this and the previous chapter, it is understood that, in both China and Taiwan, government policy on education, culture and the local community is, to some degree, politically fashioned. The interests of the political parties and the state should not be excluded when considering the initiatives behind the policies about the educational and cultural rights of the general public. The change in government policy has had an impact on the cultural practice in both China and Taiwan, and the impact of government policy on cultural affairs has changed over time. Cultural affairs and education in the past were linked to the coercive power imposed by the authoritarian governments for the consent of the population. Although culture is associated with the government objectives and politics for estimated outcomes, the way in which the government objectives are realised may have provided extra room for museum practice, as the study of the analysis chapters shows in the following parts of the thesis. In recent years, the cultural policy of both China and Taiwan has become increasingly inclusive, seeking to address the cultural accessibility of the minority immigrants, and the equal representation of the culture of ethnic minorities and aboriginal groups.

In both China and Taiwan, cultural establishments and the educational role of art museums are intertwined with government policies for certain ends. How museum education is governmentalised depends on the *needs* of each society as perceived by the state and the subsequent government initiatives for cultural affairs. Since the opening up of China in the late 1970s, the country's economy was the primary concern of the government, whereas the next agenda followed by the economic progression is the utilisation of culture for specific objectives. Currently, in China, the educational role of museums has been associated with their facilitation of the promotion of patriotic education and red tourism. In these state-led projects, museum education acts as a resource to be utilised for knowledge dissemination.

Museums as cultural institutions are cultural bureaucracies through which the state objectives can be implemented. This is comparable to the way in which culture is fashioned in Taiwan, as the community-based cultural projects and enhancement of the awareness of multi-culturalism there contribute to the government's goal of identity formation and consolidation.

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┌──────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐
│ Schoolchildren,│     │ Museum education,│   │ Cultural policy,│    │              │
│ civil servants,│ ──▶ │ museum-school │ ──▶ │ education policy,│ ──▶│  Museums     │
│ community      │     │ collaboration,│     │ community projects│   │              │
│ members, citizens│   │ community     │     │              │      │              │
│              │      │ engagement    │      │              │      │              │
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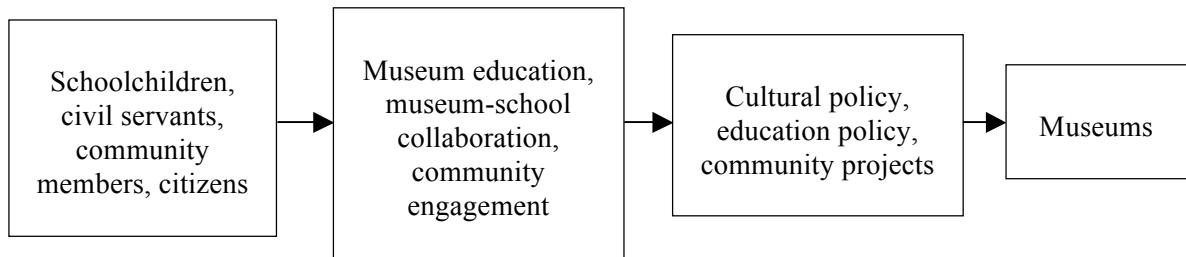
[Figure 24] The utilisation of museum education to achieve the government objective

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┌──────────────┐      ┌────────────────────────────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐
│ Government    │ ──▶ │ Government regulations, policies and projects│──▶│ Museum     │
│ initiatives   │     │                                    │      │ education    │
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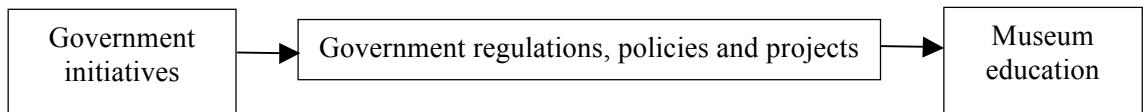
[Figure 25] Museum education as an output of government initiatives

By adopting Tony Bennett's sectional analysis on the governmentalisation of culture, cultural and education policy serves as a guideline for transforming the targeted populations (e.g. schoolchildren, civil servants, community members, and the general public) by adopting certain techniques (e.g. museum education, museum-school collaboration, and community engagement). Museums, therefore, are cultural technologies and part of the governmental programmes under the regulation of government policies. The detailed adoption of Bennett's concept of museum education in China and Taiwan is illustrated in Figure 24. This diagram generalises the instrumentality of museum education examined in

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this chapter. It demonstrates that government initiatives and purposes are considered the major input at one end, and museum education practice is placed at the other end, as it implements the government objectives to achieve the goals set out by the government. In between these two ends, regulation, policies and government projects are the driving forces behind museum education (see Figure 25). This does not necessarily mean that all museum education practices are state-driven and oriented by government aims. The educational practices and provisions of museums are influenced by other museums, both domestic and overseas ones. Furthermore, museum education practice is affected by the financial circumstances and current state of the institutions. In essence, museum education in China and Taiwan is mainly regulated by the state; however, other influences on education practice, as variables, must be taken into account in order to examine the roles of museum education in a comprehensive manner. This concern will be dealt with in a greater detail in Chapters 6 and 7, where the theories of Pierre Bourdieu will be adopted to examine the *field* of museum education, which means that the power relations between the state and culture will not only be analysed from a top-down perspective but also in an attempt to understand the other influences and forces which are currently affecting the roles of museum education.

Chapter 5. Power Relations: Between the State, the Cultural Sector and Museums

5.1 Introduction

In *Informing Cultural Policy: The Research and Information Infrastructure*, Schuster (2002) examines the relations between the government, public administration, ministries and cultural agencies. This chapter adopts Schuster's employment of the Foucauldian model of governmentality with the aim of understanding the role of the governmental agencies in cultural provision, and the relations between the state and cultural infrastructures at the national, regional and local levels. The chapter argues that the power relations between the case study museums and their governing bodies in China and Taiwan today are better explained by the Foucauldian model of power. This is especially reflected in the circumstances of China. Although a communist state, its power relations of museum practice cannot be simply explained by the Gramscian model, as the dispersal of power, authority and resources can be found. The study argues that, in both China and Taiwan, in the cultural practice, for state power to be exercised, diverse institutions of the state are targeted as the institutions of power, which ensures the maintenance of production relations and the origins of bio-politics as the techniques of power presented at every level of the social body for the calculated management of the populace (Foucault, 1998: 141). The procedure, analyses, reflections, calculations and tactics of the institutions allow the exercise of a very specific, albeit complex, form of power to target its target population. The study argues that power is circulated diffusely and enacted at every level of society; as Foucault (2003: 244) argues, besides coming from a centralised location with a legitimate form, power is enacted through several other locations in the local, regional and material institutions.

Mason (2006: 23) states that the embracing of the issues and ideas developed within cultural theory/new museology and the ensuing acknowledgement of the political nature of museums have led to increased attention being paid to questions about the relationship between the government, museums, and cultural policy. Such attention has been

particularly influenced by the work of the French philosopher and historian, Michel Foucault. Bennett (2007: 615) notes the need for an ascending analysis of power addressed by Foucault (2003: 30), as the analysis of power should begin with its infinitesimal mechanisms and then one should explore how these mechanisms of power have been and are invested, colonised, and used by the increasingly general mechanisms and forms of overall domination. Latour (2005: 64, cited in Bennett, 2007: 615) suggests that power has to be understood as the final result of a process, and power and domination have to be made up and composed. Hence, the focus of this chapter is placed on the mechanisms of power in order to understand how power is transmitted through government apparatuses and front line practice. A line of command from the central or local government through the Ministry of Culture or Cultural Bureaus to the case study museums can be found through the interpretation of the diagrams which explain the power relations of the case study museums with their government bodies. The line of command from the individual to the group e.g. a ministry civil servant to a Museum Director and the senior management team will be addressed in the next two chapters, where the power relations involved in the 'field' of museum education at each case study museum will be examined. The first half of this chapter explores an analysis of the cultural sectors in China and Taiwan, providing diagrams to illustrate the power relations between the cultural apparatuses, government authorities and the state power. The study examines the power relations of the cultural sectors through undertaking a diagrammatical analysis to understand how the cultural institutions are regulated at different levels of governance. The study will then be split into two levels: the central and local governments, to narrow down the analysis of the power relations in the selected case study museums. Through making a closer inspection of the relationships between the governing bodies, related agencies and museums, this part of the chapter attempts to compare the power relations of museums of diverse scales and at different government levels. Finally, the chapter draws upon the cultural policy models proposed by the western researchers, Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey (1989), in *Who's to Pay for the Arts: The International Search for Models of Support,* to explore how the arts as a region of culture are regulated by different policy objectives and funding systems. This introduction to the models of cultural policy will be accompanied by discussions of the

current models adopted in China and Taiwan, which will inform the argument of this chapter.

5.2 Power Relations in the Cultural Sectors of China and Taiwan

The following section of the chapter examines the power relations of the cultural sector in China and Taiwan, respectively, to identify how the central and local governments regulate the cultural sector, and how much authority these cultural agencies possess. The two diagrams in this section demonstrate the power relations between the cultural sector and the case study museums in China and Taiwan. In the diagrams, the museums are chosen to illustrate their relationships with other cultural apparatuses and their governing bodies. The presentation of the diagrams is followed by an analysis of the decision and policy-making power of the local governments, which provides an assessment of the recent structural reforms in the cultural administrative system in each location.

5.2.1 *Central government*

The provision of cultural services is divided into two general government levels in China, as shown in Figure 26 – the central level which is dominated by the Ministry of Culture, and the local levels which are supervised by various levels of local government. The former oversees the major decisions and directions of cultural and artistic undertakings, such as drafting and stipulating policies and regulations, and the development of strategies, while the latter exercises authority over administration and policy-implementation with the consent of the Local People's Congress. For local cultural affairs, the local government at each level possesses a cultural bureau which is responsible for the arts and cultural undertakings in the area covered by their jurisdiction. The major task of the local governments in China is to seek to fulfil the objectives implementing the strategies and plans proposed by the central government or a higher level of authority. The cultural institutions at both the central and local levels are overseen by the State Council - the highest administrative and executive organ in the country. As the State Council reports to the National People's Congress, the highest legislative organ, the regulation of the cultural

sectors, institutions and organisations in the country derive from the highest central level; namely, the National People's Congress. For the local areas, the local cultural institutions and organisations are regulated by the Local People's Congress, as well as at the national level. Although the local cultural apparatuses are regulated by the authorities at both the central and local levels, in terms of administration and management, the central government does not interfere with the local governments. This allows each level of local government to be responsible for their own cultural institutions in order to ensure that the plans and policies are applied efficiently.
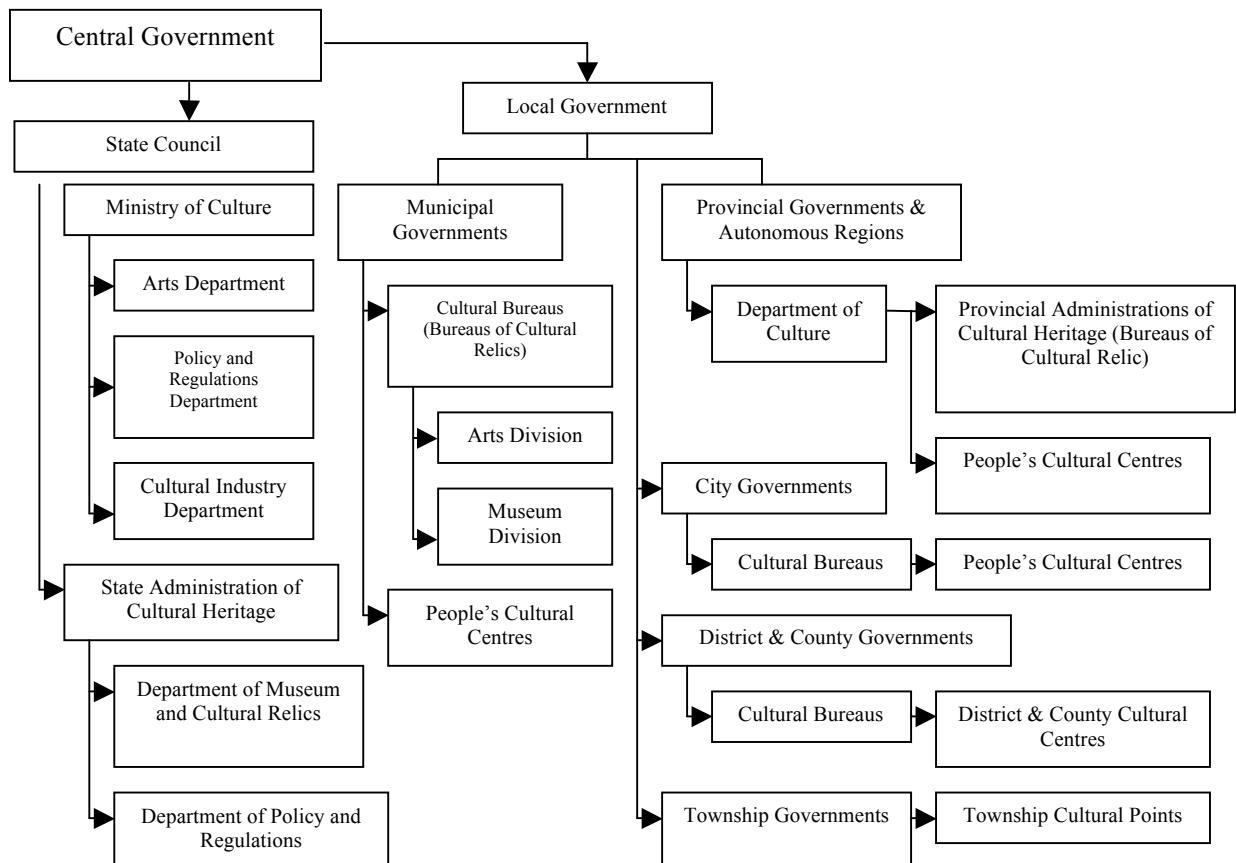
[Figure 26] The power relations of the cultural sectors in China

As shown in Figure 26, in the central government, the State Administration of Cultural Heritage is responsible for museum- and cultural heritage-related research, exchange and publishing. The national museums and performance groups are affiliated to the Ministry of Culture. At the local level, the responsibility for museum affairs and the cultural heritage is combined under the Cultural Bureau or Bureau of Cultural Relics. They are responsible for heritage and museum affairs, such as planning and development, as well as decisions on policy, regulation and law. Under a Cultural Bureau, a subdivision, named the Museum Division or Cultural Relics Division is entrusted with dealing with issues related to the local museums and heritage. According to the diagram, museums which are supervised by the State Administration of Cultural Heritage are mainly history museums and memorial sites. Art museums, such as the National Art Museum of China, at the central level, are regulated by a different management system, which is the Art Division of the Arts Department of the Ministry of Culture. This line of command from the central government to a national museum overseen by the central government is explained in Figure 26. In comparison with museums at the central level, which are supervised by the State Administration of Cultural Heritage and the Ministry of Culture respectively, depending on their nature, local museums for arts and cultural heritage at the level of city government are overseen by the provincial Administration of Cultural Heritage or local Cultural Bureaus.

The power relations in the cultural system employed in Taiwan is comparable to the model applied in China in terms of the division between the central and local levels of authorities responsible for the policy decisions and implementation. The major difference between China and Taiwan is the attachment of the Ministry of Education to the cultural sector. In Figure 27, the Ministry of Education and the Council for Cultural Affairs (CCA) are the two branches that are subordinate to the Executive Yuan (comparable to the State Council in China). Each contains subdivided institutions dealing with cultural affairs. The two institutions that report to the Ministry of Education are: the National Chang Kai Shek (CKS) Cultural Centre, which organises and hosts national and international arts events in the spheres of music and performing arts and is regarded as the most important base for live art performances in Taiwan, while the authority of the other, the National Taiwan Arts Education Centre, lies in researching, guiding and promoting arts education for the general

public. To distinguish between the functions of the two, the former engages with performing and live arts as a renowned venue, while the latter is not only a site for arts performance but also involved in researching and drafting arts policy in co-operation with the Ministry of Education.
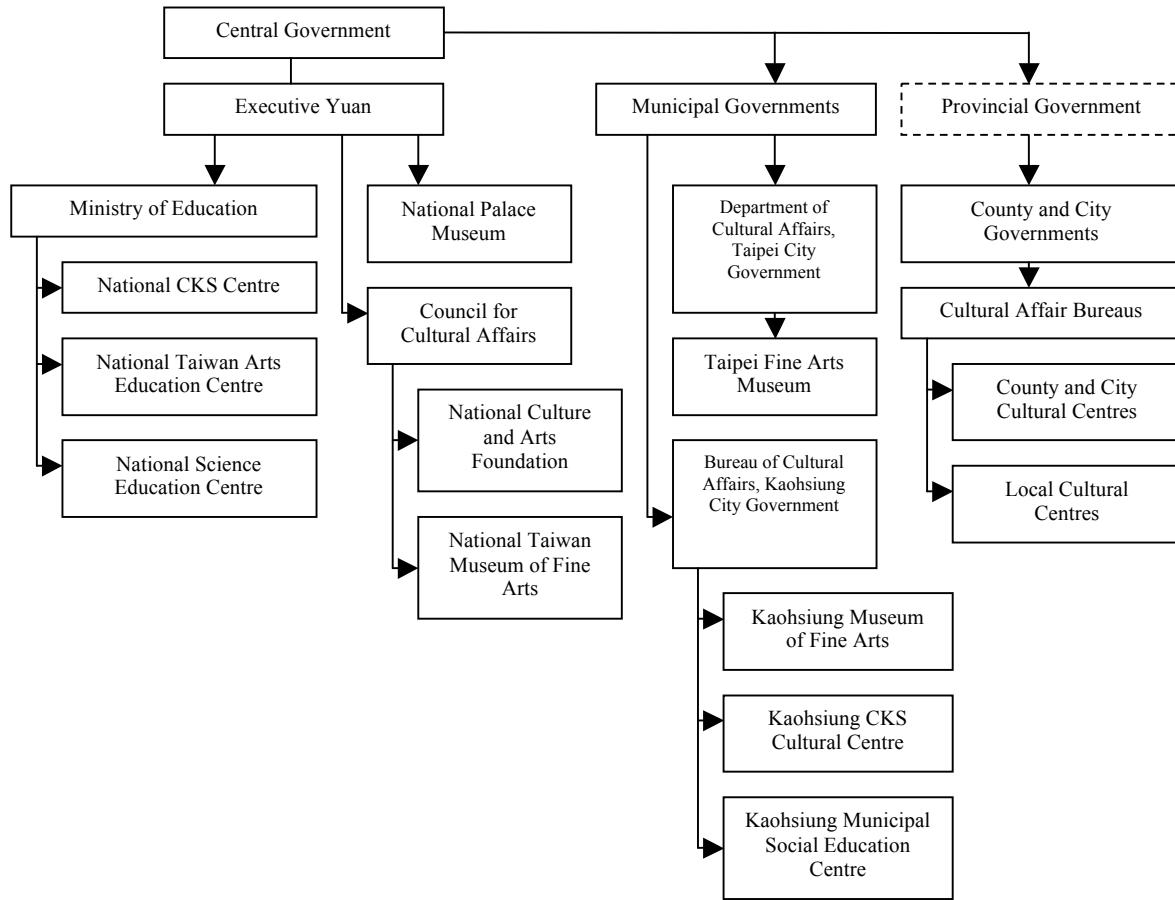
[Figure 27] The power relations of the cultural sectors in Taiwan

The dashed box stating 'provincial government' represents the provincial government established in Taiwan in 1947, supervised by the Executive Yuan as the highest administrative organ at the local level (see Figure 27). Since the promulgation of the 台灣

省政府功能業務與組織調整 (*Taiwan shengzhengfu gongneng yewu yu zuzhi tiaozheng*, Regulation on the Adjustment of the Practice and Structure of the Provincial Government of Taiwan) in 1998, the authority of the provincial government was removed by the central government. The provincial government had become an apparatus of the central government that oversees the county and city governments (Taiwan Provincial Government, 2009). As a result of the withdrawal of the power of the provincial government, today, the local governments are directly administered by the central government; namely, the Executive Yuan.

With regard to the branches of the Executive Yuan, the Council for Cultural Affairs is parallel to the Ministry of Culture in China, having been in operation since 1981, and accountable for cultural policy-making, directing cultural plans and structural reforms. The sector controls and distributes government funding to the public cultural and arts institutions. Under the supervision of the Council for Cultural Affairs (CCA) is the National Culture and Arts Foundation (NCAF), which is run by a directorate and a supervisory board composed of government representatives, scholars, professionals and artists. It supports, sponsors, awards and promotes arts and cultural activities and organisations (Han, 2002). The NCAF is comparable to Arts Council England (ACE) as an organisation that is independent to some degree of the government and distributes government funding for arts-related activities and organisations. ACE is a national development agency for the arts in England; it is funded by the government and intended to be independent (Sinclair, 1995: 395). Although it has ostensible independence in distributing government funding for the arts, working at arm's length from the government, in reality, the organisation is not entirely detached from the government agenda. In retrospection of the fifty years of development of ACE, Sinclair (ibid: 396) stated in the 1990s that "the arm was no longer at full length: it was being twisted. Grants were being earmarked for government policy". Hutchinson (1982: 151) explains that "for whatever the extent of the Arts Council's power to act independently, its place as part of a governing group remains unaffected". ACE today is accountable to Parliament for its activities and expenditure. The Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) sets out in broad terms what ACE does and appoints the Chair of ACE. Similar to the National Culture and Arts

Foundation in Taiwan, the NCAF is not fully independent of its governing body, the Council for Cultural Affairs, as the Directors and supervisors of NCAF are selected by the CCA (NCAF, 2009). To some degree, both ACE and NCAF are not quite autonomous from their governing bodies. The only difference between the two is that the financial resources of the NCAF involve private in addition to government funding.

5.2.2 *Local government*

- Decision and policy-making power

In the local governments in Taiwan, the Department of Cultural Affairs of the municipal governments and the Cultural Affairs Bureaus of the county and city governments promote public education and cultural activities in the regions. These agencies are comparable to the Council for Cultural Affairs at the central level, although they are uninvolved in the making of policies and regulations. Although the divisions of the bureaus differ, in general, there are divisions for visual arts, performing arts, cultural heritage, cultural development and library information. Currently, in Taiwan, county or city cultural centres are the forerunners of the cultural affairs bureaus, although some of the latter were changed to cultural centres after they had been established. Today, only in Taichung county and Tainan city can the coexistence of both organisations be found. The local cultural bureaus are only involved in the implementation of cultural policy, subject to legislative issues related to the local cultural affairs carried out by the local councils, the members of which are elected by the citizens of the region. Therefore, the apparatus for their administration are detached from the legislative bodies in the governance of the cultural affairs at the local level in Taiwan.

Dissimilarities can be found between China and Taiwan with regard to their regulative systems at the local level. In Taiwan, local cultural bureaus are constituted for the administration of cultural affairs and regulated by the local councils and the Council for Cultural Affairs of the central government. With the establishment of the National Culture and Arts Foundation, the administrative organisation for cultural undertakings has been separated from the regulative sector – i.e. the government agencies for policy and

regulation have been detached from those for cultural administration. However, this system cannot be found in China. In China, local cultural bureaus or cultural departments are the major cultural organisations responsible for both regulation and implementation, as is the Ministry of Culture at the central level. This indicates that the functions of regulation and direction are possessed by the same organisations for both the central and local governments. However, this does allow the local governments to exercise enhanced control and autonomy over local affairs as, in China, local governments are overseen by the central government. In the clauses of the Constitution, it is stated that the State Council has overall control over the local governments, and the local governments as the lower levels of the administrative organs should follow the leadership of the central government (Kuang, 2007: 39). That is, although the local governments possess authority over cultural regulations and administration, their activities are still under the power and control of the central government. For instance, in the city of Guangzhou, although a cultural bureau is in charge of cultural regulations for the region, the organisation itself is regulated by the policies of the local government at the level above it and by the central government at the same time.

In comparison, the cultural apparatuses in China and Taiwan appear to show diversity in terms of their role, power and authority. In considering the operation of the cultural bureaus in both China and Taiwan, differences between the authority for policy-making of these comparable organisations in these two locations can be noted. Cultural affairs bureaus in Taiwan are the implementers of cultural policies whereas, in China, they enforce cultural plans assigned by the central or higher levels of local government, and are meanwhile accountable for the policy-making with regard to local cultural affairs. The nature of the local cultural institutions is another distinguishable aspect demonstrating the dissimilarities between the purpose and function of the cultural and arts centres in the local regions. The 'Local Cultural Centre Programme' is a cultural project, launched in 1994 by the Council for Cultural Affairs to construct cultural centres locally with local characters or specialities in Taiwan. In 2002, a six-year project was launched for the development of Local Cultural Centres, financed by the Council for Cultural Affairs and local governments (Government Information Office, 2002). The Cultural Centres utilise historical or unused public spaces with local historical, cultural, art, customs and ecology as the content to promote local

culture in response to the slogan of the Council for Cultural Affairs for Local Cultural Centres – '發現在地文化之美' (*Faxian zaidi wenhua zhimei*, Discovering the Beauty of Local Cultural Centres) (Council for Cultural Affairs, 2010). While the Cultural Centres in Taiwan are focused on the local cultural heritage, 群众艺术中心 (*Qunzhong yishu zhongxin*, People's Arts Centres) in China are venues devoted to organising and launching cultural and arts activities. The aim behind the regional people's cultural centres is to enlarge the general public's engagement with cultural and arts activities, and to promote the arts of the local regions in China.

- Restructuring the system of cultural administration

The central topic in the cultural fields of both China and Taiwan in recent years has been the reorganisation of the cultural administrative systems. In China, the structural reform of the administrative system is associated with the changing relations between the state and cultural institutions, especially at the local levels. A series of administrative reforms were initially undertaken at the launch of the 改革开放政策 (*Gaige kaifang zhengce*, Open Door Policy). The Open Door Policy officially began in 1978, when the decision was taken to increase contacts with the rest of the world to promote economic growth through increasing foreign trade and investment (Bucknall, 1989: introduction). The '政府再造' (*Zhengfu zaizao*, Reinventing Government) movement of the 1990s reconstructed the relations between the government and citizenry, the government and the market, the government and enterprise, the government and society, the central and local governments, and so forth (ibid: 16). In a report by the Chinese President Jiang Zemin (1997: 34, cited in Worthley and Tsao, 1999: 752) to the 15th National Congress of the Communist Party of the People's Republic in 1997, the requirement for reinventing the Chinese government was stated:

> In accordance with the requirements of a socialist market economy, we need
> to alter the functions of the government and separate them from those of enterprises
> so that enterprises will be truly given the power with regard to production, operation
> and management. Following the principle of simplification,
> uniformity and efficiency in the reform, we shall establish a highly efficient, well-
> coordinated and standardized administrative system, with a view to improving its
> service to the people. The departments in charge of comprehensive economic

management should shift their functions to macroeconomic control, and specialized economic departments should be reorganized or reduced. We shall improve the work of the departments supervising law enforcement and cultivate and expand the social intermediary organizations. We shall deepen the reform of the administrative system, statutorily delimiting the structures, functions, size and working procedures of the state organs and ensuring that their size is kept within the authorized limits and that their redundant personnel are reduced.

All of these suggestions on streamlining the government organisations, downsizing the staff and privatising enterprises were aimed at enhancing the country's economy and competence in the sphere of global competition. In this reform, the state's management role was shifted 'from domination to governance' and 'from micro to macro-management'. Local governments, although in line with the central government, were out of synch with the local conditions (ibid: 573). A significant alteration was implemented in 1998 to reform the system of public administration (Lan, 1999). The rationale behind this was to improve the organisational performance and offer the local governments enhanced autonomy in managing local affairs, seeking to "de-link governmental agencies from running profit-making enterprises. […] divorcing the enterprises from operational bureaucratic control" (ibid: 32). Halpern (1992: 125-126) suggests that the post-Mao reform has fragmented the centralised and hierarchical Chinese bureaucracy, and greatly increased the dispersal of power, authority, and resources throughout the bureaucracy. Under the reform, the ministries and local units operate under the command of the top leadership while possessing fragmented authority by providing bargaining power between the supervisors and subordinate units. This is reflected in the expressions of the museum Directors and Heads of Education at the case study museums about how museums in China today perform as government branches to carry out government objectives. In responding to the government objective of broadening cultural access, the Director of the National Art Museum of China (Fan Dian, Interview: 19/10/2008) states:

> NAMOC works to broaden cultural accessibility for minorities. In the Education Department, we have activities for farmers, soldiers, children from rural areas and people with disabilities. […] Farmers and labourers may have been excluded from cultural access in China; they left home to work in the city and have become a new kind of 'homeless', namely the 'cultural homeless'. Therefore, NAMOC has a responsibility to provide access to cultural activities for them.

A comparable comment was made by the Head of Education, He Lin (Interview: 18/10/2008):

> Educational rights have been addressed by the government, such as the equal opportunity of learning for children who live in rural China and who form the minority. It is believed that educational opportunities should be equal and fair, regardless of who you are and where you live. NOMAC has been working on the concerns of the government by expanding the coverage of museum education.

Both the museum Director and the Head of Education mentioned the increased support of the government if NOMAC works on what is addressed by the Ministry of Culture. Fan Dian (Interview: 19/10/2008) indicates:

> The government has become supportive of us if we can show them the influence we have had; for example, an increased number of visitors. Visitor numbers have increased significantly since I took the role of museum Director. I would say that it is easier now for us to obtain funding if we need it.

He Lin (Interview: 18/10/2008) expresses that:

> The Ministry of Finance has undergone a transformation which calls for the more specific use of the funding. Now, NAMOC reports the activities that it will be doing when applying for the government funding. […] If the museum's exhibitions and educational activities are attached to the government's objectives, it is easier for the museum to receive funding from the government.

The statements by the museum officials reveal that the government intentions are now filtering through to front line practice. The study argues that the power of the Chinese state no longer solely functions to serve class interests and promote a certain ideology among the mass population. The state power is now intended to be exercised through government apparatus for what to be seen as the 'benefit' of the population while also rendering social management functions for the state government. For instance, acting in response to the government regulation on patriotic education, public museums, such as anthropological museums, war museums and memorial sites, are selected as the basis for patriotic education and are free to all (see Chapter 4).

Recently, a major project on the structural reform of the cultural system was undertaken by the Chinese government, which aimed to facilitate the efficient implementation of cultural policies. The reform involves aspects of the cultural administration and management, sources of finance, relationships between the state and cultural institutions, and non-profit and profit cultural institutions. In '进一步做好文化系统体制改革工作的意见' (*Jinyibu zuohao wenhuazitong tizhigaige gongzuo de yijian*, The Opinions on Furthering the Structural Reform of the Cultural System), it is stated that the government's management of the cultural administration should be shifted from a micro to a macro level system, from direct dominance to a broad administration over the cultural industry (Ministry of Culture, 2006b). The policy document states that the authority for finance and governance should be separated, namely to encourage the development of non-government cultural institutions and utilise government funding more diversely to support non-government cultural industries (State Council, 2005). Furthermore, nationally funded performing art groups, art schools, research centres and organisations have undertaken new approaches to their management by adopting an enterprise-like business management style, targeting the market for additional financial resources while at the same time obtaining financial support from the government. '政府扶持, 转换机制, 面向市场, 增强活力' (*Zhengfu fuchi, zhuanhuan jizhi, mianxiang shichang, zengqiang huoli*, government support, switching the approach, targeting the market, increasing vitality) – is the slogan of this structural reform (Ministry of Culture, 2006b).

Although it appears that culture is still centrally governed, regardless of to which level of government the institutions are affiliated, it is worth noting that arts and culture currently in China are regulated by both the state and government agencies, the private sector (arts groups and organisations) and the market. Within a certain framework, the influence of globalisation and the market economy has changed the way in which culture is regulated in China (Lai Guolong, personal communication, 19 July, 2010). Since Deng Xiaoping, China has moved away from radical Marxist socialism, and today pursues a path towards 'socialism with Chinese characteristics'. The origin of power appears to have changed from one origin of diffusely dispersed power, with a top-down direction to diversified subjects,

into the power model of Gramsci, based on the Foucauldian model of governmentality, with a move from domination to governance. Power is no longer devolved from the central government as the only source, as local governments and senior museum officials have been granted autonomy over public services. A senior museum official, the Director of the National Art Museum of China, Fan Dian (Interview: 19/10/2008), states that he himself, as a legal person, is "responsible for the museum and the museum has autonomy on what it is doing". He Lin (Interview: 18/10/2008), the Head of Education of the museum, notes: "there is no regulation imposed on our educational practice. The museum's senior officials and educators decide how we want to do our education". However, based on these statements, it is reasonable to question how much 'autonomy' the senior officials of the museum actually possess as both interviewees indicate the dependence of the museum on government funding by attaching its educational practice to what the government wishes to promote, such as equal opportunities for learning and patriotic education. It appears that, although museums are granted a certain degree of autonomy over their practice, as the interviewees mentioned, the museum objectives are evidently linked to the government agenda, as demonstrated by the quotations from the interviews with the museum officials above. Therefore, it is clear that the government intentions are indeed filtering through to the front line cultural practice in China.

In Taiwan, a parallel reform was undertaken; however, a slightly different approach was adopted than in China. The non-government cultural organisations and institutions are already in operation in Taiwan; therefore, alterations in the management system are substituted for the structural reform implemented in China. In contrast to the methods employed by the Chinese government, the Taiwanese government encourages privatisation within the public sector, seeking to attract private resources to support the management of the public sector and so improve the services and reduce the institutional costs. For instance, it is becoming popular for museums to contract out their internal commercial sections, such as bookshops, to professionals outside the museum sector. The other facet of the approach adopted in Taiwan is the unification of the authority over the management of cultural affairs. Museums in Taiwan are supervised by different higher departments of the central government, so the necessity for constituting a Ministry of Culture has been proposed in

order to provide a better communicative and administrative mechanism for the cultural sector.

In recent years, the idea of establishing either a Ministry of Culture and Sports, Ministry of Cultural Tourism or Ministry of Culture, Media and Tourism had been discussed, to replace the name and remit of the Council for Cultural Affairs (CCA). The plan shows that the economic profits generated by culture and tourism have been noted by the Taiwanese government. In addition to the promotion of the so-called 'high art', such as museum experiences and classical music, the endorsement of culture has been widened to embrace culture as an 'industry', including film, television, popular music and so forth, that can promote tourism for both economic and cultural ends. The aim of the Executive Yuan in replacing the CCA with a Ministry of Culture is to consolidate the management of cultural affairs. The initiative for having a Ministry of Culture originally aimed to merge the administrative and financial systems related to cultural affairs together; hence, the national cultural agencies can be supervised by the same governing body. The new Ministry of Culture is expected to take the form of an administrative corporation that will replace the traditional method of the management of the cultural apparatuses by either the government or the private sector. This is anticipated to produce an enterprise style of management that will increase expertise and efficiency in order to reduce government interference in cultural management (Huang, 2009: 94-95). As Taiwan's ruling power has shifted from the DPP to the KMT in March 2008, the timing for a proposal to unify the authority and funding for cultural affairs by founding a Ministry of Culture may have passed. Instead, the current new party's suggestion about the transformation of the Council for Cultural Affairs into the Ministry of Cultural Tourism may be fulfilled in the near future (Liberty Times, 2008).

5.3 A Closer Inspection: Power Relations in the Case Study Museums

In this section, the power relations of the case study museums in the cultural sector in China and Taiwan will be examined in order to identify the hierarchical position of the case study museums in the network of the power relations of the cultural sector in which they are situated. The case study museums are the National Art Museum of China and the

Guangdong Museum of Art in China, and the Taipei Fine Arts Museum, the National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts and the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts in Taiwan. In the following two subsections, the study disregards the differences between their geographical location in order to analyse the museums according to their scale and level of governance, seeking to magnify the scope of analysis to a micro-level as supplementary to the macro investigation of the cultural sectors at both the central and local levels, investigated previously.

5.3.1 *Locating the national museums: the National Art Museum of China (NAMOC) and the National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts (NTMOFA)*

- NAMOC
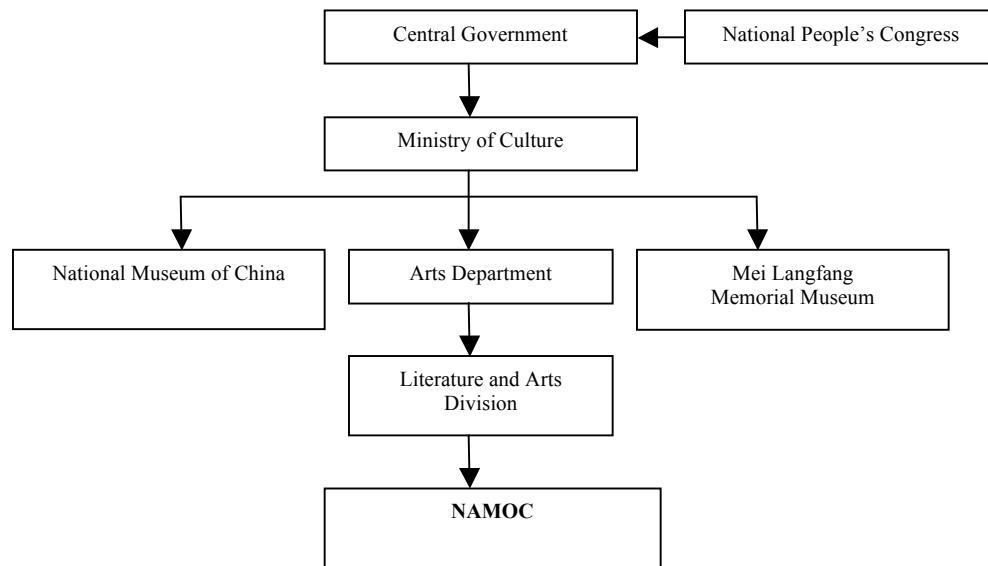
[Figure 28] Power relations of the National Art Museum of China

NAMOC is the only art museum at the national level in China. It is directly supervised by the Arts Division, Arts Department of the Ministry of Culture, Chinese Central Government, as shown in Figure 28. The Ministry of Culture is superintended by the

National People's Congress, and the funding of NAMOC derives from the central government following approval by the National People's Congress. The Palace Museum, the National Museum of China and the Mei Langfang Memorial Museum are the three museums under the supervision of the Ministry of Culture. In addition to these museums, there are 32 arts and cultural institutions and organisations, which are directly affiliated to the Ministry of Culture. The line of command of NAMOC comes from its governing bodies, which run from the Ministry of Culture of the central government through the Art Department and the Literature and Arts Division.

- NTMOFA

NTMOFA is the only national art museum in Taiwan, supervised by the Council for Cultural Affairs along with five other cultural institutions that focus on the history and art of Taiwan. Figure 29 shows that the national museums in Taiwan are overseen by one of two systems: the education system, namely the Ministry of Education, and the cultural system i.e. the Council for Cultural Affairs. Some of these national museums were established under the Provincial Government of Taiwan before 1999. Due to the downsizing of the provincial government, the names of these provincial museums were changed to 'national' museums accordingly.

As a result of the change in the ruling political party from Kuomintang (KMT) to the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) in 2000, the new national museums established after 1999 focus on the culture and science of 'Taiwan' as the principle of the DPP regarding cultural affairs is to showcase Taiwanese culture as opposed to the Chinese national identity that was emphasised previously by the KMT. As a national museum, the financial support of NTMOFA comes from the central government, the Executive Yuan, following the approval of the Legislative Yuan. As demonstrated in Figure 29, NTMOFA is regulated directly by the central government, the Executive Yuan, through the Council for Cultural Affairs.
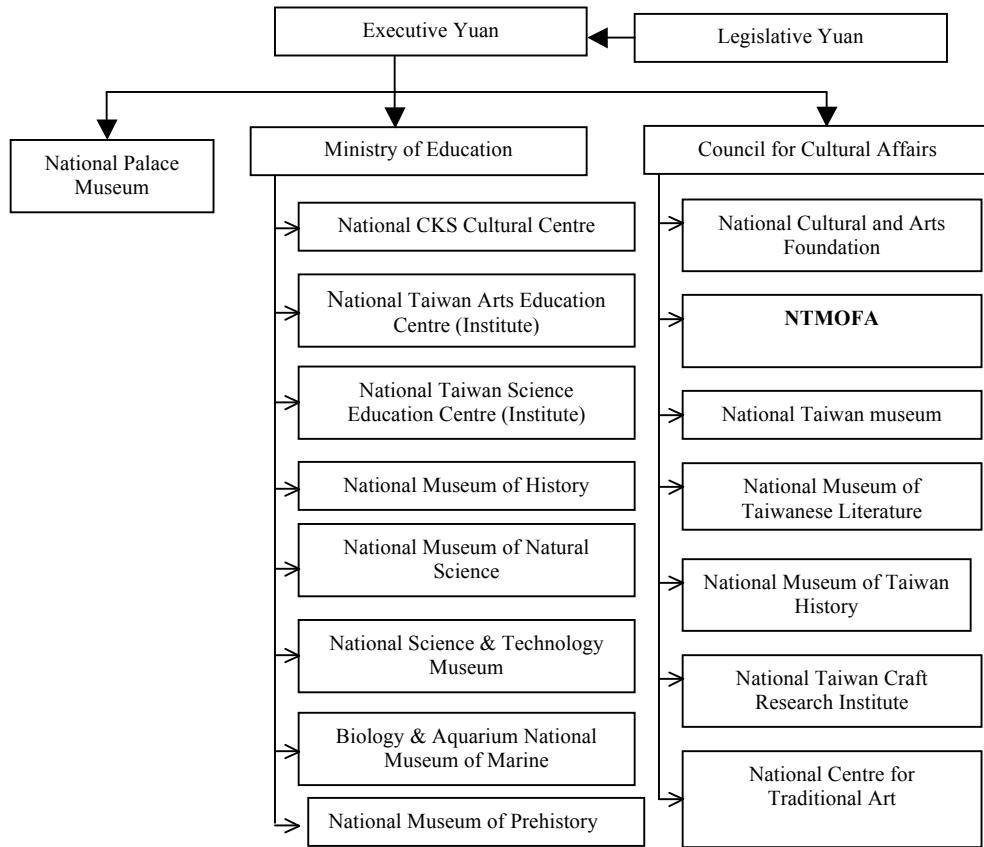
[Figure 29] Power relations of the National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts

5.3.2 *Locating the local museums: Guangdong Museum of Art (GDMOA), Taipei Fine Arts Museum (TFAM), and Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts (KMFA)*

In this sub-section, the location of the local museums in the case studies is examined vis-à-vis their power relations with their governing bodies, by assessing their location in the network of power relations within the cultural sector. A diagram of each museum will be presented to illustrate the power relations in which the museums are located. As there is one provincial museum and two municipal museums at the local level among the case studies, the diagram for GDMOA will be presented individually, while a comparison between the diagrams of the two municipal museums, TFAM and KMFA will be made.

- GDMOA

GDMOA is a provincial museum in Guangdong Province, China, located in the capital of Guangdong Province, Guangzhou city. It reports to the Bureau of Guangdong Cultural Relics, Department of Culture of the Guangdong Provincial Government. The Department of Culture implements the regulations and policies promulgated by the Provincial People's Congress whilst possessing the authority to draft regulations regarding the cultural affairs of Guangdong Province. The Department responds to and implements the cultural policies promulgated by the Ministry of Culture of the Central Government. Currently, Guangdong Cultural Relics supervises 95 museums with varied themes and scales, and 26 memorial halls that commemorate historical events or national heroes (Guangdong Cultural Relic, 2009).
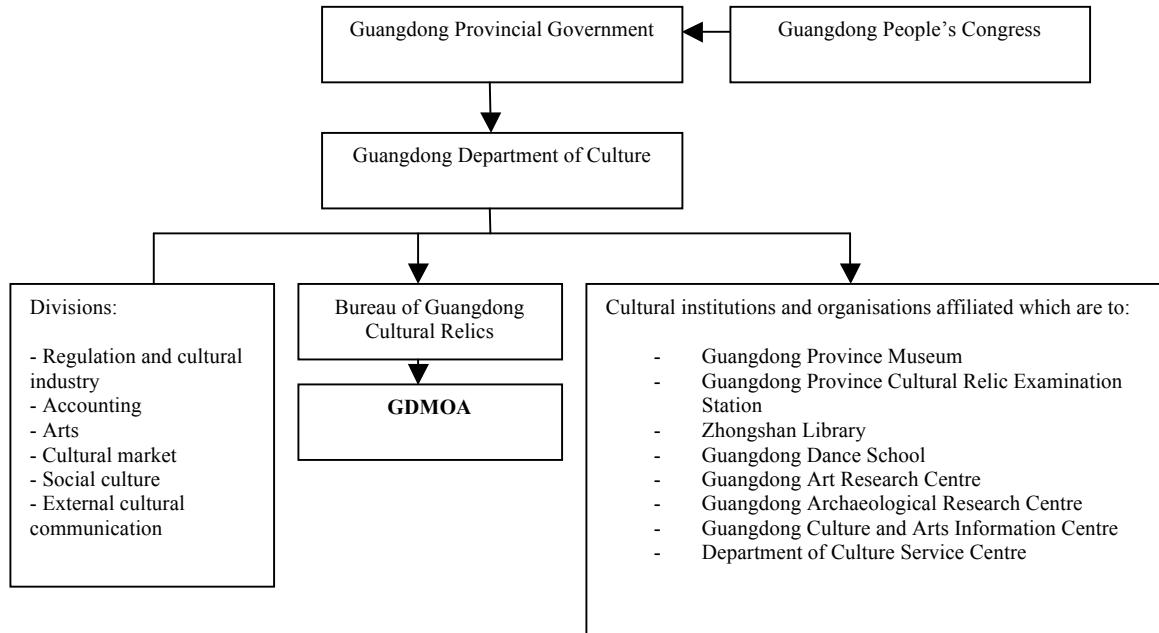
[Figure 30] Power relations of the Guangdong Museum of Art

The funding of GDMOA is derived from the Guangdong Provincial Government, following the approval of the People's Congress of Guangdong Province. Figure 30 illustrates the power relations between GDMOA and its governing bodies e.g. the Guangdong Provincial Government, the Guangdong Department of Culture, and the Bureau of Guangdong Cultural Relics. The diagram shows a straight line of command from the Guangdong Department of Culture of the Guangdong Provincial Government to GDMOA through the Bureau of Guangdong Cultural Relics. As a local museum, GDMOA implements policies issued by the provincial as well as the central governments, as it is stated in Article 110 of the Chinese Constitution: "the local people's government at different levels is responsible for reporting their work to the state administrative organs at the next higher level. The local people's government at different levels throughout the country comprises the state administrative organs under the unified leadership of the State Council and are subordinate to it" (National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China, 2004). That is, local governments possess authority over the cultural regulations and administration, but their activities are overseen by the central government.

- TFAM and KMFA

Both TFAM and KMFA are municipal museums in Taiwan. TFAM is a municipal museum of the Taipei City Government, supervised by the Department of Cultural Affairs of the City Government since 1999. In addition to TFAM, the Department of Cultural Affairs is responsible for the Taipei Symphony Orchestra, the Taipei Chinese Orchestra, the Taipei Cultural Centre and many other cultural institutions and organisations, as shown in Figure 31.
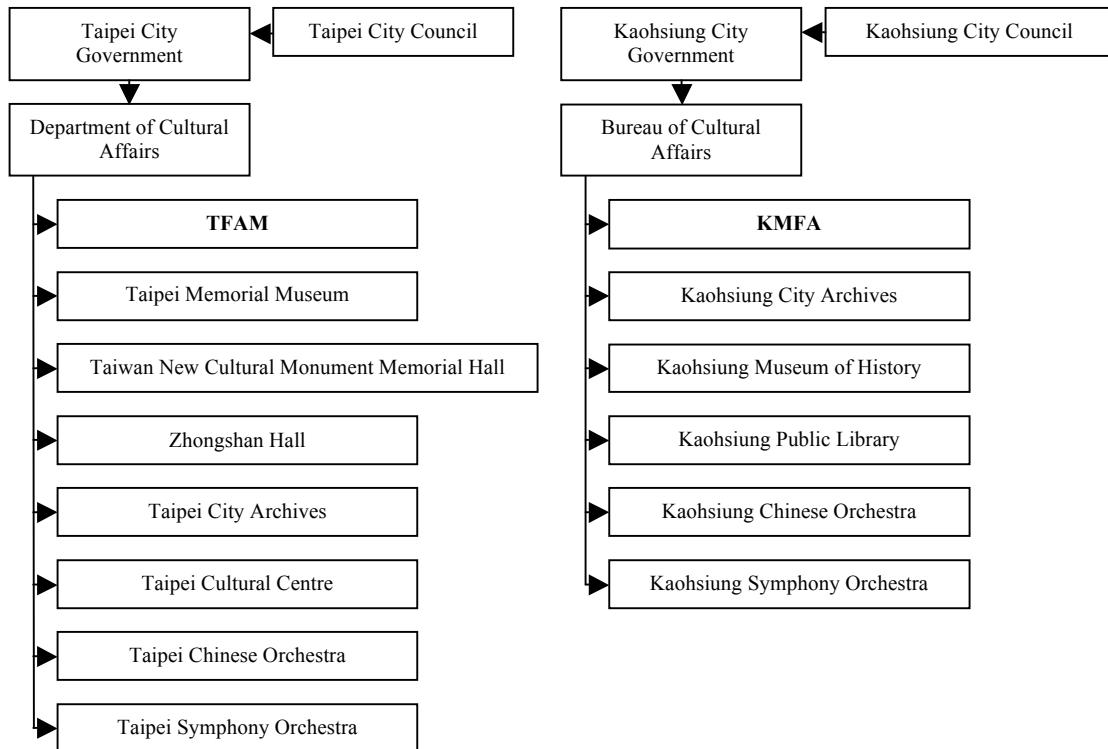
[Figure 31] Power relations of the Taipei Fine Arts Museum and the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts

Comparable to TFAM, as a municipal city, KMFA is overseen by the City Government of Kaohsiung and the Bureau of Cultural Affairs. The cultural institutions and organisations which are affiliated to the Bureau of Cultural Affairs are comparable to those which report to the Department of Cultural Affairs, Taipei City Government. The financial sources of the museums are derived from the city governments, through the approval of the city councils. Figure 31 shows that the systems for cultural administration are identical for both of the municipal museums in terms of their funding systems and governing bodies. Comparable to the local museum in China examined previously, local museums in Taiwan are overseen both by their local cultural bureaus of the municipal government and the central

government, since the local cultural bureaus are regulated by the local councils and the

Council for Cultural Affairs of the central government at the same time.

5.4 Cultural Policy Model

ROLE OF MODEL	WHERE USED	POLICY OBJECTIVE	FUNDING MECHANISM	STRENGTHS & WEAKNESSES
FACILITATOR	USA	Diversity	Tax expenditures and incentives	S: Diversity of funding sources W: Excellence not necessarily supported; valuation of tax costs; benefits for benefactors; calculation of tax costs
PATRON	UK, Australia	Excellence International standards	Arm's length Peer evaluation	S: Support for excellence W: Favours traditional elite art forms
ARCHITECT	France	Social welfare Industry assistance	Department and Ministry of Culture	S: Relief from box office dependence; secures training and career structure W: Creative directives lead to stagnation and resistance
ENGINEER	Former Soviet countries, Cuba, Korea	Political education National culture	Government ownership of artistic production	S: Focus creative energy to attain political goals W: Subservience; underground; counterintuitive outcomes

[Figure 32] Models for supporting the arts

This section employs the cultural policy models applied in the West for the analysis of the

models produced in China and Taiwan. In terms of the models adopted in China and

Taiwan, the conditions of the policy objective and the funding mechanisms cannot be

explained fully by one exclusive model adopted from the West, and certainly no identical

selection of models is identified between these two locations. The examples of the

definitions of the models of cultural policy employed in this section are based on Hillman-

Chartrand and McCaughey (1989) (Figure 32). This model was later adapted by Jennifer

Craik (2007) in her publication *Re-visioning Arts and Cultural Policy: Current Impasses

and Future Directions* for exploring cultural policy in the Australian context. These models

are exclusive and individual, according to the diverse policy objectives and funding

mechanisms which inform them. According to the models, there are four alternative roles

for the state: Facilitator, Patron, Architect and Engineer, each of which is represented by

the country or countries which best embody the model. However, the existence of different

models does not entail conflict between the models. In practice, one nation could be observed to adopt more than one model regarding the role of cultural policy and public support of the arts. Due to the changing structure and nature of the economy, the declining real resources available to the public sector and the rapid growth in the size and importance of the art industry, the convergence of different models has become a general trend (Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey, 1989: 62). Most especially, as suggested by Schuster (1985: 23), there has been a slow convergence between the Patron role embodied by the arm's length principle and the Architect model embodied by the Ministry of Culture in the 1990s.

Based on the models shown in Figure 32, and the analysis of the power relations in the cultural sector and government's orientation towards the cultural policy outlined previously, the current model of cultural policy applied in Taiwan is based on the models of the French 'Architect' and British 'Patron'. However, when referring to the UK model as a 'Patron', it is necessary to note that the cultural policy model of the UK cannot entirely be identified as such, since the existence of the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) is comparable to a Ministry of Culture in nature. Precisely, the UK cultural policy model should also be deemed to be located between the 'Patron' and 'Architect' models; thus, similarity between the cultural policy models adopted in the UK and Taiwan can be identified. Cultural policy and the funding mechanism for the arts is centralised in Taiwan, while the National Culture and Arts Foundation (NCAF) is an independent organisation for arts funding with some independence, in which regard it is comparable to Arts Council England (ACE) in the UK. The NCAF is overseen by the Council for Cultural Affairs in Taiwan and the relationship between these two apparatuses is similar to that between the DCMS and ACE. On the other hand, the Chinese cultural policy model is stretched between the French 'Architect' and Soviet 'Engineer' models. However, the Engineer model may not be much in evidence in China today, as Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey (1989: 51-52) define the Engineer state as:

> The engineer supports only art that meets political standards of excellence; it does not support the process of creativity. Funding decisions are made by political commissars and are intended to further political education, not artistic excellence. The policy

dynamic of the Engineer State tends to be revisionary; artistic decisions must be revised to reflect the changing official party line.

Although artistic expression in China today is to some degree constrained by the government restrictions applied to depictions or explorations of violence, nudity, sex and politics, Chiu argues that the freedom of artistic expression in China is relatively greater than in the past (Chiu, 2008: 58, 93). Chinese cultural and artistic undertakings today can be understood as not solely intended for political purposes or required to accord with the official party line, as was the case during the Cultural Revolution. In the cultural policy model of 'Engineer', the decision-making power is centralised as that derived from the central government with its attachment to the political doctrines in order to attain political goals through cultural facilitation. In many major cultural policies, the aim of constructing a socialist culture with a Chinese character for the social and economic development of the country is evidently signalled (Ministry of Culture, 1992, 1997, 2001).

In addition to the Architect and Engineer models, it has been identified by Han (2001a) that China's cultural policy model is close to the German one, as the local governments possess substantial rights over local arts affairs. In Germany, the regional governments, namely the Länder, are responsible for funding and policy related to cultural affairs. The reason for employing a decentralised model of cultural policy in Germany can be traced back to the increased awareness of the need for the provision of cultural services after the fall of the Nazi Regime. The German Constitution, created in 1949, delegated cultural responsibility to the Lander or Federal states in direct reaction to the centralised Nazi regime's exploitation of culture (Council of Europe/ERICarts 2004: D-5, cited in Eckersley, 2006: 2) in propagandist initiatives such as the 'Degenerate Art' (*'Entartete Kunst'*) programme, which prescribed specific forms of artistic expression and denigrated others for ideological purposes, such as the affirmation of specific notions of Teutonic racial purity and appropriate decorum (Barr, 1945; Grosshans, 1983). In the post-war era, West Germany was comprised of individual states; each set up a cultural policy and dispensed a cultural budget (often within their own state capital) by their own government (Eckersley, 2006: 2). Although, the arm's length principle is not explicitly expressed in the policy, the

Constitution of the Federal Republic requires all public support for culture "to respect and defend artistic freedom and refrain from influencing methods, contents and trends" (Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey, 1989: 64). This is different from the regulation and funding of the arts in China. Although local governments possess authority over policy making and funding distribution, the local governments in China are overseen by the central government; therefore, cultural affairs are, in essence, ultimately regulated by the central government.

Although different approaches to the development of cultural policy and the power relations between the local and central governments have been revealed in the analysis contained in the current and previous chapters, there are general characteristics shared by both China and Taiwan. In both locations, the decision-making power of cultural policy can be considered as centralised; namely, the central government oversees the local governments, regardless of the extent of the power that the local governments exercise, and the leading political party controls the directions and strategies of cultural policy. There are various factors affecting the party's decisions; therefore, different plans and objectives have arisen in the two locations as the political parties possess a strong influence over the overall development of cultural policy. Hence, clear political aims are hidden in and transmitted through cultural policies visibly or indirectly, and cultural apparatuses are devised for the practice of cultural policy while implementing the governmental objectives.

5.5 Conclusion

The government's implications for social, cultural and economic development are often reflected in its cultural policy; however, the priorities of such policy and how it is implemented can differ from one government to another. The general content of cultural policy in Taiwan mirrors the ruling party's objectives, and cultural policy can be employed for particular orientations, such as social enhancement, spiritual uplift or political objectives. For the last fifty years, the cultural policy in Taiwan has been utilised by the ruling political party, and prior to the establishment of the Council for Cultural Affairs, cultural policy was part of the party's policy for the reconstruction and reinforcement of

Chinese identity, as shown in Chapter 3. The study has revealed that the power which directs the decision-making of cultural policy remains dominated by the government and the ruling political party. Precisely, it is a decision-making power from the top-end of the central government. The central government, the Executive Yuan, contains organisations that are responsible for drafting and implementing the cultural policies; its Premier is nominated by the President and approved by the Legislative Yuan, the latter of which is in charge of the law, while overseeing the Executive Yuan. The members of the Legislative Yuan are elected by the people and the Director is selected by the members. Hence, the Party which holds most of the seats in the Legislative Yuan is granted, as the ruling party, authority over the administrative and legal systems. The cultural apparatuses at different levels of governance examined in this chapter appear to show diversity in terms of their role and power of authority. The national museums examined in this study are regulated by the central government in the two locations, while the local ones overseen by both the central and local governments. Local museums in China and Taiwan tend to be supervised by the cultural bureaus at the local level; however, national museums have shown a tendency to be overseen by different governing bodies of the central government. For instance, the national museums in Taiwan are regulated by the Ministry of Education and the Council for Cultural Affairs while, in China, the national museums are supervised by the Ministry of Culture or the State Administration of Cultural Heritage, depending on the particular museum's focus.

The Chinese government's development strategies for the country emphasise firstly economic progress, followed by a reflection on the need for cultural provision. Plans for economic development are drafted and proceeded upon every five years by the central government, and a development strategy for cultural industry has been drawn up for the same period since 1995. In the early 1990s and prior to that, the development of cultural services was overlooked and fell significantly behind that of the economy due to insufficient funds being devoted to this area of development (Ministry of Culture, 1997). A plan to increase the local cultural infrastructure was proposed in the early 1980s and re-addressed ten years later. The situation regarding the enhancement of the supply of cultural services has altered in recent years in China, as local governments from the provincial to

district level began to draw up guidelines for the development of local cultural establishment and a cultural market (ibid.). In China, cultural activities are a by-product which is developed when economic development has reached a certain level. Cultural policy in China can be understood as being utilised for other policy ends. For instance, in many major cultural policies, culture is believed to support the social and economic development of the country, and the cultural services are guided by Socialist beliefs: '为人民服务, 为社会主义服务' (*Wei renmin fuwu, wei shehui zhuyi fuwu*, to serve the people, to serve Socialism). In the major cultural policies in China, the aim of constructing a socialist culture with a Chinese character is evidently signalled (Ministry of Culture, 1992, 1997, 2001).

Although the cultural policy in both China and Taiwan is linked with the political agenda and government objectives to some degree, there are dissimilarities between China and Taiwan with regard to their regulative systems at the local level. In Taiwan, local cultural bureaus are constituted for the administration of cultural affairs and regulated by the local councils and the Council for Cultural Affairs of the central government. With the establishment of the National Culture and Arts Foundation, it has emerged that the administrative organisation for cultural undertakings has been separated from the regulative sector; namely, the government agencies for policy and regulation have been detached from those for cultural administration. This system is not found in China. The local cultural bureaus or cultural departments in China are the major cultural organisations responsible for both regulation and implementation, as is the Ministry of Culture at the central level. This indicates that the functions of regulation and direction are possessed by the same organisations for both the central and local governments. Therefore, the idea of allowing local governments to possess enhanced control and autonomy over local affairs does not necessarily suggest that the rule of the central government is lessened over the local governments. In linking this to the concept of autonomy and cultural field of Bourdieu, a cultural field is not only regulated by the power from the top, but also power arises from the actors within the field of cultural practice. Cultural institutions, such as schools, play a complex role as mediators in enhancing and maintaining the power relations indirectly. Therefore, the role of museums and schools is neither neutral nor exclusively subordinate to

the broader set of power relations as superstructures as Bourdieu suggests that there is relative autonomy in the cultural practice between institutions and politics (Swartz, 1997: 127). In China, local governments are constituted and their authority granted by the central government. In the clauses of the Constitution, it is stated that the State Council has overall control over the local governments, which are the lower levels of the administrative organs, that should follow the leadership of the central government (Kuang, 2007: 39). In terms of administration and management, the Chinese central government does not interfere with the local governments. This enables the local governments at every level to be responsible for their cultural institutions and so ensure that the plans and policies are applied efficiently in accordance with the local needs and character. The reform of the system of public administration in 1998, which aimed to improve the organisational performance and increase the autonomy of the local governments, should have further contributed towards enhancing the local governments' independence in managing the local cultural affairs.

Although China is currently a communist state, the current and previous chapters argue that the way in which culture is regulated in China is closer to that of a modern liberal state, as museums in China are regulated for the welfare of the population. The power and authority associated with museum education in China come from not only the central government but also diverse levels and directions. Dr Lai Guolong (Personal communication, 18, July, 2010) confirms his agreement with the argument of the study, stating that "the dynamics between museums and the government are complex – not a single model", and that, in the 1990s, everything shifted from the government supported model (*daguofan*) to a market economic one. The reduction in financial support resulted in greater freedom, and museums may have become more commercialised, especially GDMA, as the economic model was first introduced in South China. The study argues that the governmental power in China is enacted through cultural agencies at both the central and local levels. This corresponds with Foucault's theory on governmentality and Bennett's concept of museums as modern technologies, which allow power to be enacted for civil management and improvement. However, both Foucault and Bennett are concerned mainly about the dominant discourse and practice of expertise in power relations and may fail to notice the everyday practice. In order to understand the power relations and regulation of museum education in a rounded

manner, the emphasis of the next two chapters will be on the case study museums as individual institutions, in order to analyse the local education practice and power relations between the actors involved in the field of museum education.

Chapter 6. The Field of Art Museum Education: National Museums

6.1 Introduction

The analysis in this and the following chapter adopts Pierre Bourdieu's field theory as its foundation for examining the inter-related relations of fields, the actors involved in the fields and the capital which is struggled for by the actors. In addition to the Foucauldian concept of power, which addresses the dispersion of power through the public institutions introduced previously, the analysis chapters take Bourdieu's theories into account when investigating the power at the ground level of cultural practice, suggesting that museum education practice is constituted by structural rules and regulations as well as the individual subjectivity of human agents. However, as a model of western social practice, the study argues that the strengths and limitations of Bourdieu's model of field are questioned when the model is adopted for the analysis of social practice in Asian countries. This argument will be illustrated by examples as evidence in this and the following chapters.

Based on Bourdieu's model of field, the term 'museum education' in the analysis chapters is regarded as 'a field' or 'a social space' in which the actors are situated for the struggle for benefits, resources, stakes and power. The field of museum education is, therefore, constituted and shaped by the participants and their activities undertaken for the practice of museum education. The position of each particular agent is a result of the interaction between the agents, the rules of the field, and the habitus and capital of the agents (Bourdieu, 1984). The relationship between habitus, capital and field is summarised by Bourdieu's formal explanation of this model: [(habitus) + (capital)] + field = practice (ibid: 101). While seeing 'museums' as a social arena, where different forms of capital are fought over by the actors involved in the fields, the analysis of the field of museum education takes the concept of habitus into account in examining the counter point between individual actions and objective structures in the education practice of museums. Bourdieu (2005: 148, cited in Thomson, 2008) argues that "to understand interactions between people or to explain an event or social phenomenon, it is necessary to examine the social space in which interactions, transactions and events occurred", and habitus must be used in relation to the notion of field which contains a principle of dynamics by itself as well as in relation to habitus (Bourdieu, 2005a: 47).

Grenfell and Hardy (2007: 30) state that social reality is constructed, occurring as a result of the interplay between habitus and field. King (2000: 417) suggests that habitus consists of the corporal dispositions and cognitive templates which overcomes the subject-object dualism by inscribing subjective, bodily actions with objective social force. Therefore, subjective individual acts take on social meaning. In addition to adopting the concepts of field, capital and habitus, the argument of King on the incompatibility between habitus and Bourdieu's practical theory is taken into account in this study. King (ibid) argues that much of what Bourdieu describes under the name of practical theory and which he believes to be justified as the concept of habitus is, in fact, quite radically incompatible with habitus. King (ibid: 422) states that Bourdieu's practical theory highlights the mutual negotiation of social relations between 'individuals'; hence, individual actions are not regulated by the imposed rules of the objective structure but, rather, adjusted by the interactions between the individuals for mutual benefits or favours. This incompatibility between habitus and practical theory, proposed by King, is identified in the power relations of the field of museum education through the diagrammatical analysis of each case study museum.

The museums which are analysed as the case studies in this chapter are the two national art museums, the National Art Museum of China (NAMOC) and the National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts (NTMOFA). The material used for the analysis is data collected from the interviews with the Museum Directors and Heads of Education at the case study museums. These primary data will be incorporated and analysed jointly with the secondary data on the background information of the case study museums to form the findings of this chapter. Using Bourdieu's notions of field, capital and habitus as the foundation and the diagrammatical analysis adopted from Grenfell and Hardy (2007), the analysis chapters aim to explore the following questions:

- Who are the major actors in each field and, among these, who are dominant and subordinate, according to the amount and types of capital they possess?

- What are the objectives and motivations behind the actions of the actors in each field?

- What capitals are important and struggled for in each field?

- What is the habitus of each field, and what are the strategies and practices produced through habitus?

- What are the interrelationships between the habitus of a field and the positioning which signifies the capital possessed by the actors in the field?

To begin the analysis of the case studies, background information on the museum, under the headings 'founding and building', 'collections and exhibitions', 'funding' and 'current issues museum education', will be investigated. Following this, the fields situated within museum education will be outlined through diagrams and commentaries. This approach of employing diagrams to illustrate the field of museum education is based on Grenfell and Hardy's diagrammatical analysis of the fields of power at the Tate Gallery, MOMA and Musée d′Orsay, in their book entitled *Art Rules: Pierre Bourdieu and the Visual Arts* (Grenfell and Hardy, 2007). Through the diagrams, the study interrogates the positions of and the capital which are struggled for in each field, and the relationship between the field of power and other fields. The findings will be presented at the end of this chapter to illustrate the habitus of museum education and the individual actors, and how and to what degree the role of museum education is influenced by the actors, power and resources involved in this field. The field of museum education at the two national museums will be discussed and analysed jointly to identify the differences between the museum education offered by these respective institutions and how the field is embodied at each establishment. The results, such as the comparisons between the national and local museums and between museums in China and Taiwan, will be presented in Chapter 8, to reveal how the roles of museum education could be shaped differently under the dissimilar regulation. A comparable approach to the data analysis undertaken in this chapter will be adopted for the analysis of the local museums in the next chapter.

6.2 National Art Museum of China (NAMOC)

6.2.1 *Founding and building*

NAMOC is supervised by the Art Division of the Arts Department of the Ministry of Culture as the only national art museum in China. The Palace Museum and the National

Museum of China are the other two national museums which are overseen by the Ministry of Culture. The Art Division is in charge of art affairs, which is responsible for art museums as well as art organisations, such as the China Artists Association. The museum embodies symbolic and political significance as it was inaugurated by the leader of the New China, Chairman Mao Zedong, in 1963, who inscribed the title board at the front door of the museum. The architectural design of NAMOC, both interior and exterior, is based on the style of an ancient Chinese building (see Table 2 in Chapter 1). The yellow roof symbolises the power of the Chinese Emperor, suggesting that NAMOC symbolises the home of the art of China. The museum underwent reconstruction in 2002 to improve its facilities, exhibition space and collections management system. It reopened the following year, for its 40th anniversary. NAMOC is now expanding by building a new branch with space allocated to the Education Department for educational purposes (He Lin, Interview: 18/10/2008).

6.2.2 *Collections and exhibitions*

The museum houses more than 100,000 exhibits from the late Ming Dynasty, Qing Dynasty and early Republic of China. The majority of the collections were created around the time of the establishment of the new China, with contemporary artworks including masterpieces by renowned contemporary Chinese artists, award-winning works from major art exhibitions, and various folk works by artists such as Ren Bonian, Wu Changshuo, Huang Binhong, Qi Baishi, Xu Beihong, Jiang Zhaohe, Situ Qiao, Li Keran, Wu Zuoren, Ye Qianyu, Luo Gongliu and Wu Guanzhong. The museum collects foreign artwork and received a donation of 117 foreign artworks from the German collectors, Mr. and Mrs. Peter Ludwig, including four oil paintings by Picasso (NAMOC, 2010). The official website of NAMOC (2010) states that thousands of significant exhibitions of different kinds, featuring renowned artists from China and abroad, have been held by the museum in the past four decades, including Original Works 500 Years Collected by Armand Hammer, Rural Landscape Paintings of 19th Century France, Original Works of Pablo Picasso, Engraved Paintings of German Expressionism, Auguste Rodin, Marc Chagall, Oriental Spirit, Joan Miro, Collection of the Austrian National Museum, Grand Exhibition of African Art, Salvador Dali, French Impressionism, 300 Years of Russian Art, State-run Terichekov Fine Arts Museum Treasures, Art in America: 300 Years of Innovation, Italian art-Italian life and From

Titian to Goya: Masterpieces from the Prado Museum. The Lights of Dun Huang, held in 2008, set three new records for the number of daily, monthly and singular visitors, attracting 660,000 visitors over two months.

As the only national art museum in China, NAMOC benefits from the resources provided by the Ministry of Culture of the Central Government. A special collection fund is allocated to the museum for particular collections and certain exhibitions, and project fees are assigned to the running of the exhibitions (He Lin, Interview: 18/10/2008). With the advantage of being exceptionally rich in financial resources and also the only national art museum in the country, NAMOC was responsible for many major exhibitions which led to significant artistic exchanges between artists in China and the rest of the world. The publicising of the country's '文化形象' (*Wenhua xingxiang*, cultural image) and promotion of cultural exchange are considered central to the work of NAMOC (Fan Dian, Interview: 19/10/2008). For instance, in April 2009, a touring exhibition of the work of William Turner was launched at NAMOC through collaboration between TATE Britain, NAMOC and the British Council in China (British Council, 2009). It should be noted that, although NAMOC focuses on hosting exhibitions of modern, contemporary Chinese artists, as the only national art museum in China, it is also the venue where many foreign artists wish their work to be exhibited. With the high demand of its exhibitionary space, NAMOC can only afford to host exhibitions lasting for a few weeks long or even less due to the high demand of western artists for the exhibition spaces at NAMOC (He Lin, Interview: 18/10/2008).

6.2.3 *Funding*

The financial support of NAMOC is derived from the central government, which includes the basic fees to cover the operation of the museum and also fees to cover the cost of special projects and collections. The exhibitions and collections are considered important to the Exhibitions Department, as NAMOC is responsible for building both the cultural image and cultural identity of China. Therefore, the Collection Department receives the highest amount of funding each year and the Exhibitions Department is granted the second highest amount from the government. The Head of Education at the museum stated, during the interview, that it is necessary for the Education Department to specify the activities and funding required for these activities when applying for

government subsidies. For instance, in 2008, the Education Department received funding of £10,000, which was shared by three major educational activities that year: '我在中国美术馆画画儿' (*Wozai zhongguo meishuguan huahuaer*, I Draw at NAMOC), Art at University and the programmes for the general public's participation in artistic creation; for example, pottery lessons (He Lin, Interview: 18/10/2008). In addition to the government funding, NAMOC occasionally obtains funding through sponsorship to cover the expense of educational activities. It is understood from the interview that that this sponsorship does not happen on a regular basis, as the Head of Education states "companies in China have not yet realised how much social significance a company can have by sponsoring a museum"(ibid). Based on the current practice, in return for their sponsorship of museum activities, sponsors receive publicity and educational provision for their staff. The details of this collaborative relationship will be illustrated further in the diagrammatical analysis of this chapter.

6.2.4 *Current issues in museum education*

The educational practice of NAMOC began relatively late compared with that in the other case study museums. The educational practice of NAMOC only began in 2004 by providing lectures to museum visitors before the establishment of the Education Department the following year. Currently, '公众教育' (*Gongzhong jiaoyu*, public education), namely an educational service for the general public, is on the agenda of NAMOC. The museum Director states that the role of NAMOC has changed, from being a platform for artists to providing equal opportunity of learning to the general public (Fan Dian, Interview: 19/10/2008). Fan defines the term 'general public' as covering not only the citizens of Beijing and the members of the People's Republic of China (including the Han Chinese and the 55 minority groups) but also the marginalised, who have no access to museum services i.e. low-income labourers and farmers, such as *Nongmingong* ('农民工', labourers who have come from the countryside to work in the construction field in the major cities since the 1980s)[17] and those with disabilities.

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[17] In 2000, more than a billion labourers left the countryside to work in China's major cities, rising to four billion in 2003, about 20 million of whom were under 18 years of age. Source of information: Yang Dandan (杨丹丹) (2006).

In the last two years, the Education Department of the museum has focused on providing art educational programmes for children. In the next stage, as mentioned by the Head of Education, the Department aims to draw university students to NAMOC by providing bespoke lectures in Beijing. As He Lin (Interview: 18/10/2008) states, "the museum is trying to conduct its educational activities with young people in the city". For youngsters, the Education Department collaborates with local elementary schools through a project named 'Schools without Walls', whereby elementary school students in the Eastern-town of Beijing are required to visit museums, heritage sites and memorial halls outside school hours to collect credits as part of their learning in school (ibid). In addition to NAMOC, the Capital Museum in Beijing provides a wide range of educational activities for local teenagers, as this is currently the target audience of museums in Beijing (Yang, 2006: 58-61).

6.2.5 *The field of museum education: National Art Museum of China*

- The Field of power

In the field of power, as shown in Figure 35, the central government (Ministry of Culture) of China acts as a strong financial source for NAMOC by providing the institution with not only the basic funding, but also extra funding for special collections and exhibitions. The red arrow symbolises the control that the Ministry of Culture possesses in the power relations between the government and the Education Department of NAMOC by overseeing the museum practice and holding the financial resources. The Head of Education of NAMOC confirms that, by receiving economic capital from the Ministry of Culture, NAMOC is responsible for fulfilling the government objectives by promoting the 'cultural image' (文化形象, *Wenhua xingxiang*) of the country to strengthen China's cultural identity among the target audience (He Lin, Interview: 18/10/2008) . This example of NAMOC demonstrates that contemporary Chinese museums can be utilised as government apparatuses for the implementation of government objectives. In this instance, as Foucault suggests, the power of regulation does not derive only from a centralised location, but comes from diverse locations.

Field of Power

Field of Art

Ministry of Culture

Government Objectives

Artists & Curators
Exhibition Team
Gallery Tours

Project Fees   Education Bureau
Special Collection Fund
Schaoniengong   Museum Directors

School without
Walls Project

Gallery Rental Fees

Lectures   Museum-School Collaborations
Volunteering

UBS

Student Guided Tours
Minority Groups

Tourism
Museum
Shops

Memberships

Media

Field of Commerce

Children's Art Education

Field of School Education

Field of Consumption

Field of Education

[Figure 35] Museum Education: Fields in relation to the field of power (NAMOC)

An educational activity observed by the researcher reflects the role of NAMOC as a government branch working for objectives targeted by the government to promote equal opportunity of learning. The guided tour observed on 18/10/2008, was organised for a group of children with hearing and sight impairment (see Figure 33). The participants were involved in an hour-long guided tour before the coffee break, followed by a drawing and painting session held in the museum gallery (see Figure 34). During the

guided tour, sign language teachers accompanied the museum interpreters to translate the content. By doing so, the museum receives economic capital from the Ministry of Culture, and the museum carried out projects from the government for a more specific use of the museum funding (He Lin, Interview: 18/10/2008). He Lin confirms that "currently, the aim of our Department is to attract museum visitors to the museum and to reinforce the influence of museum education upon the general public" and that "it is easier for the museum to receive funding from the government if museum exhibitions and educational activities are attached to certain educational values". In corresponding to He's statements, the Museum Director, Fan Dian (Interview: 19/10/2008), confirms "the government would be supportive of the museum when it sees that the museum has attracted an increased number of visitors to be involved in museum activities". The power imposed from the field of power has become a general rule which constrains and guides the practice of the other fields in an unconscious way. The strategy produced through the habitus in the field of power is for the Ministry of Culture to provide major support for NAMOC; hence, the museum becomes subordinate to the government and serves the government's objectives. The museum, therefore, is subordinated to its governing body, the Ministry of Culture, in order to procure financial resources.

[Figure 33] Guided tour for a group with disabilities at NAMOC
Photo: Y. J. Chen

[Figure 34] Drawing and painting activity followed by the guided tour
Photo: Y. J. Chen

The museum-school collaboration through the Education Bureau appears to be equally
distributed between the 'field of power' and the 'field of education'. Although, the
regulation is implemented by the central government, NAMOC possesses autonomy
with regard to the types and contents of the educational activities offered to schools. As
Figure 35 illustrates, the blue arrows, which represent the flow of power between
museum education and school education, are horizontal, as the two fields are in an equal
position. Although some aspects of the relationship between museum and school
education are regulated by the field of power, this field does not have overall control
over the relationship, since a certain amount of autonomy is left to the schools and
museums in their collaborative relationship. It appears that the practices produced by
the museum's collaboration with schools are linked more closely to the objective of
seeking to promote the development of museum education and the needs of those for
whom the educational services are provided. In this collaborative relationship, the
museum's senior officials, such as the Museum Director and Head of Education, hold
overall control over the relationship. This is clarified by a red arrow in the diagram,

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which signified the direction of power of the museum officials regarding museum-school collaboration (see Figure 35). Through the interviews, it is understood that the director's objectives are influential and dominate the education practice of the Education Department. The Head of Education expresses that "the practice of museum education is influenced by the thoughts of the Museum Director and the responsibility of the Head of Education at NAMOC" (He Lin, Interview: 18/10/2008). The statement by He Lin on the authority of the Museum Directors is confirmed by the observation of a Chinese museum professional, as Song (2006: 18) indicates that, as museum Directors are the key figures in promoting and supporting museum education, they should have a clear understanding of the role of education in museum practice. The role of the museum's senior officials is to ensure that the government regulations are implemented thoroughly through the education practice of the museum. The Museum Director can be understood as acting as a transmitter between government intentions and museum practice, and they can be seen as social actors who have a sophisticated 'sense of the game', as described by Bourdieu (King, 2000: 419). These social actors or agents are defined by Bourdieu as 'virtuosos' who are not dominated by abstract social principles but who know the script so well that they can elaborate and improvise upon the themes which it provides and in the light of their relations with others (Bourdieu, 1977: 79, cited in King, 2000: 419). In the game which the museum's senior staff are playing, they have an intimate understanding of the object of the game and the means of exerting control over the circumstances.

Through the interview, the Head of Education of the museum expressed that the schools and NAMOC found it difficult to establish a healthy collaborative relationship, as the schools and museums in China are supervised by different governing bodies (the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Culture). He Lin (Interview: 18/10/2008) states that it is impossible for NAMOC to initiate any profound relationships with schools if museum visits are not stated as a compulsory activity in the Curriculum, as schoolteachers have to follow the content of the National Curriculum. The habitus of the schoolteachers in implementing what they are required to do is a habitus of the field of education. 'Habitus' is a product which is unique to a field, as well as being produced through the power relations in the field. King (2000: 424) states "the habitus, which is determined by the social conditions in which an individual lives, imposes certain forms of practice and conduct on the bodies of individuals, who in the end unknowingly

embody the 'structuring structure' of the habitus". The habitus of the schoolteachers is guided and constrained by the objective structures, and can be reconfigured by the effect of the external structures; namely, by changing the content of the National Curriculum and the way in which schoolteachers utilise the museum resources to construct a better collaborated relationship between themselves and museum education.

The other actor in the field of power that needs to be mentioned is 少年宫 (*Shaoniengong*), the Children's Palace, which was established in 1953 as a government-run organisation, affiliated to the China Welfare Institute. It is regarded as a public educational organisation at the local level, which acts as an extension to school education by providing optional classes in art, music, performing arts, literature, language, chess, and sports as a supplement to school education (China Welfare Institute, 2009). Shaoniengong can be considered as balancing the competitiveness of school education and exams. According to the observation of Yin Shaochun (2006), the content of art education at elementary and junior high schools covers a wide range of knowledge; however, the time dedicated to art education is scattered and scant. This creates an impression that the students are taught everything but that nothing is really learnt. In the relationship with Shaoniengong, the field of education possesses the power as it holds the objectified state of cultural capital as learning resources that Shaoniengong needs. Through collaboration between museums and the local Shaoniengong, the students of Shaoniengong are able to learn in a museum setting, in close contact with the museum collections. In the collaborative relationship with Shaoniengong, NAMOC provides learning packs, guided tours and gallery spaces to promote children's learning at the site (He Lin, Interview: 18/10/2008).

- The field of art

In the power relations between the fields of art and education, the art resources provided by the Exhibition Department for the educational activities constitute an overlapping configuration between the two fields. In the field of art, as illustrated in Figure 35, the actors are the curators, artists and volunteers. They provide a knowledge of art as cultural capital to the field of education and the audience of the Education Department. In general, these two fields collaborate together. The partnership aims to bridge the gap between the museum audience and the museum collections and exhibitions. This is a

formed disposition between the field of art and the field of education, as both fields work with each other to produce exhibitions and educational activities. The museum Director and Head of Education both considered it beneficial for the departments to work together and support each other (Fan Dian, Interview: 19/10/08; He Lin, Interview: 18/10/2008). Although the museum officials at NAMOC understood the importance of collaboration between museum departments, there is a hierarchy existing in the collaborative relationship within the museum. It is stated by the Director of the Education Department that, "ideally, the relationship with other departments is collaborative; however, in reality; the Education Department operates in accordance with the other Departments in the museum" and "some exhibitions allow us to participate in the early planning of exhibitions; others do not" (He Lin, Interview: 18/10/2008). Figure 35 shows that part of the fields of art and education overlap, as activities are undertaken through collaboration between the departments involved in each field. However, in practice, if He Lin's statements are legitimate, the field of art, the Exhibition Department and the Collection Department dominate the relationship, as educational activities are developed based on the theme of the exhibitions; namely, the Education Department relies on the objectified state of cultural capital offered by the field of art.

- Other fields

In the field of consumption, schoolchildren and university students are the main consumers of museum education. All of this target audience are actors in the field of consumption, who consume museum education at NAMOC while enabling the museum to implement its objective of museum education. The relationship between NAMOC and its consumers can be considered equal, as the target audience such as the students of Shaoniengong or people from marginalised groups benefit from the educational resources gained from NAMOC as part of the project of the museum. As a result of possessing cultural and educational capital, the field of education is in a dominant position in the relationship between itself and the field of school education. However, this domination exists only if the government regulations grant autonomy to the Education Department with regard to the organisation of educational activities. The museum's provision of its service to a wide range of audience can be understood as part of the objectives of the Education Department. However, the motivation behind this

strategy produced in the field of education can also be a result of the influence of objective conditions, e.g. the trend in western museology of inclusive and equal opportunities for learning. This relationship between the fields of consumption and education may be formed steadily and produced in an unconscious way as habitus, described by Johnson (1993) as 'practical sense' or 'second nature'. Habitus can be a practical sense of 'know-how' that the social actors equip themselves with for their practices and interactions with other individuals (Adkins and Skeggs, 2004: 111). It is formed gradually as an accumulation of past experience, allowing the past and ongoing conditions of existence to give more of a 'feel' for some games than others, and for particular ways of playing those games (Maton, 2008: 58).

The other actors who need to be addressed are the sponsors of NAMOC, situated between the fields of education and consumption. The sponsors support museum education in different forms i.e. by providing financial support, material for educational activities and privately-owned collections. In this relationship, the sponsors and the Education Department are considered to be in an equivalent position, as the sponsors offer financial and cultural capital for museum education and receive social, cultural and economic capital from NAMOC in return. An example of this is an exhibition sponsored by UBS named 'The UBS Art Collection: 1960s to the Present Day', launched in 2008. Through this collaboration, UBS provides private collections for museum exhibitions, and in return gains social capital for an improved image, the reputation of the company, the accumulation of social networks, and the opportunity to engage in organised weekend educational activities for the staff of UBS and their families. As NAMOC is a public museum and does not rely significantly on private funding, according to the museum official (He Lin, Interview: 18/10/2008), the relationship between museum education and its sponsors is constructed naturally for the capital that both the museum and its sponsors require from the field of practice. The aim of both actors is to obtain resources which will benefit themselves; therefore, the relationship between NAMOC and its sponsors is understood to be regulated based on the interest and value of both actors.

6.3 National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts (NTMOFA)

6.3.1 *Founding and building*

Originally a provincial museum, named the Taiwan Museum of Art, when it was founded in 1988, NTMOFA's status changed to a national museum after a structural change in the government.[18] Under the governmental plan to downsize the provincial government, many institutions which had previously reported to the provincial government were placed under the supervision of the Executive Yuan of the central government in 1999. With the new name of 'the National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts' and a new governing body, the Council of Cultural Affairs, NTMOFA became the first national art museum of Taiwan. More recently, as a result of the 921 Earthquake, it was closed for major reconstruction work for a year in 2003. The new NTMOFA aims to provide visitors with an open, intimate experience of a museum visit. The lobby of the museum on the ground floor is airy and spacious, with high ceilings. In addition to the galleries, most of the educational space and offices for the museum staff are located in the main museum building. The interior space of NTMOFA contains five different galleries, located in both the east and west wings. The western wing consists of galleries for permanent exhibitions and those themed on Taiwanese art, and the eastern wing is where temporary exhibitions are held. Some spaces are dedicated to the Education Department for children's art education; for example, the Picture Book Area and the Family Room (Figures 36 and 37).

6.3.2 Collections, artists and exhibitions

The museum aims to construct a contextualised system for the development of the history of Taiwanese art. As the only national art museum in Taiwan, it considers itself as housing the most extensive collection of Taiwanese art (NTMOFA, 2009). Exhibitions of Taiwanese art have increased since the late 1990s, such as the exhibition on the art of Taiwan from 1736 to 1969, named 'Long Flow of Art - Tracing the Origins of Taiwanese Art'. NTMOFA is comparable to the other case study museum at the local level, the Taipei Fine Arts Museum, as both centre their collections and exhibitions on Taiwanese art. However, unlike the collections and exhibitions of TFAM, which are focused on modern Taiwanese from the 1940s, NTMOFA collects and exhibits

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[18] According to the official website of the museum, its original name was the 'Taiwan Museum of Art'. However, it should be noted that the museum's initial name in Mandarin actually contains the word 'provincial', which is not translated in the name on the website.

Taiwanese art from the late Qing Dynasty, the Japanese colonisation, the post-war and the contemporary periods.

NTMOFA's permanent exhibitions, research, and educational activities materials are based on the museum's collection, and synchronised with the museum's major exhibitions that year (Hsueh Paoshia, Interview: 15/10/2008). For instance, the concept of an educational activity involving woodblock printing that the researcher observed during her field trip was derived from the exhibition entitled "Indelibly Marked: Woodblock Printing in Taiwan" (Observation notes: 06/09/2008). Huang (2004: 43-45) indicates that, during the first few years after the museum opened, the educational activities were related closely to the museum exhibitions. These activities took the form of guided tours, live calligraphy desmonstrations and lectures. This type of educational activities has decreased gradually since 1994 and been replaced by ones organised by the Education Department with aim to connect art with the daily life of the museum audience through educational activities, such as print-making, paper-cutting and lantern-making, through outreach and community-based activities. This shows a tendency for the pedagogy adopted by NTMOFA to change from didactic learning to a learning model which is close to what Hein (1991) proposed, whereby learning is a contextualised process which takes the learners' lives, experience and knowledge into account. The process of learning becomes a social experience constituted by interactions and meaning construction.

In addition to its dedicated collections and exhibitions on the art of Taiwan, NTMOFA has hosted international exhibitions such as the Taiwan Art Biennial, Asian Art Biennial and International Biennial Print and Drawing Exhibition. At NTMOFA, some exhibitions are planned and allocated by the central government; namely, the Council of Cultural Affairs (CCA). The exchange exhibition with the Poland Art Museum proposed by the CCA can be an example of an assigned exhibition, as it was proposed by the CCA and organised and hosted by NTMOFA (Hsueh Paoshia, Interview: 15/10/2008). Extra funding was allocated to NTMOFA for organising these exhibitions. To promote Taiwanese art at the international level, a selection of Chinese ink landscape paintings was loaned to the Krakow National Museum in 2007, and artworks from Poland were loaned to NAMOFA in return. In September 2008, the winning

artwork in the International Biennial Print and Drawing Exhibition were loaned to the Krakow National Museum.[19]

6.3.3 *Funding*

The main financial resource of NTMOFA is derived from the central government, the museum applies for its funding on an annual basis from the Executive Yuan through the Council of Cultural Affairs (CCA). Each year, on a monthly basis, the CCA examines where and how the government subsidies have been used to verify whether the subsidies have been spent on the activities specified in the annual budget report. In addition to providing funding to NTMOFA, the museum's educational provision is assessed by the CCA. The Museum Director (Hsueh Paoshia, Interview: 15/10/2008) states that, occasionally, the Education Department produces DVDs as a record of its educational activities for assessment by the CCA. In addition to the funding received from the central government, NTMOFA accepts both financial and in-kind sponsorship for its educational activities e.g. free lunches supplied by fast food companies during the pupil's visit from the Chang-Hua Family Support Centre (Wang Wanju, Interview: 03/09/2008).[20]

6.3.4 *Current issues in museum education*

The current emphasis of the educational activities of NTMOFA is placed on its diversified educational provision, its responsibility for safeguarding Taiwanese art, and its promotion of digitised learning and exhibitions. A digital archive (or collection database), containing records of the 7,000 items in the museum, has been constructed to heighten the visibility of the museum collection for educational and academic purposes. The initiative underpins the educational practice of NTMOFA, as the museum's Head of Education states that its aim is "to develop and preserve the art of Taiwan" (Wang Wanju, Interview: 03/09/2008). NTMOFA offers a wide range of activities for different age groups, from children to adults, from family to school groups, and from museum-based activities to online learning. It provides lectures for art professionals and adult

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[19] For details, please refer to:
http://www.etaiwannews.com/etn/news_content.php?id=1059369&lang=tc_news&cate_img=260.jpg&cate_rss=DD,VD
[20] Chang-Hua Family Support Centre is one of the many family support centres run by the local governments in Taiwan, that were constructed as part of the social welfare system to provide shelter and counselling for mistreated children, and offer financial support to low-income families.

learners, and also art learning activities for schoolchildren and teenagers. In addition, there are learning programmes for family and school groups.[21] The online interactive programme, such as art games, covers diverse themes based on the museum's collections, which can be accessed by museum audiences of all ages.[22] Elderly people and minority groups, such as migrant workers from Southeast Asia, who are working and living in Taiwan, are an additional target audience that NTMOFA endeavours to embrace. Between August and October 2008, to mark the Double Ninth Festival, the museum invited elderly people from Bodhi Ren-ai Senior Citizens' Home to Indelibly Marked: Woodblock Printing in Taiwan exhibition. The Double Ninth Festival is an autumn day of outings for the elderly in Chinese culture. Details of this event can be found on the website of Bodhi Ren-ai Senior Citizens' Home, which illustrate how, by visiting the exhibition, the memories of the elderly are prompted through the narratives of the artworks (Yaskzo, 2008).

For children's art education, the Picture Book Area and the Family Room are the two educational spaces for self-directed art learning for younger learners with their parents. The Picture Book Area (Figure 36) is a small library which contains picture books for children to browse by themselves or with their parents. The Family Room is an open-plan learning space containing two levels of educational spaces for children under and over six, respectively. The artwork used in the activities in the Family Room is based on the museum collection to enable the participants to learn about the art of Taiwan. Figure 37 illustrates how a large jigsaw of a painting is used as a learning tool to stimulate the youngsters' observation of the colours and shapes in the painting.

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[21] All of the current educational activities are listed on the museum's website in traditional Chinese:

[22] All the interactive art games can be found online through this link:

[Figure 36] Picture Book Area of the National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts
Photo: Y. J. Chen

[Figure 37] Jigsaw painting in the Family Room
Photo: Y. J.Chen

The Education Department of NTMOFA provides online learning resources for schoolteachers related to school art education. These resources, which are based on the museum's collections, can be downloaded from the internet and used for school art classes as supplementary teaching materials to the Arts and Humanities Curriculum. On the museum's website, the learning resources are divided into two categories: '資源箱' (*Ziyuanxiang*, Resource Box) and '學習單' (*Xuexidan*, Learning Sheets). The Resource Box section specifies learning topics for learners of different ages. In Learning Sheets section, learning sheets about the museum's exhibitions can be downloaded by schoolteachers to use during the school visit to the museum. In addition to the online learning resources, the museum provides schoolteachers with the opportunity to attend training sessions run by the Education Department to familiarise themselves with the museum exhibitions. For instance, a training programme for schoolteachers was co-organised by NTMOFA and the National Culture and Arts Foundation (NCAF) launched in 2006 in coordination with the exhibition Vision and Beyond; it is usually a full-day training event, with talks relevant to the themes of the exhibitions provided by art professionals. The exhibition was based on the winning entries to the 1st NCAF Techno Art Creation Project. In another example, for the exhibition entitled Have You Eaten? 2007 Asian Art Biennial, the Education Department offered schoolteachers an opportunity to collect training points for the lifelong learning project. More details about this project and its implications for NTMOFA and the civil servants will be outlined below.

6.3.5 *The field of museum education: National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts*

- The overlapping fields

The distinctive characteristic of the field of museum education at NTMOFA is the overlapping between the fields of power, art and school education, as shown in Figure 38 (in light blue). The latter is also overlapped with the fields of art and education. The relationship between the fields of power and education is strengthened by the new school curriculum, in which local culture, art, heritage, and learning about cultural diversity are addressed (Department of Elementary Education, 2008). The closer relationship between school and museum education that has been developed by the new

Curriculum is confirmed by the Museum Director and the Head of Education of NTMOFA, as both confirm that the Education Department provides learning resources for schoolteachers as a result of the increased content relating to the art of Taiwan in the Arts and Humanities Curriculum after the Education Reform (Hsueh Paoshia, Interview: 15/10/2008; Wang Wanju, Interview: 03/09/2008).[23]

Field of Art   Special Exhibition Funding   **Field of Power**

Museum Collection   Council for Cultural Affairs,
International Exhibitions   Assigned Exhibitions   Central Government

Exhibition Team

              Funding   Government policy

Curators & Artists
      Government Objectives   Funding Evaluation

Lifelong Learning Project   Assessment of Education
Digital Archive

Arts and Humanities Curriculum
Gallery Tours

Lectures   Guided Tours
Museum Journal   Professionals   Teacher's Resources
         Volunteering   E-Learning

        Summer Camps   Teacher Training

                     School Teachers
Museum
Shops   **Field of School Education**

          Minority Groups
   Civil Servants

      University Literacy Classes

       Sponsorships
   Media
Field of   Pre-school children
Commerce   schoolchildren   **Field of Education**

Field of Consumption

[Figure 38] Museum Education: Fields in relation to the field of power (NTMOFA)

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[23] For details of the content and objectives of the Grade 1-9 Curriculum in Arts and Humanities, please refer to: http://nnl.esoe.ntu.edu.tw/~home158/97_web/2/2-9/10.doc

According to the interviewees, the central government of Taiwan does not dominate the school-museum relationship. Both Hsueh and Wang address the detachment between the museum's educational practice and the government regulations. Wang Wanju (Interview: 03/09/2008) indicates that, when NTMOFA was under the supervision of the Education Department of the provincial government before 1999, it was subjected to far greater pressure. Wang states:

> Before 1999, the museum was supervised by the Education Department of the provincial government. As a result of this, many of our educational activities had to follow the objectives of the Education Department. For instance, the museum had to come up with teaching materials for school art education, including videos and textbooks. […] since the museum was handed over to the Council for Cultural Affairs, the museum started to gain more autonomy over the content of its educational activities.

According to Wang, NTMOFA now possesses increased autonomy regarding the content of its educational programmes. The Museum Director states that the museum possesses sufficient autonomy by emphasising that the motivation of NTMOFA in supplying learning resources to schools is associated with the objective of the museum to promote Taiwanese art, and that is not due to government regulation (Hsueh Paushia, Interview: 15/10/2008). The statements by Wang and Hsueh suggest that the governing bodies of the museum do not meddle with the educational practice of the museum. However, the statements of the interviewees cannot be taken at face value. In fact, the study argues that that government's power can be exercised indirectly through museum education, as certain exhibitions held at NTMOFA were organised in collaboration with the Council for Cultural Affairs, as the Museum Director (Hsueh Paoshia, Interview: 15/10/2008) indicates that the Education Department has to report on some of the educational activities, which are based on the major exhibitions of the museum:

> Occasionally, the Education Department provides a record of its educational activities to the Council of Cultural Affairs. At the museum, some of the exhibitions are planned and assigned by the Council of Cultural Affairs, and the museum takes charge of the operation. For instance, the exchange exhibition between NTMOFA and the Krakow National Museum in 2007 was proposed by the Council for Cultural Affairs.

It can be argued that, since the exhibitions can be selected by the government, the knowledge which is offered to the museum audience through museum education is pre-

selected. This confirms the configuration between the fields of power, art, school education and education, as Figure 38 shows. This power relationship is demonstrated in the diagram (Figure 38) by a long red arrow, representing the transfer of power from the field of power to the field of education, and then from the field of education to the field of school education, as illustrated by the red dashed arrow. The filtering of power from the museum's governing body, the Council for Cultural Affairs, through the education policy of the government, senior officials of the museum and museum education to school education, corresponds to Bennett's concept of the 'intertrumentality of culture' which explains the power relations between the government and museum education, introduced in Chapter 1.

Further evidence of the interrelationship between the fields of power and education is the utilisation of the museum for lifelong learning for civil servants. Under the regulation of the Executive Yuan, civil servants in Taiwan have been obliged to collect forty hours of learning points per year since 2002.[24] Under this project, the public, cultural and educational institutions are required to participate by providing resources for lifelong learning. Through the learning opportunities provided by the institutions, all types of learning resources are gathered for lifelong learning to enhance the quality of the human resources. Based on the government regulation and the museum's lifelong learning activities, the study argues that the educational activities of NTMOFA are linked to the government intention and regulation. This relationship between the government, the museum, and the civil servants can be explained by Foucault's governmentality, whereby a government means "the ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses, and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of power, which has as its target population as its principle form of knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security" (Rabinow and Rose, 2003: 244). In working to accomplish the government objectives, both the senior officials of the museum, the museum educators and the civil servants can be regarded as 'cultural technicians'. Bennett (1992a: 406, cited in Bennett, 1998: 195) suggests:

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[24] Categories for the courses: policy and regulations, arts and humanities, administration, professional skills, and management. Information obtained from the official Lifelong Learning website: http://lifelonglearn.cpa.gov.tw/main.php

Cultural technicians as description of the political role of intellectuals which, rather than seeing government and cultural politics as the vis-à-vis of one another, would locate the work of intellectuals within the field of government in seeing it as being committed to modifying the functioning of culture by means of technical adjustments to its government deployment.

In this power relation, NTMOFA is subordinate to its governing regulations and the central government. The central government possesses the power as it provides funding as the economic capital of the museum. The role of NTMOFA is as a supplier which provides cultural and educational capital to civil servants. The latter relationship is dominated by NTMOFA and the Education Department of the museum, since they hold the capital and resources that the civil servants require. Under this lifelong learning project, not only NTMOFA but also many other public institutions in Taiwan are obliged to assist the government in implementing the project by providing learning opportunities for civil servants. The analysis above shows that the habitus of the education practice at NTMOFA is situated in a field where power from the government and other fields are encountered. In this habitus, the operation of museum education lies between practice and structure, and the actions of the Education Department are confronted by the objective structures. Therefore, although the senior officials of NTMOFA indicate that the museum possesses sufficient autonomy and that the museum practice is not influenced by government regulation, in reality, it is logical to argue that the museum's educational practice is led by the objectives of the Education Department while also being influenced by the external structures in which it is embedded.

- Fields of art and museum education

The actors in the fields of art and education are the artists, curators and educators involved in planning and conducting educational activities collaboratively. In this relationship, the field of art used to play a dominant role, as the educational activities are based on the themes and content of the exhibitions. However, the Education Department has become proactive in this collaborative relationship by planning its activities with artists and curators when the museum exhibitions are conceived. In the current collaboration between these two fields, it appears difficult to define the dominant and subordinate actors in them. However, the Head of Education, Wang

Wanju (Interview: 03/09/2008) states that the Education Department is still subordinate to the Exhibition Department in their collaboration over activities:

> The educational activities are often developed in accordance with the exhibitions. In this instance, the exhibitions are the core and the educational activities are supplementary to the museum exhibitions.

Wang's view may reflect the reality or it could be somewhat biased, as a single view of a situation where there is a lack of freedom in the collaborative relationship with the Exhibition Department. However, based on the observation of the content of the educational activities at the museum's Family Room and second hand resources, the study suggests that, although the field of art possesses cultural capital, it relies on the field of education to disseminate the contents of its exhibitions to the general public. Conversely, the material used for the educational activities is derived from the museum's collections and exhibitions. Therefore, the relationship between the two fields is considered equal, with a compatible amount of capital held between the fields, and the resources being shared between the fields.

- The other fields

As shown in Figure 38, the actors in the field of consumption are constituted by diverse groups of consumers, most of whom are the target audience of the museum's education. The selection of the target audience of the field of consumption can be influenced by the government regulations. For instance, as mentioned previously, civil servants are targeted for the lifelong learning projects initiated by the Council of Cultural Affairs. The museum's relationship with the sponsors can be considered equal; however, the Education Department may be in a slightly dominant position, as it possesses the right to choose its sponsors, as confirmed by the interviewee (Wang Wanju, Interview: 03/09/2008). However, the claim of Wang Wangju, the Head of Education, would require further investigation to identify that the autonomy of the museum in selecting its sponsors is not restricted by the power imposed by the central government. Based on the research material available, the study argues that sponsorship at the NTMOFA is a two-way relationship: it is understood that the sponsors receive social and economic capital, while the Education Department receives economic capital from them. Figure 38 demonstrates that the relationship between the fields of consumption and education are

not dominated by the field of power significantly. The collaboration and relationship between the two fields can be considered a result of 'individual actions', in King's words; namely, the relationship lies not in their interaction with other individuals but in the social conditions which confront them (King, 2000: 423). The relationship between the two fields is constituted by the needs of the fields in the social structures where they are located. Having sponsorship, it could be seen as method for acquiring extra funding for NTMOFA as, for the sponsors, the driving force for collaborating with the museum is to gain symbolic capital (e.g. reputation benefits), acquaintances and social networks (social capital) through sponsoring museum activities. With regard to the field of commerce, shown in Figure 38, the field of commerce does not seem active or to have much interaction with the field of education. As a national museum, the financial support of NTMOFA predominately comes from the top-down, namely from the central government, rather than other commercial activities. As NTMOFA does not rely much on the field of commerce for its economic capital, it appears that the field of education is in a leading position in its relationship with the field of commerce.

6.4 Conclusion

The study revealed that the fields of museum education of the national museums in the case study possess relative autonomy and that homology can be found among the various fields of the museums' education. In the diagrams of the field analysis, fields are regulated by power from diverse locations i.e. the top-down power from the governing bodies and the power of human agents embedded in the objective structures to strive for capital. The analysis demonstrates that capital is used as a stake for power and exchanged between the actors for their benefit in competition with other actors in the fields. Actors who hold additional capital tend to be in a dominant position in the field relationship. The case study analysis uncovers that the museum senior staff possess control to transmit the government objectives through institutional practice; these senior officials of museums are described by Bennett as 'cultural technicians'. Both Bennett's explanation of the role of cultural workers and the understanding of human agents exercising and striving for power in the fields of museum education through the case studies synchronise with the Foucauldian theoretical model of governmentality, as the model of power for the circulation of modern power through the government apparatuses such as public museums. However, by adopting the Bourdieuan analysis of

field, habitus and capital, the study is able to confirm that, in addition to the top-down power, power is exercised on the ground in a horizontal direction between museum departments and the actors involved in the practice of museum education. Furthermore, the study argues that the actors in the field of museum education react to the objective structures that confront them with their own habitual approach. For instance, at NAMOC, the interactions between the museum sponsors and the educators of the Education Department exchange favours regarding their individual needs through a museum educational programme, as in the example of UBS, discussed earlier. The study argues that the reality of museum practice on the ground is not necessarily regulated by rules but by the *practical sense* of the actors. Cronin (1996: 66) describes it as:

> through the habitus of the actors in the game functions as a *practical sense*, an immediate bodily awareness of the potentialities and constraints of situation of action and an automatic adaptation to them – agents can exploit existing relations of symbolic power in a strategic manner by manipulating accepted representations of the social world.

In addition to the museum-sponsor relationship, this can be applied to museum-school collaboration, as the collaborative relationships are constituted by the actions of the museum staff and schoolteachers without much constraint from the rules of the external structures, as discussed previously in section 6.2.5.

The roles of the national museums examined in this chapter and how these are shaped are comparable, however diverse to some degree. Both of the museums are the providers of cultural and educational capital, with their economic capital as the fuel for their cultural and educational practice from the central government. As capital is convertible when it is transferred between the fields, the economic capital received from the government is converted into cultural and educational capital through the museums provided to their target audience as the beneficiaries of the government's investment. At NAMOC, the museum's senior officials are the actors who bridge the gap between the educational practice of the museum and the government objectives. This manifests itself in not only the national museums but also the local art museums in China, such as the Guangdong Museum of Art, as will be examined in the next chapter. On the contrary, the Director's authority is less dominant in the field of museum education at NTMOFA,

which could be ascribed to the museum's strong link with the Taiwanese government's objectives. Other aspects of the regulation from the governing bodies are the assigned exhibition by the central government, the additional funding allocated for museum collections and exhibitions, and the necessity of providing reports on the planned educational activities for funding applications. These can be regarded as solely applicable to the national museums or can occur in the local museums in the case study. Comparable to the investigation in this chapter, the way in which the educational practice of local museums is regulated in China and Taiwan, and the roles of the museums, will be examined in Chapter 7.

Chapter 7. The Field of Art Museum Education: Local Museums

7.1 Introduction

This chapter adopts Pierre Bourdieu's theories of field, habitus and capital for the analysis of human agents and practices in the field of museum education. Bourdieu's theories are considered alongside the conceptual framework of Foucault's governmentality, the key framework underpinning this study. Governmentality means 'the art of government'; "by combining the ideas of 'government' and 'mentality', referring particularly to the relationship between the practices of government and knowledge of the populations of government (Painter, 2005: 132). Painter refines the concept of governmentality to focus on the diverse political rationalities of government, its 'technologies', and the intellectual labour involved in bringing into being the things, people and processes to be governed (ibid). This corresponds to the Marxist's view of power relations as, under the Gramscian theory, power is enacted from a central location in a top-down direction. However, discrepancies can also be found between the Foucauldian and Gramscian models of power, as power is described by Gramsci (1971: 244, 260) as being exerted by the dominant onto the population that it governs in order to gain the consent of the dominated and exercise the control of the government. Unlike governmentality, which concerns the calculated activities undertaken by the authorities and agencies, by employing forms of knowledge that seek to shape conduct, power in the Gramscian model is imposed by a central location, i.e. the central government, directly upon the governed. Although the Gramsican model of hegemony was devised to portray the power relations of a communist society, this study argues that in China, being a communist state, the relationship between power and culture can no longer be explained simply by Gramsci. To understand the power relations in the cultural system and cultural practice of China fully, the Foucauldian model should be considered in order to assess how cultural practice is regulated in China today.

By applying Bourdieu's theories to the analysis of this chapter, the study revealed that, in the museum practice in both China and Taiwan, the power relations are far more complex than when they are explained by Gramsci's model of power, as power only derives from the top, flowing in one direction towards the subordinated. As illustrated in

Chapter 3, the Gramscian model of power best explains the Chinese and Taiwanese power relations between the government and cultural practice in the past, when power was exercised with the consent of the population under the authoritative state management. The chapter argues that the analysis of power should begin with its infinitesimal mechanisms of power and then consider how these have been and remain invested, colonised, and used by increasingly general mechanisms and forms of overall domination. Namely, power must be understood as the final result of a process, and power and domination have to be made up and composed (Latour, 2005: 64, cited in Bennett, 2007: 615). Both this and the previous chapter argue that the power involved in museum educational practice has multiple origins in the state (central or local government) and also in those agents involved in the field of museum education. 'Power' is everywhere and the actions behind the participating agents are influenced by their interest in pursuing additional capital and power. Governmentality can be comparable to Bourdieu's theories of field and habitus, as he considers the relationship between practice and structure, positioning it the actors and their dispositions in a 'field' where objective structures such as rules and regulations are imposed upon individual actors. When examining a social practice, both Foucault and Bourdieu recognise top-down power as well as that generated by the human agents involved in practice. Bourdieu further considers the individuality of the human agents and the impact which they bring from their habitus to the field in which they are located. However, while analysing power at the ground level, the Bourdieuan theory disregards the resistance of power, so the study argues that the autonomy of the actors should be considered in addition to habitus and capital in the field analysis.

The objective of this chapter is to understand how the roles of art museum education are shaped and how power flows in the field of museum education of the local museums employed in the case study. Using Bourdieu's theories as the groundwork, the analysis identifies the actors who struggle for the stakes, the fields which are involved in museum education, the relations between the fields and the field of power, the autonomy and resistance of the actors, and the capital for which the actors are struggling in order to improve and preserve their position in the field. Identical to the method used for the data collection in Chapter 6, the data used for the current analysis were collected by conducting interviews with the Museum Directors and Heads of the Education Departments of the case study museums. In addition to the primary sources, secondary

sources are employed to obtain background information about the case study museums. The study begins with the museums' background history, the characteristics of their collections and exhibitions, their funding, and the current issues related to the education that they offer. For each museum, a diagram analysing the field of museum education will be presented, together with a commentary. Bourdieu's three-step analytical approach is employed with the aim of investigating the field of museum education by: 1) analysing the positions of the field *vis-à-vis* the field of power; 2) mapping out the relations between the positions occupied by the social agents who struggle for legitimate forms of specific authority; and 3) analysing the habitus of the social agents (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 104-5, cited in Thomson, 2008: 75).

7.2 Guangdong Museum of Art (GDMOA)

7.2.1 *Founding and building*

GDMOA was established in 1997 as a multi-functional, non-profit provincial art museum in Guangdong province, China. The current Museum Director, Wang Huangsheng is the founder of GDMOA. Wang specialises in Chinese ink painting and art history, and has been its Director since the museum opened. GDMOA has areas for both outdoor and indoor displays. The museum's 8,000 square metre exhibition space consists of 12 indoor galleries. With regard to the outdoor space, a 5,000 square metre garden is dedicated to the museum's sculptural displays.

GDMOA is located on Ersha Island on the Zhu Jiang (Pearl River) in the centre of Guangzhou City. Both GDMOA and the nearby Xinghai Music Hall form part of the spiritual and cultural enlightenment project of the Provincial Government of Guangdong. '精神文明' (*Jingshen wenming*, Spiritual Civilisation) is embodied in scientific knowledge and the 'thoughts, ideals, beliefs, morality, discipline and revolutionary framework of Communism' (Xinhua News, 2003). The construction of Spiritual Civilisation aims to balance the development of material civilisation in modern China. To promote Spiritual Civilisation, 中共中央精神文明建设指导委员会 (*Zhonggong zhongyang jingshen wenming jianshe zhidao weiyuanhui*, the Guiding Committee for the Construction of Spiritual Civilisation of the Central Government)

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was established in 1997, and a website is managed by the Committee to disseminate news, regulations and information related to Spiritual Civilisation.[25] The principles, objectives and approaches for constructing and enhancing Spiritual Civilisation are stated in the guidelines for this proposal for the period from 1996-2010 (Chinese Central Government, 1996). Currently, the GDMOA, the Xinghai Museum Hall and the Xinghai Conservatory of Music, have together transformed Er-sha Island into the cultural quarter of the city of Guangzhou.

- The new branches

GDMOA has established a further two branches in Guangdong in recent years: the Times Museum for the display of contemporary art in 2003 in the Bai-Yun District, and the Shenlian Art Museum for the display of classic art in 2006 in Dongguan. These new branches of GDMOA demonstrate the museum's connection with private companies, as they are community-based, founded with financial support from local building construction companies (Peng and Lu, 2007). The Times Museum was established through collaboration between GDMOA and Times Property, the latter being a building construction company, established in 1996, belonging to the Guangzhou Times Development Group.[26] The company proclaims that Times Property is the first building construction company to incorporate real estate into the arts. They state that:

> we explore the relationships between architecture, life and the extensive human art, bring an art gallery into residential community, and endeavour to support the fusion of life and art. The unique positioning of 'Life Stylist' creates a leading vision of our future development. By innovative ideas and breaking ground in culture, Times Property aims to be the leading life arts creator in real estate industry, creating the perfect living art for your life.

Currently, the two new branches are presented as exhibition spaces for the display of GDMOA collections, offering free admission to the community members. Figure 39 shows the original site of the Times Museum, surrounded by modern apartments blocks built by Times Property. Figure 40 shows the new site, designed by the well-known architects, Rem Koolhaas and Alain Fouraux.

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[25] The Chinese Civilisation Network: http://www.wenming.cn/
[26] The official company website: http://www.timesgroup.cn

[Figure 39] The original site of the Times Museum, GDMOA
Photo: Y.J. Chen

[Figure 40] The new site of the Times Museum, GDMOA
Photo: Y.J. Chen

The founding of the other new branch, the Shenlian Art Museum, was a project funded
jointly by the GDMOA and Shenlian Construction, located in a scenic park, the Shuilian

Lake of Dongguan City, in association with a new housing development project of Shenlian Construction, the Empirical Garden. At the opening ceremony of the Shenlian Art Museum, the Director of the GDMOA, Wang Huangsheng, stated that GDMOA makes art accessible to the general public – attracting the public while being proactive – to enable art to become a part of people's lives by broadening the scope of cultural services to the local communities (News of Yingkou Culture, 2006). The Director's objective can be linked to a government regulation that was published a few years ago: '关于加快建设文化大省的决定' (*Guanyu jiakuai jianshe wenhuadasheng de jueding*, The Decision on the Acceleration of Constructing a Cultural Province). The regulation states that the cultural sector should fulfil the needs and enhance the quality of life of the general public (Guangdong Provincial Government, 2003). This evidence of a connection between museum practice and government regulation demonstrates the museum's role as a government branch, working to fulfil the government objectives and distribute government power. The Chinese government applies bio-politics as a modern form of governance, which aims to enhance the lives of the population through the application of its rule. It is concerned with the administration and welfare of the governed (Dean, 1999: 102). In addition to Guangdong province, many other provinces in China, such as Zhejiang, Jiangsu and Hunan, have been urged by both the local and central governments to recognise the value of cultural practice for regional economic development (Chinese Cultural Net, 2009).

7.2.2 Collections and exhibitions

The museum's collections and exhibitions comprise the works of contemporary Chinese art, Chinese painting, calligraphy, block printing, oil-painting, watercolours, sketches, sculpture and photography by contemporary Chinese and western artists. Although GDMOA was only founded a decade ago, the museum is now in possession of 20,000 works of art, second in size only to the National Art Museum of China's collection.

GDMOA hosts around 60 exhibitions each year, ranging from solo exhibitions of contemporary artists to larger ones based on its permanent collection (GDMOA, 2010). A triennial exhibition has been launched by the museum in recent years to promote exchange between international and Chinese contemporary art. To promote Chinese contemporary art, GDMOA collaborates with museums overseas e.g. an exhibition on

Chinese contemporary art was arranged between the GDMOA and the Musee d'Art Contemporaine de Lyon in 2006 as part of the Chinese-French Cultural Year, Les Années Chine-France.[27] The museum's exhibitions enable the works of forgotten artists, who are significantly to the history of art of Guangdong, to be shown, restored and preserved, such as Huang Shaoqiang, the artist of the Lingnan School. 'Huang, Shaoqiang: Art of the Folks was launched at GDMOA in collaboration with the Propaganda Department of the Nanhai city government and the Cultural Bureau of Nanhai City (GDMOA, 2000a). This collaboration between the government branch and the museum demonstrates the latter's role as a government device, and it is suggested in the Fouculdian model of power that the regulative power of modern governance is enacted diffusely through government apparatuses.

7.2.3 *Funding*

The governing body of GDMOA was the Propaganda Department prior to becoming the Department of Culture, Guangdong Provincial Government. The Propaganda Department of the Chinese central government was established in 1924 and existed throughout the Cultural Revolution until 1977. The major role of the Propaganda Department is the regulation of ideology, news, publications and educational policies, and it oversees the work of the Ministry of Culture and the State Administration of Radio, Film and Television. In the provinces and cities, the Cultural Bureaus and Bureaus of Radio and Television are supervised by the Propaganda Departments at the local level. Although GDMOA is not directly overseen by the Propaganda Department, the institution remains regulated by the Propaganda Department at the central or local level in a circuitous way.

In China, the local administrative divisions include five different levels: provincial, prefecture, county, township and village, with the former being the largest. Each level, except for the township and village levels, has city governments affiliated to it. Compared with the city and provincial governments, the area that a city government governs is smaller. As a provincial museum, GDMOA's funding is derived from the Provincial Government of Guangdong province. Similar to many of the case study

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[27] The Les Années Chine-France is a series of cultural events jointly organised by the Chinese and French Governments. Since 2003, cultural events have been taking place in both countries on ancient culture, folk culture, music, performing arts, food and fashion.

museums, GDMOA is required to produce annual performance reports to explain how its funding is used (Wang Huangsheng, Interview: 22/09/2008). In addition to the funding from the provincial government, GDMOA receives support from its sponsors, which is habitually in a form of in-kind sponsorship i.e. the museum collaborates with local newspapers such as Yan-Chen Evening News to obtain publicity for Guangzhou Triennial by distributing free tickets to the readers (Liu Duanling, Interview: 22/09/2008). In addition to its government funding, the Friends of GDMOA and the Training Centre are other financial sources for the museum. The nature and role of the Training Centre will be described below.

7.2.4 *Current issues in museum education*

In addition to providing a platform for the display of art, GDMOA devotes itself to being 'a museum for its general public' (Nanfang Daily, 2007). The Museum Director indicates that "with regard to the public education of the museum, education for the general public has long been the focus", and "the Department of Culture considers it important for the museum to provide increased cultural contact to the citizens of Guangdong" (Wang Huangsheng, Interview: 22/09/2008). To provide art education to remote areas, the museum has launched mobile museum project in the rural cities of Guangdong province, such as He-Yuan, Jie-Yang and Shao-Guan. 'Education Comes to Villages' is a project that is considered to be an extension of the mobile museum project, in which, the education service is not only sent to villages, but also to towns and schools in rural areas, as part of the museum's outreach service. For the preservation of the art of Guangdong, GDMOA is currently constructing a 'Library for Arts and Humanities', which aims to be the first museum library to store and categorise art literature for both leisure and academic purposes.

In addition to providing off-site educational services, GDMOA has a Training Centre dedicated to children's art education. This is a profit-making organisation that was established in 2000, which provides art classes to elementary and junior high school students. Calligraphy, sketching and drawing for beginners at the medium and advanced level are taught at the Centre, and classes for junior high schools students aged from 12 to 15 are held to assist the students to prepare for their entrance examinations for art college. All classes are held at weekends when the students are not at school. The

Training Centre adds additional financial sources to GDMOA; its Director, Li Xuhong, states that "the Centre is popular with parents and students in the area, and this provides a generous income for the museum". The role of the Education Department and Training Centre can be summarised as the former providing art education for the general public while the latter caters for children's art education, with income generated from the field of commerce. Occasionally, the content of the classes synchronises with the museum's exhibitions. For instance, during an educational activity that the researcher observed, students were invited to the gallery to attend a guided tour of the Guangzhou Triennial, following which they were asked to remain in the gallery to create their own work, inspired by the artwork they had seen (Observation notes: 21/09/2008). The pedagogy used for the educational activity is a didactic approach, which does not match the western learning theories introduced in Chapter 2. This learning approach reflects the learning style in Chinese schools, where the 'communication' during learning is a linear process, from the transmitter to the passive receiver; therefore, the learning process often lacks creativity and stimulation. This learning approach can be found through the teaching at the Training Centre of GDMOA mentioned in Chapter 4, whereby students are taught to copy the work of a renowned illustrator. Throughout the class, meaning construction, connections between the learners, and the contextualisation of the learners' lives and learning experience are not encouraged.

7.2.5 *The field of museum education: GDMOA*

- The fields of art and public education: relations with the consumers

From both the interview data and observation notes about the museum's educational activities, it is understood that GDMOA orients itself towards education for the local community and citizens of Guangzhou City. The citizens of Guangzhou City of all ages are the target consumers of the museum, who are positioned between the fields of art, education, and consumption. In providing enhanced cultural contact for the citizens, the fields of art and education form a collaborative relationship that acts as a bridge between the museum and its audience. The consumers acquire cultural capital from the museum and the museum provides its services to its target audience, i.e. the general public.
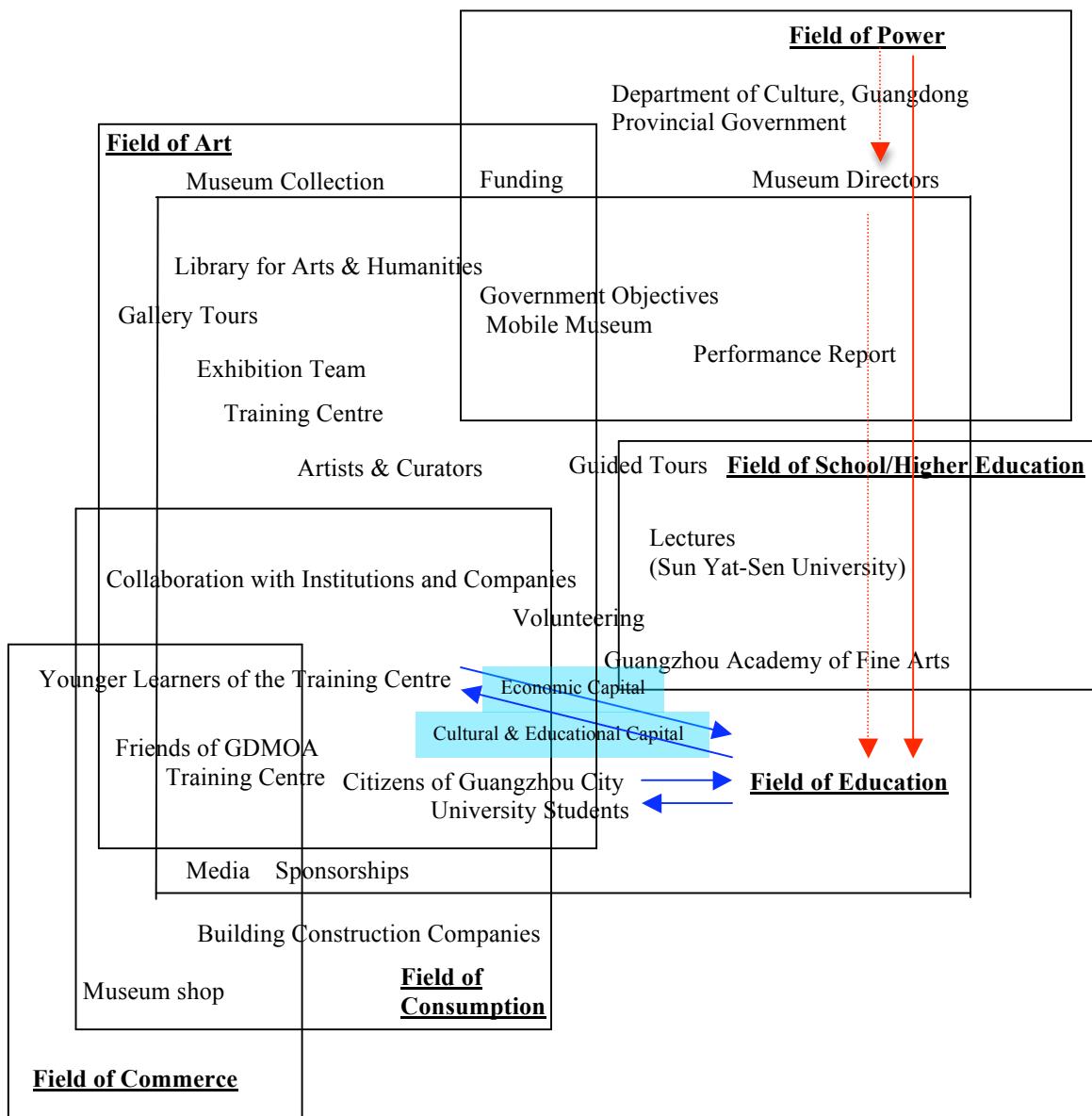
[Figure 41] Field of Museum Education: GDMOA

This relationship between GDMOA and its audience can be understood as being constructed on a government regulation about creating a cultural province to enhance the quality of life and increase the accessibility of art, as mentioned previously in section 7.2.1. In responding to this government objective, GDMOA's Head of Education states that "the government has announced its aim to provide a better public service system", which "has urged the public institutions to consider further what

services can be provided to the general public" (Liu Duanling, Interview: 22/09/2008). In this relationship, the museum audience gains cultural capital by participating in museum activities. Cultural capital refers to non-economic goods or services, and covers a wide variety of resources, including factors like verbal facility, general cultural awareness, aesthetic preferences, information about the school system and educational credentials (Swartz, 1997: 75). GDMOA aims to make art easily accessible and eliminate the boundaries between arts professionals and the general public.

Among the museum audience, the 'younger learners of the Training Centre', namely the actors positioned between the fields of art, education, consumption and commerce, need to be addressed specifically. These younger learners are not only the audience of the museum but also those through whom the museum generates its additional financial support. Unlike museum consumers, such as university students and the citizens of Guangzhou City, who attend organised educational activities at GDMOA that enable the museum to implement the government objective of broadening cultural access in the region, the learners at the Training Centre are in a slightly more dominant position in terms of their relationship with the museum as, by participating in the field of education, the museum receives economic capital from these consumers of the Training Centre. However, the power which comes from the learners at the Training Centre is weaker than that devolved from the field of power to the field of education, as illustrated by the uni-directional red arrow in Figure 41, as the Training Centre possesses autonomy over the content of the programmes and GDMOA does not solely rely on the Training Centre as a primary financial source. Therefore, the relationship between the field of education and the consumers of the Training Centre is considered to be practically equal, and is built on the mutual benefit of the actors, as the Education Department generates additional income through the running of the Training Centre and the Training Centre participants gain educational and cultural capital through the activities in which they participate. Based on its institutional structure, meanwhile, GDMOA reports to its governing body and relies on its major financial sources from the provincial government; hence, the field of power is in a dominant position in its relationship with the field of museum education.

The other actor positioned between the fields of education and consumption, the sponsors of GDMOA, such as the housing development companies, is unique among

the case study museums. Having a branch of a public art museum within a housing development is a robust marketing strategy for building companies as, through sponsoring the museum by providing a space for the museum's new branch, the building companies gain publicity. Conversely, GDMOA gains an opportunity for expansion. These interactions and relationships between the sponsors and the museum can be explained by the action of 'gift exchange in their favour'. In Bourdieu's practical theory, it is stated that "individuals renegotiate their relations with other individuals by manipulating common understandings about gift exchange in their favour, rather than merely enacting an already established system of exchange by the following of rules" (King, 2000: 421). This increased collaborative relationship with the museum sponsors can be a result of a changing economic model, from a government supported model (*Daguofan*) to a market economic model in the 1990s. Under the new economic model, the reduced financial support resulted in greater freedom within certain frameworks, although it forced the museum to seek additional aid (Lai Guolong, personal communication, 18 and 19 July 2010). From the material available for the analysis of the relationship between GDMOA and the building companies, this study has established that the museum and its sponsors collaborate for the mutual benefits, resources and capital that each requires. However, this study is not in a position to deny that the reality of the relationship between the two can be complicated on the ground, e.g., the resistance of power between the actors, which lies beyond the scope of the current analysis.

- The field of power

The objectives of the museum's senior officials, situated in the field of power, possess a certain amount of decision-making power over the educational practices of GDMOA on the basis that their decisions synchronise with the Department of Culture. The museum's senior officials are the actors in the field responsible for the educational practice of the institution. The Museum Director states that "the museum is granted autonomy over our exhibitionary and educational practices, and the Department of Culture and the museum share identical objectives towards the museum practice" (Wang Huangsheng, Interview: 22/09/2008). However, it is questionable how much 'autonomy' the museum or its senior officials actually possess if the institution has to work in accordance with the aims and objectives of its governing bodies. Bourdieu

(1989: 14-25) suggests that objective structures are capable of guiding and constraining the practices or representations of the agents. As GDMOA is publicly-funded, its operation to some extent would be constrained by the objective structures; namely, the supervision of its governing bodies. GDMOA, however, possesses freedom over its educational practice, which has to be operated under the control of the governing bodies of both the central and local governments. This is further exemplified by Jenkins' statement that habitus is a system of disposition; it is formed naturally and unconsciously. The power of habitus is derived from the thoughtlessness of habitus rather than consciously learnt rules and principles (Jenkins, 1992: 76). In the power relation between the museum's governing bodies and its senior official, the habitus formed in the relationship naturally guides 'the practice' in the field. It can be understood that, as the governing body, the Department of Culture of the Guangdong Provincial Government posits itself in a relatively dominant position, aiming to implement its objectives through the senior officials of the museum. Therefore, the Museum Director's claim of having been granted autonomy from the governing body cannot be taken at face value, as the museum relies on funding from the provincial government, and the action of the Museum Director in implementing the government objectives through the museum practice is a habitus that is naturally formed. From the interview response of the Museum Director, it is impossible to determine the degree of actual autonomy that the museum possesses or whether this represents the reality or merely the 'habitus' of the actor in the field of museum education.

The analysis of the field of museum education and the power relations between this and the field of museum education can confirm that power and authority are devolved from the government through the Directors of the museum to the educational practice. The field of power is normally reserved for the government; however, the museum's senior officials i.e. the Museum Director and Head of Education, can be regarded as the arms of their governing bodies for implementing government objectives. In so doing, the museum officials secure funding for their institutions. The role of museums' senior officials as the branches of the government concurs with Foucault's concept of micro-power and governmentality, whereby Foucault considers power to be devolved through government apparatuses and individuals to spread the government's intentions. 'Government' and 'mentality', or 'the art of government', is understood "to include not only state practices, but also activities that seek to co-ordinate or 'steer' processes,

people and things" (Painter, 2005: 141). "Power is not an institution, nor a structure, nor a possession. It is the name we give to a complex strategic situation in a particular society." (Foucault, 1990: 93) The practice at GDMOA is considered to be regulated by the objective conditions which constitute the role of the museum officials as being to act as agents in implementing the government objectives through museum practice. This is illustrated by the two dashed arrows in Figure 41, representing the indirect exercise of power from the field of power to the field of education through the Museum Directors.

- The acquisition of cultural capital

Another feature of the field of museum education of GDMOA is the operation of the Training Centre, which is unique to the museums in the case study. The existence of the Training Centre, with its sole function of providing children's art education, is exclusive to the Chinese context. As in China, school education at the elementary and junior high levels is competitive; art is not considered a major subject but is supplementary to other subjects. The Head of the Training Centre, Li Xuhong (Interview: 20/09/2008), stated during the interview that the Training Centre as a provider of art education for schoolchildren is constituted by the need of the local parents for their children to learn more about art outside school hours and the museum itself in order to generate additional income.

The concept of the Training Centre is comparable to *Shaoniengong*, mentioned in the analysis of the field of museum education of NAMOC in Chapter 6. Both the Training Centre at GDMOA and *Shaoniengong* provide art classes for local students run by the local government. Although based on the primary and secondary material available for the study, there is no regulation concerning the facilitation of the museum's educational services towards local schools in Guangzhou, which may be considered as granting GDMOA with the autonomy to choose with which institutions to collaborate. This may show that, as a result of possessing autonomy over the museum-school collaborative relationship, GDMOA may be in a dominant position, as it holds the cultural capital that the local school acquires, but this may be merely an assumption, as the study could argue that GDMOA also relies on its local schools, as the Education Department would need local institutions to collaborate with in order to implement its educational provision.

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7.3 Taipei Fine Arts Museum (TFAM)

7.3.1 *Founding and building*

[Figure 42] Taipei Fine Arts Museum
Photo: Y. J. Chen

TFAM was founded in 1983 as part of the 12th Development Project conducted by the Executive Yuan as the first modern and contemporary art museum in Taiwan. The founding of the museum was part of the government's cultural plan to construct and popularise basic cultural infrastructures to enhance the quality of life through art of Taipei citizens following the previous focus on economic growth and the construction of a public infrastructure (TFAM, 2009). The museum was initially established within the educational system, supervised by Taipei Education Bureau. The management of the museum was handed over to the Department of Cultural Affairs of Taipei City Government when the Department was established in 1999.

The location of TFAM in Taipei City is comparatively secluded, considering the density of the city's population. TFAM is located in the Taipei Art Park (also known as the Chungshan Art Park), which is occasionally used as an outdoor exhibition space for

sculptural displays. Next to the TFAM is the Taipei Story House, a privately-run cultural institution supervised by the Department of Cultural Affairs, Taipei City Government. The Taipei Story House is a European style house that was built in 1914 as Yuanshan Villa, the home of a Taiwanese merchant. The building is now being preserved for its cultural value, and is now a venue for exhibitions, lectures and arts events to enrich the citizens' cultural life. Opposite the Taipei Story House and the TFAM is the Children's Recreation Centre, located at the foot of Yuanshan hill and overlooked by the Grand Hotel.[28] The exhibition space of TFAM is located on the three floors above ground and the basement. For its educational practice, TFAM has an art studio for art classes for amateurs, and the Art Experience Corner where elementary and junior high school students and their families can attend hands-on classes.

7.3.2 *Collections and exhibitions*

The objective of the exhibitions and collections of TFAM is to promote academic research and art education, and for TFAM to become a platform for the international exchange of modern and contemporary art in Taiwan. TFAM has launched exhibitions on digital art and contemporary product design, and has hosted the Taipei Biennial as an international platform for Taiwanese artists in recent years. It is currently constructing a digital archive for a systematic and efficient collection system. The theme of TFAM's exhibitions has shifted since the museum's opening. Many of its exhibitions were themed on 'China', such as a retrospective of modern Chinese painting on its opening and another retrospective of Chinese artists in France in the late 1980s. The theme of the museum exhibitions has shifted from 'China' to 'Taiwan' in recent decades; for instance, 34 artworks representing the history of the art of Taiwan were selected for a permanent exhibition entitled the 'Jewels of 25 Years Museum Collection' at TFAM in 2008 (TFAM, 2011). The shift in the titles of the exhibitions can be linked to the orientation of the cultural policy of the ruling government of the day. As the study argued previously in Chapter 3, during the regime of the KMT, the government regarded itself as the only legitimate government to represent China; hence, Taiwanese art was overlooked and Chinese art promoted. Under the rule of the DPP, cultural policy began to address the arts and culture of Taiwan. Since 1995, exhibitions themed on

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[28] The Grand Hotel is a non-profit organisation owned by the Duen-Mou Foundation. It was established in 1952 and is known for its traditional Chinese palace-style architecture. For decades, the hotel has played host to dignitaries from other countries.

'Taiwan' and 'Taipei' were on the increase and, since 2000, '現代化, 國際化, 本土化, 精緻化' (*Xindaihua, guojihua, bentuhua, jingzhihua*, modernisation, internationalisation, localisation and refinement) have become the mission statement of the museum (TFAM, 2009).

7.3.3 *Funding*

The Taipei City Government allocates funding to TFAM with the consent of Taipei City Council, and this funding mechanism is comparable to the other local museums in the case study. The museum's Head of Education Department stated in the interview that, as a result of the financial pressure from the Taipei City Government, TFAM's annual budget is decreasing, while the number of tasks to complete each year remains the same. Hence, sponsorship has become essential to the TFAM (Chuan Yuanwei, Interview: 10/09/2008). Furthermore, the tuition fees generated by the art classes run by the museum are another funding source for TFAM.

7.3.4 *Current issues in museum education*

TFAM's activities are currently centred on three aspects: outreach art education, academic research and the construction of a digitised collection system for Taiwanese contemporary art. Digitising the museum's collections has been ongoing since 1993, and it has become a trend for museums to digitise their collection in Taiwan, such as the other case study museum, the National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts. In terms of the research activities carried out by the museum, TFAM publishes the Journal of TFAM to promote academic research on the contemporary art of Taiwan. The educational programmes run by TFAM are categorised into learners from different age groups. For instance, there are lectures for adult learners, specialised educational activities for family groups and schoolchildren, art classes for both children and adults, and free weekend evening concerts and film nights named 'Star Cinema' for the general public. To increase the accessibility of the museum, the Saturday opening hours have been extended into the evening to encourage weekend visitors.

Under a government regulation, between February and June 2008 and in the academic year 2009-2010, TFAM worked in partnership with the Taipei Cultural Bureau and the Taipei Education Bureau on a project named Discover the Beauty of Museum Collections to encourage art appreciation among students in Taipei City (TFAM, 2008). It is stated in the Arts and Humanities Curriculum that all elementary school grade-3 students are required to visit TFAM for 3 to 6 hours every year during school time (Chuan Yuanwei, Interview: 10/09/2008). In addition, TFAM is responsible for providing learning opportunities for civil servants in Taipei City by offering lectures and guided tours, as civil servants such as schoolteachers are required to amass 40 hours of learning points by attending learning programmes offered by educational and cultural institutions each year (Central Personnel Administration, 2009). This lifelong learning programme was implemented in 2002, and all three case study museums in Taiwan are responsible for facilitating educational opportunities for civil servants under this regulation.

Another distinct feature of TFAM's current educational practice is the running of the Annual Educational Exhibition, that adopts its pedagogy from the Centre Pompidou, which aims for the participants to learn through experience. 'Memory: Flowing through the Fingers: Children's Visual Art Experience' is an educational programme linked to the Annual Educational Exhibition in 2008, which provides the participants with the opportunity to learn through observation, comparison and group discussion (Observation notes: 31/08/2008, 10/09/2008). It was observed by the researcher that, at the start of the activity, the participants were introduced to the work of artists and encouraged to observe the artwork on display. This is followed by a comparison between the works of the artists and those created by previous participants (Figure 43). In the second half of the session, after the participants have created their individual work, inspired by the artists, they are gathered together for a discussion of the work and that of others (Figure 44). The pedagogy of this educational activity can be linked to the western constructivist learning theory of Dewey, Hein, and Falk and Dierking. As introduced in Chapter 2, there are differences between the learning theory of Falk and Dierking and the constructivist theorists of Dewey and Hein. In this particular activity, the influence of constructivism learning is more pronounced than the learning theory of Falk and Dierking, as the activity emphasises solely learning as a meaning making process through experience, thinking and social interaction instead of associating

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learning with behaviourism and functionalism. The constructivist theorists regard learning itself as a meaningful experience through hands-on activities, whereas behaviourism considers behavioural change through a series of learning. It may be important for a behaviourist to know about the effectiveness of an educational activity and how much the participants can learn through the activity. However, it is equally crucial to understand that the 'experience' through the activity outweighs the measure of knowing what is learnt and the contribution of learning to behavioural change since the concept of TFAM's Annual Education Exhibition is based on constructivist theories.

[Figure 43] Activity for the annual educational exhibition at TFAM
Photo: Y. J. Chen

[Figure 44] Activity for the annual Educational Exhibition at TFAM
Photo: Y. J. Chen

7.3.5 *The field of museum education: TFAM*

- Museum education and the field of power

In comparison with the previous chapter, TFAM and the National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts occupy a similar position between the fields of power and education. Both NTMOFA and TFAM have become venues since 2002 that provide lifelong learning for civil servants under the regulation of the Executive Yuan (Central Personnel Administration, 2009), and the links between the fields of power and school education have drawn closer through the example of TFAM, as museum visits have become compulsory for elementary schools in Taipei City. As illustrated in Figure 45, in the field of education, government projects are positioned between the central government and the museum. In this positioning, the governing body, the Department of Cultural Affairs of the Taipei City Government, is in a dominant position in the power relations between the fields of power and education. As the field of power holds economic capital, its authority is imposed onto the fields of school education and education, which subsequently re-direct power as cultural capital to the lifelong learning project and the

Arts and Humanities Curriculum. These directions of power relations are represented in the diagram by arrows with solid lines representing the power imposed from the field of power and red arrows with dashed lines representing the re-direction of power from the field of education. The power relations between the fields can be explained through the Bourdian theory of habitus, as the government is the major supplier of financial resources for the museum; therefore, in the habitus of the field of education, the museum has become an extension of its governing body and the habitus is formed naturally and unconsciously in implementing government objectives in order to receive government funding in return. In this instance, the individualism of museum education is subject to the adjustment of the power from the other fields and the government.
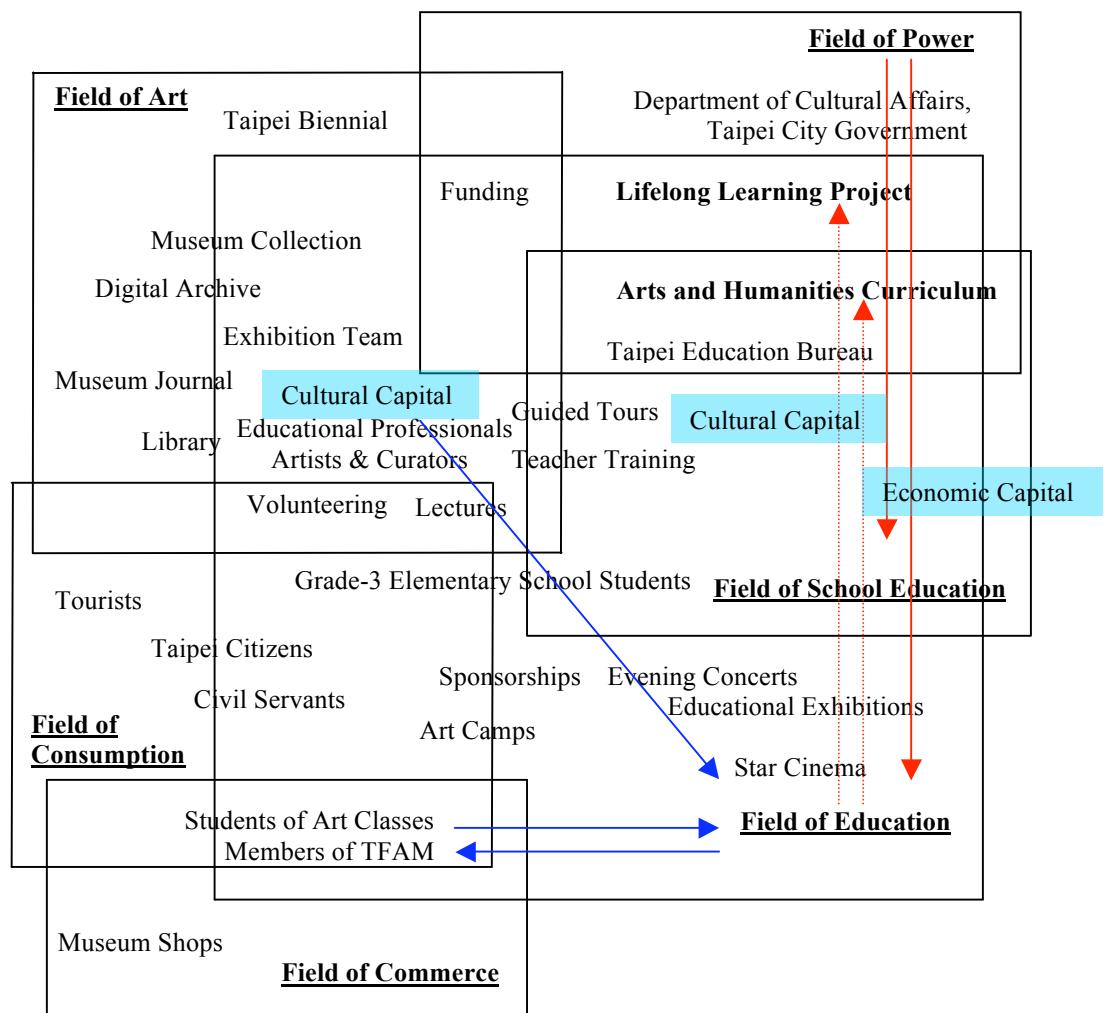
[Figure 45] Museum Education: Fields in relation to the field of power (TFAM)

- Field of consumption and commerce

Both TFAM and GDMOA, analysed previously, organise private art classes, situated between the fields of commerce and education, as shown in Figure 45. Both art classes are run by the two museums to generate additional income, with TFAM offering various classes for learners of different ages and GDMOA focussing solely on children's art education. In contrast to the national museums in the case studies, the example of TFAM and GDMOA shows that local museums have a tendency to acquire further funding from other sources. This may be the result of the insufficient funding allocated to the local compared with the national museums in the study, as addressed by the museum official (Chuan Yuanwei, Interview: 10/09/2008). In addition to the art classes, museum membership is another method through which TFAM generates financial support. The power relations between the field of education and the museum's consumers, i.e. the participants in the art classes and the members of the museum, can be considered relatively equal in comparison to the power relations between the fields of education and power. As the provider of cultural, educational and social capital for the museum's consumers, TFAM is rewarded with economic capital as extra financial support in exchange for its educational services to the museum consumers. This relationship is marked by the two paralleled blue arrows between the field of education and the museum consumers, representing an equal relationship between the actors exchanging the capital for which they strive. This power relation can be clarified as an action for the exchange of favours and services between the actors in the field of museum education as a habitus of the actors. Bourdieu (2005a: 45) describes habitus as a product of the social conditions, constituted naturally over time within the social structures within which the actors are situated. This habitus of the exchange of favours found between the museums and their consumers in the case study of TFAM can be identified in the field analysis of the other case study museums in this and the previous chapter. This confirms that, although field practice is regulated by institutional structures, museum practice in reality can be adjusted by diverse sets of interests and relations.

- Field of art and museum education

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The collaboration between the Education and Exhibition Departments has increased in recent years at TFAM. The Head of Education stated during the interview that the Education Department relies on the cultural capital provided by the Exhibition Department, and that the latter is in a dominant position in the collaborative relationship between the two. Chuan Yuanwei (Interview: 10/09/2008) stated that:

> the major problem that we have encountered through the collaboration with the Exhibition Department is that our activities are attached to the museum exhibitions. The difficulty for us is that we need to be spontaneous and we are not given enough time to conceive our activities.

It is understood from the response of the Head of Education that the educational activities must be developed in accordance with the content of the exhibitions, so the planning of the educational activities cannot begin until the Exhibition Department decides on the exhibitions. However, the comment by the Head of Education Department should not be accepted without question, as it may not reflect the reality and could be merely a personal statement of frustration with regard to the experience of the Education Department in collaborating with the Exhibition Department. From the secondary resources available, the content of the educational activities of the case study museums synchronises with the museum exhibitions; therefore, it is clear that the museum's exhibition and education teams collaborate with each other to acquire the resources they need. Although Chuan Yuanwei expressed her dissatisfaction with the collaborative relationship, it will require further investigation to uncover whether it is truly a personal statement or a reflection of the reality.

- Symbolic significance of museum education

TFAM was founded as part of the 12th Development Project with symbolic significance to enhance and diversify cultural life by providing increased cultural contact for the citizens (TFAM, 2009). This symbolic significance or symbolic power of TFAM is derived from the field of power, which is subsequently converted into cultural capital for the general public through the museum's educational practice. The nature of TFAM in implementing the tasks assigned by the city or central government is formed unconsciously, as habitus or common sense, as Johnson (1993, cited in Lawler, 2004: 111) puts it. With its weekend activities, such as film nights and concerts, TFAM has

become a cultural institution which magnifies its significance as a venue for leisure activities for Taipei citizens. This may be linked to how the museum orients itself towards its audience and sets out its roles. Behind all of these actions and activities, the objectives of the Taipei City Government can be considered a primary source of influence on the general objectives of the museum. This assumption can be verified by examining the roles of TFAM in implementing lifelong learning projects and collaborating with elementary schools in Taipei City as part of the school curriculum. This habitus of TFAM can be considered as a custom or disposition of the museum as it relies on economic capital from its governing bodies; therefore, the authority from the field of power has become a key factor in shaping the role of museum education at TFAM.

7.4 Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts (KMFA)

7.4.1 *Founding and building*
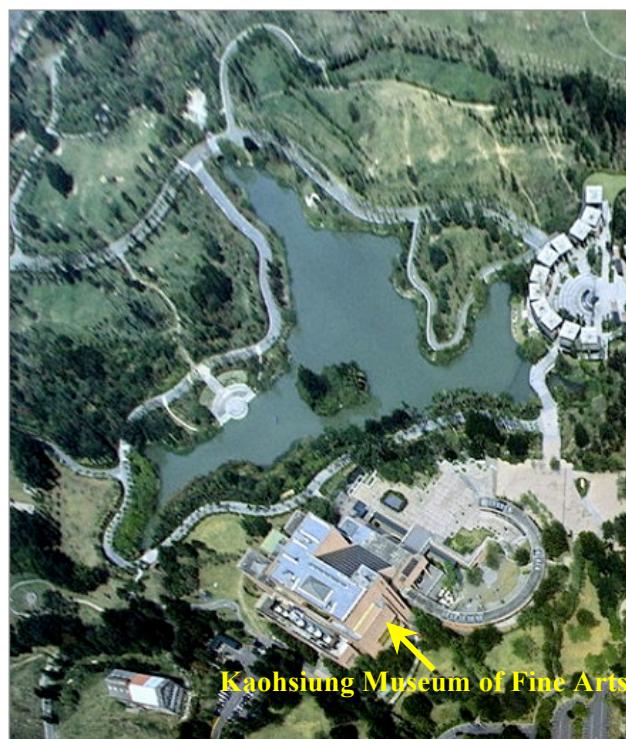
[Figure 46] A bird's eye view of KMFA and the Neiweipi Cultural Park
Photo: http://blog.udn.com/kocj/3022612

Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts (KMFA) was founded in 1994 in the southern capital of Taiwan under the supervision of Kaohsiung City Government. It is located in a newly developed area of exclusive apartments on the outskirts of Kaohsiung City centre, and is surrounded by Neiweipi Park, where the Museum of Fine Arts, an artificial lake, a sculpture park, an ecological park, a service centre (now the Children's Museum of Art), and a once abandoned but now renovated factory (the Jung Chang Ironworks) can be found (KMFA, 2008) (Figure 46). The 41 hectare Neiweipi Park offers leisure activities associated with the arts, culture, creativity, education and ecology for Kaohsiung citizens, entirely managed by KMFA.

7.4.2 *Collections and exhibitions*

What distinguishes KMFA from the other case study art museums in Taiwan is its dedication to Austronesian art and Taiwanese aboriginal art as a result of its geographical location. For example, the museum's educational programmes are based on this theme and an archive of Taiwanese aboriginal art can be found on the KMFA website. A gallery display and educational activity of the Children's Museum of Art at KMFA that the researcher observed was about aboriginal culture and life to enable the participants to learn about Taiwanese aborigines through interactive exhibits and story-telling (Observation notes: 12/10/2008). It is stated on the museum's website that KMFA is currently involved in the international cultural debate on Austronesian art to connect with the art networks of the Pacific (KMFA, 2007). KMFA has constructed a website (http://austronesian.kmfa.gov.tw) that is dedicated to contemporary Austronesian Art, on which a database of Austronesian artists' artwork, discourses and resources can be found.

The sculpture hall of KMFA is a primary area for the museum's display, as museum visitors must pass through it in order to enter the other galleries. The majority of the work displayed in the sculpture hall was created by Austronesian artists (see Figure 47). Figure 48 illustrates the position of the sculpture hall in relation to the galleries on the ground and first floors. In addition to Austronesian art, calligraphy is another major theme of KMFA's collection. An exhibition of calligraphy from the Qing Dynasty to the present time, themed on '人與書寫藝術' (*Ren yu shuxie yishu*, humans and the art of writing), is on permanent display in the museum (E-government, 2010).
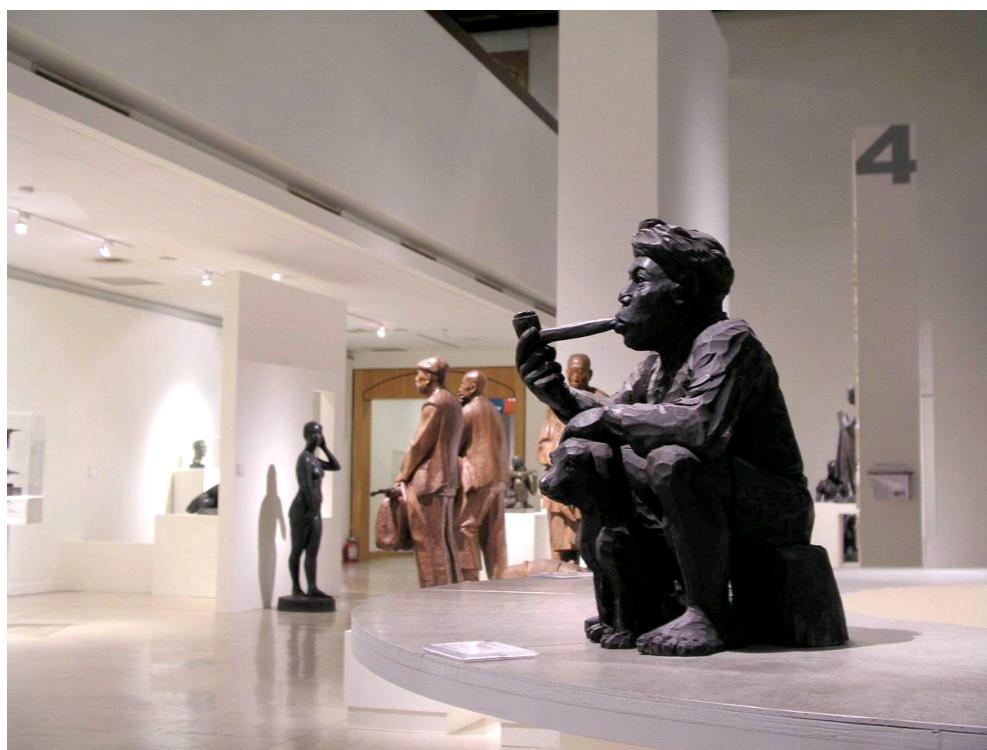
[Figure 47] Sculpture display of Austronesian artists
Photo: KMFA
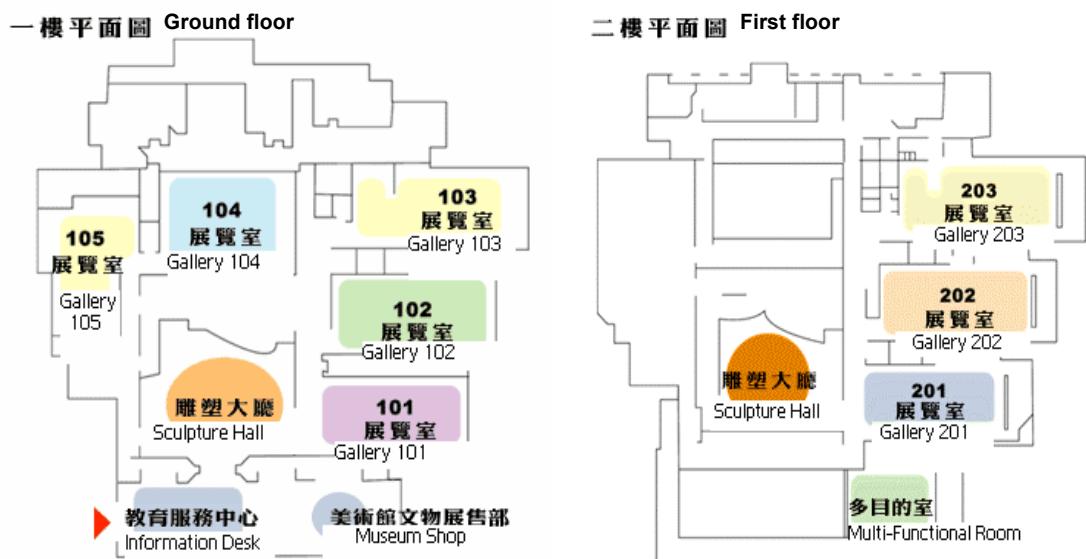
[Figure 48] Floor plan of KMFA
Photo: KMFA
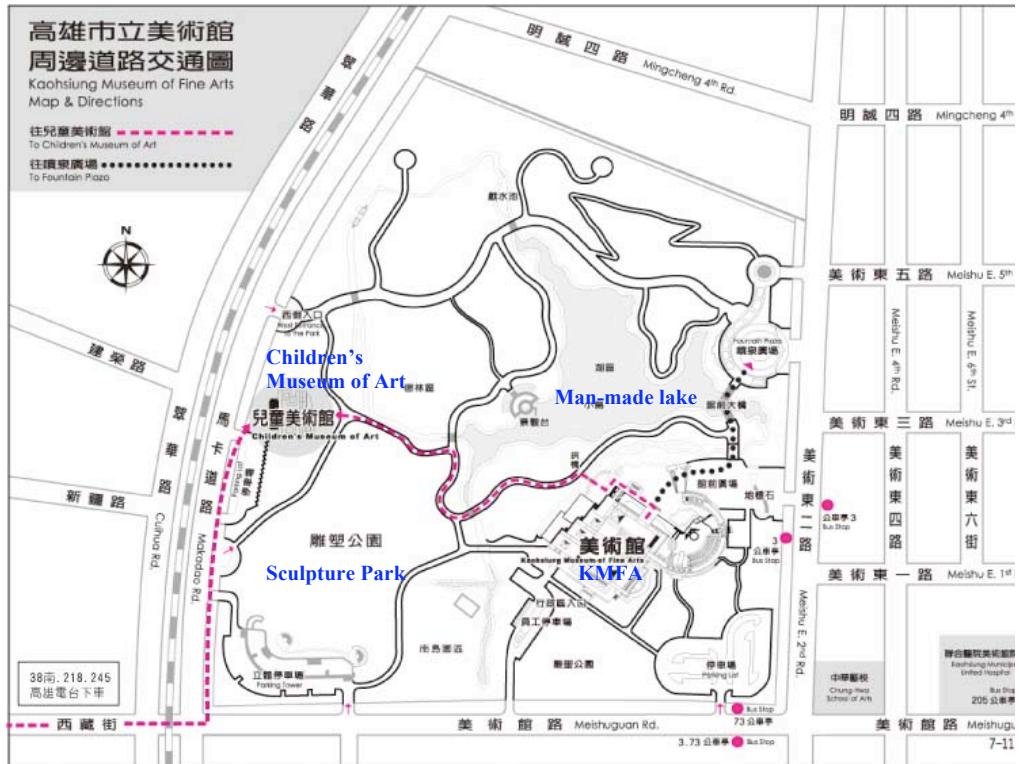
[Figure 49] KMFA and the surrounding area
Photo: KMFA

[Figure 50] Children's Museum of Art of KMFA
Photo: Y. J. Chen

Another venue for the museum's display is the Children's Museum of Art, as shown in Figure 50. It is 10 minutes' walk through the Neiweipi Cultural Park from the main site of KMFA (Figure 49). The exhibitions and educational activities of the Children's Museum of Art are usually linked to the exhibitions at the museum's main site to enable younger learners to learn about art by offering hands-on activities to learn through different senses, such as an activity based on the history and art of Taiwanese aborigines that was observed during the field trip and is addressed in Chapter 2.

7.4.3 *Funding*

KMFA is overseen by the Bureau of Cultural Affairs of Kaohsiung City government; the report on the museum's annual budget is submitted to the Bureau of Cultural Affairs, through which the budget plan is submitted to the Budget Accounting and Statistics Department of Kaohsiung City government for examination, and thereafter the budget plan is sent to Kaohsiung City Council for approval. This process of funding application takes place annually during March and April. The Museum Director states that it is unnecessary for KMFA to provide a detailed list of the activities on which the funding is planned to be used when applying for the annual subsidy, nor is any assessment made regarding how KMFA spends its funding on museum activities (Li Chihkang, Interview: 10/03/2008). If the statement of Li is true, this differentiates KMFA from the national museums in the case study and should provide KMFA with relatively greater autonomy over its museum practice. In general, the funding that KMFA receives pays for its administration and utilities, with the remainder being distributed between the museum's four departments. Of the departments, the Exhibition and Education Departments are granted the highest amount of funding each year. Furthermore, extra funding is allocated to the museum for the purchase of its collections.

7.4.4 *Current issues in museum education*

The principles which underpin the museum's educational activities are categorised by KMFA into five key points: 1) integrating diversified arts applications through activities in order to provide visitors with a comprehensive experience of the exhibitions and the beauty of art; 2) encouraging regional visitors' participation in art activities; 3) integrating and providing art resources to local communities in the southern part of

Taiwan through schoolteachers and volunteers; 4) designing activities based on the concept of diverse cultures, such as the culture of aborigines in Taiwan; and 5) developing paths for multi-media and interactive distance learning online for education outside the museum and audiences at different levels (KMFA, 2008).

The Children's Museum of Art, established in 2004 by re-utilising the unused Service Centre, is another current focus of KMFA, which provide evidence of the museum's dedication to art education for children aged between two and twelve years old. The galleries and interactive displays of the museum are aimed at learning through the senses; the pedagogy and examples of the displays will be discussed in the following analysis. In addition to the Children's Museum of Art, KMFA opened an Art Resource Centre in 2007, which is comparable to the Art Experience Corner of the TFAM, as both functional spaces are utilised to enable school and family groups to learn about art in an open, unconstrained and interactive environment. Since the establishment of KMFA, it has changed from informing its audience about 'where they are' to 'what they do'. The Head of Education, Chang Yuanshuen (Interview: 13/10/2008), indicates:

> In the earlier stage of developing museum education, we had to tell people 'where we are'; however, we only need to let them know 'what we do' now. There has been a significant improvement as the general public now possess better knowledge about the museum and would like to know how they can benefit from visiting the museum.

To assist museum visitors to comprehend the exhibitions better, KMFA provides gallery tours based on 'the needs' of the local community. Chang stated in the interview that the audience of KMFA possesses comparatively less knowledge about art than those in the north of Taiwan. Therefore, guided tours are crucial to museum education practice in order to enable the museum audience to understand the exhibitions better (Chang Yuanshuen, Interview: 13/10/2008). This is an example of the adoption of the transmission model of communication. Although it was stated in Chapter 2 that Hooper-Greenhill sees that post-modern museums have moved away from the traditional, linear communicative model to a cultural model, which represents learning as sharing and a process of meaning-making, the study reveals that the transmission model of communication is still employed by some of the case-study museums. Our examples show that the museums' choice of pedagogy and learning model can be determined by

various factors e.g. the needs of the learners, the concept of the museum officials and other influences from other museological practices.

7.4.5 *The field of museum education: KMFA*

- The field of power

In Figure 51, between the fields of power, art and education, 'assigned exhibitions' are shown in blue, indicating KMFA's possibility of holding exhibitions allocated by its governing bodies. However, the Museum Director states that KMFA has the right to refuse the plans of the governing bodies, as the current Director of the Bureau of Cultural Affairs respects the professionalism of the museum (Li Chihkang Interview: 13/10/2008). Li states that:

> Sometimes, the City Government asks KMFA to organise certain types of exhibition. In this situation, the museum has the right to refuse the request based on its professionalism. Now, KMFA does not launch assigned exhibitions, but I am unsure what other museums do. I am unsurprised that assigned exhibitions exist, as I think this is difficult to avoid. We now have a new Director of the Bureau of Cultural Affairs, who respects our professionalism. If the city government demanded that KMFA launched a specific exhibition, the Director of the Bureau of Cultural Affairs would refuse on the museum's behalf.

If Li's statement reflects the reality, it shows that organisational and professional interests can deviate significantly from external interests, and may be explained by Bourdieu's concept of relative autonomy. In the studies of cultural process, and problems within institutions, and the relations between infrastructures and superstructures, Bourdieu sees the relative autonomy from politics and the economy existing within cultural practices and institutions (Swartz, 1997: 127). Cultural institutions, such as schools, play a complex role as mediators in enhancing and maintaining the power relations in an indirect way. The role that museums and schools play is neither neutral nor exclusively subordinate to a broader set of power relations as superstructures but, rather, cultural institutions are places where both material and symbolic interests are involved in the process of the construction of cultural fields. To exemplify this by the Foucauldian concept of power, schools and museums are regarded

as technologies for the management of the population and for the exercise of the power of modern times (Foucault, 1991: 138).
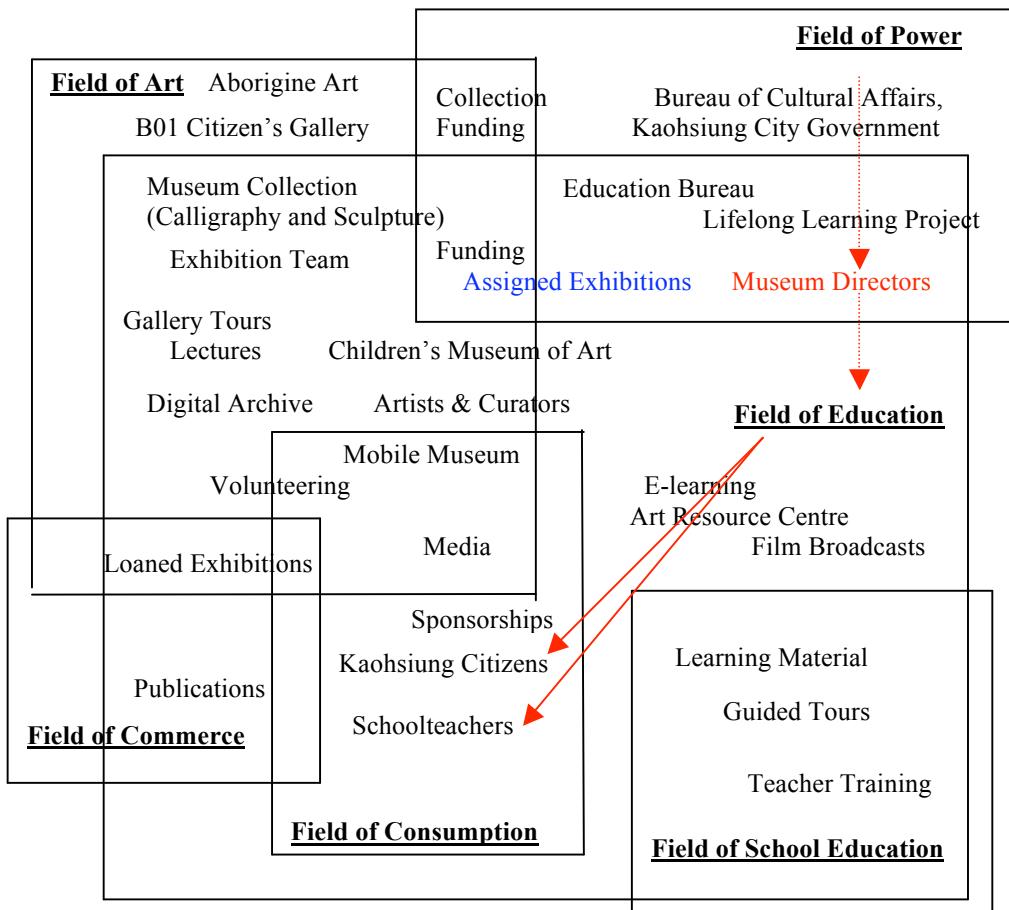
[Figure 51] Museum Education: Fields in relation to the field of power (KMFA)

The case of 'assigned exhibitions' requests by the Bureau of Cultural Affairs demonstrates that individual actors, such as the Director of the Bureau of Cultural Affairs and the Museum Director, hold a certain degree of power with regard to the selection of the museum exhibitions. At KMFA, the museum has autonomy and the right to refuse to organise assigned exhibitions. However, according to the Director's statement, and if this mirrors actual practice, this is only possible when the Director of the Bureau of Cultural Affairs respects the professionalism of the museum. Therefore, although the museum possesses autonomy in terms of the selection of its exhibitions, there could still be a vague line of command from the Director of the Bureau of Cultural

Affairs to the Museum Director and then to the Head of Exhibitions and the exhibition team, as a top-down power filtering through the government apparatuses and civil servants from the central government to reach the front line practice. If the governing body of KMFA respects the professionalism of the Museum Director, this signifies that this individual possesses power over the museum practice. Nonetheless, if the museum practice has to follow the objectives of the governing body, the Museum Director would be the mediator between it and the command from the 'field of power'. The position of the Museum Director in the field analysis is illustrated in the diagram with a red dashed arrow signifying the power imposed on this figure by the government. As a result, the Museum Directors redirect the government power towards the 'field of education', as represented by the red dashed arrow in the diagram. This finding about the line of command supports the use of the Foucauldian theory of power as, through the field analysis of KMFA, it is evident that power can be dispersed diffusely and enacted at every level of society through government apparatuses rather than in a centralised, legitimate form (Foucault, 2003: 244).

The study identified that there are few regulations implemented by the government regarding the educational service of KMFA. The Head of Education, Chang Yuanshuen (Interview: 13/10/2008), stated in his interview the need to implement government regulations to strengthen museum-school collaboration:

> If the government could signify the linkage between the learning targets of schoolchildren and museum education through regulations, it would be easier for the museum to follow and for the resources to be utilised fully by local schoolteachers. […] At the moment, there is no regulation on regular school visits to the museum, so it is up to the schoolteachers to choose whether to use museums as an extra learning resource or not.

Chang (ibid) states that the educational practice of KMFA is not constrained by government regulations, which are needed to render museum education more 'useful' to other institutions and museum users. However, KMFA and the other case study museums in Taiwan are involved in the government project of lifelong learning for civil servants. Therefore, the current practice of KMFA contradicts the statement of the Head of Education, as Chang appears to disregard the fact that the museum is regulated by a government policy regarding lifelong learning. As a result of the lack of government regulation of the collaborative relationship between KMFA and the local schools,

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Figure 51 shows that the field of school education is positioned as part of the educational provision that KMFA provides and does not overlap with the field of power. In order to assist local schools to utilise the museum resources better, KMFA runs guided tours for school groups, and offers teaching materials and training for schoolteachers. In this museum-school collaboration, the schoolteachers and students become the consumers of KMFA's educational and cultural capital. The habitus of the educational practice of the museum in providing teaching materials for schools as part of its services and for local schools to gain capital through participating in museum activities can be regarded as a naturally-formed disposition.

- The field of art and museum education

With regard to the power relations between the fields of art and education, there do not appear to be any distinguishable dominant or subordinate roles between these two fields. The Education Department collaborates with the Exhibition Department to organise educational activities for the four major annual exhibitions. The Head of Education (Chang Yuanshuen, Interview: 13/10/2008) states that:

> it is part of our tradition to be involved in the planning of the exhibitions as we do not like to see museum education as supplementary to the museum exhibitions.

The planning of the exhibitions and the educational activities is carried out at the same time at the Children's Museum of Art. The Museum Director (Li Chihkang, Interview: 13/10/2008) states:

> at present, there are two staff from the Education Department who curate exhibitions at the Children's Museum of Art […] they curate exhibitions as well as overseeing the development of the educational activities. Therefore, at the Children's Museum of Art, there is no clear separation between the museum education and exhibitions…what I aim to do and have been doing is to plan the educational activities when the exhibitions are being conceived, so that they can capture the concepts of the exhibitions better.

The statements of the Museum Director and the Head of Education are confirmed by the curator (also an educator) of the Children's Museum of Art, Tu Jiaren (Personal communication, 12 Oct 2008). Based on the field relations between the exhibition and education departments at KMFA, it can be understood that the field of art does not

dominate the relationship. However, it should be noted that the field of art is not the only source of power influencing the 'field of education', as the latter is regulated by other relations within the social structure.

- Symbolic significance and other fields

In comparison with the other case study museums examined in this chapter, KMFA has a unique symbolic significance, as it safeguards Taiwanese aboriginal art and acts as a venue for the leisure activities of Kaohsiung citizens. It can be understood that Kaohsiung citizens have become socially produced individuals who participate in the game operated by the museum, and the dispositions of the citizens are formed through the social relations of museum participation. Owing to its geographical location, KMFA has greater access to aboriginal art. It is through the museum's dedication to aboriginal art that KMFA enables its collections and exhibitions to be distinct from those of the other public art museums in Taiwan.

In the field of consumption, as shown in Figure 51, the actors are mainly the local audience. Unlike the national museums discussed in the previous chapter, which provide educational services for the implementation of government regulations, the educational provision of KMFA is mainly aimed at its local citizens for the enhancement of their life through museum visits, mobile museum projects and loaned exhibitions. As the Education Department controls which services are provided and what cultural capital the audience receives, in the power relations between the Kaohsiung citizens and the field of education, the Education Department can be considered as being in a dominant position, as illustrated in the diagram. Furthermore, it should be noted that this relationship between the fields of consumption and education can be influenced by the Directors of the museum and the Bureau of Cultural Affairs in the field of power as there are no specific government policies linking the educational activities that KMFA provides with the curriculum of the local schools. Therefore, the museum can control the content of the learning materials that it provides for local schoolteachers. The groups with higher capital have relatively more symbolic capital, which enables them to occupy a higher status and become the advantaged in society. This can be transferred to the position of the Museum Directors and the museum's

governing body, since the actors or groups with higher capital in the power relations are likely to be those who dominate the field relations.

7.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, the analysis of local museums demonstrates that power flows both vertically and horizontally between the actors involved in the field of museum education, which is parallel to the argument of the previous chapter. Vertical power is devolved from the field of power and, to some extent, controls and affects the actors' actions and interactions with other actors in the other fields. On the other hand, power which runs horizontally is passed between the actors in the fields, is less hierarchical and operates as a way of capital exchange through transactions of favours between the actors. The study, in both this and the previous chapter, argues that the field of museum education is influenced by power coming from different directions, actors and fields, and the roles of museum education are most likely to be determined by the actors who possess the most capital in the fields. The actors who possess the most capital and power in the field of museum education would be the local and central governments, as the case study museums are publicly funded and rely on obtaining almost their entire economic capital from the government. As a result, the study confirms that museum education practice in both China and Taiwan reinforces government power, regardless of the extent of the regulation imposed upon museum education i.e. whether the museum practice is directly regulated by the government or through the Museum Directors. For example, as a local museum, the educational practice of GDMOA is regulated by the power derived from the local government, and then transmitted through the Museum Director and the Head of Education. This is identical to how the central government regulates the education practice at the National Art Museum of China, as discussed in the previous chapter. Conversely, the educational practices of the local museums in Taiwan are adjusted relatively directly by the central government (the Executive Yuan) through government regulations.

The study reveals that local museums have a tendency to generate additional income through art classes, as is evident from the case studies of GDMOA and TFAM. The offering of private art classes by these museums may be a result of the insufficient funding that the museums receive. Another possible explanation of this phenomenon

may be that local museums aim to offer their educational services to their local community, which is different from the national museums in the case study, which target their audience at the nation level. In both this and the previous chapter, the study identified that public museums are likely to demonstrate the symbolic significance that museums can embody. For the national museums, the symbolic values which they embody take into account the cultural significance of the country in constructing the cultural identity, while the symbolic significance is exemplified through local museums as the ideological values of leisure and cultural cultivation in the region.

The major outcome of the analysis in this and the previous chapter is the understanding of the coexistence of the field of museum education and other fields in the struggle for legitimate power and domination. The type of fields that exist in the practice of museum education may vary from one institution to another as a result of the institutional differences in the operation of cultural practices, social circumstances and economic conditions. Furthermore, organisational and intellectual interests are the elements involved in shaping the role and practice of museum education. All of these interests, presented and pursued in different fields of museum education, mediate the relationship between the government objectives and the actual results of cultural practice. Following the two analyses outlined in Chapters 6 and 7, the next, concluding chapter attempts to answer the research questions addressed at the start of this thesis in the light of the research findings. The chapter will begin by presenting a summary of and reflection on the study, followed by an illustration of the constraints on the roles of museum education and the autonomy that museums possess. In addition, the theoretical models will be revisited to reveal how they are employed in China and Taiwan, and the cultural policy models addressed in Chapter 5 will be further explored as an additional method for understanding how museum education is regulated by the state in China and Taiwan. Finally, the chapter will outline the opportunities for future research and how the current research has contributed to the professional debate.

Chapter 8. Conclusion

The conclusion presents a brief summary and the findings of the study, an analysis of the model adopted in China and Taiwan of the current power relations in cultural practice, and the research limitations and future research directions within the wider professional debate. Acting as a continuation of Chapters 6 and 7, section 8.2 reveals the key findings from the analytical chapters on the roles of art museum education in China and Taiwan, illustrating the constraints and autonomy of museum education. This is followed by section 8.3, where the theoretical models discussed in the Introduction will be re-examined to uncover the power models which explain the power relations in museums' educational practice in the unique contexts of modern China and Taiwan. Following the matching theme, section 8.3 examines how the cultural policy models introduced in Chapter 5 are adopted in the Chinese and Taiwanese contexts to assist our understanding of the relationship between the state and culture through the policy objectives and funding mechanism for the arts. Finally how this study contributes to the professional discussion is outlined, and the appropriateness and strengths of the primary and secondary source material as well as how the study might be used to modify the power models of Gramsci and Foucault.

8.1 Summary and Reflection

This thesis begins with an introduction to the theoretical framework and research methods in Chapter 1. The literature review in Chapter 2 outlines the development of and current issues related to art museum education in western countries and in China and Taiwan. It provides an overview of the development of museum education and the current debate on museum education in the West, addressing the knowledge gaps within the current debate that aim to demonstrate the significance and originality of the study. The other lead-in chapter, Chapter 3, focuses on the social and political background context of China and Taiwan, in which museum education was developed and regulated. Up to this chapter, the key message conveyed is that museum education is a social and cultural product created within given political contexts and in accordance with the leading political party's objectives.

Following the lead-in chapters, Chapters 4 and 5 are centred on the governmentalisation and power relations of museum education in China and Taiwan, while Chapters 6 and 7 present an analysis of the educational practice at the case study museums based on the theoretical models of Pierre Bourdieu. The central point conveyed through Chapters 4 and 5 is extended from the message underlined in the argument of the lead-in chapters, which confirms that museum education as a cultural activity is governmentally regulated and that the power relations exercised in the field of culture is in a top-down direction, originating from the central governments with the museums as the implementers of the governments' instructions. Contrary to the argument of the previous two chapters, Chapters 6 and 7 explore museums' educational practice from a bottom-up approach, examining the power relations within the field of museum education in order to identify how it is regulated by the actors and activities involved in museum education. Both chapters argue that, although government regulation can still be found even when examining museum education from a grass-roots approach, the regulative power from the field of power is transmitted in an indirect, less noticeable manner.

The study is underpinned by a central message, which is that museum education is governmentally fashioned, or that, at least, government intervention can be detected in the social regulation and government objectives. The study identifies that, in both China and Taiwan, museum education practice reinforces government power through the analysis of government policy and museum practice. As revealed throughout the thesis, in both of these countries today, museum education is integrated into government and national policy development in the fields of education, culture, the arts, and social welfare. This responds to what the UK government suggested regarding the importance and development of museum education in 1997 (Coles, 2004: 148-149). Conversely, the observation of museums' direct regulation by government policy and government initiatives can be seen to provide a form of support for museum projects by providing the extra resources that museums need. The study argues that diffusely dispersed power relations can be found in both China and Taiwan regardless of their current political regimes, with the former being a communist and the later being a democratic state. The research finding confirms that the Foucauldian model of power supports and explains the power relations of the cultural sector in China and Taiwan more sufficiently than the Gramscian model of hegemony. The power relations in museum education in China and

Taiwan currently involves power being spread between different locations as opposed to Gramsci's concept, whereby power can only come from a central and top-down location. The argument, which has been addressed throughout the study, is that power over cultural practices is no longer controlled solely by the central governments of China and Taiwan. As a result of the changing political leadership, social circumstances and government strategies, the regulation of culture can be regarded as being through 'governmentality', despite the political system of the two locations.

8.2 Key Findings

The type of museum (public or private, national or local), museum's mission, attitude of the professionals, interests of the departments, and diverse social and cultural contexts in which museums are embedded all contribute to its diversity of the roles, constraints and autonomy. The key findings presented in this section are divided into two groups: the roles of art museum education, and the constraints and autonomy which shape these roles. Below is a recapitulation of the research questions and research aims introduced at the start of the thesis. The following sections (8.2.1 and 8.2.2) present the findings of the study to demonstrate how it has answered the research questions and achieved the aims set out for the research topic.

Research questions:

> Q1. What power relations exist between the government and cultural practice in China and Taiwan today?

> Q2. How is the education *practice* of the case study museums in China and Taiwan regulated?

> Q3. What are the roles of art museum education and the factors that influence the *roles* of museum education in the case study museums?

Research aims:

A1. To examine the socio-political conditions in which art museum education and government regulations regarding museum education have been developed in China and Taiwan.

A2. To understand how the education *practice* of the case study museums is regulated by their governing bodies and related institutions.

A3. To investigate how the educational *roles* of the case study museums are shaped and adjusted.

8.2.1 *The roles of art museum education*

As the result of the different positioning of the fields and habitus in the educational practice of each case study museum, the roles of museum education are shaped by diverse actors and actions and differ from one institution to another. Based on the analysis of the five case study museums, the study suggests that these museums possess relative autonomy in terms of their educational practice; however, the decision-making power with regard to their educational practice is regulated by their senior officials to some extent. Although the actors, such as the sponsors, schoolteachers, artists, curators and museum audience, participate in the field of museum education, they have less influence over the shaping of the roles of museum education than the governing bodies and museum directors. These actors in the field of museum education act as contributors to the education departments, and may influence the content of the educational programmes, the way in which the educational activates are carried out and how much additional budget the education departments are granted to fund their activities. Nonetheless, the actions of these actors are regulated by the Museum Directors and the Heads of the Education Departments.

The most pronounced roles of museum education in the case study museums are the responsibility for providing cultural and educational facilitation for the general public, and complementing school education by providing additional learning resources. These roles can be found in museums in both China and Taiwan, albeit in dissimilar proportions, as a result of the diverse government regulations. In China today, art museums are developing comparable to the early American art museums with the aim

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of enhancing the quality of life, morality and ethics of the general public. The educational role of art museums is to provide aesthetic education for the purpose of cultivating artistic appreciation and good taste among the population of China. The objectives of the Chinese government can be attributed to the deficiency of art and humanities education in the past, and 'moral education', which is advocated by the Chinese government today as to some degree parallel to the moral regulation of the maintenance of moral and social order, as proposed by Corrigan and Sayer (1985, cited in Thompson, 1997: 16). Corrigan and Sayer argue that the attempt to implement moral regulation aims to introduce normalised and specific forms of universal behaviour, which responds to the projects of the Chinese government on spiritual civilisation, patriotic education and red tourism, launched in an attempt to strengthen socialist beliefs and promote national unification by showcasing the shared histories and memories of the country.

Slightly dissimilar to China, art museums in Taiwan have passed the phase of advocating culture for inner enhancement, as this role was undertaken by the first art museum, the Taipei Fine Arts Museum, with the aim of enhancing the cultural civilisation of the population when the museum was established in the 1980s. The current roles of art museums in Taiwan are in line with the government's objectives and regulation for the support of school education and the project of lifelong learning. The study argues that the roles of museum education in China and Taiwan have changed over time according to the needs of museum visitors, society and the government in power. When these needs are fulfilled, new projects can be implemented for museum education to be utilised to fulfil new needs in relation to the social, political, economic, educational issues which the government needs to tackle.

8.2.2 *The shaping of the roles: the constraint and autonomy of museum education*

Based on the finding of the study, the museum ethos and network, government objectives and regulations, funding and evaluation, director's objectives, collaborative relationships, and the influence of western theories and practices, are the factors shaping the roles of museum education. The following section reveals the possible constraints and autonomy which shape the roles of museum education in an aim to uncover how museum education practice is adjusted by internal and external factors.

- Museum ethos and network

The museum ethos is the disposition (as the habitus of the museum's education practice, discussed previously) of a museum which reflects its practice and educational roles. It can be regarded as the selective accumulation of the history of the museum's practice in relation to how such entrenched practices contribute to the perceived mission of the museum. In addition to museum ethos, the networks to which the museums belong also influence the museums' educational practice. The power relations between the networks of the museums are horizontal in direction, as resources and information are shared between the museums and other institutions as part of their educational practice. The sharing of learning resources, information and human resources can occasionally impact on the content of the educational activities and the concepts of learning.

Through the case studies, it is understood that the art museums in China and Taiwan have established a close network with both cross-country cultural institutes, local education bureaus, local schools and government-funded institutions for art learning. Collaborations between art museums and foreign cultural bureaus can be identified through the case studies. For instance, Guangdong Museum of Art collaborates with the Centre Culturel Français, and the Taipei Fine Arts Museum works in partnership with one of the branches of the Alliance Française de Taiwan for French culture to promote and conduct cultural exchanges between France, and China and Taiwan. These collaborations are not limited to French cultural bureaus, as the cultural bureaus of other countries have established networks with the case study museums, such as the British Council in China, which acts as a medium for collaboration between UK museums and the National Art Museum of China.

- Government objectives and regulations

The public museums are the 'arms' of the government. In both China and Taiwan, museums facilitate educational provision for the general public, while performing a role in allowing the government's objectives to be implemented. In China, currently, both the central and local governments are addressing the concept of equal opportunities in learning and the endorsement of the general public's participation in museums. The

study revealed that the orientation of museum education in both China and Taiwan is in line with the government objectives. It has demonstrated throughout that the government policy is the key factor which influences the shaping of the roles of museum education. The Head of Education at the National Art Museum of China (He Lin, Interview: 18/10/2008) indicates that "educational rights are currently addressed by the Chinese government; for example the equal opportunity of education for children who live in rural China and who are the minority group" and " the government now urges the construction of a harmonious society and places emphasis on high quality education to enhance the cultural civilisation of the people". In the other case study, the Director of the Guangdong Museum of Art states that "the Department of Culture considers it important that the GDMOA should provide a cultural service to the general public" (Wang Huangshen, interview: 22/09/2008).

In Taiwan, the instrumental use of public museums to achieve the government agendas is distinct from the situation in China. It has been found that, in Taiwan, different government initiatives have resulted in diverse roles for museum education. Unlike the Chinese museums that advocate cultural accessibility for all, the museums in the case studies in Taiwan are venues which implement projects required by the central government. For projects which promote lifelong learning and enhance the quality of the government personnel, museums provide learning opportunities for civil servants. In addition, the collaborative relationships between museums and schools are regulated by the government policy currently. The new policy of the Taipei City Government required museum visits as part of the school curriculum for grade-3 elementary school students in 2008. This was a new element in the partnership between museums and local schools, and will possibly be considered by the Education Bureaus of other local governments in Taiwan.

- Funding and evaluation

The funding and evaluation of the educational practices are other factors that regulate museum education in addition to government policies and regulations. Public museums, both at the central and local levels, rely on their governing bodies as funding sources. Museums gain economic capital from their governments and, in return, act as extensions or 'arms' of their governing bodies which provide cultural and educational

capital to the target audience. In this power relationship, government funding can be a mechanism of control over the orientation of museum education to meet the government's expectations. In addition to the control of funding as a regulative method, the evaluation by the governing bodies of the museums of the reports on their educational activities can be regarded as another form of regulation. The reports provided by the case study museums are used by the governing bodies to assess the educational activities carried out there in order to decide if the funding is provided for an appropriate use. This assessment of educational practice occurs in museums in both China and Taiwan, as confirmed by the interviewees (Wang Huangshen, Interview: 22/09/2008; Hsueh Paoshia, Interview: 15/10/2008). However, the assessment carried out by the governing bodies of the museums in China and Taiwan is aimed at regulating the museums' educational roles in correspondence with the government's policies, and the study has found that this, to some degree, differs from the assessment and evaluation of museum education in the UK regarding the attainment of the participants. UK museums can be examples of Chinese and Taiwanese museums' evaluation of their visitors' attainment. This concern will be addressed again in more detail in the last section of the Chapter where the direction in which future research might go will be examined.

- The Director's objectives

The opinions of the Museum Directors in the case studies are considered to be influential on a museum's educational roles. Berry and Mayer (1989: 40) indicate that:

> … in the reality of museum work, the goals and policies of museum education are determined not primarily by the museum educators but by the trustees and museum Directors. And even when museum educators write about their philosophy of education, their positions tend to reflect one of the underlying philosophies of the mission of museums.

This situation is more pronounced in the case study museums in China than in Taiwan. In the interviews with the museums' senior officials in Taiwan, it did not appear that the objectives of the Museum Directors or Heads of Education affected museum education profoundly. Only at the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts do the Museum Director's opinions appear to be directing the educational practice of the museum. In China, under

the new administrative reform of the 1990s, state-owned enterprises become independent legal entities, with their operation controlled by professional managers (Fan Dian, Interview: 19/10/2008). Apart from the senior officials of the museums, who direct their educational practice, the objectives of the Museum Director with regard to museum education are linked to the government initiatives. The Directors' objectives are among the key elements which regulate the educational role of the case study museums in China. The Head of Education of a case study museum in China expressed in the interview that "the Museum Director administrates the work we do" and "for many years, I have been working for the Museum Director and our thoughts and beliefs about museum practice are shared" (Liu Duanling, Interview: 22/09/2008). As a result, the government regulations were imposed on the Chinese museums, however the implementation of the government's intentions depend on the senior officials of the museums to implement them. It appears fair for the Museum Directors and Heads of Education to regulate and give orders to the museum practice they supervise with freedom and autonomy. However, as a matter of fact, the governing bodies oversee the work of the Directors and the museums. The Museum Directors in this power relation with their governing bodies are actors who possess less capital, rely on and attach to the governing bodies for the economic capital by implementing tasks to accomplish the government objectives. Conversely, instead of delivering government orders through museum practice, the Museum Directors can be the actors who protect the autonomy of the museums, acting against their governing bodies, as Li Chihkang (Interview: 13/10/2008), the Head of Education at KMFA, mentioned that the Kaohsiung City Government occasionally required the museum to launch 'assigned' exhibitions, but the museum and the Museum Directors have the right to refuse the request. In Taiwan, the selection, education and training of museum staff, being predominantly the province of civil servants, may be closer to the Gramscian model of practice of the ruling elite and hegemony than in China, where the selection of museum staff is subject to specialist professionals. However, a change has occurred in recent years, as the public museums in Taiwan have started to employ non-civil servants for the enhancement of museum professionalism.

- Collaborative relationships

In the field of museum education, schools, cultural institutions, sponsors and other museum departments are the actors involved in the field in order to gain capital through developing collaborative relationships with museum departments. The study argues that these mutual relationships have not been significantly influential in the shaping of the roles of museum education, as it identifies that the collaborative relationship between museums and schools, and between museums and governments, are the factors that determine the roles of museum education. However, despite the forces which are derived from government regulations, the museums are still active and in the leading position when it comes to their collaboration with other educational or cultural institutions. The study shows that museums officials and educational departments, although they base their practice on government policy, enjoy relative autonomy in the museum practice in the area of programme design and the content of their activities. The nature of this relationship is parallel to the museums' partnership with their sponsors. In the collaborative relationship with their sponsors, although benefitting from the economic capital from their sponsors, museums remain in a dominant position with choice over selecting their sponsors, designing the educational activities and negotiating for the types of support they need, as expressed by some of the interviewees at the case study museums (Liu Duanling, Interview: 22/09/2008; Wang Wanju, Interview: 03/09/2008). It is understood that the sponsors expect to receive good publicity and an enhanced reputation for their company in return for their support of the museums.

The other type of collaborative relationship is internal collaboration between different museum departments, especially the exhibition departments. Museums exhibitions form the base of the content of the educational activities; however, without their educational provision, museum collections and exhibitions would be unable to reach a wider audience. The study shows that the education departments of the case study museums have become proactive in their collaborative relationship with their exhibition departments, as it is now common for artists and curators to work with education departments, and educational activities tend to be planned when exhibitions are conceived. In this collaboration, education departments receive advantages through the training of their volunteers by the staff of the exhibition department or artists, enabling the staff of the education department to gain knowledge of the content of the exhibitions.

- Influence of western theories and practice

Through the interviewees, it is understood that the influence of western educational practice and theories on museum education in China and Taiwan was realised through interfaces, such as international conferences, literature, visiting scholarships, institutional collaboration and Directors' knowledge gained from studying aboard. The Head of Education at GDMOA studied in France and speaks French, so the interconnection between her and France may have contributed to the collaboration between GDMOA and the Centre Culturel Français. The influence of the learning programmes for young learners and families at the Centre Pompidou can be found in the case study museums in both China and Taiwan. The Annual Educational Exhibition of TFAM was based on the educational pedagogy introduced by the Centre Pompidou, and GDMOA undertook an exchange of educational practice with the Centre Pompidou to learn more about its educational programmes for young learners (Liu Duanling, Interview: 22/09/2008). Reflecting on the basic educational provision taking place at the case study museums, overlaps between the educational activities of the museums in China and Taiwan and those in North America or Europe can be found. Chinese museums have become visible in adopting Falk and Dierking's thinking on learning as a process that produces measurable changes in behaviour and in enabling young learners to survive in the competitive society. For instance, the Red Tourism project is believed to enhance the consciousness of patriotism and nationalism among the general public, and the implementation of all-round education aims to equip Chinese youngsters with diverse capabilities and strengths with which to meet their challenging society. Based on the observation of a case study museum in Taiwan, the link between the educational activities of the Annual Educational Exhibition at TFAM and the learning theories of Hein, Falk and Dierking, the cultural model of communication can be detected as the participants in the educational activities are active in making their own sense of the learning experience and constructing meanings for themselves based on their social environment.

Although educational practice can be learnt from western museums, many of the interviewees suggest that the practice or theories adopted from the West require modification in order to be adopted fully in the Chinese and Taiwanese contexts. The Head of Education of the National Art Museum of China, He Lin (Interview: 18/10/2008) states that:

in terms of learning from museum practice overseas, NAMOC does not limit itself to learning from America or the UK. In considering the current circumstances of government policy, the cultural system, and the resources that the museum has to offer, what we are working on now is to adopt others' experience and blend it into the reality we are facing here.

The Head of the Education Department of the Taipei Fine Arts Museum, Chuan Yuanwei (Interview: 10/09/2008) elaborates on the issue by indicating that the museum tries different theories and practices which could be suitable for the museum and the circumstances that it faces. The study has found that the senior officials of the case study museums are open-minded towards the educational theories and practices available to them. The politics involved in the influence of the educational theories can be attributed to government departments such as the Ministry of Culture or Cultural Bureaus of western countries as, without the governmental departments as the driving force, the collaboration between the museums would be impossible. This governmental involvement in the exchange of the educational theories and learning models can be understood as an example of the transmission of power through the Foucauldian theory of power and the Bourdian theory of field, as government power is devolved through the governmental apparatuses to the level of museum practice. On the ground of museum practice, it is where the diffusely transmitted top-down power and the power of the actors in the field of museum education meet.

Furthermore, the geographical location and similarities between the social contexts can be additional factors when considering the influence of educational practice from other institutions. The Director of the Guangdong Museum of Art states that GDMOA is influenced by the educational practice of the Hong Kong Museum of Art and art museums in Taiwan. Wang Huangsheng (Interview: 22/09/2008) states that "the Hong Kong Museum of Art influenced our museum the most as a result of its geographical location and the shared political environment between Hong Kong and Guangzhou". Both Hong Kong and Guangzhou are Chinese regions, with Cantonese as their local dialect and both are local regions of China where the western influence reached much earlier than the inland Chinese cities. The common background and shared elements between the cities are the factors that drive one museum to learn about its educational practice from another. This practice demonstrates that, although Chinese museums are

eager to take on western education approaches to apply to their own practice, it is as important and useful to learn from their counterparts so that a common ground is shared between them. However, the dispositions - in Bourdieu's words – on which the museum practice is based, could be the variables that influence human activity. Namely, museums could adopt museological practice from each other, the way of thinking and doing things of social agents i.e. museum directors, curators and educators would not be identical due to their individually possessed habitus and dispositions.

8.3 The Flow of Power: Revisiting Theoretical Frameworks and Cultural Policy Models

8.3.1 *Theoretical frameworks*

Power relations between the state and the cultural institutions have been shifted by the influence of the political, social and economic contexts in China and Taiwan in the last fifty years, and both China and Taiwan have followed an identical path with regard to how government power is enacted through cultural undertakings. In the past, in both locations, cultural activities were in accordance with the principles of the political parties', dominated and directed by the state. These centrally controlled power relations aimed to win the consent of the populace for the support of the state policy through the political education of the masses and cultural provision. More precisely, before the end of the Cultural Revolution in China in 1978 and the end of Martial Law in Taiwan, the Gramscian theory of hegemonic power can be a model representing the power relations between the state and culture in China and Taiwan. During this period, museums and cultural affairs were operated by the dominant class; namely, the ruling party for the creation of a hegemonic society through coercive apparatuses. In this sense, as addressed throughout the thesis, especially in Chapter 3, the state was seen as an educator and education was a means through which the moral and cultural level of the populace could be raised to the degree targeted, as the ideal of the educative, ethical and cultural state is "to raise the great mass of the population to a particular cultural and moral level which corresponds to the needs of the productive forces of development, and hence to the interests of the ruling classes" (Gramsci, 1971: 258). During KMT's rule in Taiwan, all cultural activities were conducted and affiliated, with a robust emphasis on Chinese identity. Equal to this, during the Cultural Revolution in China,

the forms and content of art were manipulated for the dissemination of political ideology and the authority of Mao. All of these were aimed at the control and regulation of the subordinate classes.

Contrary to Gramsci's model, which was employed in the view of the authoritarian past of China and Taiwan on the regulation of culture, the Foucauldian model of power can be found in practice in both locations today. Government authority and power in China and Taiwan today can be understood as being enacted through cultural institutions presenting government interests in the welfare of the population; for instance, the facilitation of lifelong learning and museum educational projects for minorities. The study revealed that both the Chinese and Taiwanese governments have undertaken a new form of management through museums and cultural engagement, and the approach of social regulation has shifted from Gramsci's model of coercive regulation with the consent of subordinated groups to an indirect and subtle management of the populace. In this regard, although the cultural activities remain state-controlled, nonetheless, the initiatives behind these activities are hidden as the needs of the population are framed as the main subject of concern. It is through the fulfilment of the requirements of the population that the governments' social and political objectives can be accomplished, and power is now enacted through the cultural institutions at different levels of governance in China and Taiwan. The study has noticed that the power for cultural management has been devolved from the central to the local level; namely, cultural affairs now are not centrally directed but managed by the local apparatuses to represent the local interests.

Although the coercive political power has been decentralised and greater autonomy has been allocated to the local governments and cultural institutions, the power of the ruling political party remains significant in cultural practice in both China and Taiwan. The Chinese Communist Party in China and the current ruling political party in Taiwan both possess policy-making power over their own cultural affairs, and cultural policies and activities are still oriented by the parties' objectives. The study identified that the way in which power circulates can shift according to the influence of the changing social and political contexts. For instance, the power relations in the cultural sector have undergone phases of alteration in China, such as the reform of public administration implemented in 1998 to improve organisational performance, although the political

control of the government has remained unchanged. The power relations existing between the state and cultural institutions significantly determine the roles of art museum education in China and Taiwan. In today's China, power is no longer held exclusively by the state or the ruling class, on the contrary, power is everywhere, it does not come from a distinct centre but from a variety of directions, and addresses the interests of the population. In terms of the regulation of culture and power relations between the state and culture, the Foucauldian model explains the current Chinese circumstances better than the Gramscian model. Nonetheless, as a communist state, the distribution and enforcement of the political principles of Communism can still be found in the cultural policy, serving as a statement of the political stand placed in the opening section of major cultural policy in China. Although the Foucauldian model is based on the observation of a democratic society and Gramsci's theory of hegemony depicts the power relations for the domination of a communist state, the findings of the study can be used to modify the theoretical models. That is, although China is a communist state, the regulation of museum education cannot be explained solely by the Gramscian model of power, so the adoption of the various models of Gramsci, Foucault and Bourdieu needs to be deployed for the current power relations between government authority and museum practice in China.

The study argues that, in addition to power being enacted diffusely through diverse locations as suggested by Foucault, government regulation can be implemented through the actors involved in the field of museum education based on Bourdieu's theories, employed in Chapters 6 and 7. It was mentioned previously in section 8.2.2 that the objectives of the Museum Directors and the collaborative relationships between cultural institutions and actors in the field of museum education are the factors which regulate museum education. At the ground level of power relations, different sources of power can be found to be regulating the practice of museum education based on the power, resources and capital which are struggled over by the actors. However, these sources of power are not the only forces that regulate the roles of museum education. Overall, the models of Gramsci, Foucault and Bourdieu can all be applicable to China and Taiwan to understand the power relations in both the past and present. Gramsci's model is appropriate for understanding the past when culture and society were controlled for political reasons, and this regime has gradually been replaced by something resembling Foucault's governmentality, which draws in the population as the subject of social

regulation and object of government. Currently, the theories of Foucault and Bourdieu express the contemporary regulation of museum education in China and Taiwan, as museum education is directed and managed by the governments at different levels, other cultural and educational institutions, and the actors involved in different components of museum education practice. As Figure 52 shows, museum education is regulated by the different sources of power deriving from different hierarchical levels. Namely, museum education is regulated by the central government, the local governments, other institutions, and the actors involved in the educational practice.
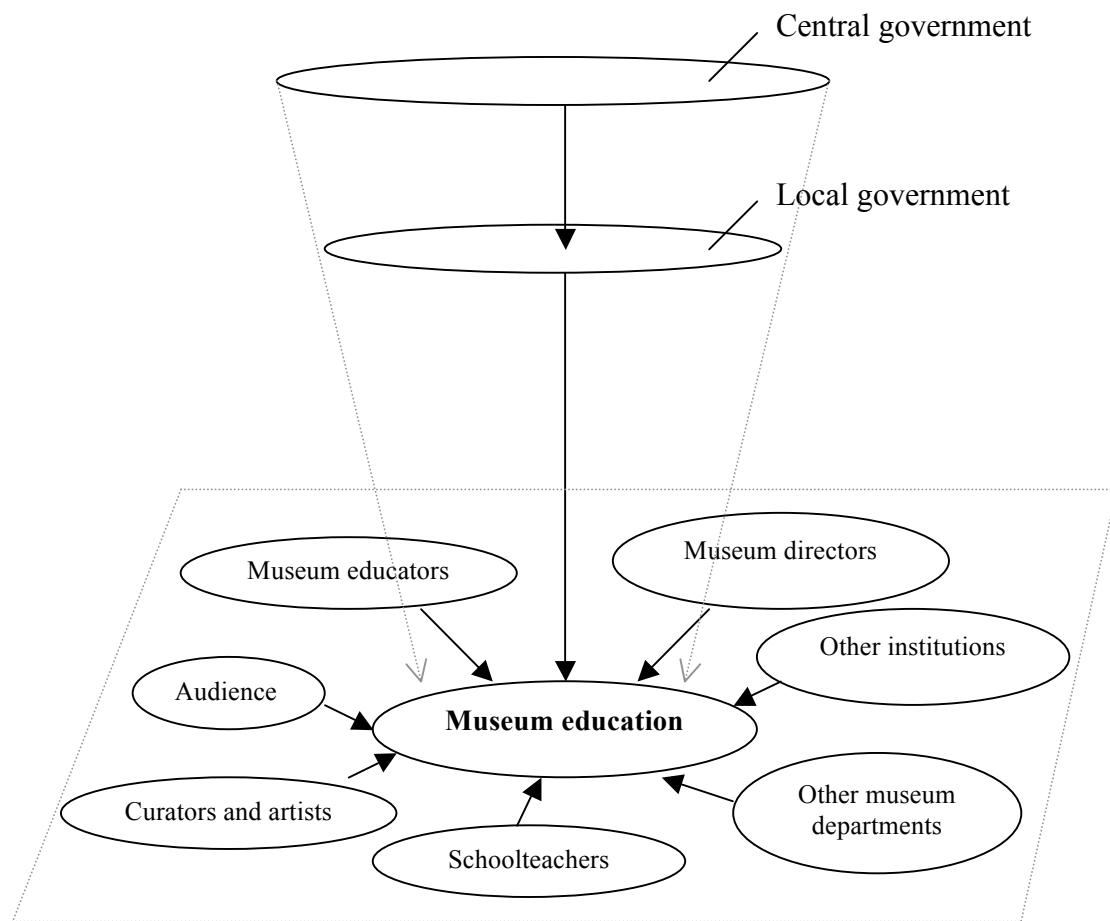
[Figure 52] Regulation of museum education

Figure 52 demonstrates the diverse origins of power which regulate the educational practice of the case study museums. The diagram shows that there is power from 'above' - the central and local governments - as well as from the ground level of museum practice, as demonstrated in the grey dashed rhombus. The arrows represent the direction of power deriving from the government and the actors in the field of museum education. There is no attempt to display the strength of power by employing different lengths of arrows, as the diagram simply aims to demonstrate the origins of power. Through the representation of the diagram, the study argues that the role of museum education is influenced by diverse power sources (from top-down and from the field) simultaneously. The degree of influence of each power source can differ and change over time; therefore, the roles of museum education are individually formed in each case study museum.

8.3.2 *Cultural policy models*

ROLE OF MODEL	WHERE USED	POLICY OBJECTIVE	FUNDING MECHANISM	STRENGTHS & WEAKNESSES
FACILITATOR	USA	Diversity	Tax expenditures and incentives	S: Diversity of funding sources W: Excellence not necessarily supported; valuation of tax costs; benefits for benefactors; calculation of tax costs
PATRON	UK, Australia	Excellence International Standards	Arm's length Peer evaluation	S: Support for excellence W: Favours traditional elite artforms
ARCHITECT	France	Social welfare Industry assistance	Department and Ministry of Culture	S: Relief from box office dependence; secures training and career structure. W: Creative directives lead to stagnation and resistance
ENGINEER	Former Soviet countries, Cuba, Korea	Political education National culture	Government ownership of artistic production	S: Focus creative energy to attain political goals W: Subservience; underground; counterintuitive outcomes

[Figure 53] Models for supporting the arts

The cultural policy models, introduced in Chapter 5, provided an additional approach to examining how educational practice as a provision of cultural institutions is regulated by the state. Although the cultural policy models represent different modes of public support for fine arts, the purpose of introducing and examining how these models are applied in China and Taiwan was to understand the relations between the state and the cultural practice through policy objectives and funding mechanisms.

The convergence of the different models can be seen in both China and Taiwan, with diverse selections of model adopted by each location. Among all the models, the Architect model can be found in both places, as the arts are funded and supported by bureaucrats for social and welfare objectives, and the way in which fine arts are regulated in an architect state is comparable to how museum education is regulated in China and Taiwan, as mentioned above, whereby a top-down authority regulates the practice of museum education. In both locations, authority over the decision making is held by the central government. Even though the Patron state can be found to be employed in Taiwan, the adoption of this model mainly affects the funding mechanism rather than the decision-making power. Although the government does not interfere with the funding distribution, it does determine how much aggregate support is provided to cultural provision. Furthermore, the board of trustees is appointed by the government, as a result of which, political decisions can be involved in the selection process of the trustees. Therefore, although the Patron model is exercised at arm's length from the government, governmental decisions cannot be detached from the regulation of cultural practice.

In addition to the similarity in the regulation of culture in China and Taiwan, the tendency towards adopting the Facilitator model can be detected in both locations. The promotion of arts through tax expenditure is channelled by donors to encourage the private endorsement of the arts, and debates on this have been made by arts and cultural policy professionals in China and Taiwan. The secretary general to the President of Taiwan proposed in 2008 that there should be a mechanism for tax exemption for art-related donations (Council for Cultural Affairs, 2008b). The Director of the Today Art Museum in Beijing, Chang Zikang, states that a policy on tax exemption for private funding donated to art museums is necessary. If the governments of China and Taiwan were to accept the proposed suggestions, they would adopt some of the characteristics of a Facilitator state. Furthermore, based on recent changes in cultural management, it is possible that the Patron model could be withdrawn in Taiwan. It was mentioned previously that the establishment of the National Culture and Arts Foundation (NCAF) provides Taiwan with an independent arts funding system. However, with the proposal of setting up a 'Ministry of Culture', the freedom of the funding system may not be sustained or will come into question if the founding of a Ministry of Culture is certain

(Huang, 2009: 94-96). If the freedom of arts funding for NCAF is removed from the Ministry of Culture, it will consequently eliminate the application of the 'Patron' model from Taiwan. In this instance, the cultural policy model of Taiwan will become closer to France's model of the 'Architect', and this could diminish the independence of the existing arts funding system, resulting in a centralised decision-making power on cultural regulation and funding.

8.4 Opportunities for Future Research

In responding to western scholars' opinions on the role of modern public art museums as places where order and disciplinary knowledge are disseminated for civic functions, the study argues that art museums in China and Taiwan today play identical roles. Museums' educational activities in China and Taiwan are predominantly organised and conducted by individual institutions which meets the objectives of the institution and its senior officials. However, these educational activities are, at the same time, regulated by government policies and often associated with the objectives which the government or the leading party aims to meet. Since the museum sector only began to develop three decades ago and museum education has only been recognised as a function that is equally important to the other museum departments in the last ten years, the attempt to identify the roles of museum education as an arm of the government has not produced explicit findings. The study revealed that institutions such as museums, presented as neutral and non-biased spaces with an aim of providing cultural provision for the benefit of the population, can possess hidden intentions implanted by the governing bodies (this is without respect for the influences of the politics and the principles of the different political regimes, so it does not necessarily mean that a communist regime would regulate culture for its other potential more significantly than a democratic society, in which public welfare is addressed by the government as a priority).

However, in comparison with the UK government, the Chinese and Taiwanese governments have arguably not yet reached an equivalent stage in their practice of evaluating museum education (as demonstrated in Chapter 2). Without being able to measure the outcome of the government policy on museum education, it appears that the policy is only followed by reference to the examples of museum practice in other countries or the governments' 'current' objectives; therefore, the real effect of the

policy is hard to detect. Based on primary and secondary source material gathered for the analysis of this study, the study did not have the opportunity to examine how the governments in China and Taiwan deal with this issue and how the roles of museum education will shift after the governments have recognised the possibility of utilising museum education for fulfilling their objectives, as this lies outside the scope of the current study. However, this aspect would certainly be worth investigating if other researchers consider taking on a project as such. In hindsight, if the research project were to take on a different scope, it would be interesting to place its focal point on only one country, investigating the museum education and power relations in the cultural sector between the public and private museums. This would perhaps reduce the complexity of the research as a comparative study. However, the benefit of the current research topic allows the researcher and others in the same field to understand the roles of museum education and the regulation of museums' educational practice under two diverse political systems but yet with similar factors shared between them.

The other research issue raised through the study is how government policies and strategies are implemented through museum education in China and Taiwan in comparison with the British example. The relationship between the government power and museums in China and Taiwan is that the museums are subordinate to and under the regulation of their governing bodies. The habitus of museum practice lies within a broader structure, whereby the educational practice of the museums meets, confronts, and is regulated by the government policies regarding the targeted objectives and national strategies. On the international scale, the ICOM International Committee for Education and Cultural Action (CECA) and the International Museum Theatre Alliance (IMTAL) are groups which help the museum sector to debate with governments and other professionals on learning and access issues, and they are the key providers of training and professional development (Reeve and Woollard, 2006: 11). In the UK, a government-funded advisory body, the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA), operates as a mediator between the central government and museums to promote best educational practice in museums and galleries. The organisation "promotes the interest of museums, undertakes strategic work to raise museum standards, provides expert and impartial advice to museums and others, and advices the government on museum policy" (Coles, 2004: 148). In addition to this advisory body, specialist groups within the sector, such as the Group for Education in Museums (GEM)

and the National Association for Gallery Education (engage), collaborate with MLA to further support museums and galleries' educational practice (ibid). These bodies mediate regulation and help to articulate and sometimes direct the flows of power (including resources), although these can be constitutionally diverse and the extent of their autonomy differs according to their status. Nevertheless, they form a specific tier within the field of cultural practice which sits between cultural organisations and the upper echelons of the state, interfacing equally with both policy and practice and theoretically acting as a two-way channel between the two.

Conversely, in China and Taiwan, the educational function has been recognised by the museum sector and the governments; however, national strategies are applied to museum education only through government regulations and cultural policies. Although the MLA in the UK is a government body, without this advisory body to supervise and advise on museums, the fulfilment of museums' educational potential could lack professionalism and impartiality. The situation in China and Taiwan reveals that museums implement government objectives as they are subordinate to their governing bodies in terms of their power relations, and this subordination is tied to the requirement for funding sources from the governments. In this circumstance, without advisory bodies, museum education may not develop effectively and professionally, and good practice in museum education may prove impossible to maintain. The suggestion from the study and from the example of UK museum practice is for China and Taiwan to establish advisory bodies to advocate museum education, to maintain and raise the standards of museum education, and to improve the resources available for education programmes within museums.

Appendix 1: A List of Case Study Museums, Interviewees and Dates Interviewed

National Art Museum of China

Fan Dian, Museum Director, interviewed on 19th October, 2008

He Lin, Head of Education, interviewed on 18th October, 2008

Guangdong Museum of Art

Wang Huangsheng, Museum Director, interviewed on 22nd September, 2008

Liu Duanling, Head of Education, interviewed on 22nd September, 2008

Li Xuhong, Director of Training Centre, interviewed (informal interview) on 20th September, 2008

National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts

Hsueh Paoshia, Museum Director, interviewed on 15th October, 2008

Wang Wanju, Head of Education, interviewed on 3rd September, 2008

Taipei Fine Arts Museum

Xie Xiaoyun, Museum Director, paper interview in October 2008

Chuan Yuanwei, Head of Education, interviewed on 10th September, 2008

Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts

Li Chihkang, Museum Director, interviewed on 13th October, 2008

Chang Yuanshuen, Head of Education, interviewed on 13th October, 2008

Appendix 2: Interview Questions for Museum Directors

This interview aims to explore how Education/Outreach Departments communicate with and are regulated by their governing bodies, the museums' current prospects in their educational roles, and the relationships between different museum departments regarding the practice of museum education.

Identity of the interviewee

- Please introduce yourself, and your role in the museum.
- How do you perceive the roles of education at the institution of which you are in charge?

Governing body

- Please would you briefly describe the relationships between the museum and its governing body?
- Please would you talk about to what extent the museum possesses autonomy from its governing body in terms of the content of its educational programmes?
- Please would you tell me if the museum's education practice is evaluated by its governing body? If so, how?

Education in museums

- Please can you briefly describe the current aims and objectives of the museum?
- Please would you talk about the current focus and prospects of the museum's educational practice? And how does this link to the museum's general aims?
- Please would you tell me how you weigh the significance of the educational practice among all the different practices at the museum, and why?
- In terms of resources which are allocated to the Education/Outreach Departments of the museum, is the Education/Outreach Department receiving as many resources i.e. staff number and funding as other Departments?
- Please would you tell me about the collaborative relationships between the Education/Outreach Department and other Departments of the museum?

- How would you describe the relationships between the educational programme and the exhibitions and collections of the museum?
- How does the museum collaborate with other educational and cultural institutions in terms of facilitating and popularising its educational services?
- How do non-native museological and educational practices influence the museum and its education, and in which method does the Education/Outreach Department learn about the educational practices of Western museums?

Appendix 3: Interview Questions for the Heads of Education at the Case Study Museums

This interview aims to explore how Education/Outreach Departments communicate with other departments of the museums, the specific characteristics and the shifts of them in museums' educational practice, and the interests involved in regulating the practice of museum education.

Identity of the interviewee

- Please introduce yourself, and your role in the Education/Outreach Department and the museum?

Education/Outreach Department

- Please can you state the current objectives of the Education/Outreach Department?
- Please can you tell me about the collaborative relationship between the Department and the other Departments of the museum?

Regulations and National Curriculum

- Are the educational activities carried out by the Education/Outreach Department regulated by the guidelines and policies produced by the museums or the cultural sectors to which the museums are affiliated? If so, would you be able to provide a clear indication of the outlines of the regulations?
- Would you please describe the relationships between the Education/Outreach Department and the National Curriculum? How strongly are the educational activities carried out by the Department linked to the aims of the National Curriculum?
- If museum education has been influenced by the government's objectives for school education, would you please let me know how the educational programmes have developed to cater for school groups and the current state of the collaborations between museums and schools?
- How have the educational programmes developed to facilitate family and adult groups? Have the development influenced by the government's objectives, if so, how?

- Are there other ways in which you feel government policy influences your education programme and its activities?

- How autonomous do you think the Education/Outreach Department is in developing an education programme and its activities?

Educational programmes

- What are the current issues for the educational practice of the museum?

- How are the educational programmes drafted and developed by the museum?

- Is the museum staff outside the Education/Outreach Department or artists also involved in the process? If so, how are the collaborations achieved? Please can you provide examples of this, if possible?

- Does the Education/Outreach Department categorise its audiences? If so, how does the Department fulfill the needs of its different groups of audience?

- Do the educational activities organised by the Education/Outreach Department cooperate with other cultural and educational institutions and, if so, how?

- How do non-native museological and educational practices influence the museum and its education, and in which method does the Education/Outreach Department learn about the educational practices of Western museums?

Appendix 4: Example of an Interview Consent Form (signed by the Director of the National Art Museum of China)

NEWCASTLE UNIVERSITY
NAME OF SCHOOL

Title of study: Social regulation and the roles of art museum education in China and Taiwan

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this research.

The researcher will provide a written document for you to read *(or refer to statements above)* before you agree to take part. If you have any questions arising from this, ask the researcher before you decide whether to take part. You will be given a copy of this consent form to keep.

I confirm that I have read the statement provided for the above research project and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time, without needing to give a reason.

[Other clauses if necessary depending on the project e.g. consent to audio-taping, how participants will be identified, sending transcripts of interviews for checking, confirmation that participation/non-participation will have no effect on grades/assessment/employment.]

| Name of participant | Date | Signature |

Fam Di-an   2008.10.18

| Name of person giving consent if different | Date | Signature |

YUN-JU CHEN   18 Oct

| Researcher | Date | Signature |

One copy to the participant and one to the researcher

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Appendix 5: Observation Notes

Activity name: Memory: Flowing through the Fingers (Children's visual art experiment)
Participants: primary school children
Time and date: 14:00-16:00, 31 August 2008
Location: a gallery by the Art Experience Corner at the Taipei Fine Arts Museum

The activity was organised by Professor Li Meirong at the Taipei Municipal University of Education. The theme of the activity session is derived from an Indonesian-born Dutch artist, M. de Rooy-Taen's, work of 'Tulips at the Gate'(1986).

13.50 The educator who leads the session is preparing the material for the activity session.

13.58 The participants and parents are beginning to arrive at the venue. Some of the participants who arrived early are curious about the teaching material displayed on the table and are trying to touch them.

13.59 The museum staff who work at the site are gathering the participants at the entrance of the gallery; the participants are asked to line up according to the numbers on their badges. The educator who leads the session then comes to the front of the line while the parents are waiting with their children.

14.00 The leading educator begins the session by introducing the exhibits in the gallery. The educator leads the group of participants to the front of the artwork 'Tulips at the Gate' by M. de Rooy-Taen (Some parents are following the group and a parent asks her daughter to pay attention).

14.03 The work is introduced as one of the six artworks produced by the artist. The participants are asked their opinion on what the artwork is trying to represent.

14.05 The educator asks the participants to go forward to hug the big column in the gallery immediately next to Rooy-Taen's work and express what the space feels like to them. The participants are then asked to sit down in order according to the numbers they were given on their badges.

14.06 The educator asks the participants what the space feels like to them. Does it feel familiar to them, like somewhere they have been before? One participant says it feels like hugging his mother and the other says it feels like going through a big tunnel. The

educator says that what the artist intends to express is a space like a gate with a shape like a tulip.

14.07 The participants were asked about their feelings about the artwork and the materials from which the work is made.

14.08 The educator explains that the materials that the artist chose to use and the representation of the artwork are relevant to the artist's personal experience as an Indonesian-born Dutch artist. The work also represents the artist's memory of her hometown. At this time, some of the participants who are sitting at the end of the group are distracted and start talking to each other but the educator did not stop them (not sure if she notices or not).

14.10 The group was led by the educator towards another artwork which looks like an unknown animal.

14.11 The educator asks the participants what the artwork looks like to them.

14.12 Some say it looks like a dog or horse, others say a dinosaur or dragon. The educator then says that the artwork could be anything depending on what is reflected in the viewers' mind, the viewers' image of what it is supposed to look like, and the correlations with the viewers' image of the object.

14.15 The educator illustrates what kind of activity will be involved later and the participants are divided into three groups according to the number they were given. Each group is led by one educator. The leading educator asks who has been to the same educational activity before and avoids them being assigned to the same group they were in before. In this way, the participants have the opportunity to use different material and methods to create their work, although the concept of the artistic creation for the three groups is identical.

14.17 The leading educator asks the parents to stay outside the gallery until the activity has finished. However, there are still many parents who chose to stay at the site.

14.18 The educator of Group 1 introduces the material that will be used for the creation of artwork – a long strip of sponge and some coloured lengths of wool. The educator says that the participants can make anything they want according to their thought, creativity and imagination by using the material in front of them.

14.20 The educator of Group 2 shows the participants an artwork that is made from the material which will be used by the participants later. The educator says that a metal stick will be substituted for a pin when the participants are creating their work on the canvas. After this, the participants are given a linen canvas and some coloured lengths

of wool. The educator demonstrates how the participants can make their own artwork by using the given material. The educator stresses that 'the main thing to think about while making the work is something that the participants remember in their mind'.

14.23 The participants of Groups 3 are shown a big artwork made of rope, linen strings and lengths of coloured wool.

14.25 After the artwork was introduced to the participant by the educator, the participants of Group 3 are given a rope which is approximately a meter long. The educator asks the participants to put the rope down on the floor and check its length. 'The participants are then asked to tie knots on the rope while thinking about something that they remember in their memory.' (The educator is making one while talking about what the participants can do with their rope.)

14.32 The educator of Groups 1 teaches the participants how to make a circle by using their sponges and string.

14.34 The site is a little noisy, as three educators are both talking to their participants about how to make their artwork.

14.35 The educator of Group 3 asks the participants to tie their knotted rope onto a wooden stick mounted on a white metal frame (approximately 140cm high) – one wooden stick for each participant.

14.38 One of the participants in Group 2 could not figure out how to sew his strings onto the linen canvas, so asked the educator for help.

14.40 There are some museum visitors with their children who come into the gallery and would like to join in the activity; however, they are refused by the museum staff as they did not sign up for it. At this time, a tour for the adults and parents of the participants who are joining in the activity starts.

14. 42 The participants in Group 3 are each given a linen string and the educator asks them to tie it onto their rope.

14.45 The educator of Group 3 took his participants to the front of the big artwork that they saw earlier. The educator asks the participants to find out how many main ropes is the framework of the work made from and see how the other strings are attached to the main framework.

14.47 Returning back to their artwork, the participants of Group 3 are asked to imitate what they saw earlier and try to tie their strings together in order to make a net.

14.48 The educator of Group 2 is helping one of her participants to sew.

14.52 The educator of Group 3 reminds his participants to tie the strings and rope together to make a net.

15.00 The educator of Group 2 is helping a participant to sew his work.

15.05 The educator of Group 3 gives his participants some lengths of coloured wool, saying that the participants can use the strings to decorate their net.

15.35 Some of the participants have finished making their artwork, and therefore are talking to each other and playing around. Some parents are busy taking photos of their children with the artwork they created.

15.45 The security guard is walking into the gallery. The security guard came to talk to the researcher, asking if she is a member of the museum staff. The security guard tells the researcher that "the concept of this kind of children's art education is derived from Japan…the Art Experience Centre is where the creative activity takes place, and the activities are normally themed in accordance with the current exhibitions. Furthermore, TFAM also provides a learning handbook for the participants…There was an exhibition which has just finished recently themed on architecture was a great success, especially its educational activities. I saw that the children who attended the educational activities were really enjoying themselves", says the security guard.

15.55 The three educators are tidying the place. Some children are leaving with their parents while others are asking the educators to have pictures taken with them.

Appendix 6: Example of NVivo Coding

Tree Nodes

Name	Sources	References	Created On	Modified On
⊟ Consumption	8	48	07/12/2008 15:35	09/12/2008

Name	Sources	References	Created On	Modifie
Audience Needs	6	19	07/12/2008 15:0	09/12/
Collaboration with Companies	2	2	08/12/2008 14:3	09/12/
Sponsorships	5	11	07/12/2008 16:1	09/12/
Target Audience	7	10	07/12/2008 16:1	09/12/
Volunteering	4	7	08/12/2008 14:2	09/12/

Name	Sources	References	Created On	Modified On
⊟ Education and other Departments	10	42	07/12/2008 15:43	09/12/2008

Name	Sources	References	Created On	Modifie
Collaboration with Curators and Artists	6	11	07/12/2008 16:1	09/12/
Collaboration with other Departments	9	13	07/12/2008 15:4	09/12/
Education and Exhibition	9	22	07/12/2008 15:4	09/12/
Human Resources	3	5	08/12/2008 16:0	09/12/

Name	Sources	References	Created On	Modified On
⊟ Museum and Government	10	70	07/12/2008 15:31	09/12/2008

Name	Sources	References	Created On	Modifie
Autonomy	8	20	07/12/2008 15:4	09/12/
Evaluation	3	5	07/12/2008 16:2	08/12/
For other Objectives	3	8	07/12/2008 15:1	08/12/
Funding	8	23	07/12/2008 15:1	09/12/
Governing Body	7	11	07/12/2008 15:1	09/12/
Government regulations	4	14	08/12/2008 14:4	09/12/
Government's Attitude and Requirement	5	9	07/12/2008 15:2	08/12/

Name	Sources	References	Created On	Modified On
⊟ Operation of Museum Education	10	122	07/12/2008 14:53	09/12/2008

Name	Sources	References	Created On	Modifie
Children's Art Education	8	18	07/12/2008 15:0	09/12/
Educational Practice	9	31	07/12/2008 14:5	09/12/
Educational Role (Local Museum)	6	13	07/12/2008 15:0	09/12/
Educational Role (National Museum)	3	10	07/12/2008 14:5	08/12/
Influence of Educational Practice	8	29	07/12/2008 14:5	09/12/
Objectives of Directors	7	21	07/12/2008 15:1	09/12/
Objectives of Museum Education	9	37	07/12/2008 15:0	09/12/

Name	Sources	References	Created On	Modified On
⊟ School Education	6	35	07/12/2008 15:54	09/12/2008

Name	Sources	References	Created On	Modifie
Collaboration with other Institutions	6	16	07/12/2008 15:5	09/12/
Museum-school Collaboration	6	20	07/12/2008 16:0	09/12/
School Curriculum	4	8	07/12/2008 15:5	09/12/
Teacher Training	3	8	08/12/2008 15:3	09/12/
Teaching Resources	2	5	08/12/2008 16:4	09/12/

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