Evolving museum experiences and museum (re)branding in the 21st century: A case study on the refurbishment of RAMM (2007-2011)

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I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

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Abstract

Today, many museums both around the world and in Britain are in the process of renewing, rejuvenating, refurbishing and/or rebranding themselves. These museums are actually doing this in order to be able to respond better to the evolving needs and wants of consumers, which change continuously as a result of the transformations that take place in the consumer culture. The central aim of this thesis is to investigate the paradigm shifts happening in contemporary British museums, which evolve parallel to the evolving British consumer culture. These paradigm shifts actually seem to be a reflection of the paradigm shifts that are happening in 21st century museums all around the world, in general.

Museums of today are highly interested in branding and they invest in it to a great extent. This is in part due to the effects of postmodernism on museums. This fondness for branding seems to turn museums into objects of consumption, makes them like other products in the market. Another aim of this thesis is to investigate how contemporary museums are defined as objects of consumption and managed as brands. For this purpose, Royal Albert Memorial Museum (RAMM), a British museum situated in Exeter, which has been going through an inclusive refurbishment process for the last four years, has been selected for carrying out an extended case study on. Diverse data collection tools have been used such as participant and non-participant observations were made; in-depth interviews with especially staff members and also some other stakeholders like volunteers and visitors were carried out, photographs were taken; website of the museum was analysed; a lot of field notes were taken and then these data have been analysed. The RAMM example and also the literature review made on world museums in general have shown that the museums of the last century have got into the direction of uniting and co-creating value with their visitors, in their museums. This is a thorough democratization process in the museum. In order for this to take place, museums have taken the interaction and participation levels with their visitors much higher. Detailed accounts on these and other phenomena about new museums can be found in the thesis.

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Abbreviation	Meaning
RAMM	Royal Albert Memorial Museum
NEA	National Endowment for the Arts
CCT	Consumer Culture Theory
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
NMDC	National Museum Director's Conference
DCMS	Department of Culture, Media and Sport
MLA	Museums, Libraries, Archives
HLF	Heritage Lottery Fund
ACE	Arts Council England
DCF	Designation Challenge Fund
MGC	Museums and Galleries Commission
BAfM	The British Association of Friends of Museums
DWT	Devon Wildlife Trust
RAM	Random Access Memory
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CKC	Customer Knowledge Creation
CDM	Construction Design Management
RIBA	Royal Institute of British Architects
V&A	Victoria and Albert
GLO	Generic Learning Outcomes

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research context

The museum has become an important part of our cultures (and our cultures have become an ever more important part of museums) in modern western societies over the last two centuries. 'Whatever their situation, museums are a highly visible part of the cultural landscape' (Kotler et al., 2008: xxi). It is one of the institutions that simultaneously build and mirror the consciousness of societies.

'The institution of the museum has been associated with the growth of modern society' (Belk, 1995). It therefore makes up an indispensible part of socio-cultural analyses to be made. Just like every other cultural product, the museum presents us with a basic insight into the perceptual and intellectual structures that a society (or sometimes a part of a society) finds itself in, at a particular point in time. The reading of the institution of the museum provides us with a unique entry point through which to pass and read/view the society from a relatively wider perspective. The museum, as an institution, takes place right at the intersection point of a wide array of elements that make a society (a western one in particular in the case of modern museology) what it is.

1.2 Aims and objectives

This thesis is concerned with thinking about museums as a means to think about the consumer culture in what is called the experience economy.

> 'The nature of experience society and the aesthetization of everyday life have been described in sociological literature since the beginning of 1990's (Schulze 1992, Featherstone 1991, Uusitalo 1995, Firat and Venkatesh 1995, Panzar 1998)... The notion of experience has also become the key element in understanding consumer

behaviour (Addis and Holbrook 2001), most important marketing offer (Schmitt 1999) and a foundation for economy (Pine and Gilmore 1999)' (Ahola, 2005: 91).

As experiences become a crucial domain for consumption in the experience economy, museums have gained significance because 'since the discovery of 'museum fatique', a Marshall McLuhan's 1969 attack on the linear, sequential, logical, book-like presentation of most museums, the emphasis has been on the museum as a total experience' (Alexander, 1979: 183). So, the main reason I have chosen the institution of the museum for my investigation into the consumer society is its ever increasing significance and role for what we call the 'experience economy' (Pine and Gilmore, 1998).

Museums in the west have been adapting themselves to the changes that are taking place in the experience economy.

> In the last decade, museums all around the world have been reinventing themselves. They are now much more than scholarly, cultural archives. A remit to reach out to a broader public, the increasing politization of the ownership and curation of objects, the architectural expectations of new buildings, the requirement of the 'event exhibit'… all have changed the way any museum is built, operates, and serves its public purpose. New museums now shape our public culture (Message, 2006: 250).

'Recent decades have seen many museums, galleries and historic sites around the world enjoy large scale investment in their capital infrastructure; in building refurbishments and new gallery displays' (Macleod et al., 2012: ix). This thesis aims at analysing contemporary British museums as an outcome of the development of consumer culture in Britain. Its goal is to investigate how as objects of consumption, contemporary museums are defined and managed as brands. In order to be able to reach this aim, the following *research objectives* have been developed:

1. To investigate RAMM as an example of an English museum which is undergoing construction, refurbishment and rebranding with the intention of fitting into the 21st century museum landscape.

2. To view a transforming English museum, the RAMM, through the lens of postmodernism.

3. To investigate the strategic branding and rebranding processes for the RAMM.

I conclude with a specific case study on the Royal Albert Memorial Museum (RAMM), which has been under refurbishment for the last four years and I study the current restructuring of RAMM from postmodern marketing theory perspective in order to demonstrate the notion of museums as brands in Britain, which will be a reflection of these theoretical points and questions in the practical realm.

Apart from their need to adapt to the new century, museums have another reason behind their ongoing reinvention and adaptation practices. That is, today's museums are going through some funding problems and many times they feel the need to turn to the visitors for a solution. According to Bolton (1992),

> In the last two decades, government censorship has become more pronounced. Art has been censored as obscene, pornographic, blasphemous, politically motivated, or degrading of national symbols… The NEA (The National Endowment for the Arts) has come under fire from religious groups, members of Congress, and citizens for funding artists who question the status quo. The clash over funding constitutes more than a discussion of the role of art: it is a debate about competing social agendas and ideas of morality (as cited in Joy & Sherry, 2003: 169).

These developments have brought about the financial restraints that museums have come to face, which in turn has moved museums closer to the world of commerce in the search for consumer-oriented marketing strategies that would help them create the funding that they need for their functioning.

The aesthetisation of the world of commerce and ongoing funding problems of museums seem to have given momentum to the obvious rapprochement we can observe between museums and the world of commerce. 'The role of aesthetics in everyday consumption ultimately aesthetises and produces consumers as aesthetic subjects' (Bradshaw, 2010: 10).

This development naturally has significant implications on consumer culture. Research has been done on these implications within the limits of this thesis and the question as to how museums affect consumer culture and vice versa has been a guideline for me. With respect to the current synchronizations between museums and the world of commerce, my theoretical investigations have been complemented by a case study on an English museum that is going under refurbishment.

My case study will be on the basic local museum of southwest England's Exeter, the Royal Albert Memorial Museum and Art Gallery (RAMM). The case study of the RAMM will provide a practical example of how a museum has a relationship with society, commerce and culture.

Like other major museums in the process of adaptation to the new marketplace, RAMM is in the process of recreating and rebranding itself for the purposes of modernization and adaptation to the 21st century. '…This exciting project will allow RAMM to grow and develop to meet 21st century needs and maintain its position as Exeter's number one attraction throughout the century'.[1]

The rebranding and recreation process of RAMM has been followed up for the investigation and discovery of the nature, expectations and demands of the 21st century museum visitor. England has a significant importance in the development of modern museums as they appear in western societies today. The revealing of the basic assumptions that one of the significant English museums and its major stakeholders hold would give an insight into the general consciousness built around the museum concept in England and also provide us with an example of the dynamics around the management of museums and the conditions that museums face in England.

Within the realm of this research, primary data has been collected from various stakeholder groups of RAMM, especially from the staff members (and some visitors and volunteers) of RAMM. In depth interviews have been made about their views on the refurbishment process

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[1] http://www.exeter.gov.uk/index.aspx?articleid=3034&listit=10050

in general. These views have been compared and contrasted to one another; common points and possible clashes have been analyzed. The in depth interviews have been complemented with data received from other means of data collection.

In today's experience economy, museums provide us with a significant and ideal case for the marketing of other products, services and experiences that make use of experiential techniques for their marketing strategies in that museum marketing makes us grasp the market dynamics that make up the opportunities and threats around experiential marketing in general. Therefore, this thesis will also provide a contribution to the understanding of the experience economy.

1.3 Thesis structure

This thesis is arranged in nine chapters. This first chapter provides an introduction to the topic at hand. The second and third chapters prepare the context for the study by dwelling upon consumer culture and museums, respectively. By contextualising museums, a background upon which some marketing concepts will be investigated throughout the thesis will be set. Museums are considered from the point of view of their being objects of consumption. The fourth chapter is about the experiential aspects of museum consumption. It dwells upon consumer experiences and the co-creation of value in museums. Here, the strong conceptual link between the notion of the experience economy and aspects of co-creation from service dominant logic is highlighted and expanded. The fifth chapter is about the rebranding of museums, which is a widespread phenomenon that takes place in many museums today. This chapter brings theoretical background information for the empirical research part of the thesis, which is on the rebranding of Exeter's Royal Albert Memorial Museum. The sixth chapter presents the methodology to the ethnographic, extended case study. Seventh and eight chapters present the findings of the study. The last chapter is about discussion, key contributions, limitations, future research perspectives and conclusion of the whole research project.

CHAPTER 2

CONSUMER CULTURE CONTEXT

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, consumer culture as a concept and its evolution throughout modern and postmodern (and even post-postmodern, according to Douglas Holt (2002)) periods in western world will be investigated. This is supposed to provide a background for understanding the changes that are taking place in today's museums, which is the central aim of this thesis, in that changes in museums in general depend on and reflect the changes taking place in consumer culture as these changes affect museum visitors because obviously as consumer culture changes, so do the needs and wants of consumers and this in turn affects the products or services provided by organizations, which are customized to their fellow consumers. There are obviously changes that take place in consumer culture as a whole and changes that take place in different consumer segments independent of the others. The first kind of changes are in general traced by all kinds of museums in the market while the second kind of changes are traced by different museums according to the visitor segments they present their services to. Museums obviously have different target markets, these target markets representing different visitor identities, and they act according to the changing needs and wants of these target markets and they might at times even change in an opposing direction to the changes happening in the consumer culture in general. However these details are not taken into consideration in this chapter, consumer culture has been taken as a whole. 'The concept and culture of consumption, its significance; modern and postmodern consumer cultures; experiential aspects of consumption; consumer culture theory and its subdimensions; cultural and corporate branding, postmodern and post-postmodern' (Holt, 2002) branding paradigms and branding in the search economy will be the basic points of interest in this chapter. It is aimed that this chapter will provide the necessary background for evaluating the changes happening in museums that take place as a consequence of the changes happening in consumer culture, in general.

2.2 'Consumption' and its significance

As is the case with any other concept, there is no consensus on the exact definition of the concept of 'consumption'. Consumption takes a special and important place in the shaping of the contemporary westernised society. As a scientific subject of enquiry, consumption is in the crossing point of many disciplines such as economics, marketing, sociology, psychology, anthropology, cultural studies and philosophy. 'Consumption is a phenomenon which has many dimensions to it. It is not only restricted to commerce, it is a cultural as well as an economical issue. It is to do with meaning, value and communication as much as it is to do with exchange, price and economic relations' (Lury, 1996: 9). These different disciplines consider consumption from different angles and therefore they define it in relation to their own terminologies and concepts which might obscure the meaning of consumption at times. Also 'each approach to consumption tends to have difficulty reconciling or incorporating the insights offered by the others' (Fine and Leopold, 1993: 21). The concept of consumption has gained in importance especially over the last few decades.

> Consumption became an important concept in sociology and in social theory more generally, during the 1980s. The focus upon consumption was part of a wider debate about postmodernity- that is about wheather or not western capitalism had undergone a significant change, so deep-rooted that it required a new theoretical orientation which was to be signalled by the term 'post-modern' (Bocock, 1993: 3).

After the 1980s, consumption came to be perceived as an important phenomenon that changes the whole society (i.e. western postmodern societies) and that is changed by the society, in return.

Theories of consumption have been introduced by many sociologists in the past (eg. Thorstein Veblen, Jean Baudrilliard, Pierre Bourdieu, George Ritzer). We can say that the roots of these theories date back as early as Karl Marx's work in the last half of the 19th century and that there is a significant amount of literature on this topic. However, compared to what came after the 1950s, together with the debates on postmodernism, we can say that consumption as a concept had not gained much literary attention until then. It is nearly

impossible to draw certain boundaries for the concept of consumption as it is with any other concept and this makes it conceived differently from person to person. Some may think of the term by applying some rigid boundaries as to who may undertake the action of consumption, eg. some groups of society, some sections of the economy, some parts of the society are thought to make consumption while the rest being deprived of it. There is also a view that large capitalist economies have the capacity to reduce or redirect existing consumption patterns, which is called the political economy of consumption. Others may think of the term more loosely to see the act of consumption being applied everywhere, and by everyone at any time. In the second sense of the word, consumption has been defined by Slater (1997) as 'reducing or destroying matter, energy or order in a way that reduces their value to humans' (as cited in Wilk, 2004: 11). In a narrower or commonsensical meaning of the term, consumption may be thought as equal to the term 'purchase'. However, in the wider meaning of the term, anything is an object of consumption including immaterial things (symbolic consumption) such as sounds, tastes, sights. Baudrillard seeks to extend consumption from goods not only to services, but to virtually everything else. In his view, 'anything can become a consumer object' (Baudrillard, 1998: 15) and as a result, 'consumption is laying hold of the whole life' (ibid: 10). Symbolic consumption, which is aroused by the marketing activities of firms such as advertising and other promotional activities are applied to persuade consumers in a certain direction. The extension of the meaning of consumption from material things to immaterial things is close to postmodern thinkers' definition of consumption. In this study, I will use the term in this sense while referring to museum consumption.

Consumption has gone through certain stages in western history and we can say that it has become ever more significant in the course of history, going through each of these stages. In the literature, these stages each have been called *'consumer revolutions'* (McKendrick, 1997; McCracken, 1990; Slater, 1997). There is no consensus on even the most fundamental terms of the consumer revolution (McCracken, 1990: 4) though. However, there is a consensus by the historians on the view that there has been a consumer revolution between the years 1600 and 1750, which is marked by a large and rapid increase in the consumption of consumer goods such as tableware, curtains, pictures, and cutlery, a lust for objects – and it

preceded the Industrial Revolution, both in England and elsewhere in northern Europe (Clark, 2010: 1). According to de Vries (2008: 37-39),

> Actually the term consumer revolution is used very imprecisely and it has been claimed that the consumer revolution occurred on at least five different occasions in four different eras: the Renaissance, the Baroque, the eighteenth century, the late nineteenth century and the twentieth century (as cited in Clark, 2010: 2).

In these periods, households were filled up with objects and people began to consume goods on a larger scale which was previously unthinkable. Slater (1997: 20) argues that it is arguable whether the industrial revolution or the consumer revolution came first. He states that beyond these arguments, it is more useful to see the consumer revolution and the industrial revolution as both part of a *commercial revolution*, which took place from the 16th century. Three developments have defined it: a) availability of a new and expanding 'world of goods'- a sudden wealth of new commodities derived from colonial exploitation (tea, coffee, tobacco, imported cloths and dyes, new foods, fruits etc.) and expansion of their daily consumption to more social classes than before; b) the spread of fashion and taste as a result of the expansion of the consumption of these new products to other classes than the aristocracy alone; c) the development of new forms of business and commercial organization, new infrastructures of consumption (the rise of shopping, advertising and marketing) (ibid.: 17-20). Slowly these consumer evolutions have made western culture become increasingly dependent upon the new consumer goods and different consumption practices that have emerged from the 16th century onwards. Today, we can still see the dominance of consumption and how deeply consumption patterns shape people's lives (to read more about significance of consumption today, read the 'postmodern consumer culture' section below).

2.3 'Culture' of consumption (consumer culture)

There is little consensus on the meaning of 'consumer culture' just as there is little consensus on the meaning of the term 'consumption'. These two terms might seem to be used interchangeably but there is a slight difference between them. Consumption is related

to the general act of consuming, which can be an individual act. Consumer culture, however, is about a whole society being inclined to consuming such that it becomes a cultural phenomenon. Consumer culture is not individual; it refers to the whole society. Grant McCracken (1988) makes reviews of historical accounts on consumption and culture and he states that there is also little consensus about the origins of consumer culture. According to Celia Lury (1996), consumer culture can be seen as a specific form of material culture – 'the culture of things-in-use'- in contemporary Euro-American societies. Others think that consumer culture actually subsumes consumerism and materialism and that consumer culture should not be confused with two of its attributes. Holt (2002) defines consumer culture as referring to the dominant mode of consumption that is structured by the collective actions of firms in their marketing activities. The dynamic interaction between consumers and firms in the marketplace defines the consumption patterns and therefore consumer culture at a given point in time. Don Slater (1997) summarizes the claims of different authors and says that consumer culture began with a wide penetration of consumer goods into the everyday lives of people across various social strata, that consumption was ignited through a new sense of fashion and taste, and finally that the culture was cemented through the development of infrastructures, organizations, and practices that took advantage of the new markets, namely, the rise of shopping, advertising, and marketing. 'Plumb (1982) suggests that commercialization and democratization of leisure – in coffeehouses, theatres, art galleries, concert halls, and gardens – in 18th century England is one of the markers of the development of consumer culture' (as cited in Karababa and Ger, 2010).

In this study, the words culture and consumption will be referred to as having the meanings that McCracken ascribes to them. 'By 'culture' he means the ideas and activities with which we construe and construct our world. By 'consumption' he broadens the conventional definition to include the processes by which consumer goods and services are created, bought, and used' (McCracken, 1988: 11). The consumption of immaterial things such as sounds, odours and sights can also be said to be included in this definition.

Consumer culture has gained more significance in the modern and postmodern periods. 'The culture of consumption, which is referred to as consumer culture, is a concept that is very

much related with modernity. The issues and concepts central to thinking about consumer culture are the same ones that have been central to modern intellectual life in general since the Enlightenment… consumer culture is a motif threaded through the texture of modernity, a motif that recapitulates the preoccupations and characteristic styles of thought of the modern west' (Slater, 1997: 1), and as McCracken suggests: 'Culture and consumption have an unprecedented relationship in the modern world. No other time or place has seen these elements enter into a relationship of such intense mutuality. Never has the relationship between them been so deeply complicated' (McCracken, 1988: 11). With respect to postmodernism, Mike Featherstone (1991: 126) suggests that postmodernism

> Has to be understood against the background of a long term process involving the growth of a consumer culture and expansion in the number of specialists and intermediaries engaged in the production and circulation of symbolic goals. It draws on tendencies in consumer culture which favours the aestheticisation of life, the assumption that the aesthetic life is ethically good and that there is no human nature or true self; with the goal of life an endless pursuit of new experiences, values and vocabularies.

As consumer culture has gained more significance in the modern and post modern periods, the relationship that consumption has with the structures of these periods will be investigated below. Modernism and postmodernism have been discussed in hundreds of books and articles and here I am not claiming to present a complete description of the two phenomena. These two concepts will be investigated only to the extent that they are related with consumer culture.

2.4 Modern Consumer Culture

The change that has taken place in the era that is called 'modern' is of a great magnitude. According to Black (1966: 4), 'the process of change in the modern era is of the same order of magnitude as that from pre-human to human life and from primitive to civilized societies; it is the most dynamic of the great revolutionary transformations in the conduct of human affairs', and according to Fornäs, (1995: 34):

Depending on country and perspective, that is where a step from premodernity to modernity may be localized, that is, somewhere between 1500 and 1800… In a West European perspective, high modernity was established somewhere around the year 1900, when certain political, economic, social, cultural, and psychological forms were stabilized into a full-fledged bourgeois, industrial society, with capitalist forms of production and distribution, industries and wage labour, parliamentary democracies, a differentiated public sphere for political and cultural activities, aesthetic codes and genres, specific age and class life forms, socialization institutions and generalized normative models of personal identity.

Modernity has been the result of nations freeing themselves from traditional ways of living, which were highly affected by religions, and turning to societies where reason, logic and rationality started to lead the way. In this era, there has been a huge growth of knowledge and men had to evolve in order to be able to cope with this amount of knowledge and they've developed adaptation skills accordingly. 'Modernization' is almost used synonymously with 'Europeanization' or 'Westernization'. Black (1966: 7) defines modernisation as follows: 'the process, by which historically evolved institutions are adapted to the rapidly changing functions that reflect the unprecedented increase in man's knowledge, permitting control over his environment that accompanied the scientific revolution'. Although it can be traced back to the time after the Middle Ages, i.e. 15th century; modernity as we predominantly understand it today has been governed by the characteristics shaped by the thought patterns of the age of enlightenment, which took place in the 18th century. These thought patterns were those that privileged reason and the scientific method, questioned tradition and faith, and opposed superstition. Western thought has drawn a new route for itself with the Enlightenment. In this route, a move has been made from a worldview focused on God towards a worldview focused on humans. Humans have started to be taken as a reference point for knowledge production. With these new presuppositions in the background, modernism has brought about a societal transformation in economical, political and societal realms. Humanity is thought to be progressing and moving towards a better, paramount purpose. The enlightenment has also brought about the ideal of the subordination of nature to humans. This ideal has realised

itself in the form of vast technological developments that followed the age of enlightenment. Therefore, technology, which is knowledge and science applied to practical projects in daily life, has had a great impact on the development called modernity. Technology has changed many things in life. It has not only changed the ways humans relate to nature but also ways that they relate to each other and even to themselves. Lots of new machinery has been developed, new techniques of agriculture have been introduced with the use of chemistry and other techniques, railways, telephone, telegraph, other communication technologies have been introduced and life has changed radically. These changes have been a result of especially the advent of electric light. This main progress has brought about significant changes in our societies and had a great impact on a vast variety of dimensions of life including its social, political, economic aspects, over the course of the last century. Many inventions have been triggered by and followed the advent of light and electricity, and causing a domino effect these inventions have changed the whole appearance of life in general. The visibility of that which was previously invisible has changed the ways in which power and control have been experienced. It also caused an expression of awe throughout societies with respect to the glory of new forms of seeing. 'The history of vision and power over the past couple of European centuries is invariably written as a history of either discipline or spectacle, or some combination of both' (Otter, 2008: 1).

The invention of electric light meant that night could be easily turned into day, which meant much greater freedom and an extended control over the course of nature. This rhetoric of freedom was then reflected onto different arenas of life and formed the basis for the modern narratives of freedom and liberty, which were to be expressed in social, political and economic terms. This was in line with the Enlightenment's proponents desire to apply the methods of the scientific revolution to societal problems which included freedom from religion and tradition, freedom of the press etc. Liberty was something that they have committed themselves to. These developments altogether set the fertile ground upon which the other basic concepts and paradigms of modernity were built. However one thing needs to be noted here, although freedom from religion has been a common motive for the enlightenment thought, it can be said to have kept its strength and according to Weber been a dominant player in the emergence of modern capitalism. Reason and its rise has been a

widespread and dominant force shaping many aspects of life; however religion is such a strong motif that it cannot be dismantled from the fabric of the society.

Extended limits of control over nature that was earned by means of the new illumination technologies indirectly showed themselves as extended limits of control and policing of governments over society. In other words, the invention of new tools to control the nature has brought with it the invention of new tools and means of control of governments over society. New power relations have been formed and regulatory organisms within societies have restructured themselves (eg. as in Foucault's panopticon concept, which is a structure that increases visibility for creating a disciplined society).

With the advent of new production technologies, there has been a revolution in production. It became possible to produce much higher quality and quantity of products in much shorter periods of time. This increase in efficiency and productivity has brought with it the need to discover new markets to sell the abundance of products that were being produced. This development was backed up with the fact that new transportation and communication technologies were invented. New railroads and steamships were invented; new ways of communication was binding previously far and irrelevant places to each other. New conception of time and space was formed. Distances became shorter; time was conquered by the fact that darkness wasn't affecting the way things were being done any longer; any time of the day became useable for doing business and financial interactions. This way, time has speeded up.

Together with the factories that were built, the need for workers has risen up and this caused immigration of huge amounts of people from the rural areas to the cities. The foundation of modern cities as we know them today has been formed during this period. City planning gained momentum and the need for better city designs increased.

> No longer would religious, political and cultural imperatives shape urban development; rather, the market would be allowed to determine the pattern of urban growth (eg. New York). Cities changed more since the Industrial Revolution than in all previous centuries. With the concentration of talent, mixture of peoples

and economic surplus, the cities became a fertile ground for the evolution of human culture, the arts, scientific research, technical evolution etc. and they became centres of communication.[2]

All these developments and consequent increases in life standards and quality of life have brought with them a great appreciation and adoration for science and technology. After many years of religious exploitation that the church had exercised in Europe, the mind and its merits were happily welcome and highly appreciated, it almost came to the point of being worshipped. Religion had degenerated in the hands of egoist, sordid priests who could use it for their own particular interests and people were tired of the manipulation of religion. They were already in the search of a new saviour when all these developments in science and technology took place.

The scientific paradigm of the time was based on 'objectivity' and a deeper understanding of the material world and universe around us. Sources were allocated to empirical investigation and research of the surrounding material world and being scientific was evaluated according to the level of objectivity that could be reached. This kind of a paradigm was one that would reinforce and strengthen the materialistic view of the world and the importance that was given to the object world.

After many years of glory and a deep hope for the reaching of ultimate welfare and prosperity by means of science and technology, two world wars have happened and people have seen the greatest of suffering that they could ever see. This has been a great shock and frustration for them and it became obvious that science and technology and all the fruits of the mind had the power to bring the greatest of glories and joys but at the same time greatest of pains and frustrations as though all it did was to serve as a kind of a magnifying glass. It became impossible for people to find a trustable mainstay, upon which they could build their lives.

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[2] Ellis, C., http://www.art.net/~hopkins/Don/simcity/manual/history.html, 2009

Under these circumstances, postmodernism raised all the conjoint feelings of confusion, mistrust, frustration, nihilism, depression etc. but also with a new dynamism to search for truth or rather truths. The term postmodernism refers to the period that comes after modernism and comes to mean that which is after modernism or contra modernism. Coming after modernism means extending the modern tendencies while contra modernism means resisting, opposing, subverting modern tendencies. These two tendencies seem to coexist in postmodernism. The thought patterns and practices of postmodernism have started after the World War II, and as such, they have been associated with cynicism about human mastery and negative feelings about the Enlightenment project. Postmodernism gained in significance and popularity in the 1950s and 1960s. Postmodernism is marked by the collapse of metanarratives and disbelief in absolute truth. It assumes that the way people perceive the world is subjective. Irony and absurdity have been dominant postmodern motifs in arts and literature, being the characteristics that reflect the dominant emotional status and life perception of the period. It is not by coincidence that the superficial, instinctive, cynic cartoon character Homer Simpson has become the idol of the new generation for he represents postmodernity in a very good way (for details see Carl Bybee and Ashley Overbeck's article called 'Homer Simpson explains our postmodern identity crisis, whether we like it or not: Media literacy after 'The Simpsons'' (2001)). The ultimate belief in one objective truth lying out there was being questioned, and people started to discover their own subjective truths. The 'objectivity' paradigm was put under scrutiny.

The new scientific developments were also changing the objectivity paradigm and offering new lenses with which to view things. The developments in quantum physics has shown many strange qualities of the invisible world. In the quantum world, objects could be seen as either particles or waves, depending on the subject. This meant that the subject had an authority on the 'objective' world and the way it was being shaped. The echoes of this interesting discovery have changed the way things were seen and its impact was spread out to many different areas of human existence, from philosophy to arts and social sciences.

Consumer culture and modernity are related to each other in many ways. 'Consumer culture is in important respects *the* culture of the modern west – certainly central to the meaningful practice of everyday life in the modern world; and it is more generally bound up with central

values, practices and institutions, which define western modernity, such as choice, individualism and market relations' (Slater, 1997: 9). On the other hand, modernity might not be thought of as a whole single construct. Karababa (2012) argues that the existence of multiple modern consumer cultures suggests that there is no single, uniform modernization process, but rather multiple trajectories of diverse modernization processes. Here I will not dwell upon the characteristics that differentiate various modernities, for this would be going into too much detail and also would not serve the purpose of this chapter, but I will refer to modernity on the basis of the common elements that Slater talks about in the quote above. Market relations among markets of different areas were developed as a result of the developments in communication and transportation that have taken place with modernity such as the functioning of the railways, the development of communicative tools such as telephone and telegraph. This has given way to the movement of products from one place to another easily and in shorter amounts of time. This has in time caused globalization and competition on a larger scale.

Some think that consumer culture took place only in the postmodern era due to the highly consumerist attitudes of people and the sign economy (economy dependent on the use of signs and symbols; for details see Baudrilliard (1981) and Venkatesh (1999)) of that era, however consumer culture and modernity are like two sides of the same coin. If we think about post-modernity as being an extension of modernity, we can think of consumer culture to cover both periods anyway. Nevertheless, the links of consumption with post-modernity is actually of a special nature.

> Consumption became an important concept in sociology and in social theory more generally, during the 1980s. The focus upon consumption was part of a wider debate about postmodernity – that is about whether or not western capitalism had undergone a significant change, so deep-rooted that it required a new theoretical orientation which was to be signalled by the term 'postmodern' (Bocock, 1993: 3).

Slater (1997: 9) thinks that

Consumer culture is bound up with modernity as a whole because of two reasons; one is that the core institutions, infrastructures and practices of consumer culture originated in early modern period and some of these are well established by this time, and secondly consumer culture is bound up with the *idea* of modernity, of modern experience and of modern social subjects because in a modern experience, there are subjects that are free and rational, who are no longer governed by tradition but rather by a world produced through carries in itself the qualities of the modern subject.

2.5 Postmodern Consumer Culture

Postmodern consumer culture was born… in the 1960s counterculture…. The so-called cultural revolution of the 1960s is now often associated with a lifestyle of drugs, rock music, and sexual experimentation pursued on the corner of Haight and Ashbury in San Francisco' (Holt 2002: 82). Postmodernity is a particular phenomenon, a philosophy of life and a style of living and thinking, and 'the broad range of artistic, intellectual and academic fields in which the term 'postmodernism' has been used is striking (Featherstone, 1991: 2).

It has been used in such diverse areas as philosophy, sociology, art, music, film, drama, fiction, architecture, photography etc. 'Most philosophers identify the postmodern perspective on life as beginning in the 1960's and centered in Western Europe and North America, the result of many factors but chiefly economic and technological developments' (Obermiller, 2002: 79).

To think of postmodernity as a succession of modernity in a historical way of thinking is actually a paradox, because ''history' is part and parcel of the modern way of viewing the world… the onset of a 'postmodern condition' does not entail that modernity is simply done away with or left behind us (as accounts of the 'radical break' variety tend to maintain)' (Clarke, 2003: 14). As Bauman (1993a: 38) puts it, 'in the midst of postmodernity, modernity remains very much with us and around us – perhaps never more than now, in its posthumous life' (as cited in Clarke, 2003: 14). The term 'post' has two connotations. It may come to mean 'after', or it may mean 'continuation of that which is before'. In this sense

postmodernism has been seen as either the period after modernism, or a continuation of modernism. Some authors see one way and some choose to see it the other way round. Venkatesh (1999: 2) describes the phenomenon as 'whereas postmodernity describes the social and economic developments that come after modernity, it also represents the developments that have grown out of modernity', on the other hand we can also see that

> Many postmodernists challenge, question and critique the conditions and beliefs associated with modernity and modernism. Some of the more central tenets of modernism under question include the primacy of rational thought, the rise of science, and the dichotomization of the world into binary opposites – such as the separation of production from consumption as a conceptual and material fact of economic life. (Manolis et al., 2001: 228).

Many qualities of postmodernity have been directly reflected upon consumer culture. 'Postmodern culture is specifically a phenomenon observed in the advanced capitalist countries of the First World, but its impacts are felt throughout the world due to the cultural, economic, and political influences of such countries' (Firat, 1991: 70). One of the most striking changes that are related with postmodernity is that 'postmodern thought brings to light the equality of production and consumption by exposing the distinction between the two as a myth' (Manolis et al., 2001: 229). In modern times, production was carrying positive connotations but consumption was not seen as something positive. Production was about making something, bringing something to life, the only way of earning money and being useful to the environment. However, in postmodernism we see a reversal of this point of view in favour of consumption. 'Postmodernism critiques the mythology of the interpretation of production as meaningful and valuable, and consumption, on the other hand, as destructive and only consequence of production' (Firat and Venkatesh, 1993 as cited in Manolis et al. 2001: 229). Consumption has been attached more importance to, due to the fact that production is possible only insofar as there is consumption and also consumption carries productive sides in it. While consuming people create their senses of identity, for example. As a matter of fact, according to Marx production and consumption are not separate phenomena. There are productive components in consumption as there are

consuming components in production. At some points, people are producers and consumers at the same time. The consumer increasingly inclines to act as a producer.

> The *Homo consumericus* perceive themselves as a product to be (re)presented in market(s), and participates in the market to (re)produce their marketable self-image(s); and they increasingly become a partner in the process of production of the products that they use in (re)producing their self-images (Firat and Schultz II, 1997: 200).

The inclination towards the co-creation of experiences in museums that we see in the 21st century seems to be a by-product of this postmodern tendency.

Aside from the reversals of production and consumption, there are some other conditions of postmodernity that have received greatest attention. Postmodernity has affected many areas of life including consumer culture. Many qualities of postmodernity have been directly reflected upon consumer culture. Therefore, it is useful to mention the most significant of these qualities here, shortly. The following table summarizes these qualities.

Table 2. 1 Characteristics of a postmodern society

All opposites become simultaneously possible (also called juxtaposition of opposites, Firat et al., 1995)	There is no unified criterion on which to base the judgment of reality of a fact against another (Firat, 1992)
Tribes replace social classes	Each individual belongs to several tribes that develop their own complexes of meanings and symbols. In each of these tribes he may play a different role, making every attempt at classification impossible (Cova, 1997b). Our civilization has essentially globalized only the surface of human life (Havel, 1995).
Value systems are transformed	Openness and tolerance of different styles and ways of being and living become an integral part of postmodern plural societies.
Fashion	The emphasis shift from content to form and style

Fragmentation	Life becomes a collection of disjointed moments and experiences rather than a sequence of consecutively chained episodes
Dedifferentiation	The identity of individuals and institutions become blurred, shared and mixed
Hyper-reality	Simulation and representation are becoming more relevant to human life than physical conditions and "hard" realities
Chronology and time	The present overarches both past and future and is both the temporal limitation to reality and an instrument for its construction
Anti-fundationalism	Rejection of the existence of an immutable base limiting the scope and span of constructed realities
Acceptance of disorder and chaos, crises and disequilibria as a norm	Equilibrium is undesirable as it implies the negation of new alternatives to the status quo
Pastiche	Irony, parody, imitation, mixture, quotation, self-reference, pun, joke and wink of the eye
Source: Adapted from Hetzel (1995) and Firat and Shultz (1997); as cited in Arias and Acebron, 2001.	

Apart from these qualities,

Reversal of consumption and production (Firat and Venkatesh, 1993), decentring of the subject (Firat and Venkatesh, 1993), readiness for living a perpetual present, emphasis on form/style (Brown, 1993b), and greater acceptance of or resignation to (a) state(s) of disorder and chaos (Brown, 1993a) are proposed as conditions of postmodern culture (as cited in Firat and Schultz II, 1997: 185).

'The 18th century marked the onset of many of the branding, marketing and advertising techniques widely used today' (Millman, 2012: 30). Brands were a part of 19th century advertising too! Particularly in food companies such as Cadbury that were developing a visual identity that was connected to their strategy of improving quality as a marketing strategy. In postmodernity we see the rise of brands and branding to an extent, which is more than ever before, and it comes to affect consumer culture. 'Although brands have a long history as a commercial institution, reaching as far back as the 18th century, their

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position as central components of the social fabric was established in the 1980s' (Arvidsson, 2006: 3). After the 1980s, brands have proliferated so much that they became a part of the cultural landscape of societies. Brands have acquired such a cultural presence that brands came to affect culture and culture came to affect brands in return. As Douglas Holt has suggested, 'today, branding is a core activity of capitalism, so must be included in any serious attempt to understand contemporary society and politics' (Holt, 2006: 300). Therefore, cultural branding has become a significant topic in marketing and branding research. Cultural branding is an important phenomenon for understanding the rebranding of RAMM and so there is a discussion about this issue below. However, before discussing cultural and corporate branding, I will mention the stream of research called 'Consumer Culture Theory', which is an interdisciplinary and comprehensive research stream about consumer culture. It is composed of macro, interpretive, and critical approaches to consumer behaviour.

2.6 Experiential Marketing and Consumer Culture Theory

Consumer culture theory (CCT) has been suggested as providing a 'synthesizing overview of the past 20 years of consumer research addressing the socio cultural, experiential, symbolic, and ideological aspects of consumption' (Arnould and Thompson, 2005: 868). 'In the experience economy, consumption plays a more crucial role, as in their process of growth; modern economies have experienced dramatic changes in size and composition of consumer expenditures on goods and services' (Witt, 2010: 2). McCracken (1986) describes how meaning is transferred from the culturally constituted world over to the individual consumer by means of consumer goods through advertising and fashion systems and possession, exchange, grooming and divestment rituals.

The sub topics related to consumer culture theory have been simplified and expressed on a table of four distinct categories. Experiential dimensions of consumption, which is of interest in this thesis related to the consumption of museum experiences, is explored as a sub topic of 'consumer identity projects' as can be seen in figure 4.1 below.

The socio-historic patterning of consumption is about the institutional and social structures that systematically influence consumption, such as class, community, ethnicity, and gender and CCT examines the relationships among consumers' experiences, belief systems, and practices and these underlying institutional and social structures (Arnould and Thompson, 2005: 874).

Figure 2. 1 CCT: Common Structures of Theoretical Interest

Glocalization and the "Scapes" of Global Flows

Structure-Agency Tensions

The socio historic patterning of consumption
Shaping of consumption by class, ethnicity, gender, and other habituated social categories, consumption under conditions of attenuated cultural resources, the institutionalization and reproduction of power relationships through socio-economic hierarchies

Marketplace Cultures
Socio-cultural dynamics embedded in brand communities, fan communities, consumer micro cultures, consumption subcultures, consumer tribes, marketplace as mediator of social linkages and social relationships

Consumer Identity Projects
Identity play, body image and self representation, gender performativities, symbolic distinctions, extended self, negotiating cultural contradictions, experiential dimensions of consumption

Mass-mediated marketplace ideologies and consumers' interpretative strategies
Discursive, imagistic, and material representations of consumerist ideologies in the marketplace, consumers' active uses of media and critical counter readings of hegemonic codes, the dynamics of corporate co-optation, influences of globalizing mediascapes and consumptionscapes

Market mediated Networks and Embedded Consumption

Ideological Shaping of Consumer Identity Goals and Desires

Source: Arnould and Thompson (2007: 10).

'Arnould and Thompson (2005) proposed that these four structures of common theoretical interest were interrelated and mutually implicative rather than being independent factors' (Arnould and Thompson, 2007: 9). Related to this project are the 'consumer identity projects' and 'marketplace cultures' parts of the above stated table. Hirschmann (1993) suggests that

Under mass-mediated marketplace ideologies and consumers' interpretative strategies, consumer culture theory examines consumer ideology – systems of

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meaning that tend to channel and reproduce consumers' thoughts and actions in such a way to defend dominate interests in society (as cited in Arnould and Thompson, 2005: 874).

2.6.1 Consumer Identity Projects

'Consumer identity projects aligns CCT with the cultural studies focus on identity work and the negotiation of cultural contradictions (Giddens, 1991) through the marketplace (Illouz, 1997) and the commodification of cultural rituals and emotions (Schmidt, 1997)' (Arnould and Thompson, 2007: 8). Consumer researchers' focus on consumer identity has been thoroughly examined and solidified by Belk (1988) under the scope of the extended self concept, where 'self', 'sense of self', and 'identity' have been used as synonyms for how a person subjectively perceives who he or she is (Ahuvia, 2005). According to Belk, consumers have a core self and an extended self where their possessions become parts of the extended self as a result of consumers' identification of their selves with the relevant possessions that they have. Belk's extended self concept has been quite influential and dominant in the consumer research literature. 'Post Belk, two of the major developments on identity have been a conceptualization of self as narrative and a concern with the complexities, conflicts, and challenges of identity construction' (ibid.: 172). The stream of research in consumer behaviour that contends that rising real incomes and an abundance of consumer goods have resulted in a material outlook that construes possessions as an integral part of self identity (Belk, 1985), is influenced heavily by the work of Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1981), who focus on the symbolic value of possessions and their relationship to self (Hill and Stamey, 1990). Identity or self-concept of the consumer has also been defined by Kotler and Armstrong (2010) as being related to people's possessions contributing to and reflecting their identities. Thus, 'in order to understand consumer behaviour, the marketer must first understand the relationship between consumer self-concept and possessions' (ibid.: 172).

The self concept has been the focus of many researchers of different departmental backgrounds such as psychology, sociology, and other social and behavioural sciences since the 1970s and it includes many diverse topics such as self-awareness, self-esteem, self-control, identity, self-verification, self-affirmation, self-conscious

emotions, self-discrepancy, self-evaluation, self-monitoring and so on (Leary and Tangney, 2003: 3).

The consumer self has been of great interest to marketers as they continuously are willing to conquer the self by means of their marketing and advertising messages. According to Firat and Venkatesh (1995), 'Celebrants of advertising and consumer culture tend to argue that the sphere of consumption offers consumers untold liberating possibilities for constructing identities and projecting unique, highly personalized images of self' (as cited in Halton and Rumbo, 2007: 298). The dominant marketing discourse of our day bases the freedom of the self upon consumer's ability to choose among different consumption rituals. This ability to choose from different alternatives seemingly gives the self more freedom than before with respect to product/service/experience choice, however it also gets the consumer tapped into the restricted domain of consumption mainly directed by dominant players in the marketing era and the self becomes the canvas on which marketers paint their messages. This means that the self becomes a 'consumer-incorporated self, a self compromised by marketing ideology and brand affiliations in which consumption practices displace self-autonomy' (ibid: 298). Marketing grows, changes and adapts itself to the contemporary age due to this liberating as well as restricting nature of the marketing activities and the ongoing dialectic that is being formed between these two seemingly opposite positions.

Consumer self and identity have been evaluated in a different way by postmodern marketing scholars. The image that they have of the self is a fragmented one. Venkatesh (1999: 5) describes the postmodern fragmented self as follows:

> Fragmentation concerns individual identity construction. When we say that consumers are fragmented, we mean not only that they are fragmented into groups (i.e., segmented) but also that the individual 'self' also is fragmented. Therefore, the self is conceived of more as a product of imitative assemblage than as a unified construction. In redefining the self, the consumer becomes continuously emergent, reformed, and redirected through relationships to products and people.

In today's 'postmodern' societies, forming a coherent self-presentation is becoming ever more difficult because of the abundance of choices that we consumers face (Ahuvia, 2005). Forming a unified self is not only difficult but it can also be something that is not wanted by consumers of our societies. They can prefer having fragmented selves and using the different facets of their selves in different contexts, just like changing dresses they can and do change their attitudes and meanings that they get out of given experiences. They can become a part of very different and sometimes opposing groups. For instance, one can be a heavy metal music fan but also be quite religious, wearing a head scarf etc., which might seem opposite at the first instance but the post modern consumer might have the ability to connect opposing things in the pot of their very self concepts.

The nature of the dialectic between objects and subjects makes up a crucial point in the investigation regarding consumer identity projects. Contribution of objects to identity construction has been a central topic of interest in consumer culture research (see Schroeder and Borgerson, 2004). 'How much agency do objects and subjects have with respect to each other?' is a question that reveals the agency of objects and subjects and to what extent they interact with each other and how much power they have in affecting or transforming each other. Consumer subject agency refers to the level of impact that a consumer subject has over objects of consumption. 'Theories of materiality –articulating various understandings of subject and object formation and interrelation- form the foundations for assumptions about consumer processes, relationships, and identity' (Borgerson, 2005: 439). 'The key theories of material culture developed in the 1980s demonstrated that social worlds were as much constituted by materiality as the other way round (eg. Bordieu 1977, Appadurai 1986, Miller 1987)' (Miller, 1998: 3).

2.6.2 Marketplace Cultures

Marketplace cultures makes up another important dimension in the consumer culture literature. 'The study of marketplace cultures addresses some of the most distinctive features of the marketplace-culture intersection' (Arnould and Thompson, 2005: 873). Together with the globalization processes that have taken place during the last 50 years due to vast technological advancements and new means of communication and transportation,

culture has become an ever more important variable for marketing. 'There is little doubt about the globalization of competition' (Usunier and Lee, 2005: 194). 'Holt's (2003: 43) comment 'Managers must get close to culture and that means looking far beyond consumers as they are known today', follows a tradition of framing marketing practice as culturally embedded... There are grounds for regarding marketing practice as inherently creative and embedded in culture' (Bradshaw, 2010: 11). In this century, more and more companies are functioning in different geographical spaces than their own and this makes it imperative that they know a great extent about the cultures of the spaces that they are functioning in. Even the companies that don't go to other places than their own feel the need to know more about other (mainly global) cultures due to the necessity to compete with the global companies that function in their places. Because of all these, culture has become a topic of great interest in the marketing literature (eg. McCracken 1986; Witkowski 1989; Arnould 1989; Bonsu and Belk 2003; Applbaum and Jordt 1996; Joy 2001; Tse, Belk and Zhou 1989; Coulter et. al. 2003 etc.). Companies have started to produce international marketing programmes. Television and Internet, among other media, play a particularly important role in the formation of cultures. 'Cultures are formed around the meanings people construct and share. Contemporary first world cultures, in particular, are formed through televisual media experiences and other everyday practices' (Lewis, 2002: 3). These technologies have created a world-wide shared culture. Television programmes, movies and the like create and mediate a great flow of meanings across cultures around the world. For instance American movies have affected all world cultures by means of their films, and the products used in them as part of their culture have transferred to other cultures and American originated products and brands came to be used by many other cultures.

Figure 2. 2 Culture-Context

Industry-Producer-Author-Governance

Audience-Market-Consumer   Text-Product
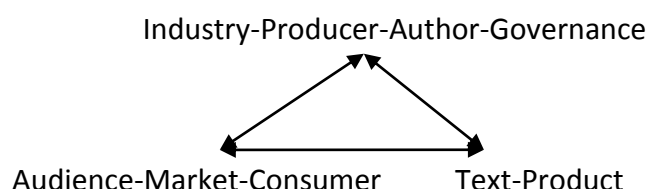
Source: Lewis, J. (2002: 5).

'Culture is that shared space of imagining where the media and audiences interact. Figure 2.2 gives some sense of how this interaction takes place' (ibid.: 5). Culture is both the producer and consumer of this triad relationship. It keeps creating and recreating itself and these three parties. As Weimann (2000: 5) argues, this place between media and audiences is a place where a mediated reality is being created, which is a reconstructed reality. Although media professionals do their best to authentically reflect reality, new stories are selected to support editorial lines of interpretation and consequently, their representation of reality is structuring the events and experiences for us; the reflected reality only remains a reconstructed version of the original. The production of this reconstructed reality by the media and its consumption creates a cultural space between the two in which meanings are contested and assimilated. McCracken has a similar account about the movement of cultural meaning. In observing the cultural meaning of consumer goods;McCracken (1986: 71) suggests that

> Cultural meaning flows continually between its several locations in the social world, aided by the collective and individual efforts of designers, producers, advertisers, and consumers. There is a traditional trajectory to this movement. Usually cultural meaning is drawn from a culturally constituted world and transferred to a consumer good. Then the meaning is drawn from the object and transferred to an individual consumer.

Thus, he talks about the movement of meaning from the world to good and from good to individual.

Culture is quite a controversial topic and in the literature it has been defined in many different ways. 'In French the word culture was defined by Emile Littré in his nineteenth century dictionary as 'cultivation, farming activity'. The abstract sense of the word probably originated in Germany where the word Kultur was used as early as the eighteenth century to refer to civilization. In the Anglo-Saxon world the abstract notion of culture came into widespread use at the beginning of the twentieth century' (Usunier and Lee, 2005: 4). According to one expert, Raymond Williams (1976), 'culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language… because it has now come to be used for

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important concepts in several distinct intellectual disciplines and in several distinct systems of thought'(as cited in Smith, 2001: 1). Because of its difficulty and/or impossibility, many cultural studies scholars have given up the effort of trying to define culture (Özbudun, 2002).

> In its early uses in English, culture was associated with the 'cultivation' of animals and crops and with religious worship (hence the word cult). From the sixteenth century until the nineteenth the term began to be widely applied to the improvement of the individual human mind and personal manners through learning. This was a metaphorical extension of the idea of improving land and farming practices (Smith, 2001: 1).

A distinction was drawn between 'cultured' people and people having 'no culture'. Then the word has been used to refer to human civilisation. Hence, we can talk of many cultures in the world, and one big world culture, which has grown out of globalization.

'There are four essential elements of culture: language, institutions, material productions and symbolic productions' (Usunier and Lee, 2005: 6). The language of the community that we are born and raised in shapes our cultural background. Institutions link the individual to groups. Family, political institutions, social organizations are groups that the individual links with and gets his/her means of survival by means of the values that the groups provide in return of some kind of service that (s)he provides the groups. Material productions are any material objects that are produced in the society like tools, machines, factories, paper, books, instruments and media of communication, food, clothing, ornaments etc. There is a symbolic dimension of productions. These are related to the ways a culture relates and gives answers to the metaphysical questions such as if there is a life after death. Mainly the religious and/or philosophical aspects of cultures make up its symbolic production (ibid.). The use of these essential elements changes from society to society and from nationality to nationality.

The relationship between culture and human nature has been investigated by many scholars. 'There was a time when all cultural phenomena were traceable to human nature. This foundational concept provided an effective bulwark against change: the new was

doomed to fail because it was, by definition, contrary to human nature. A generation ago, cultural critics overthrew the tyranny of human nature, and put culture in its place' (Belsey, 2005: xi). The growing interest of scholars in cultural studies in the last few decades actually can be said to reflect this fact. Human nature doesn't define the needs and wants of people anymore, but culture does. What is culturally acceptable and worthwhile is usually what is needed and wanted by human nature. This is also due to the developments in capitalism in the last century.

> During the 20th century, capitalism and culture have changed markedly (Bordieu, 1977, 1984, 1990; see also Baudrillard, 1981). According to Bordieu, capitalist production and consumption have become less needs-based and more concentrated through symbolic exchange. That is, by the beginning of the twentieth century capitalism had pretty much supplied the citizens of developed societies with the things they needed for basic survival: food, clothing and shelter. In order to sustain itself, capitalism had to create new needs and new motivations for consumption (Lewis, 2002: 5).

Due to the technological developments that have taken place, fertility in production has risen sharply and because of this, total supply has succeeded total demand. This change has meant the beginning of a phase, where the consumer is the king rather than the producer as opposed to before. A 'consumer society' has formed and products have started to gain meanings other than their functional properties. 'Capitalism shifts more toward the exchange of meanings, as products became more intensely symbolized through advertising and the social discourse of taste' (ibid: 6). The marketplace has become an extremely competitive environment and producers have had to find new tools for competition other than utility alone. The producer used to be the side that creates value and consumer the side that consumes this value. However, with the new economy, the producer has come to be the side that consumes the value that is being produced by the consumers. So, the producer-consumer relationship has been redefined to imply an active, value creating consumer and a more pacified value consuming producer. The marketplace has become a place, where producers continuously try to find new ways of attracting consumer attention not only by using functional values alone but also using emotional and symbolic values. 'Value is placed on products according to their social status, as well as their cost and scarcity. Products (and

services) begin to attract a 'symbolic' value, which can then be attached to the owner… In Bordieu's terms, these symbolic distinctions apply through a broad spectrum of social products and activities, fixing people's status in terms of their 'taste'' (Lewis, 2002: 6). McCracken (1986) also talks about the significance that consumer goods have that goes beyond their utilitarian character and commercial value.

> This significance rests largely in their ability to carry and communicate cultural meaning. During the last decade, a diverse body of scholars has made the cultural significance of consumer goods the focus of renewed academic study (Belk 1982; Bronner 1983; Felson 1976; Furby 1978; Graumann 1974-1975; Hirschman 1980; Holman 1980; Leiss 1983; Levy 1978; McCracken 1985; Prown 1982; Quimby 1978; Rodman and Philibert 1985; Schlereth 1982; Solomon 1983). These scholars have established a subfield extending across the social sciences that now devotes itself with increasing clarity and thoroughness to the study of 'person-object' relations (McCracken, 1986: 71).

The cultural environment plays a crucial role in the global marketing environment; culture impacts the marketing strategy of a company and the marketing strategy of a company impacts culture (Kotler and Armstrong, 2010). This mutual relationship between culture and marketing strategy creates the many colourful scenes that we see in the marketing arena today. The universal and culture-bound dimensions of consumer behaviour are tried to be differentiated from one another by means of research. Consumer behaviour naturally consists of a human nature part, which is basically universal and another part that is affected by cultural variations that exist in different cultural contexts. 'Culture is learned not inherited. It derives from one's social environment, not from one's genes' (Hofstede, 2005: 4). Hofstede differentiates between human nature, culture and personality as in Figure 4. 3.

Figure 2. 3 Three levels of uniqueness in mental programming
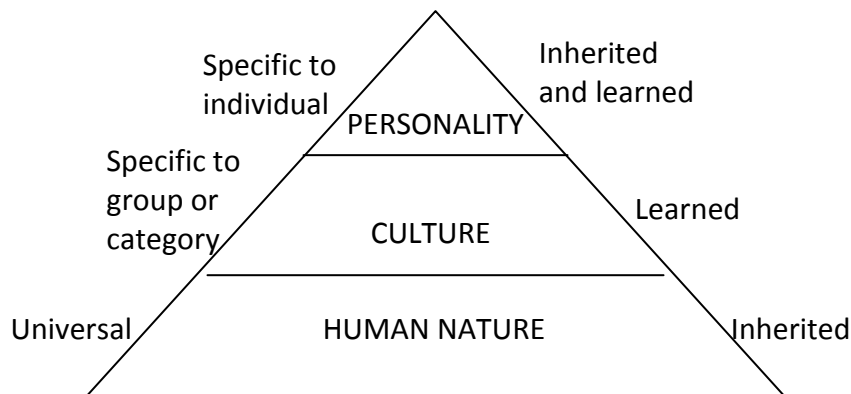
Source: Hofstede & Hofstede (2005: 1).

Cross cultural management researchers have traditionally used Hofstede's (2001: 9) definition of culture, which equates culture to 'the collective programming of the mind, which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from one another'.

> This is an etic definition of culture. Researchers that follow an etic approach in cross-cultural consumer research generally look for universal or culture-free theories and concepts. They search for variables and constructs common to all cultures that can be directly compared in order to discover how those cultures are different from or similar to each other. This approach is typical of cross-cultural psychology and other comparative social sciences (Luna and Gupta, 2001: 46).

According to Hofstede (1996), cultural differences manifest themselves in several ways, such as symbols, heroes, rituals, and values; symbols, heroes, rituals can be subsumed under the term practices. Hofstede also talks about different layers of culture: a national level; a regional and/or ethnic and/or religious and/or linguistic affiliation level; a gender level; a generation level; a social class level; and organizational or corporate level (ibid.). Apart from these categorizations, Hofstede's most often cited categorization is the one about the dimensions of cultures. Hofstede (1984) describes five dimensions of culture: power distance (from small to large), collectivism versus individualism, femininity versus masculinity, uncertainty avoidance and long term orientation.

In today's globalized world, museums feel the need to know about world cultures and also consumer subcultures more than before. As institutions that have a touristic nature, this becomes more crucial for them. This is especially the case for the museum that is the object of the case study carried out for this research, which is becoming a globalized player with the website having been prepared for it.

2.7 Cultural and Corporate Branding

According to Brown, 'the terms 'culture' and 'brand' are among the most complicated words freighted with meaning' (as cited in Schroeder and Saltzer-Mörling 2006: 50), and therefore it is difficult to arrive at a constant definition of both terms. There are 'diverse interpretations of 'brand' in the literature (Strizhakova et al., 2008) and among managers (de Chernatony and Dall'Olmo Riley, 1999)' (Chernatony, 2009: 101). However, we can say that one thing is clear, and that is, branding has been considered mainly from managerial and economical perspectives for a long time. The fact that a brand covers multiple aspects of our lives especially including our cultural and psychological lives has not been taken into consideration for long. The psychological aspects of branding and consumer culture have been considered by consumer behaviourists but our cultural lives haven't been the object of enquiry for a long time, until there has been a cultural turn in branding research and the concept of 'brand culture' has emerged. 'A brand culture perspective reveals how branding has opened up to include interdisciplinary research that both complements and complicates economic and managerial analysis of branding' (Schroeder, 2009: 123). From this perspective, brands have begun to be investigated using the tools of sociology, anthropology, cultural studies and other disciplines similar to these. In fact, according to an analysis (Heding et al., 2009) of the most influential brand research articles published between 1985 and 2006 (300+ articles from *Journal of Marketing, Journal of Marketing Research, Journal of Consumer Research, Harvard Business Review and European Journal of Marketing*) and this body of research has been supplemented with key non-research literature that has shaped the field of brand management since the mid-1980s; seven approaches to brands have been identified. These seven 'schools of thought' represent different perceptions of the brand, the nature of the brand-consumer exchange, and how brand equity is created and managed (ibid.: 3-4). These approaches are the following ones:

- *the economic approach:* the brand as part of the traditional marketing mix.
- *the identity approach:* the brand as linked to corporate identity.
- *the consumer-based approach:* the brand as linked to consumer associations.
- *the personality approach:* the brand as a human-like character.
- *the relational approach:* the brand as a viable relationship partner.
- *the community approach:* the brand as the pivotal point of social interaction.
- *the cultural approach:* the brand as part of the broader cultural fabric.

Among these approaches though, the cultural one has received much attention due to the wideness of the perspective it covers and due to the fact that the societal aspect of branding had been ignored before. Cultural approach is relevant for the purposes of this thesis because the branding of museums is actually but a matter of cultural branding. Many societal issues are dealt with inside the museum regarding the history, politics, and sociology of different societies. The rejuvenation of a museum brand will be investigated in the following parts of this thesis and how the brand is implanted inside the societal infrastructure has mainly to do with cultural branding. Within the cultural branding perspective, the importance of the role that brands play in society has been dwelled upon and this has brought up a fresh perspective that enlightens both socio-cultural research and branding research. Schroeder (2009: 124) thinks about branding research under three categories or dimensions: *brand identity*, *brand image* and *brand culture*. Brand identity and brand image are the traditional research areas and they refer to the managerial, economic and psychological aspects of branding. Brand identity is what the manager imagines the brand to be. Brand image is about the psychological aspects of the brand and how it is perceived by the consumers. Brand culture is the new term and according to Schroeder, it provides the necessary cultural, historical, and political grounding to understand brands in context. Brand culture refers to the cultural dimensions or codes of brands – history, images, myths, art, theatre- that influence brand meaning in the marketplace (Schroeder, 2005). Figure 2. 4 shows the intertwining of the three dimensions of brands. They are separate but interrelated.

Figure 2. 4 Brand Dimensions
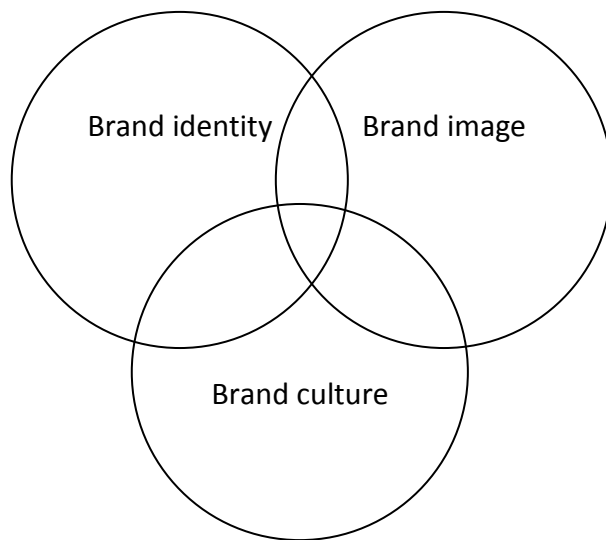
Source: Schroeder (2007: 21).

The developments regarding the move to the cultural sphere have naturally occurred within the development that brands themselves have undergone. Branding has changed as consumer culture changed. 'Changes in consumer culture have led to changes in the marketing function, and branding techniques have changed accordingly' (Heding et. al, 2009: 222). Branding has gained much importance in the postmodern times. It has become a much more sophisticated phenomenon to deal with, especially with the move from the uniform mass society to fragmented, and individualized postmodern society. Brands have had to change their branding strategies due to this societal change and consequently it has become more difficult to find the right strategy for the right brand. This is probably the reason why the number of conferences and seminars held about branding has proliferated much in the last 20 years or so. Holt (2006: 299) suggests that

> In the past 20 years, neoliberal globalization has brought about a shift in the economic role of branding. Following the early examples of pioneering global brands such as Coca-Cola and McDonald's, multinational companies now view branding as a more consequential strategic activity that can have an enormous impact on their bottom line.

The concept of brand culture is different than the sum of the two words taken separately. According to Brown, 'taken separately, 'brand' and 'culture' are terribly troublesome terms. In combination, however, 'brand culture' has an attractively oxymoronic quality. The expression carries intriguing connotations of high art meets base commerce… Brand culture, then, is in tune with the art for mart's sake mindset that characterizes the postmodern condition, what Featherstone (1991) terms 'the aestheticization of everyday life'' (as cited in Schroeder & Salzer-Mörling, 2006: 51). The coming together of these terms that seemingly belong to two different worlds can also be thought to be due to the postmodern condition 'juxtaposition of opposites'. With this new approach towards branding, cultural tools of enquiry may do what managerial and economic tools of investigation weren't able to do.

The cultural turn in branding has also impacted the change of focus of branding from product branding to corporate branding. 'Corporate brands are cultural, as they reflect the organizations sub-cultures' (Knox and Bickerton, 2003: 1000). The cultural unity of the organization with its stakeholders gained importance. The role of employees gained special importance. According to Schultz and Hatch (2006),

> As opposed to product branding, corporate branding highlights the important role employees play in brand practice, making how employees engage with and enact the values and vision of the brand more profound and strategically important to corporate brands (see also Aaker, 2004; Ind 2001; Schultz and de Chernatony 2002; Oliins 2003) (as cited in eds. Schroeder and Salzer-Mörling, 2006).

The whole organization acts together to decide on the differentiation and positioning strategies and the cultural behaviour of employees may be decisive in creating credibility and brand attraction towards external stakeholders.

The concept of corporate branding has gained significant attention in the last decade (see Harris & Chernatony, 2001; Hatch & Schultz, 2003; Knox & Bickerton, 2003; Argenti & Dryckenmiller, 2004). The organization is becoming recognized as having more strategic importance in the branding process. Product branding, which has been the focus of interest in the last 30 years, was about adding value to the core functionality of the product or

service and therefore create a point of differentiation in the marketplace (Knox & Bickerton, 2003). With time, the role that the organization plays behind the brand and the economic value that it adds to the products has become recognized as more significant than before. Aaker (2004a) defines a corporate brand as a brand that represents an organization and reflects its heritage, values, culture, people, and strategy.

Figure 2. 5 shows the development of academic thinking towards corporate branding. Early attempts at brand management concentrated on creating a positive brand image in the mind of the consumer. Then came a focus on brand positioning and identity, where a unique positioning of the brand in the minds of the customers was thought to be basic. However, the ability of the brand positioning tools were being questioned and thought unable to cope with the current organizational environment. This created a need to turn to the corporate being of the brand, take power from the organization and people behind the brand. Hence a focus on brand identity and corporate association followed. Corporate associations were about unifying all organization's skills, assets and competencies to create unique products and services (Knox and Bickerton, 2003).

Figure 2. 5 Convergence of academic thinking towards corporate branding
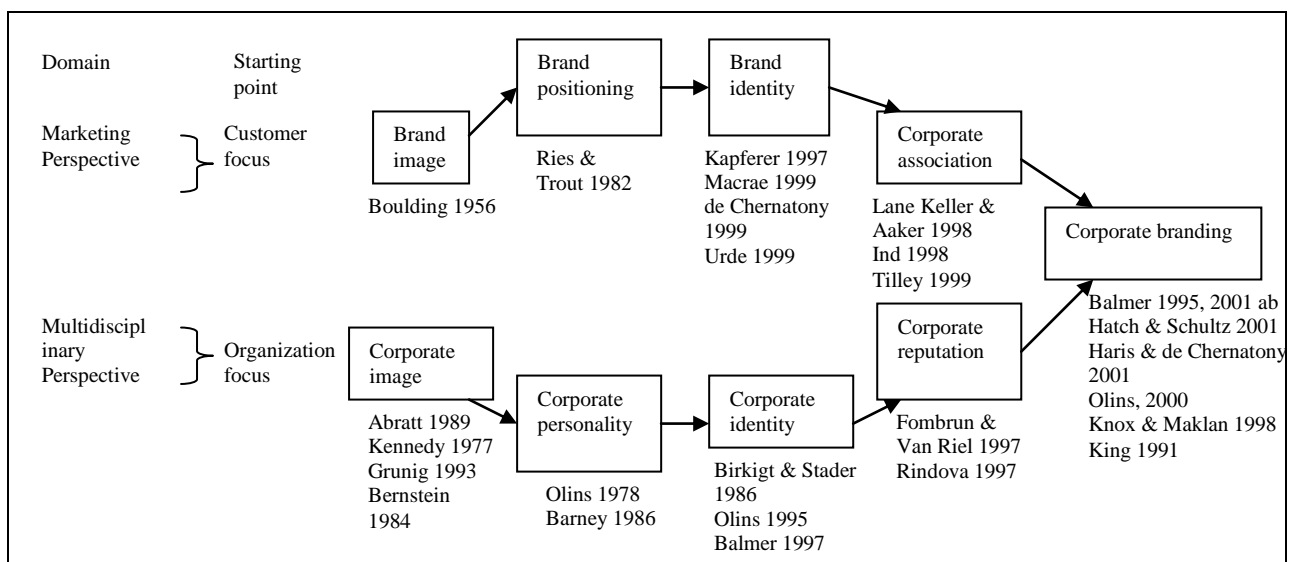
Adapted from: Knox and Bickerton (2003: 1002).

In accordance with the value co-creation paradigm (Prahalad & Ramaswamy, 2004), 'it is suggested that corporate brand is co-created in co-operation with employees, customers

and other stakeholders rather than being developed purely by a company' (Ahonen, 2008: 36). Agnew (2003: 16) suggests that 'it is not the meanings that merchandisers give but the meanings that customers take that count' (as cited in Alexander et al. 2009: 536). This tendency shows the increased importance that customers and therefore culture has in corporate branding.

2.8 Postmodern and Post-Postmodern Branding Paradigms and Branding in the 'Search' Economy[3]

The rise of branding in the postmodern era has had its own consequences. It was not only branding which came to a rise. Consumers' awareness of brands and branding in general and their knowledge of things including brands in particular also came to a rise. Consumers started to find the branding techniques of companies too dominating and authoritative. They found these old techniques too paternalistic and didn't get the urge to buy from those companies any longer. This has gradually made companies have to develop more sophisticated and less irritating, as it were, branding and advertising techniques. In his article called 'Why do brands cause trouble? A dialectical theory of consumer culture and branding', Douglas Holt (2002) explains the developments that companies on the one hand and consumer culture on the other have gone through in the modern, postmodern and what he calls the post-postmodern times.

The dictating attitudes of brands and their advertising practices were accepted and even welcome in the modern branding era, because they were thought to help the consumer to choose the right products that they needed. However, resistance to these attitudes was developed after a while as they were thought to be too dominating and they were in fact found to be against consumers' freedom of choice. As a result, there has been a 'critical turn' in branding theory (Holt, 2002; Murray and Ozanne, 1991; Firat and Venkatesh, 1995). The branding paradigm shifted to adapt itself to the postmodern consumer culture. 'The foundational principle of the postmodern branding paradigm: consumers will view brands as valuable resources for identity construction when brand meanings are perceived to be

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[3] The usage of Internet search channels for marketing and branding activities. For details see Ming Lim (2008).

authentic – original and disinterested' (Holt 2002: 85). The postmodern consumer wanted to shape himself/herself according to his/her own choices of consumption rather than according to what the market dictates. The use of consumer goods in realising individual identity projects has been stated by many authors before (see Belk, Wallendorf, and Sherry 1989, Mick and Buhl 1992; and Thompson, Pollio, and Locander 1994). In this sense, the self is a project that is under constant construction and is shaped by the self's own free choices. The brands had to adapt themselves to the needs of the postmodern consumer and they did this well such that they started to appear more in the postmodern consumers' lives, compared to before. According to Holt (2002: 87), post-postmodern brands will differ from postmodern brands in that they will create worlds that strike consumers' imaginations, inspire and provoke and stimulate, help them interpret the world that surrounds them. He suggests that postmodern brands have little value in this new consumer culture and they lack an original point of view that they can claim as their own because they rely so much on the cultural work of disinterested others and work so hard to deny that the brand itself stands for anything by itself (for fear of being tagged as cultural engineers). 'In the post-postmodern paradigm, consumers will form their own communities and steer clear of the 'chaotic swirl of culture' (ibid.) that characterises our world today' (Lim, 2008: 7). Figure 2.6 shows the dialectical model of branding and consumer culture that Holt uses:

Figure 2.6 Dialectical Model of Branding and Consumer Culture

Modern Branding Paradigm

Principle   Cultural Engineering
Techniques: Scientific branding
              Freudian branding

Contradictions
Authority = coercion
Denies freedoom to choose

Modern Consumer Culture

Acquiescing to Brands'
Cultural Authority

Postmodern Branding Paradigm

Principle   Authentic Cultural
Resources
Techniques: Ironic, Reflexive Brand
              Persona Coattailing on
              Cultural Epicenters
              Lifeworld Emplacement
              Stealth Branding

Postmodern Consumer Culture

Personal Sovereignty
through Brands

Contradictions
Ironic Distance Compressed
The Sponsored Society
Authenticity Extinction
Peeling Away the Brand
Veneer
Sovereignty Inflation

Post-Postmodern Branding Paradigm

Principle: Citizen-Artist

Post-Postmodern Consumer Culture

Cultivating Self through
Brands

Source: Holt (2002: 81).

'In post postmodernism brands will become another form of expressive culture' (Holt, 2002: 87). 'We can get beyond postmodern critiques of modernism to post postmodern discussions of what to do next if we start from perceptions that all our reasonings are embedded in forms of life' (Willis, 1995: 60). An example of a post postmodern brand might be 'Google', which is an advanced form of expressive culture.

> While conventional search engines ranked results by counting how many times the search terms appeared on the page, the two (Larry Page and Sergey Brin) theorized about a better system that analyzed the relationships between websites.(Page, Lawrence; Brin, Sergey; Motwani, Rajeev; Winograd, Terry (November 11, 1999)).

Google then developed continually and included services such as Google earth, maps navigation, G-mail, content-targeted advertising service, book search, scholar, translation etc. These modern, postmodern and post-postmodern paradigms are not the only way of

thinking about brands though. Ming Lim (2008: 13) argues that what he calls 'the 'search' economy signals a radical departure from these branding paradigms. The 'search' economy forces a fundamental rethink of conventional marketing wisdom and extends current thinking on how postmodern consumers make brand choices. In the search economy, the consumer is not loyal to the brand so much, he/she is the seeker of products and services; brands simply seek to be found by as many consumers in as brief a time as possible' (ibid.: 13).

> The search engine users determine which brands are to be found in what amount of time, hence the destinies of brands. The consumers take the initiative to create brands instead of reacting to brands as both the postmodern and post-postmodern paradigms ultimately imply (ibid.: 14).

2.9 Conclusion

In this thesis, the development of museum culture and marketing is investigated from the point of view of museums instead of visitors. However, what the museums consider to be relevant throughout this development is very much connected to what they see is relevant for the consumer culture that defines the visitors of those museums. The changes that the consumer culture goes through define the expectations of museum visitors and this defines the changes to be made in the renewed museums, in return. Therefore, in this chapter, the concepts of consumption and consumer culture have been covered with a consideration of the changes that have taken place in the modern and postmodern periods. The importance of cultural branding and corporate branding has also been dwelled upon as they represent the changing nature of branding paradigms. They represent the unification of culture and branding, which previously were less connected before postmodernity. The development of branding, however, didn't seem to end with postmodernity as we can see some definitions of post-postmodern branding paradigms and a totally different approach to branding with branding in the 'search' economy. These paradigm shifts reflect the deep rooted changes that happen in consumer culture.

CHAPTER 3

MUSEUMS IN CONTEXT

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the contextual background of this thesis will be introduced, which is the 'museum', in order to provide a solid basis upon which the conceptual themes of my enquiry, which are abstract in nature, will be researched and made sense of by means of their relation with this context. An overview of existing literature on museums will be offered to justify my particular area of interest and to demonstrate the fertility of the ground the context of the museum provides, to explore important marketing concepts.

At first, a general introduction to the world of museums will be made and a classification (or typology) of museums will be provided in order to prepare the background for a better description of the museum that I will be conducting my research on, namely the Royal Albert Memorial Museum.

Secondly, a historical background to museums will be provided in order to get a grasp of the socio-historical dynamics that have created the institution of the museum in the first place. The changes that are happening in the museum world nowadays, which are forcing many museums to change their outlook and perspectives, can only be understood if the social dynamics behind this institution are fully grasped.

Thirdly, the transition in museums and the changing connotations of the concept of the museum is reflected upon and the concept of the 'museum without walls', which brings an extension to the museum concept will be dwelled upon. The museumisation of our societies, cities, streets etc. makes us think that the museum concept can actually be applied to abstract areas of our lives as well as concrete areas.

Fourthly, the museum is investigated as an object of consumption. Consumption of experience is a phenomenon that is highly valued by the marketing scholar nowadays and

the museum context provides great opportunities for the investigation of experience consumption per se. In this thesis, museums will be understood as a means of thinking about and understanding our experiential world. Different perspectives and approaches under which museums are operating will be stated.

Finally, different functions that museums serve in a society will be stated and investigated. Then emergent research opportunities about this topic will be dwelled upon.

3.2 Museums in a General Context

In order to investigate museums in a general context, it will be useful to consider museum typologies (classification of museums) first. Then it will be possible to understand which category of museums the RAMM falls under, which will make it easier to make sense of the RAMM.

3.2.1 Museum Typologies

Many museum types could emerge through the use of different criteria and there are many different ways of classifying museums in the literature. Some of these criteria are mentioned below.

The United Nations educational, scientific, and cultural organization (UNESCO) Institute for Statistics has classified museums by predominant subject of exhibits, and collections under the following categories (Maroevic, 1998):

a. art museums
b. archaeology and history museums
c. natural history and natural science museums
d. science and technology museums
e. ethnography and anthropology museums
f. specialized museums
g. regional museums

    h. general museums

    i. other museums

    j. monuments and sites

    k. zoological and botanical gardens, aquaria and nature reserves.

The same institute has also classified museums by ownership or governing authority in the following way (Maroevic, 1998):

    a. National museums

    b. Other public museums

    c. Private museums

There are various criteria for determining the typology of the museum that is the basis of the classification. Van Mensch (1992: 105) links them to four basic parameters for integrated methodology of museology. These are the museum object, museological functions, the museological establishment, and society.

The criteria that consider the kind of object kept and exhibited in museums have been considered by van Mensch, although there are a series of typological systems that were proposed by various authors in the last twenty years. He proposes the following classification (van Mensch 1992: 241):

    1. multidisciplinary museums (general, encyclopaedic),

    2. specialized museums

        a. interdisciplinary museums,

        b. art and applied art museums,

        c. archaeological and historical museums,

        d. ethnographic and cultural anthropology museums,

        e. natural science and physical anthropology museums,

        f. museums of science and technology.

Museums can also be differentiated by means of their accommodation practices (Maroevic: 113). This classification can be as follows:

1. museums in specially built museum buildings,
2. museums in adapted historical buildings,
3. museums in authentic historical buildings,
4. open air museums,
5. museums in nature (which border on being paramuseums).

The classification offered by van Mensch (1992: 239-240), based on terms found in the Dictionarium Musologicum, links the criteria of territory and museum management. He distinguishes:

1. private and independent museums,
2. state museums (at various levels, depending on the administrative level),
3. museums owned by cultural or educational establishments,
4. museum institutions that have no cultural identity.

The following classification of museums has been taken from a paper on 'The principles of Museum Administration' read at the meeting of the Museums Association at Newcastle-on-Tyne, England, July 23, 1895. This portion of the paper, in modified form, was read before the Philosophical Society of Washington, January 18, 1896 (Goode, 1896). According to this classification, museums may be best classified in two ways; by the character of their contents and by the purposes for which they are founded. Under the first category, they may be grouped as follows:

a. museums of art
b. historical museums
c. anthropological museums
d. natural history museums
e. technological museums
f. commercial museums

Under the second category, they may be classed as:

g. national museums

h. local, provincial, or city museums

i. college and school museums

j. professional or class museums

k. museums or cabinets for special research owned by societies or individuals

Hein (2000) expresses his views on museum classification as follows:

Like their contents, museums can be classified according to a number of schemes. Taxanomic systems are conceptual devices for ordering masses of data. The ordering system not only reflects a prior intellectual choice but also determines pragmatic decisions regarding a museum's internal organization, acquisition policy, exhibition style, public outreach, and programming. It therefore matters how museums represent themselves to themselves as much as how they are externally identified... There is no absolute method of classification, nor are museums irrevocably bound within a single designation. Most are currently experimenting with different models of self-presentation, borrowing procedures from one another, and the categories of classification are being transformed as museums mix and match to fashion new identities for changing circumstances.

Hein (2000: 19-35) makes the classification in the following way:

- Art museums
- Science museums
  - o Natural History Museums
  - o Science Centres
  - o Museums of Industry and Technology
- History museums
- Children's museums

He states that although there is no absolute method of classification for museums, the convention preserved through popular opinion, recorded by chambers of commerce and tourist bureaus, indexed by telephone directory listings, and implied by the definitions found in professional literature divides museums according to their content as stated above. There are many different kinds of museums, with so many diverse areas of interest and focus. Museums might choose to focus on only one specific area of interest and specialize in it (although according to Hein (2000) these usually have a short life span) or they might choose to allocate their resources towards a wide variety of areas of interest and work on them to provide the museum goer a shallower but wider perspective of things. In the middle of the spectrum are those museums which work on just a couple of similar areas of focus that can be thought to be complementary in providing information to the museum goer. According to Elaine Gurian (2006), five types of museum orientations exist: The object oriented museum focuses on artefacts and collections, narrative-centred museums emphasize stories that are evocative of feelings and dramatic situations, client-centred museums concentrate on audience and offer a variety of educational experiences for different audience segments, community-centred museums focus on local relationships and are rooted in community experiences and life, national museums, largely government sponsored, have broad scope and represent and celebrate national character and values (Kotler et al., 2008: 19). The above made classifications can be increased and some museums might fall into multiple categories at the same time.

Museum typologies are useful for enabling us to position a particular museum in our minds. As stated above, there are many museum typologies in the literature. However, as a matter of fact, museums' preferences of belonging to any particular typology depend on the one hand on the reason of its existence and its mission and on the other hand, its level of and openness to development. As any living being, museums are continuously in the process of evolving from one step to another, but while some museums are willing (or able) to adapt to changes quickly and even lead and manage the change, others are pretty much resistant to changes and in favour of keeping the status quo instead. Our contemporary museums today are in general visitor oriented and based and focused on their communities. They cherish two-way communication (based on the interaction between the public and the museum) rather than one-way communication (communication from the museum to the public). From

a paradigmatic perspective, multidisciplinary museums are more close to the old Victorian encyclopaedism paradigm in that they are of an encyclopaedic nature. We can also say that object-oriented museums belong to the old museum paradigm. Narrative-centred and client-centred museums can be thought to be museums that have adapted themselves to the paradigm shift in the museum world. The rest of the typologies stress the differences among museums from different perspectives and help people to position museums in their heads.

The typology of a museum might have an implication on various aspects of life such as culture and economics. For example, 'relevant differences between the spending of visitors interested at different typologies of museums emerged in Istat (2010), where average expenditure in entrance fee and shops at archaeological museums (€.9,35) is found to be lower than the one at modern art museums (€.12,65)' (Brida et. al, 2012: 1). This kind of impact can have implications for public policymakers and the like.

Apart from the classifications presented above, some other classifications found in the museum literature include the following ones:

Elaine Gurian (2002: 5) has proposed the following five different clusters or families of museums:

- *Object-centred museum*: 'treasure based' museums that concentrate on the material they own or borrow.
- *The narrative museum*: The pressure to tell stories regardless of available material gave rise to 'narrative museums', of which the Jewish Museum Berlin and the United States Holocaust Museum are important recent examples. The primary focus is on the explication of a story, recognising that objects have important but limited use.
- *The client-centred museum*: Audience is the priority rather than content.
- *The community-focused museum*: Primary concern is the well-being of their community
- *The national (and government) museums*: Museums created by the 'nation'.

Wilson (1984: 54-58) has identified three types of national museums:

- *monolithic museums:* the great public collections that were created as or became national museums, with the intent of presenting a universal view of humanity's achievements and knowledge. These museums have rich and varied collections and a great deal of scholarship and expertise to offer.
- *state museums of national culture:* These museums are built with the mission of presenting the histories and aspirations of their countries and also building or reconstructing national identity, especially in emerging nations.
- *specialist national institutions:* The functions and philosophies of specialist national institutions are often suggested by their names, for example, the Greek National Archaeological Museum in Athens. An important function of specialist national museums is to provide high-level academic and technical support for scholarship that serves both national and international audiences.

Britain's national museums have also been categorized in a British National Museum Directors' Conference (NMDC) report called International Dimensions, in 2002 (p. 6), according to their levels of international exposure (from greatest to least), as follows:

- *The 'encyclopedic' collections*: These collections are fundamentally *universal* in their mission. These include the earliest and largest institutions: the British Museum, British Library and Natural History Museum (both initially part of the British Museum), and the Royal Botanical Gardens, for which both collecting and research activities have always been global in scope.
- *Museums devoted to subjects*: Museums devoted to subjects which, while not necessarily global in scope, extend beyond national boundaries. These belong to an international peer group of institutions — for instance, art museums, museums of decorative art, libraries and archives, science museums, and museums of military history or architecture. An example of this type of museum is the Victoria and Albert.
- *Institutions created in the context of the British Empire with strong historical links to countries of the Commonwealth*: Institutions created in the context of the British Empire with strong historical links to countries of the Commonwealth; for example, the Imperial War Museum.

Kotler and Kotler (1999) have classified museums as follows:

- art museum

- history museum

- children's museum

- science and technology museum

- ethnographic museum

- universal museum.

According to Zorzi (2003: 6-7) we can also classify the museums with the amount of assets owned. (Does the museum live with its own assets (financial and artistic) or is it financed and helped by other institutions?). His classification is as follows:

Typology 1: museums with permanent collection: In this class must be included all these museums and institutions that dispose of only a so called 'permanent' collection. This word is not a synonymous of 'unchangeable': in fact the collection may change over time thanks to agreements stipulated with other institutions.

Typology 2: museum having only temporary exhibition: This definition identifies those museums not having their own collection but presenting several exhibitions during the course of their life.

Watson and Sandell have classified museums in the following way: 'National museums, local government museums, university museums, regimental/armed service museums, independent museums, ecomuseums, and the museum online'.[4]

3.2.2 Museum Funding

Museums are public bodies and like all public bodies they are subject to the requirements of national and local government policy as well as the changing needs and demands of their diverse audiences. Museums get highly affected by the economic cycles that countries go through. In times of economic recession, the government funding that they receive is

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[4]

http://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/museumstudies/documents/DLCoursesInfo/MS%20Sample%20Unit.pdf; p: 1-22 to 1-26

reduced. Corporate support becomes threatened as well due to the obvious negative effects the recession has on corporations. 'In the worst circumstances, economic downturns forced museums to close galleries and entire wings, cut staff, reduce hours, or close periodically' (Kotler et al., 2008: 188-9). Museums need cash in good times as well as in bad. Therefore, like all non-profit organizations they need to raise funds while doing their business. However, funders always have reasons for giving and always seek something in return for their gifts. Desires for prestige, visibility, access to the museum, free advice on the funder's collection, or a sense of importance may seem innocuous. Yet these demands are problematic when they are inconvenient for museums or worse, when the means of their fulfilment conflicts with museum missions. Moreover, funders often wish to support programs or activities that vary from the ideal activities a museum might choose if money were no object. As all non-profit managers know, this disjuncture between funder goals and recipient goals poses serious difficulties. 'Museum managers face a daily quandary- how to raise enough funds without acceding too much to funder pressures' (Alexander, 1999). 'Museum funding comes from four categories of support: 1. Government, 2. Earned income, 3. Private, or donor giving, and 4. Investment income' (Kotler et al., 2008: 191).

Allocation of government funding to British museums is determined by a museum's status as a national, regional, or local museum. The majority of British museums are funded and supervised by local government councils. All UK National Museums have free entrance as a standard, however an admission fee is required for some exhibits.

> In recent years, however, the share of government revenues going to British museums has declined, and these museums increasingly have turned to patrons and private sector sources, including corporations, for the support of programs. A major addition to cultural funding in Great Britain was the establishment of a national lottery. Lottery funds have supported capital investments, infrastructure, and conservation needs of cultural and educational institutions, including museums (ibid.: 195).

According to Brian Graham (2002: 1015), '...Heritage provision in the knowledge-based city is often driven by the availability of grants and other forms of private and public finance (including the Heritage Lottery Fund in the UK) for capital expenditure. Crucially, however,

such funding is rarely available for recurrent expenditure'. The national lottery was established by the government through the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), in 1994. Since 1997, the museum sector has benefited from targeted additional government funding for specific initiatives. Most significant among these have been free entry to the national museums and Museum, Libraries and Archives's programme called 'Renaissance in the Regions' (for details, see MLA's website).

> Free admission to the national museums resulted in an immediate increase in visitor numbers by an average of 75% at those museums that previously charged. Across all national museums, attendances have increased by 50% since 1998–99 as a result of free admission and improved facilities (p: Ev 2)… National Lottery funding, primarily through the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF), has enabled a large scale transformation and renewal of museum buildings, which could not otherwise have been envisaged. HLF has contributed £1.2 billion to over 2,000 projects in 600 museums since and, in addition to the renewal of buildings, has enriched museum collections and helped enhance visitors' experience by supporting imaginative education and outreach work (the House of Commons, 2007, p: Ev 3).

'The British national museums are encouraged to produce their own income. However, museum grants-in-aid will not diminish regardless of the amount of self-generated income to support programs, collections, and services' (Kotler et al., 2008: 195). According to Bourn (2004), 'the three chief types of revenue-producing activities are commercial activities, admission fees, and fundraising' (as cited in ibid.: 195).

The funding system for museums wasn't always the same. The funding system has changed since the 1960s. Before the 1960s, museums were supported by a relatively stable set of individual philanthropists. By the mid 1970s, museums had transformed into organizations largely supported by a mosaic of institutional funders, that is, by a variety of corporations, foundations, and government agencies. Around 1980, museums were fundamentally changed, reflecting this dramatic shift in their resource base. 'Museums' funding environment became increasingly multifaceted and turbulent. Today they face a complex, changing and increasingly uncertain funding base' (Alexander, 1996). In order to adapt to the

21ˢᵗ century, many museums in England are going under refurbishment and rejuvenation today and aside from their generated income, most of them need funding from outer institutions to cover their expenses.

Here are some more statistical data about museum funding in Britain:

- '… In general, public funding for museums and galleries in the UK has not kept pace with inflation and has certainly not grown sufficiently to either meet rising service expectations from users or allow investment refurbishment, renewal and development'.[5]
- '41 per cent of museums and galleries in the UK are governed by local authorities, 39 per cent by independent trusts, 7 per cent by the armed services, and 5 per cent by universities' (Selwood, 2001b: Table 28.1; ibid.).
- 'Between 2011 and 2015, we will invest £1.4 billion of public money from government and an estimated £0.85 billion from the National Lottery to help create these experiences for as many people as possible across the country'.[6]
- Here's the DCMS grant-in-aid to Arts Council England over years:

Table 3. 1 DCMS grant-in-aid to Arts Council England 1998-2010

Year	Grant-in-aid
1998/99	£179,337,000
1999/00	£212,248,000
2000/01	£238,179,000
2001/02	£252,455,000
2002/03	£290,405,000
	£325,955,000

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[5] http://www.museumsassociation.org/download?id=12190; p: 29
[6] http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/who-we-are/

2003/04	
2004/05	£369,859,000
2005/06	£409,178,000
2006/07	£427,862,000
2007/08	£423,601,000
2008/09	£437,631,000
2009/10	£452,964,000

Source: DCMS

Table 3. 2 DCMS grant-in-aid to Arts Council England 2009-2015

Year	Grant-in-aid
2009/10	£452m
2011/12	£388m
2012/13	£360m
2013/14	£352m
2014/15	£350m

Source: House of Commons, Third Report of Session 2010-11

3.2.3 The RAMM in Context

The RAMM consists of fine art, costume and textiles, decorative arts, local history, local archaeology, overseas archaeology, zoology, geology, botany and world cultures collections. If we consider it from the classification scheme of UNESCO, it falls under 'regional museums'

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and 'other public museums' when classified by ownership or governing authority. When classified according to van Mensch, RAMM is a 'multidisciplinary museum'. Again from P. van Mensch's (1992) perspective, RAMM is a 'museum in an authentic historical building' when differentiated by means of their accommodation practices and it is a 'state museum' governed by the local city council. When we consider the classification of museums by Goode, we cannot classify it by character of its content, but by the purposes for which museums are founded, RAMM falls under 'local, provincial, or city museums', because RAMM is the main museum of Exeter, supported by the city council. Finally, according to Hein's classification, RAMM doesn't fall into either of the categories stated above.

3.2.3.1 Funders of RAMM

The following are the main funders of the RAMM but there are also additional funding received from other sources, which are stated below:

- Exeter City Council
- Heritage Lottery Fund
- MLA:
    - Renaissance
    - Designation Challenge Fund

Since 2003 RAMM has secured funding for a range of activities including:

- RAMM's major development project
- purpose-built collections store
- reinterpretation of St Nicholas Priory
- special exhibitions
- conservation
- new acquisitions
- community projects

Other sources of funding include:

- Growth Point

- Garfield Weston Foundation

- DCMS/Wolfson Foundation Museums and Galleries Improvement Fund Designation
  Challenge Fund

- Big Lottery Fund

- Arts Council England

- V&A Purchase Grant Fund

- The Art Fund

- Pilgrim Trust

- Esmee Fairbairn Foundation

- Victoria and Albert Museum

- British Museum

- Friends of Exeter Museums and Art Gallery[7]

According to Camilla Hampshire, the museums manager, the minor funders of the RAMM
are different from the major ones in that instead of giving funding continually, they usually
do so on a project basis. We can see that there are many governmental and non-
governmental funders of the RAMM. Some of the most significant funders are discussed
below.

3.2.3.1.1 Exeter City Council

Royal Albert Memorial Museum's service is provided by the Exeter City Council therefore its
main and continuous source of funding is the Exeter City Council. According to Camilla
Hampshire, the museum manager, as the major funder the city council has provided £13m
to RAMM's refurbishment project and £2,2m annually. As a governmental body serving in
the city of Exeter, the council is responsible for diverse areas of interest related with such
issues as housing, transportation, health and social care, leisure and cultural issues,
environment and planning. Supporting Exeter's RAMM museum is among the leisure and
cultural issues that the council is responsible for supporting. Exeter City Council supports
especially arts by funding the Exeter Arts Council that organizes art projects to take place in

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[7] http://www.rammuseum.org.uk/Funders/

the city. The sub departments of the council include business transformation, city development, democratic and civic support, economy, environment, finance, housing and contracts, legal, policy, communications and community engagement, and finally public realm (for more information on each of these, see Exeter City Council website).

3.2.3.1.2 Heritage Lottery Fund

National Lottery funding is currently distributed by 13 independent distribution bodies,[8] one of which is the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF). It is non-departmental public body founded in 1994 in order to distribute funds raised by the National Lottery for Good Causes to projects related with local, regional, and national heritage of the United Kingdom (the Channel Islands and Isle of Man excluded). HLF is founded by Parliament and is accountable to Parliament via the Department of Culture, Media and Sport. That is, although the HLF is not a governmental department, the Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport issues financial and policy directions to them, and they report to Parliament through the department. Their decisions about individual applications and policies are entirely independent of the Government.[9] The Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) is administered by the National Heritage Memorial Fund (NHMF). HLF invests in a wide array of heritage including museums, parks, gardens, historic and archeological places, buildings, oral history, cultural and local traditions including languages, the countryside and habitats and 'priority species' listed in the UK Biodiversity Action Plan, objects and sites that are linked to industrial, maritime and transport history.[10] HLF is the largest dedicated funder of the UK's heritage, with around £205 million a year to invest in new projects. HLF has supported more than 30,000 projects allocating £4.5 billion across the UK.[11] The HLF distributes grants from £3,000 to over £5 million to heritage projects of all sizes. By means of funding these projects, the HLF aims at keeping and protecting UK's heritage while at the same time getting the public actively involved in their own heritage, have a role in shaping it and learning about heritage at the same time. Public gain is held above private gain and the allocation of funding is made according to this rule, if private

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[8] for others see http://www.culture.gov.uk/what_we_do/national_lottery/3393.aspx
[9] http://www.hlf.org.uk/Pages/Home.aspx
[10] http://www.openingdoorsreport.org.uk/l2.php?L1ID=8&L2ID=50
[11] http://www.hlf.org.uk/Pages/Home.aspx

owners are involved, they have to provide a greater public than private gain. Priority is given to not-for profit organizations and partnerships. Of every pound spent on National Lottery tickets, 28p goes directly to the following good causes for the benefit of communities across the UK. The money is allocated to good causes in the following way:

- charities, health, education, environment: 40%;
- sports: 20%;
- arts: 20%;
- heritage: 20%;

There are currently 13 Lottery funders who independently decide which projects have successfully applied for a grant. Each is independent of Government but has to follow guidelines when deciding who should receive National Lottery funding. Among these funders are: Arts Council England, N. Ireland and Wales; Big Lottery Fund, British Film Institute, UK Sport etc. The HLF offers a range of grant programmes, awarding grants upwards of £3,000 (ibid). For further information on HLF's projects, see HLF's website.

3.2.3.1.3 Museums Libraries and Archives Council (MLA)

Launched in April 2000 and abolished in May 2012, the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA) was an executive non-departmental public body sponsored by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), which was established as a national development agency working for and on behalf of museums, libraries and archives and advising government on policy and priorities for the sector.[12]

3.2.3.1.4 Renaissance

Renaissance is a transformative programme that the Museums, Libraries, and Archives Council (MLA) has created for England's regional museums in need of renewal. The regional museums needed this funding because of the following number of factors. Visitor expectations were higher than what the museums could provide with their current

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https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/catalogue/displaycataloguedetails.asp?CATID=65893&CATLN=3&accessmethod=5&j=1

resources, lack of funding prevented them from fulfilling their potential well and they had to raise their standards in issues like education and community involvement. This was the situation in 2001 and Renaissance funding started to be allocated in 2002.

The MLA was abolished on May, 2012, its functions relating to museums, libraries and archives having been transferred on 1 October 2011 to the Arts Council England (ACE) and the National Archives. On the same day, the Renaissance in the Regions programme, which begun in 2002, has been taken over by ACE. The ACE has announced that through the Renaissance in the regions funding, around £43m will be allocated to regional museums. Altogether, £300m has been invested in museums by the Renaissance in the Regions programme since 2002, which has increased visitor numbers and improved community engagement. According to Camilla Hampshire, museums manager, ACE provides RAMM with £600,000 anually. The central government funding, which is being distributed through the initiative of the Renaissance in the Regions goes to the nine hubs that have been created in 2002, representing every single region in England. Each of these hubs has been made up of a group of some of a region's largest museums, which work together to improve services for museum users.[13] The concentration on hubs was due to the reduction in resource made available. Arts Council England has announced a 15 per cent reduction in the Renaissance budget to come between 2012 and 2015. At first, due to lack of sufficient funding, Resource (also known as the MLA) had taken the decision to give 70% of the funding to only 3 hubs and leaving the 30% to the rest of the hubs (and the RAMM was among the 3 hubs that received the larger part of the funding). This was in order to test if government funding can bring the expected benefits of the regeneration spend (and maybe more) and if more funding should be pumped into the hubs in future or not. What was expected of the hubs was that they would pass on some support and advice to smaller museums and in this way, the whole sector would receive benefits. This is the case with the RAMM too as smaller museums get advice and support from the RAMM. Susan Eddisford, the museum development officer that works for RAMM gives advice and support to mainly small and volunteer run museums in all matters ranging from collections care, accessibility, fundraising, accreditation and keeping abreast of the latest legislation.[14]

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[13] http://www.insights.org.uk/articleitem.aspx?title=Regional+Museum+Hubs
[14] http://www.rammuseum.org.uk/About-RAMM/ramm-people/support-staff/susan-eddisford

Although the funding hasn't been as much as it would have been expected and hoped for by the people in the museum sector, Renaissance in the Regions and the establishment of the regional museum hubs are the most significant developments for regional museums in England for many years and it has been the first time that central government has agreed to provide substantial revenue funding for regional museums.[15] The regional museum hubs aimed at attracting new audiences from all kinds of backgrounds and especially children (obviously getting them regularly) to regional museums. As part of achieving these aims, education has been promoted and investment in education has been emphasised as a result of the Renaissance in the regions funding programme, which reflects government priorities that for the time being seem to neglect other functions of museums. Renaissance hasn't only funded hubs though, it has previously funded Regional Agencies and from 2009-2010 on it has started supporting and advising the regional museum community. It also invests in other projects related with the whole museum community.

The election of the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition in 2010 quickly impacted the Renaissance in the Regions Programme while at the same time announcing again in 2010 that the MLA will be abolished. The programme would be reshaped and called the 'New Renaissance' this time. Within this new framework, a move away from the hub network came about. The hub network would be replaced with a group of core museums (from 30 June 2011 on), which were defined as 'a small number of non-national museums with outstanding collections and which offer exceptional services to large audiences'.[16] This was firstly recommended by the Renaissance in the Regions Review, published in 2009. Within this framework, 'a proportion of Renaissance funding will be used to create a challenge fund, which will give all regional museums access to Renaissance funding; and the New Renaissance will work in partnership with local funding' (ibid.). '2011-2012 has been a transitional year for Renaissance, in which £37.6m of grant funding, previously known as Hub funding, has been made available instead directly to 45 museum services'.[17]

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[15] http://www.insights.org.uk/articleitem.aspx?title=Regional+Museum+Hubs
[16] http://www.culture.gov.uk/news/news_stories/7464.aspx
[17]
http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20110802101741/http://www.mla.gov.uk/what/programmes/renaissance/museum_development

'The Museum Association (MA) has called on Arts Council England (ACE) to rethink the concept of the core museum model in light of the new economic and political landscape'.[18] So, the hubs would be removed and so the regional presence of the MLA. This in turn meant that the progress made in the regions over the last few years was in danger of being dissipated, according to MA's Mark Taylor, a member of the Renaissance review team, who spoke to the Museums Journal. If Renaissance in the Regions is cut, this would automatically reduce the quality of the services, resulting in a drop in visitor numbers, with negative effects for collections, because this particular programme has been a transformative one for regional museums, which have raised their standards in terms of services and profile. According to a survey, Renaissance in the Regions funding has led to increases in audiences of well over 40% since the programme started in 2002.[19]

Former Culture Minister Barbara Follett said:

> Renaissance in the Regions has been a real success. There are around 15 million visits to the hub museums funded by the programme every year; visitor numbers have increased by 18.5% since 2002/03 and, by the end of March 2011 nearly £300 million will have been invested in it.[20]

At the moment, the New Renaissance programme is highly cherished by the government and is at the heart of its future plans for museums. Statistical information (provided by the Arts Council England) for some of the achievements made by the Renaissance-funded Hub museums in 2010-11, are as follows:[21]

- a cumulative increase in visit numbers of 17%.
- Visits from UK-based adults from priority groups rose by 9% year-on-year, accounting for over 3.8 million (31%) of the 12.1 million visits made by UK adults to Hub museums in 2010-11.

[18] http://www.museumsassociation.org/museums-journal/news/11022011-renaissance-budget
[19] http://www.museumsassociation.org/museums-journal/news/11022011-renaissance-budget
[20] http://www.vaga.co.uk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=374:review-of-renaissance-published&catid=158:museums-a-collections-&Itemid=489
[21] http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/media/uploads/pdf/Renaissance_2010-11_Final.pdf

- 18,780,545 visits were made to Hub museums in 2010-11. Based on the 2006-07 constant sample, visits to Hub museums increased by 17.0% in 2010-11.

- With the exception of 2009-10, Hub museums achieved an almost 'straight line' uplift in visits between 2006-07 and 2010-11. Based on the 2008-09 constant sample, visits to Hub museums rose by 8.9% in 2010-11.

- Children aged under-16 made over 5 million (5,173,694) visits to Hub museums in 2010-11, representing 28% of all visits. Visits by children to Hub museums have grown by 10.3% between 2006-07 and 2010-11.

Altogether the Renaissance in the Regions programme has made a good deal of cultural, social and economic contribution in the past and New Renaissance is expected to enhance this contribution to a greater extent in the future.

The argument used by the RAMM was that a significant sum of the Renaissance Funding was to promote engagement and the redevelopment required continuity funding to yield the benefits from the new fabric of the museum.

3.2.3.1.5 Renaissance South West

'Renaissance South West is a partnership of five museum services working closely with the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council to deliver, on a regional basis, the Renaissance program of investment in England's regional museums.

The five Hub Partners are:

- Bristol's Museums, Galleries and Archives
- Russell-Cotes Art Gallery and Museum, Bournemouth
- Royal Albert Memorial Museum and Art Gallery, Exeter
- Plymouth City Museum and Art Gallery
- Royal Cornwall Museum, Truro'[22]

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[22] http://www.mla.gov.uk/what/programmes/renaissance/regions/south_west

3.2.3.1.6 Designation Challenge Fund (DCF)

Designation Scheme is an English system that awards 'designated status' to museums and library collections considered to be of great importance by the MLA (which has been abolished in May 2012). The Designation Scheme, which 'identifies the pre-eminent collections of national and international importance held in England's non-national museums, libraries and archives, based on their quality and significance',[23] was taken over by the MLA. The MLA was originally established as the Standing Commission on Museums and Galleries in 1931 and was renamed the Museums and Galleries Commission (MGC) in September 1981 and given additional responsibilities. The MLA has taken on the running of the Designation Scheme in 1997; until then it was under the auspices of the Museums and Galleries Commission (MGC). It was expanded in 2005 to include archives and libraries as well as museums that had pre-eminent collections of national or international importance held outside of national institutions. These collections are supposed to be in non-national museums due to the fact that national museums are already funded by the state. 135 collections held in 104 organizations throughout England had been awarded Designated status by 2011. After the abolition of the MLA, the Designation Scheme is to be taken over by Arts Council England (ACE)[24][25]

Supporting key regional museums has been one of the most significant and positive developments that the central government has undertaken for a long time. RAMM's 'World Cultures Collection' has been identified as a pre-eminent collection of national and international importance by the MLA's Designation scheme, therefore the collection has received funding from the DCF, which supports improved management and accessibility of these collections.[26] RAMM's 'World Cultures Collection' therefore has become one of the 125 collections that have been officially recognised by 2009.

DCF was set up by the Department of Culture, Media, and Sport (DCMS) in 1999 because some collections are so valuable that they cannot be left to the individual caring capabilities

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[23] http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/what-we-do/raising-standards/designation-scheme/
[24] http://www.mla.gov.uk/what/raising_standards/designation
[25] http://www.firebirdpr.co.uk/case-studies/designation-scheme.html
[26] http://www.rammuseum.org.uk/about-ramm/funders

of the museums they're in. Within the Renaissance programme, MLA has continued to offer financial support to museums holding designated collections. The Designation scheme predates Renaissance in the Regions but Designation funding for museums has now been brought under the umbrella of Renaissance. Funding from Renaissance in the Regions is ensuring continued support of museums with designated collections.[27] With more limited funding for Renaissance, this funding stream could be a target for cuts. The MA (Museums Association) urges the committee to express its support for continued funding for museums with Designated Collections (House of Commons, 2006-07: Ev 2).

3.2.3.1.7 Friends of Exeter Museum and Art Gallery

In 1973, the British Association of Friends of Museums (BAfM) was established as an independent organization for Friends, volunteers, and supporters in Britain's museums, galleries and heritage sites representing 200,000 Friends and volunteers across the UK. BAfM has links with a variety of organizations such as the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), the Museums Association (MA), the Association of Independent Museums; Arts Council England; the Charity Commission; the Association of Volunteer Managers; and the National Volunteering Managers Forum and is a member of the World Federation of Friends of Museums. It is an overarching organization for Friends organizations all around the UK, including the Friends of Exeter Museums and Art Gallery. BAfM provides support to the Friends organizations by means of involving people with first hand experience of running Friends organizations, provides solutions for common problems and is a central source of information about Friends for Friends. BAfM is a member of the World Federation of Friends of Museums. It organizes national and regional events, provides a Handbook for Friends, a Handbook for Heritage Volunteer Managers and Administrators and many information sheets. The BAfM journal is produced three times a year.[28]

The Friends support the Museums in many ways, both practically and financially. Members enjoy a wide range of benefits including a newsletter, invitations to private

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[27] http://www.renaissancewestmidlands.org.uk/?location_id=60
[28] http://www.bafm.org.uk/

views, social functions, outings and lectures. Friends also contribute towards our busy program of <u>public talks and special events</u>'.[29]

3.2.3.2 Partners of RAMM and the Institutions It Has Collaborations with

For museums, building partnerships and collaborations with other institutions has become a very crucial aspect of their businesses (more so than ever before) as we're living in a world of highly developed modes of connectivity. Today, no businesses can afford to work isolated from the others and therefore building partnerships and collaborations is a means of survival in the turbulent museum marketplace. The difference between the terms 'partnership' and 'collaboration' is that in collaborations, 2 institutions come together for certain project(s), and when those projects are over, the institutions depart and continue with their own businesses. However, partnerships are just like the marriage of institutions, which may or may not end up in divorce after a certain amount of time throughout which they work together in cooperation. The following definitions of the concepts 'partnership' and 'collaboration' are taken from the online Merriam-Webster Dictionary.[30] There is more than one meaning to each of these words but only the following definitions can be said to be the most relevant ones:

Partnership: a legal relation existing between two or more persons contractually associated as joint principals in a business

To collaborate: to cooperate with an agency or instrumentality with which one is not immediately connected.

When asked about how RAMM differentiates between these two terms, Ruth Randall, the marketing manager of RAMM, has said the following:

RAMM does not usually use the term collaborator, we prefer partner and partnerships. I have asked a couple of my colleagues and, like me, they can't see much of a difference except we think partner and partnership sounds better. I suppose in my

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[29] http://www.rammuseum.org.uk/Friends-of-Exeter-Museums-and-Art-Gallery-%E2%80%93-FEMAG/

[30] http://www.merriam-webster.com/

mind partner sounds a more positive relationship, collaborator can have a negative connotation (someone who cooperates with the enemy) although I'm sure it wouldn't be thought of like that in the RAMM context I still prefer not to use it.

3.2.3.2.1 Partnerships

For museums, building partnerships has become an increasingly popular method of expanding audiences, services, and funding opportunities. Partners share collections, skills, services and expertise with each other. RAMM has partnerships with the following institutions:

- Heritage Lottery Fund (for details see p. 185)
- Friends of Exeter Museum & Art Gallery (for details see p. 58)
- British Museum:

Here's an example of the partnership between the British Museum and the RAMM. These two institutions have, as partners, created the exhibition called 'Getting Ready for Warriors' on 03 July 2012. For this exhibition, a team from the British Museum, lead by exhibition curator Max Carucci, came to RAMM to coordinate the design and publicity, plan accompanying activities and examine selected objects from RAMM's collections that will be included in the displays. Max Carucci was delighted to see the RAMM's collections: 'Exeter's Warriors of the Plains collections are exquisite. They are incredibly important historically both for the museum and the people they came from. They really need to be brought to the public's attention'. Warriors of the Plains: 200 years of Native North American honour and ritual will run from 22 September to 13 January. Produced by the British Museum, the exhibition focuses on the material culture of Native North American Indians of the Plains between 1800 and the present, and the importance of the objects in a social and ceremonial context[31]. Aside from the British Museum, other prestigious national partners of RAMM include the V&A, Royal Collection and the National Portrait Gallery.[32]

- The Museums, Libraries & Archives Council (until May 2012)
- Renaissance South West (for details see p. 56):
    - Bristol City Museum & Art Gallery

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[31] for details see http://rammuseum.org.uk/news/getting-ready-for-warriors

[32] http://www.rammuseum.org.uk/getting-involved/why-support-ramm

- Plymouth City Museum & Art Gallery

- Royal Cornwall Museum, Truro

- Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum, Bournemouth

- University of Exeter:

Ruth Randall, the marketing manager of RAMM, has defined the partnership of RAMM with the University of Exeter as follows:

RAMM has many partnerships with different departments at the University. All of them are mutually beneficial (that's what a real partnership is). For the University they are mostly about impact as RAMM has a prestigious city centre venue and a large potential audience. Partnerships can often attract more funding than one institution alone can and different partners can access different funding sources. For instance the University can access AHRC (Arts and Humanities Research Council) funding for research and if the subject specialism links with our collection, together we can work on a new exhibition. We also work with a number of PhD students who are writing their thesis on aspects of RAMM or its collection (including the Business School) and we have good links with the university's arts and events team looking for areas where we can work together. RAMM also has good links with the conference/hospitality team who include events/receptions at RAMM in the package they offer to residential conferences. RAMM also participates in the Children's Literature Festival Extreme Imagination which is a city-wide partnership lead by the University's English department and funded by Arts Council England.

3.2.3.2.2 Collaborations

Aside from partnerships, museums also make collaborations with diverse institutions in order to strengthen their public standing, develop their services and museum experiences, address the needs and wants of audiences from diverse backgrounds in a better way. In today's marketplace, partnerships and collaborations between companies have gained in significance due to ever more refining boundaries between them in terms of their increased dependency on each other for carrying out more fruitful transactions, transfer of resources and similar activities, which make a company work in an easier way. After all, this situation

creates a win-win situation for all institutions in today's marketplace. Partnerships and collaborations are also a part of the museum-without-walls concept that is predominant in the museum world today, which RAMM has made extensive use of during the refurbishment process it has gone through. RAMM has effectively turned the disadvantage of lacking a coherent place of referral (except for a few museum buildings around Exeter), which was a result of the central museum building being closed for 4 years, into an advantage and strengthened its presence at various parts of the county by means of carrying parts of its collections and exhibitions to all possible venues that they had partnerships and collaborations with. Together with the stronger Internet presence that it has built during the refurbishment process, RAMM is successfully increasing its immaterial as well as material presence in the museum world. Below is a list of the institutions RAMM has collaborations with (for details about these institutions and some examples to the collaborative activities they have carried out with RAMM see appendix 1).

• Devon Wildlife Trust

• X Centre

• Kent's Cavern

• Exmoor National Park

• Torquay Museum

• Powderham Castle

• Fairlynch Museum

• RHS (Royal Horticultural Society) Rosemoor

• St. Bridget's Nurseries (Exeter)

• National Trust

• Devon Guild of Craftsmen

• Devon County Show

• Bicton Park Botanical Gardens

• Lawrence House Museum

• Exeter Cathedral

• Exeter Guildhall

As we can see from the list above; museums, castles, parks and some other governmental as well as nongovernmental institutions are included in the list of partners and collaborators of RAMM. 'Family activities in Exeter city centre venues have been a feature in school holidays. Other family activities have been linked to exhibitions. The exhibitions and displays have been seen far and wide in some unusual places, from Whimple to Westonbirt, in shops and cinemas, parks, gardens, country houses and county shows, fairs and festivals, visitor centres and even museums'.[33] RAMM's collaborations and partnerships show that the RAMM has broadened its boundaries to a great extent and enjoys a much wider presence that is not dependent on the physical spaces that the museum owns. When complemented with the new RAMM's online presence, we can see how a museum can become really untangible and without walls.

3.3 Museums in a Historical Context

Museums constitute one of the most prominent institutions that serve our modern societies and nations as mechanisms that support and nourish their very building blocks and foundational values. Being one of the institutions that can be thought of as situated at the hub of the society, the museum has a privilege and necessity of being investigated from various standpoints and perspectives. The answers given to the questions that can be asked with regards to the museum have the capacity to affect a wide spectrum of arenas in our daily lives. Therefore, many different academic streams from a wide area of interest have turned their attention to museums in order to find a fertile context through which they can actually make sense of the concepts and theories that they are and have been developing (eg. see Frey and Meier (2006) on the economics of museums; Harris (2005) on the political economy of museums; Kantor (2003) on the philosophical origins of art museums; Genoways and Andrei (2008) on the history and philosophy of museums; Hooper-Greenhill (1999) on the educational role of museums; Henning (2006) on museums as media; Rentschler (2007) and Kotler et el. (2008) on the marketing of museums etc.). For the sake of simplification, we might say that the museum in a historical context is approached from three main perspectives: curatorial, socio-cultural and economical. The area I am interested in is the

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[33] http://www.rammuseum.org.uk/visiting-us/out-and-about/exhibitions-and-events

intersection area between socio-cultural and economical perspectives, where marketing in general and consumer culture in particular fall in.

Before investigating the very object of my enquiry on a deeper level, I will try to place it into a historical context in order to create the possibility of understanding the dynamics that have created this institution in the first place and the dynamics that are forcing it to change to adapt the 21st century. The thorough understanding of these dynamics will give an insight into the nature of the museum construct and provide a basic understanding on which to build the rest of my analyses.

3.3.1 The Birth of the Museum

'The term 'museum' comes from the Greek *museon*, the muses. According to Murray (1904), museums in the days of the Ancient Greeks were, as the name suggests, a spot dedicated to the muses, but they were also used as places for study, contemplation and learning. This education was of a general nature, whereas today the education is based on the interpretation of the museum collection' (Mc Lean, 1995: 602). 'Yet there are signs of the museum idea in the early part of the second millennium B.C. in Mesopotamia's Larsa region. There, copies of old inscriptions were created for schools and for public use' (Kotler et. al, 2008: 9). In ancient Greece, archives were the source of power and authority for the ones who hold them. 'In the opening sketches of 'Archive Fever' (the title in English translation), Derrida presented his audience with the image of the arche, as a place where things begin, where power originates, its workings inextricably bound up with the authority of beginnings and starting points'(Steedman, 2002: 1). Today, archives are still one of the basic keystones of a museum's curatorial function.

Although the general history of museums dates back to the third century BC, the development of museums in our understanding of today has started in the 17th century. 'As the things collected were objects of art, it seemed obvious that they should be housed in artistic buildings, and as for several centuries it has been difficult for architects or those having power over art collections to conceive of an artistic building save in terms of Greek or Renaissance architecture, nearly all special museum buildings imitated either the Greek

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temple or the Italian palace' (Dana, 1917 in Anderson, 2004: 13). The mission of these museums was to collect and preserve their valuable collections. In time, their mission changed to involve things such as education, entertainment and providing visitor satisfaction.

> Objects were said to 'speak for themselves' and it was the visitor's responsibility to drive meaning from them... Only recently have museums began to give priority to exhibitions as an educational medium for general and non-traditional audiences. The great assets of museums -their expertise and collections- are being redirected to provide the needed support for the role of the exhibition as a teaching medium (Screven, 1993).

By the beginning of the 20th century, a concern about education, and respect for the public audience appeared and they became the primary focus of museums. In the second half of the 19th century, the number of museums increased in Europe considerably. In the first half of the 20th century, the world suffered from two world wars. There was the Russian revolution in 1917 and also a big economic recession in the 1930s. Due to these occurrences in Europe, museums had to reassess themselves. Governments and other professional associations reviewed the role of museums as related to the changing social conditions and made some suggestions that museums should improve their services to the public. After the Second World War, there was a post war reconstruction in Europe. In this period, museums became popular again and increased their visitor numbers. In order to respond to a rapidly changing, better educated society, museums gained the qualities of being a source of leisure activities, entertainment and a medium of communication alongside education.

> Improving the museum-going experience involves going beyond the traditional emphasis on objects and collections and even the emphasis in recent years on information and education. Generating experiences involves acivities in which visitors can directly participate, intensive sensory perception combining sight, sound, and motion, environments in which visitors can immerse themselves rather than behave merely as spectators, and out-of-the-ordinary stimuli and effects that make museum visits unique and memorable (Kotler and Kotler, 2000 in Anderson 2004: 173).

With the developing technology, a new form of museums called virtual museums appeared which refers to the Internet presence of museums. This brought certain benefits to existing museums. The development of museums explained and summarized here are discussed further in chapter 7 together with the paradigm shifts that have taken place in the museum world.

Along with a number of other institutions, the museum as we understand and see it in our cities today, in the modern sense, has come into existence as a by-product of the revolutionary changes that have taken place in western societies under the name of the 'Enlightenment Project' and its underlying values. Following the advent of the electric light and the technologies that followed it, which turned our focus of attention to new ways of seeing and created much of a visual oriented culture with new modes of attention that shape and discipline our visual perception of the world, a positivistic, object-oriented world view has prevailed in the ontological as well as epistemological senses of the word (for a more detailed account of these developments see the second chapter). Obviously there was light before the advent of the electric light too but its significance and meaning for the society was different. 'Light was the 'most noble form' of the material world' (Vauchez, Dobson and Lapidge, 2000: 850) and it was mostly perceived as a mystical element representing the divine. It was a feature in Medieval Art too. Back then, its control was quite limited and has changed dramatically after the advent of the electric light. After the advent of the electric light, due to its easily availability and controllability, light became mundane. The modern appearance of the museum in actual fact is a reflection of the fore mentioned new objective epistemological attitude towards knowledge production and consumption that was shaped after the advent of the electric light. Parallel to positivist science, the objective grasping of the world which positions the subject as a separate entity from the object, lies at the very bottom of the museum discourse. In the new perception of the world, where objectivity and visuality (as the basic means to sense and get a grasp of the 'objective' reality) go hand in hand and support each other (together with other discourses oriented towards materiality), it is quite a natural fact that the museum, as a place, where objects and artefacts are the main means and focus in reaching and forming our own interpretations of reality, have gained in popularity and prominence in our societies. This stressed

separateness of subject and object can be thought to lie at the bottom of the consumerism discourse (as well) in that it has given the world of objects or objective reality as is called in many instances, a utopian and unreachable or very-hard-to-reach character which seemingly played a role in the increased desire towards this realm and given objects a new sacred place in our societies (they gained a fetishist character to refer to the Marxian terminology). Hence spaces where objects are displayed such as museums and shopping centres have gained a status where the activity that takes place can be said to have a ritualistic character. This has in time extended to include a reality based on simulations (Baudrilliard, 1994) in which the objective reality became quasi intangible, what Umberto Echo terms hyperreality. There have been some traumatic consequences of this renewed relationship between the subject and the object, which created the conditions that are referred to under postmodernism. The initial interactions that were based on the drive of building a superiority and dominance of the subjective world over the objective world has finally resulted in the superiority and dominance of the objective world over the subjective by means of the incredible attachment and a kind of sanctity that has naturally resulted from this inegalitarian relationship. After all, collecting involves a violent element to it.

The museum is one of the most prominent institutions that stand at a critical point where the objective and the subjective world meet and the relationship between them come to fruition and expression on a regular basis. They are also institutions that directly reflect the inner dynamics of this relationship which change and evolve over time, so it's a great means to read the changes that take place in the consciousness of the society as a whole.

Foucault interprets the museum as being among the institutions that use the power politics of knowledge as a means of disciplining the public and keeping the society in order (Benett, 1995). This is an extension of the turning of people into righteous citizens whose will is on the same direction as the ultimate will of the state and therefore help and support it instead of being a threat against it. Although museums might be thought of as being an extension of the willpower of the state, it could just as well be seen as a space where potential controversy and criticism could be created against the state. Habermas sees museums as a part of the formation of the bourgeois public sphere (ibid.). Museums create a space that is necessary for a democratic society to nourish and freedom of expression to flourish

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(although this concept has been criticized as being too general). In this way, the state and the public actually coordinate to form a better society. So, the museum can potentially be used both as a policing tool of the state against disorder but also as a point of cooperation for the state and the public.

The birth of the modern museum was being supported from an international political perspective, where colonization and its related discourses that imply concepts such as progress, (radically different) other-ness, and even superiority of the white race needed promotion. Natural museums could be useful tools to promote the eugenist notions of the survival of the fittest, which in turn functioned as a means to promote racist and masculinist discourses.

> Brechin (1996) suggests that 'Madison Grant, anthropologist, trustee of the museum (AMNH- American Museum of Natural History), founder of the Bronx Zoo, and member of the Boone and Crocket club wrote the book Adolf Hitler described as his 'bible', The Passing of the Great Race (1916), in which scientific rhetoric provides a veneer for assertions of white male superiority and the argument that miscegenation produced degeneracy' (as cited in Henning, 2006: 49-50).

These were among the seemingly basic drives that motivated the rise and nourishing of museums around the world. 'The number of museums has risen dramatically over the last few decades' (McLean, 1995). This shows that museums have been responding to some basic societal needs and wants and are increasing in popularity. However, the museum concept keeps evolving to fit well into the 21st century societies. As a result of this, a number of museums all around the world are refurbishing and rebranding themselves to bespeak the new museum visitor.

3.3.2 Museums in Transition

Just like many other commercial enterprises, museums are in the process of adaptation to the rapid changes in the environment around them.

Britain's major museums and galleries have enjoyed a major rejuvenation in the past decade. Resources provided by the National Lottery, including a number of millennium-related projects – have given many NMDC (National Museum Directors' Conference) members significant new buildings or, at the very least, an opportunity to renovate existing facilities. In a world where private sector leisure operators are continuously opening new attractions, the need to innovate is self-evident (Travers and Glaister, 2004: 22).

In the tables 2 and 3, we can see the refurbishment and rejuvenation activities completed in Britain until 2003 and to be completed from 2003 onward respectively, according to the National Museum Directors' Conference.

Table 3. 3 Major new facilities completed at NMDC (National Museum Directors' Conference) institutions, 1993 to 2003

British Museum 18 new galleries completed, 1993 to 2001 Great Court - plus additional educational, catering facilities Reading Room restoration	**National Library of Wales** Shop, restaurant, education area Auditorium, gallery	**National Portrait Gallery** Ondaatje Wing Weldon Galleries
Imperial War Museum Stage 2 redevelopment IWM London American Air Museum, Duxford Holocaust Exhibition, London Imperial War Museum North, Manchester	**National Maritime Museum** Neptune Court ROG Astronomy Centre	**Science Museum** Wellcome Wing The Dana Centre at the Wellcome Wolfsen Building New Galleries: - Challenge of Materials - Making the Modern World - The Wellcome Trust Temporary Exhibition Gallery - Sparking Reaction (at Sellafield)
National Archives Family Records Centre (jointly with Office of Natioal Statistics) Museum Cyber Café Education Room	**National Museums & Galleries, Northern Ireland** Irish Railway Gallery Irish Road Transport Galleries	**National Museum of Photography, Film and Television** - The NMPFT was re-opened as a completely refurbished museum - The *Insight* Collections and Research Centre - *Wired Worlds* – new gallery
National Army Museum National Army Museum North (Richmondshire)	**National Museums Liverpool** Museum of Liverpool Life Conservation Centre	**National Railway Museum** The Works York Rail Academy New Restaurant New Jubilee Garden
National Gallery North Galleries Orange Street Education Centre	**National Museums of Scotland** Museum of Scotland National War Museum of Scotland Museum of Scottish Country Life	**Tate** Tate St Ives Tate Modern Tate Store, Southwark Tate Britain redevelopment Hyman Kreitman Research Centre - Library and Archive Collections at Tate Britain
National Galleries of Scotland Paxton House, Berwickshire Duff House, Banff Dean Gallery, Edinburgh Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh	**Royal Marines Museum** Refurbishment of museum	**Victoria & Albert Museum** British Galleries Redevelopment of Museum of Childhood, Bethnal Green Exhibitions partnership with Sheffield Galleries and Museums Trust
Natural History Museum Darwin Centre	**Royal Navy Museum** Restoration of storehouses Three new galleries - Victory and Trafalgar - Nelson the hero and the man - The Sailing Navy	**Wallace Collection** Centenary Project: reserve gallery; temporary exhibitions galleries; visitors' library; education centre; lecture theatre, restaurant

Source: http://www.nationalmuseums.org.uk/media/documents/publications/valuing_museums.pdf, received: 15.03.2012.

Table 3. 4 Major new facilities planned for NMDC (National Museum Directors' Conference) institutions, 2003 and beyond

British Museum Ethnographic collection (Wellcome Trust) (2003) Enlightenment exhibition (permanent) (2003) - Restoration of King's Library	**Royal Marines Museum** Heritage Centre at Commando Training Centre, Lympstone, Devon	**Wroughton** Development of National Collections Centre and Science Museum at Creative Planet
Imperial War Museum Churchill Museum (at Cabinet War Rooms) Air Space (Duxford) Officers Mess Hotel (Duxford) Holocaust Exhibition development Cabinet War Rooms expansion	**Royal Navy Museum** New facility to celebrate bicentenary of Trafalgar and death of Nelson (2005)	**Sir John Soane's Museum** No 14 Lincoln's Inn Fields project (2005)
National Gallery East Wing project	**Science Museum** A new Energy Gallery The East Hall The Exhibition Road project – (for completion in 2007)	**Victoria & Albert Museum** Theatre Museum redevelopment (2007) Museum of Childhood Phase 2 (2005) Medieval and Renaissance Galleries at South Kensington (2007) The Spiral (Landmark Building for contemporary collections) (2008)
Natural History Museum Darwin Centre Phase 2	**National Museum of Photography, Film and Television** Lightwave Project (a central urban regeneration partnership) TV Gallery Photography Gallery London presence	
National Museums and Galleries of Wales Big Pit redevelopment National Woollen Museum development National Waterfront Museum National Collection & Archive Centre	**National Railway Museum** Shildon Railway Village (south County Durham; opens late 2004) NRM+ project Rapid City (central brownfield redevelopment of 21 acres)	

Source: http://www.nationalmuseums.org.uk/media/documents/publications/valuing_museums.pdf, received: 15.03.2012.

The current renovation and refurbishment processes in museums are remarkable because the changes that have taken place in whole areas of life in the last decades have been more drastic than ever and we can say that times have accelerated, putting everyone in the position of having to undertake rapid adaptations to the ever changing environment. However, while these changes might continuously affect some businesses negatively due to the incompatibility of their nature with the nature of the times that are coming and therefore cause them to diminish, they might affect some other businesses positively due to the compatibility of their nature with the nature of the times that are coming. Museums seem to fall under the second category for the changes that they are undertaking are of a proliferating nature. 'Between 2003 and 2006, a representative sample of 806 museums (in

the United States) showed that 50 percent had begun or completed in the previous three years construction, expansion, or renovation' (Kotler et al., 2008: 13).

3.4 Immaterial Museum/Museum without Walls

It is not only the museum buildings that are in the process of developing, it looks as though the concept of the museum itself as a construct is developing as well. 'Malraux (1947) in his celebrated book 'Le musée imaginaire' developed the idea that the world of reproductions forms a 'museum without walls'' (Battro, 1999). The technology of photography and the consequent inventions that came together with it, especially reproduction technologies, created a different rhetoric in art consumption. This is also the case in music consumption and many other artistic genres. The reproduction rhetoric actually began with the printing press, where millions of copies of exactly the same thing could be reproduced and although reproduction existed before that, it wasn't the same as in the technology of the printing press. Before the printing press, the reproductions of all kinds that were being produced were not as accurate, and naturally there were individual differences and at times intentional variations and additions that could be made on the originals. After the modern reproduction technologies, millions of reproduced copies of art can be acquired and consumed in very short periods of time within very long distances. In his essay called 'The work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction' (1935), Walter Benjamin argues that the ritualistic basis, aura, authenticity of the works of art have changed dramatically by the rhetoric of the reproduction technologies, letting art surrender itself to a practice of politics and where the target is opposite to uniqueness and authenticity, depending upon reachability and attainability of the works of art by as many audiences as possible, and in as little spaces of time as possible. This new kind of rhetoric has seemingly contributed to the concept of the museum without walls in that reproduced copies of artefacts can be found outside the museum, especially in the virtual reality, as well as inside the museum. Reproductions have some shortcomings such that they usually have to change the sizes of artefacts to fit monitors, screens or pages of printed press, they lose their actual dimensions. However, these losses can be quite productive at times. The consequences of a simple photographic amplification or reduction are incalculable and sometimes open up new styles

in art. When the scale of a work of art is 'falsified,' niches of new meaning may be discovered.[34]

The museum as a concept has extended so much that we can see it everywhere; we can find anything in a museum and anything as a museum. Timothy Michell (1992: 300) puts it as follows:

> …the west, it appears, is a place organized as a system of commodities, values, meanings, and representations, forming signs that reflect one another in a labyrinth without exits…

The concept of the museum is so widespread and intertwined that it is hard to decide where it begins and where it ends. Our streets, cities, countries increasingly keep looking like museums while at the same time museums keep providing more and more information about our streets, cities, countries and cultures in general. It all looks more and more like a 'labyrinth without exits'.

Museums have started using the Internet and therefore are opening their doors to everyone. These developments have made Malraux's famous concept an everyday reality. With the web presence we can reach museums' online databases and we can make global comparisons of museums (or objects). Museums, like many other institutions such as schools, banks and the like feel more than before the need to go through refurbishment processes these days. While going through these processes, they don't actually stop working but they find alternative ways of offering their services to the public. They can use the strategy of carrying the exhibitions to venues other than the museum building and presenting them there. They can hire other buildings for temporary use. They can use the Internet to reach their audiences. These strategies mean that at those times when they are renewing themselves, museums can have to work without walls.

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[34] see http://www.byd.com.ar/vm99sep4.htm

3.5 Various Perspectives from which to Investigate Museums

The perspectives that I have drawn above are very general and wide, therefore I want to draw roughly the extent that these perspectives comprise with regards to museums. This will help clarify and situate the point of my interest and address the lenses through which I will be looking at museums throughout my research project.

> Museum managers struggle with the issues of maintaining their museums' integrity as a distinctive collecting, conserving, research, exhibiting and educational institution and, at the same time, making their museum more popular and competitive (Kotler and Kotler, 2000: 271).

Due to the breadth of perspectives that are being used for studying museums, there has occurred a great need for interdisciplinary research that would make it possible to combine and contrast the theories and contributions that each academic field develops in their own boundaries. This is crucial in the sense that it prevents academics from trying to form theories and find concepts that have already been developed in other disciplines and they can make use of them in their further investigations.

This research relates to consumer culture and experience. It falls in the intersection area of socio-cultural and economical perspectives that I will be writing about in the following paragraphs. Therefore, in my project I will refer to different research streams from different disciplines and try to combine and contrast them in order to form my own interpretation and understanding of the topic. However, in the final analysis, all my efforts will be concerned with thinking about and understanding museums as a means of thinking about and understanding our experiential world.

3.5.1 Curatorial Perspective

This perspective approaches museums from a scientific and educational point of view and refers to the endeavours of museums to reflect scientific knowledge of any kind in the right way, encouraging the public to get involved and keep up with the knowledge that is being produced. Museological approaches can be thought under this category. In line with this

perspective, 'museums and galleries in Britain have expanded their activities as partners with universities and further education, as well as extending access to schools and increasing the numbers of visits by young people' (Travers, 2006: 8). The educational role of the museum is expanding as new ways of relating to the visitors and interacting with them are being found. New and more effective activities for learning are being found in museums each day and these in more entertaining and creative ways.

3.5.2 Socio-cultural Perspective

This perspective approaches museums from the point of view of the society. Museums have an intimate and interactive relationship with the public and they change society as well as being changed by it. The approaches under this perspective are interested in the outcomes of this relationship and how the institution of the museum impacts the society, either as a whole or particular interest groups within the society. Sociological and political issues particularly fall under this category. 'Funding bodies and stakeholders now acknowledge that museums and programs need to demonstrate impact and value within their local communities in order to attract further funding and ongoing support' (Kelly, 2006: 1). Therefore, intensive research is being done on how to measure the socio cultural impact of museums. It is a challenging task due to the fact that the main impact of museums on the society is of an intangible nature. The impact of cultural institutions on society has usually been measured by means of economic terms, for value is principally thought to be associated with economy. However, considering only the economic side is not enough; identifying also the social impact is needed for a holistic approach. Together with other institutions which have been acting in a more traditional way, even the MLA has been moving towards a more quantitative evaluation of impact for the arts in terms of evaluating the economic value. Inspite of that a shift from quantitative methods to more qualitative methods for measuring the impact of museums on the society is needed.

> There are various ways of ascertaining, if not assessing, museums' qualitative impact, other than by economic proxies. These include: direct consultation to assess public value (Keaney, 2006: 41); self-evaluations, peer and user-review; and stakeholder

analysis. Indeed, an increasing body of work is being developed around such approaches (Wavell et al., 2002).

Especially the corporate branding of a museum can be perceived as a social impact on the society. Other than that, museums can impact the society by means of raising the life quality of its visitors in numerous ways. However, many of these might be nearly impossible to measure at least from our current perspectives.

3.5.3 Economic Perspective

This perspective approaches museums from the point of view of the museum as a business organisation. Just like any other organization, the museums (both public and private ones) have to make sure that they keep their profitability levels high enough in order to provide a satisfactory service. The approaches that fall under this category are interested in issues like the management, marketing, and branding of museums.

> The term 'Economics of Museums' may be understood in two different ways: A museum may be looked at as an economic unit or as a firm providing certain services. The analysis then focuses on the relationship between the inputs (exhibits, manpower, etc.) and outputs measured, for example, in terms of revenue. Moreover, the effect of museums on the economy may be analysed, e.g. how much employment is generated and how much added value is created in other sectors. Second, applying an economic way of thinking to museums involves assuming that individuals pursue their utility within the constraints imposed by institutions and the environment, especially where resources are scarce (Frey and Meier, 2006: 1019).

Museums have significant economic effects in their surrounding areas through the admission fees that they ask for and through the museum shops and restaurants that they present. They also create many jobs. In these senses, museums have a special place in local economies.

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In the following part of this chapter, where museum is investigated as an object of consumption, the new developments that have shaped/are shaping museums are examined in a more detailed fashion.

3.6 Museum as an Object of Consumption

> Consumption turns out to be one of those common-sense concepts that 'goes without saying', meaning that we rarely argue about whether something really belongs in the category. In practice, the harder you try to define the term, the fuzzier its meanings and boundaries become, which suggests that there is indeed something important hidden behind our casual agreement about its meaning (Wilk, 2004: 11).

Just like every other term, the meaning of the term *consumption* and what it actually refers to changes depending on the conceptual structures that we employ while making sense of the world around us. Various academic disciplines interpret the term in different ways depending on the conceptual lenses that they use. Therefore, I need to draw the framework in which I understand consumption and will be using it throughout my research project. The scope of consumption can be extended to include things that are physical and concrete as well as immaterial and abstract. On the physical side, material things such as food, drinks, clothes and shoes can be objects of consumption, while on the other side very immaterial things such as images, sounds, signs and places can become objects of consumption as well (like it is referred to in the works of eg. Baudrillard, 1981; Schroeder, 2005; Belk, 1988; Bourdieu, 1994; Dittmar, 1992; Douglas, 1982; Gabriel and Lang, 1995; Giddens, 1991; Goffman, 1959; McCracken, 1988; Holbrook and Hirschman 1982; Ionascu 2009 etc.). A very common sense perception of consumption seems to be related to and limited with the purchase of goods from sellers. However, many immaterial things (as well as some material things like air and water) do not necessarily have to be purchased in order to be consumed by consumers. In my research, I am focusing on museum consumption and this includes the consumption of things like visual images, sounds, gallery spaces, architectural rhetoric of museum buildings (and even things like identity) etc. Therefore, my perception of consumption in many cases will be to a great extent independent from the activity of purchase alone. In order to consume museums, one doesn't have to be a visitor. According

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to Holden (2004: 32), 'in cultural and heritage investment there is a further category of economic value, namely non-use value. Non-use values are understood to be existence value, option value and bequest value'. As such museums also have value for non-visitors through their non-use value.

3.6.1 Museum as an Application Site for Arts and Sciences

In our societies, science and art are among the basic legal means to understand and make sense of the world in and around us. Especially positivist, objectivist science is very much interested in the world that we see as being outside of us. Material objects and their investigation make up a great portion of the target of science. Museums have a wide variety and range of invaluable collections consisting of many objects from all parts of the world, best works of art that has been created, things and traces that refer to human civilizations. In all of these, there are things that are of great interest to probably all branches of science. In this sense, museums make up a huge database for scientists and specialists.

3.6.2 Museum as the RAM (Random Access Memory) of a Society

Collecting and preserving every kind of traces related to humanity, and then presenting them to the service of the public, museums make up the tangible part of a society's memory, which backs up, complements and at times distorts the historical accounts and narratives that have been created by mainstream historians, archaeologists and the like. Depending on its mission and philosophy, a museum might choose to provide the public with different narratives related to particular phenomena, or it might choose to leave the traces unordered without putting them into any kind of meta-narrative that shapes public conceptions and perceptions, letting individuals form their own understanding and interpretation.

Throughout the evolutionary changes that the museums have been going through, different ways of handling historical narratives (along with any other narratives) have been applied. An example of this is 'Andy Wahrol's exhibition 'Raid the Icebox', which was exhibited in 1969, at the Rhode Island School of Design, where he insisted on exhibiting whole collections of objects just as they were arranged in the storerooms, to the irritation of curators'

(Henning, 2006: 130-1). That was an exemplary challenge to the dominant ways of dealing with museum objects.

3.6.3 Museum as an Education Centre and/or Facilitator

A very (if not the most) dominant function of museums has been their serving as a bridge between the scientific world and the public. The knowledge that is produced by scientists usually tends to be quite sophisticated and is of limited use if it is not communicated to the public in the right way in which they can understand and make sense of it. The museum is intended to fulfil the education need that falls short of being satisfied by main education systems of schools and universities. This way it is hoped that people are not scared of science but charmed and fascinated by it so that especially young people are encouraged to become scientists and older people made aware of science and technology's fruits and get one step closer to understanding and hopefully making use of them in their more and more technology driven daily lives.

This function can be seen as one of the arguably peripheral by-products of the modern state's need to keep its citizens informed and aware of the ways in which the modern society works, so that they can fit in the whole system more properly reducing the need for other integration mechanisms (such as prisons and the like) that keep citizens coherent and compatible within the system and this function of museums also complements these mechanisms.

Due to society's quest for being in the process towards democratisation of knowledge, this function of the museum has evolved to give the museum the role of a facilitator instead of an educator. Depending on the museum's mission, some museums might take on both roles, while others may take only one of these roles as part of their interpretation and philosophy of how knowledge needs to be handled.

3.6.4 Museum as Visual Media

Museums in the 21st century have become more and more mediatic in nature, not only in the sense that they act like media themselves but also in the sense that they make use of a

much wider array of media inside their institutions, owing to a great extent to the technological developments that have given rise to the variety and flexibility of media usage (Henning, 2006). Representation systems that can be used inside museums have diversified over centuries and creative combinations of techniques help shape yet new representation systems. Especially in the last century, museums have gained more characteristics similar to that of conventional media. Museums have the capacity to create agendas, ideologies, shape public opinion, manage attention, spread propagandas or anti-propagandas etc. and they have become more capable of articulating and spreading their messages by means of the usage of new technologies and media that help them reach the public.

New technologies such as multimedia, 3D graphics, and Virtual reality can be used to enhance the presentation, offering a more vivid and enjoyable experience. A number of museums make use of images, sounds and video aiming to complement existing presentations and to create a memorable exhibition (Lepouras and Vassilakis, 2004: 96).

These facilities not only offer museums a sense of greater flexibility but also enrich visitor experiences, which are the main point of focus of the museums in our new museum age.

3.6.5 Museum as a Leisure/Recreation Centre

Leisure, entertainment and fun have a special place and widespread significance in today's economy, which is also referred to as the 'experience economy' (Pine and Gilmore, 1999), (see 4th chapter for a detailed account). The trend towards leisure, entertainment and fun has been investigated by a number of scholars (especially postmodernist ones) as part and parcel of some deeper sociological phenomena that are thought to have been affecting our societies at least for the last couple of decades. These sociological phenomena have followed the radical changes that have been occurring within our cultures such as great technological advancements, the changing of the working conditions, the transformation of the public realm, the rising dominance of a visual culture etc. These very basic changes have had a ripple effect on all aspects of the society.

Baudrilliard's (1981) account of the collapse of the divide between the real and the simulation (hyperreality taking over reality) and the sociological consequences thereof is an example of such investigations and it has impressed so many scholars in recent years. It has been presumed that the boundaries between work, leisure and pleasure have collapsed and hybrid formations have come to dominate our world in every sphere of our lives. This phenomenon has had a great impact upon consumer culture and marketing in general.

> Consumer location-based venues are being 'tainment'ized. It probably started with eater*tainment*, which is entertainment incorporated into restaurant destinations. Then came edu*tainment*, which gives an educational overlay to entertainment. Not to be left out in the cold, retailers, shopping centers and mall developers starting adding entertainment to their stores and centers, calling it shopper*tainment* (coined by the *Mills Corp.*, 2007), retail-*tainment,* or mall-*tainment*, a term our company was the first to coin... Museums are making their facilities more fun, so we have culture-*tainment.* (*White Hutchinson Leisure & Learning Group, Inc., 2006*).

As commercial enterprises, museums have been affected by this trend to a great extend. Especially after the decrease in financial support that they receive from the state (Kotler et al. 2008: 195), they started to feel the need more than before to compete against other companies to get a share of consumers' free time spent on entertainment alongside education etc. The trend of approaching the museum from an entertainment perspective has created some criticism, as well (eg. According to Conn, 1988; 'in the 1870s, William Ruschenberger, president of the Philedelphia Academiy of Natural Sciences, campaigned against efforts to market the museum in the same way as department stores and to emphasize entertainment and exhibition over research' (as cited in Henning 2006: 46)). The museum is expected by many to remain as a research institute dedicated to science and education and the trend towards entertainment and fun seems to be for many to be a threat to the quality of the research embraced by the museum.

One thing needs to be drawn attention to, though. Although entertainment gains an ever increasing importance in museums, museums are not perceived as absolute leisure centres.

According to a study by Scott (2000: 36-7), respondents were asked to specify the attributes that characterize an ideal leisure venue and they identified:

- a relaxed atmosphere
- entertaining
- a good place to take family and friends
- friendly
- fun
- an exciting place to be
- great value for money
- plenty of room to move

In the minds of the respondents, however, museums were not perceived as sharing these ideal leisure attributes. In fact, quite a different set of attributes was applied to museums. These included 'educational, places of discovery, intellectual experiences, challenging, thought provoking, absorbing, fascinating, innovative and places where you can touch the past' (Scott, 2000: 37). Bringing forth the most suitable combinations of entertainment, fun, education, science, contemplation and meditation possibilities to the most suitable visitor segments remains to be a tough job for museums, which requires a great deal of responsibility.

3.6.6 Museum as a Ritual Space

Rituals have had a very special place in religious practices all over the world as a way of fulfilling the need to contact the Creator and/or nature, probably right from the beginning of humanity. However, together with modernity, the place of religion has changed to a great extent in the public realm if not in the private one. By means of the secularization processes, religion has been domesticated and its dominance over our societies controlled. As a result of this, 'according to Habermas, ritual has declined as a medium of communication due to the growth of rational discourse' (Cheal, 1992: 363). This view is shaped according to the assumptions regarding how fundamental rituals actually are for human nature. There can be controversy with regards to whether or not rituals belong to the fundamental level of

communication as in the case of the opposing views of Durkheim and Habermas, where Durkheim places rituals at a more fundamental level of communication and Habermas argues that rituals cannot be seen as a primordial act of symbolism since it operates at too high a level of linguistic development (Hahn, 2000).

> Regardless of the quality and prevalence or universality of the function that rituals serve in fulfilling deep human needs, we can still find them in many different aspects of our lives, having evolved to adapt to the time and space perceptions of modernity, and even appearing in different formats than that of religious ones alone (Kiong & Kong, 2000).

Museums are among the secular institutions that make up strong support mechanisms for the modern state by promoting its underlying values and assumptions that were drawn with the Enlightenment project. Although they are secular institutions, especially 'art museums have always been compared to older ceremonial monuments such as palaces or temples' (Duncan, 1995: 7). Ceremonies and rituals necessitate the dedication of a special quality of attention on particular areas of interest. This quality of attention is what makes them special and different from the routine activities of our daily lives. In this sense, the activity of museum going involves ritualistic elements by means of directing our attention in specific ways in the boundaries of the museum space. Exhibit designers have been working on different modes of spectatorship to homogenize the 'composite viewing habits' (Henning, 2006) of museum goers, whose attention were according to Schivelbusch (1986) affected and shaped by different modern experiences such as the railway train, the department stores and early cinema (as cited in Henning, 2006: 53). 'Architectural references such as their monumental buildings, being set back from the street, and clearly defined precincts' (Duncan, 2000) make up the visual cues that help visitors fall into a ceremonial and ritualistic attitude. It seems that religious rituals reinforce the approval and appreciation of the corresponding deity of particular religions and its celebration; and rituals in museums are usually used for the approval and appreciation of the identities of their corresponding visitors and their celebration (the celebration of identities might at times be indirect as in the case of a visitor that visits a museum relating to another country's past and identity. In

this case, the visitor is actually still referring to his/her own identity by finding that museum interesting just because an identity that is very different from their own is being presented).

3.7 Political Dimension of Culture in Museums

'Museums exhibit cultures and relate to the multiple communities in which they are situated' (Karp and Kreamer, 1992). Museums represent controversial issues, especially related to the past, which often places them in a position where they opt to hold one position or another, which means that museums are politically motivated to a greater or lesser extent. They necessarily hold their own viewpoints on issues such as identity and culture. 'Museums today are still critically important educational institutions. In playing this role, they also posess a power to shape collective values and social understandings in a decisively important fashion' (Luke, 2002: x). Some might have an opposing view on this topic: 'Says New York artist Jonathan Horowitz, whose election-based "Your Land/My Land" installation is currently on view at the Contemporary Art Museum in Raleigh, North Carolina:

> I wouldn't say that museums have a moral obligation to engage in political discourse any more than artists have a moral obligation to make work that does. I will say, though, that hermetic art about art is generally not of that much interest to me, and this seems to be the direction that art is trending.[35]

'Art and culture become, perhaps, just another site of consumption to be explored using the same lens' (Bradshaw, 2010: 11). However, I think that just like in every other artistic creation, it's impossible that museums stay apolitical. Even though it might not be a proselytising role, museums do have to have a political standpoint. There are however, some hard issues that come from the past which are still in effect in our current societies such as slavery or mass genocide of indigenous peoples. Museums can prove to be attention drawing especially because they touch on controversial phenomena, they can draw visitors due to the sensations they create with their approaches to such phenomena.

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[35] (http://artistsonthelam.blogspot.com/2012/11/discussion-art-museums-and-political.html?goback=%2Egde_808047_member_182373704)

Te Papa museum in New Zealand, has been a test case in museological and cultural terms and it was also created as a working prototype of a bicultural institution that aimed to impact on the future development of the country (Message, 2006: 169). In museums like the Te Papa museum there appears a natural distance between political realities outside the museum and their representation inside. In a state museum, this distance is determined through the lens of governmental discourses that are at play inside the museum. Museums use mirroring techniques such as symbology, analogy, modelling and mapping and they function as critically important modelling agencies and mapping centres to meld ontological meanings with cultural terrains (Williams, 2005: 83). Te Papa is not only aimed at making a historical representation, recording history, displaying heritage, or showcasing antiquities, but it's also aimed at expressing cultural identity (ibid). The shaping of cultural identity is crucial for people's sense of self and how they relate to others in the society. In this respect, a museum's role is critical as they have the power to shape a people's sense of self and how they relate to each other. Museums are not only the organizers of the relationships within a single culture; they are also organisers of relationships between different cultures as in the case of Te Papa museum.

3.8 Emergent Research Opportunities

The changing nature and design of *visitor experiences* within the museum space (and at times outside of it, e.g. virtual space); how these experiences are being co-created by museum visitors and the museum itself; visitors' interaction with museum artefacts and stories; museum visitor agency vs. agency of museum objects, stories and narratives and how these two parties interact and shape each other and sometimes collide during museum visits; museums' adaptation strategies to the 21st century experience economy, which drive the dynamics and motives behind the widely ongoing refurbishment processes that museums all around the world are concurrently finding themselves in and mirror the changing needs and wants of the visitors are the basic points of interest within this project.

3.9 Conclusion

The museum makes up a relevant context in which to investigate the dominant concepts related to contemporary consumer culture such as consumer experience, commodification

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of experience and memory, value co-creation, democratization of knowledge etc. Knowing about how these concepts are applied in the context of the museum will broaden our understanding of these concepts. The reason why museums make up a good context for the concepts we're trying to understand is because museums are one of those institutions that have in one way or another given shape to our societies throughout history and they reflect a great deal about the different facets of our existence. An updated perspective that explores the relationship and interaction of the museum with the market and visitors would enrich our understanding.

In this chapter, to provide an understanding of museums, museum typologies have been explored first. After that, funding resources of museums have been identified and some information on museum funding in England has been provided. Museums have not always been the way they used to be when they were first founded. They have been going through evolutionary stages and are a great means for reading the changes that take place in the consciousness of the society in general. In this chapter, the circumstances that have prepared the birth of the museum as well as the ones that have made it go through a transition in the last couple of decades have been dwelled upon and the reasons for the high increase in museum rebranding, refurbishing and renewal activities have tried to be shown. The very concept of the immaterial museum/museum without walls and the museumization of our environment have also been touched upon. Finally, as a result of the phenomenon of the commodification of culture, memory and experience; the museum has come to be considered as an object of consumption. Different facets of this consumption object have been clarified in the end, such as its being used as an application site for arts and sciences, the random access memory of a society, an education center and/or facilitator, visual media, a leisure/recreation center and a ritual space. The particular museum that the research in this study has focused upon, i.e. the RAMM has been introduced and put in context as well.

CHAPTER 4

CONSUMER EXPERIENCE AND CO-CREATION OF VALUE IN MUSEUMS

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter museum consumption will be investigated using the theoretical lenses of consumer experience (from the perspective of experiential marketing) and value co-creation. Experiential settings commonly used within museums (according to different paradigms) and the commodification of experience (therefore of memory) will be explored as predominant drivers of the consumer experience in museums in the 21st century. The reflection of the value co-creation trend in museums owes much to the new archival systems that have been developed in the last century and helped change the way museums store, share and approach knowledge by allowing huge amounts of data to be gathered and stored in very small spaces and retrieved in very short spaces of time. This has contributed to the democratisation of knowledge allowing museum visitors to reach the data that they choose to look for (instead of having to accept the information shaped by the museum) and brought a transparency to the museum display by making the storage more accessible. The interpretative possibilities within the museum have helped nourish value co-creative processes.

This chapter starts with a general review about the meaning and importance of experience for the new economy in general and museums in particular. Throughout history, there have been different modes of exhibition, which have in fact been based on different modes of experience production. These have been dwelled upon after the part on experience economy. After that, new archival systems that are being used in today's modern museums have been investigated and how they have brought about the democratization and mass customization of knowledge has been explained. The chapter continues with a section on the notion of commodification of knowledge, experience and memory and ends with the value co-creation concept, which is a significant step in museums' evolution and refers to the co-creation of museum experiences by museums and their visitors.

4.2 Museums in the experience economy: Museum experiences (from things to experiences)

This part is about the significant role that experiences play in contemporary museums as a reflection of the significant role that they play in the whole marketplace today. Experiences have become so important that there occurred a notion called 'experience economy' (Pine and Gilmore, 1999; Schmitt, 1999). The details of this notion and its implications on museum marketing has been investigated below.

4.2.1 The Experience Economy and Experiential Marketing

Significant developments have changed the outlook of the world in the last couple of centuries. Throughout the course of history, we have moved from an agriculture based economy dependent on raw materials to an economy based on mass production focused on goods. The industrial revolution happened and more prosperous production facilities came about. As a result, goods have proliferated and as goods proliferated, qualities that differentiated them started to lessen, because all qualities that goods possessed could be easily copied and reproduced. Therefore the need for differentiation has evolved to include more intangible things such as services and experiences. In this new situation, service provision rather than goods became fundamental to economic exchange and 'Marketing has moved from a goods-dominant view, in which tangible output and discrete transactions were central, to a service-dominant view, in which intangibility, exchange processes and relationships are central' (Vargo and Lusch, 2004: 1-2). New means and ways of doing business that would adapt the new economic and social climate have been invented and developed. Parallel to the new means and ways of doing business and the new levels of prosperity that have been reached through new production facilities, the needs and wants of consumers evolved together with the value propositions that businesses could offer them. Both became more and more diversified and complex over the years. In addition to this, new communication, transportation technologies and financial facilities that build support systems for businesses were making it easier for more companies to reach the newest production technologies and techniques to compete with the rest of the companies in the market. As a result of globalisation, companies even in rural areas had to compete with global companies in order to be able to survive.

This situation made it necessary for companies to find new ways of differentiating their products. It has become ever more difficult to achieve differentiation through more and more standardized production techniques and product quality alone. Companies have started finding more and more intangible ways of adding value. The marketing offer that had evolved from commodities to goods and from goods to services now evolved from services to experiences. Companies started to focus on producing valuable experiences in which goods and services would take part. These dynamics led to a new economic landscape which is called 'experience economy' (Pine and Gilmore, 1999; Schmitt, 1999). In the experience economy, companies started competing in terms of the *experiences* that they provide. '… many companies are now moving to a new level in creating value for their customers. Experiences have always been important in the entertainment industry… Today, however, all kinds of firms are recasting their traditional goods and services to create experiences' (Kotler & Armstrong, 2012: 248). A common example to experience consumption can be the Hard Rock Café, where what we buy is actually the experience of eating in that particular café that provides us with a different and entertaining atmosphere, which is unique, and we don't really go there only for the meals or drinks that we might consume inside. Schmitt (1999) views the subject from a branding perspective and states how the brand as an identifier has evolved to become a provider of experiences.

The context in which these developments in experience take place is the revolution in production, which has various names such as Post-Fordism, flexibilism, lean production, just in time production etc. (see Womack & Jones 2003; Schonberger 1982; Ohno 1988). This revolution not only affected production per se, it was in actual fact a new philosophy for organisations that changed the way of doing business as a whole. This new philosophy was a shift of focus from the concept of production to the concept of value creation and the redefinition of the concept of 'value'. It all 'starts by challenging traditional definitions of value' (Womack & Jones, 2003: 31). It relies on the discovery that value is omnipresent all over the company and even exceeds it to include the sphere of relationships with other relevant companies that help the organization do its business, and finally the sphere of its relationships with the final consumer. Value is like a goldmine inside the company, which is everywhere, but needs to be become aware of and dug out. The change has happened

because the rigidities of Fordism needed to be overcome in order to be able to respond to changing market needs. Developments such as globalization and therefore competition from foreign markets and increased privitization have made it necessary that a new system be found in order to become more competitive. Fordist type mass production was being replaced with diverse product lines serving different consumer groups, according to different tastes and fashion. Instead of mass producing a single product and investing a huge amount of money on it, firms needed to find a flexible system that would render it possible to produce varieties of products at high speeds for varieties of needs and wants. This system was called flexible specialization, flexible production, and/or flexible accumulation (Gartman, 1998; Murray, 1992; Harvey, 1990).

> Flexible accumulation rests on flexibility with respect to labout processes, labour markets, products and patterns of consumption. It is characterized by the emergence of entirely new sectors of production, new ways of providing financial services, new markets, and, above all, greatly intensified rates of commercial, technological, and organizational innovation (Harvey, 1990).

Workers and machines used for production had different skills and knowledge. This allowed for a specialized production of goods. This in turn allowed for mass customization which:

> …relates to the ability to provide customized products or services through flexible processes in high volumes and at reasonably low costs. The concept has emerged in the late 1980s and may be viewed as a natural follow up to processes that have become increasingly flexible and optimized regarding quality and costs. In addition, mass customization appears as an alternative to differentiate companies in a highly competitive and segmented market (Silveira, Borenstein and Fogliatto, 2001).

This philosophy (related to the redefinition of the concept of value) was initially invented in Japan's Toyota company (Murray, 1992: 271) (although Fordist assembly line and the Deming Cycle make up the basis for this system, which both come from the USA, so it could be called western in that sense (Zaman, 2009)) and later jumped over to the USA and then became worldwide because of the efficiencies it has brought to organisations. It has brought

much flexibility and elasticity to organisations and it also contributed to the mixing of the production and consumption spheres, leaving the solid duality thereof behind. As the name suggests, the organisation had to become as lean as possible, getting rid of all the burdens and weights that would slow down the work process and meet the rapidly changing customer expectations by being able to make quick and correct moves. The basic assumptions of this new philosophy can be summarized as follows:

Waste and *value* are all over the organisation, in every step of production, they just need to be discovered and wastage replaced with value. Wastage is everything that has the potential of creating value to the customer but has somehow not been used in value creation. All kinds of errors, conspicuous consumption within the company, stocks, waiting times, useless work, useless movements, useless carrying etc. are all wastages that need to be avoided (Womack & Jones, 2003).

The lean production system does not only refer to the need to clear away the waste that naturally occurs in production or elsewhere in the organization, but it also refers to the replacement of the static production systems (such as tailor-made and Fordist mass production systems) with the dynamic production systems that can easily keep up with changes and alterations, comfortably adapt to the texture of the market and pry out the 'benefit' that is based on the essence of 'value' that is present on every step of the production process, waiting to be discovered (Kocamaz, 2007).

Having brought the producer and consumer one step closer to each other, the value oriented business philosophy has contributed to pulling attention towards the intangible assets of the company that have the potential of creating value. There have been consequences of the shift of focus from product to value creation and in the marketing literature this has created many diverse, albeit related streams of research and scholars have expressed the phenomenon from different perspectives. Some postmodern marketing scholars have focused on this shift of focus and mentioned that it is not the product that possesses value but the image attached to the product that makes the difference. It is the image that counts and it is co-created by the marketers and the consumers. 'In postmodernity, the product is likely to become less and less a 'finished' object and more and

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more a process into which the 'consumer' can immerse oneself and can provide inputs' (Firat et. al, 1995: 46 & 51). An image for a product is usually created through advertisements and other promotional activities with the participation of the consumers of that product within the limits of their perceptual boundaries.

There is a significant body of research into the symbolic meaning of consumption (e.g. Solomon, 1983; Belk, 1985; 1988; McCracken, 1988; Belk, Wallendorf and Sherry, 1989; Hirschman and LaBarbera, 1989; Holbrook and Hirschman, 1993) and related research into symbolic interactionism (eg. Flint, 2006, Leigh and Gabel, 1992) and semiotics (eg. Pasikoff and Holman in Umiker-Sebeok, 1987). Some other streams of research such as service dominant logic (Vargo and Lusch, 2004-2011), consumer resistance consumer agency, co-production and co-creation etc. all are based on an emphasis on the experiential focus of marketing.

4.2.2 Museums in the Experience Economy

During the last century there has been significant changes in the way museums work. They have been slowly wriggling themselves out of their traditional outlooks and functions to become modernised institutions with different purposes and functions which include greater service to and interactivity with the public (McLean, 1995, Falk and Dierking, 1992) (for an expanded argument about why museums have become secularized see p. 154). The mission of a museum has evolved from serving collectors and specialists, to serving the public.

Initially, collections used to be opened to only a small number of people who were well educated and had sufficient education to appreciate the pieces inside the collections as opposed to the majority of the public who didn't have the necessary education and cultural background to appreciate and make sense of the collections. In fact, both having and visiting collections initially used to be luxurious activities, because in order to be able to do these activities one had to have secured a living and have access to large amounts of surplus capital. Before the industrial revolution, the reproduction of labour took most of one's time. It was only a small minority who could afford to get involved in these leisurely activities. Wheras after the industrial revolution, people had more free time to spend on leisure. Therfore it has been argued that: '[w]ith leisure time becoming an increasingly prominent

part of the lives of great numbers of people who in the past knew little leisure, exhibits on ways of using abundant time should receive attention...' (Wittlin, 1970 in Anderson, 2004). Access to financial security was one of the reasons for the initial limited access to museums. Another obvious reason was that the collections belonged to private people who only invited selected people to view them. Once museums became owned by the state and became open to the public, they became democratic and available to everybody. Therefore we can argue that museums initially reinforced class distinctions. The distinction drawn among museum visitors continued into the 19th century when museums started to become institutionalised.

> In the 19th century, the legislative and transformative reforms transformed museums from semi-private institutions restricted largely to the ruling and professional classes into major organs of the state dedicated to the instruction and edification of the general public (Benett, 1995: 109).

The education, enlightenment and recreation of the public became the point of focus. In this way, the initially reinforced class distinctions came to be drawn to a minimum level, people from all educational and cultural levels of the society were being invited into the museum. So, in time the mission of museums has shifted from serving to a small and distinguished minority to serving to a wide public, which were hungry and ready for more knowledge and information.

The democratisation of treasure and information has followed the democratisation of society. In the information society, where information is free and flowing, and people have learned how to deal with information, this has been a necessary and natural evolution. Parallel to the demand for more information and knowledge, there has been a great rise in the number of museums. 'In the early 1980s, as many as one new museum a fortnight was opening its doors to the public...The result has been to double the number of museums in Britain between the 1960s and 1980s' (McLean, 1995: 604).

Museums have started to find new ways of developing themselves so as to be able to reach a wider public and needed to be more and more consumer-centric and employ good

marketing skills to be able to compete with other museums in the market. Just like in other companies and institutions, the product that is being offered to the consumer in museums is still going through evolutionary stages. 'Museums are increasingly involved in the manufacture of experience' (Hein 2000: 67). '…This increased emphasis on subjective experience in museums is encouraged by the discrediting of old dogmas about the objectivity of scientific and humanistic knowledge and of aesthetic value' (Henning, 2006: 92).

The paradigm shift that had occurred after the revolution in science that resulted in the questioning of and mistrust in objectivity and a world existing outside and independent of the subject supported the fact that more focus was laid on subjectivity and subjective experiences in the museum. The philosopher Hilde Hein (2000: 66) has argued that 'museums in general have moved from focusing on objects to an emphasis on the subject'. Henning (2006: 91) has made a similar comment: 'Museums have become increasingly 'people-centred', attentive to visitors' own experiences and values'.

This experiential focus was a part of the evolution of the marketing offer that changed from commodities to goods to services and finally to experiences. Whilst at first it has been the artefacts and objects that were of importance to be presented in museums, now artefacts and objects can be used in creative ways as parts of different experiential rhetoric that can be offered to the museum goer. They might and usually do gain significance within a certain context of a story or design that the museum creates and they might even be nonsensical when taken away from that context. An example of this would be the artefacts we might find in the 'Believe It Or Not!' museums. We might come up with very strange stories of people and/or objects in those museums that if we would confront them in other contexts, we would probably give very different reactions. Another example to this could be museums with certain topics, such as toy museums or fashion museums or even computer museums etc. In these museums we might come across artefacts that we might see in our daily lives that routinely we don't think about and might not find very interesting, until the museum draws our attention to the value that these artefacts may present. It has not taken a long time for museums all around the world to start adapting themselves to the experience economy.

The adaptation to and expression of the experience economy was necessary in order to 'compete in a marketplace of leisure attractions, with ever more expensive and high-tech interactive exhibitionary environments' (Henning, 2006: 81), but this adaptation and reaction to the new market landscape hasn't been the same for all museums. Different museums have reacted differently, adopting different strategies. Some museums have made use of marketing strategies and techniques to their highest potential while many museums have been reluctant to do so and limited themselves to the traditional missions that have been ascribed to museums, namely curating and preserving the museum's resources (Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002). As also mentioned by Camarero & Garrido (2008), the museum managers who are more open to what modern marketing methods have to offer their museums, have started using branding, image creation and communication techniques. Many museums are more customer-oriented and willing to know the visitor better, and hence are adopting relevant techniques to interact with them. However, while many museums started utilising the latest marketing tools to generate more customers and more income than ever, some other museums have found the marketing and customer orientation dangerous and damaging with respect to the museum product that they were actually presenting. They found that working towards short-term customer satisfaction could lead to the long-term benefits to society (ibid.). This would be the opposite of the new mission of museums, which is to serve the public.

The marketing focus of museums remain to be a controversial topic. Just like with every other powerful tool, marketing tools can be used in ways that could benefit as many people as possible by providing information, knowledge, education etc. but they could also be used in ways that could harm people by blurring the waters from which valuable assets like information, knowledge and education emerge. This depends entirely on the use and/or abuse of these techniques.

4.2.3 Museum fiction: Experiential settings within museums

Museums have been host to diverse kinds and forms of experiences from the time they were first invented. The experience designs in museums have evolved through many stages, following the evolution of modern information and communication technologies that have changed the way (and actually created many alternative ways) in which information and knowledge can be gathered and processed by citizens. Apart from reflecting the technological developments of their time, evolving experiential paradigms within museums also reflect the political, social and economic landscapes of their time.

4.3 Different modes of exhibition

A very common mode of exhibition that has been applied for a long time and is still being applied by many conventional museums today is the Victorian encyclopaedism. This mode of exhibition refers back to the belief system or philosophy according to which there is an independent objective reality outside of the subject, which is waiting there to be known by the subject by means of 'objective' scientific tools. In this positivist epistemology, science becomes the sole authority, to be depended upon and trusted. In this mode, the subject enters the museum and literally reads the museum just like reading an encyclopaedia. The subject is confronted with an overload of information. The subject is active only to the extent that (s)he receives, understands and processes the information that is being given inside the museum and ideally makes connections to previous information and knowledge. After the social and scientific developments associated with postmodernism, this positivist epistemological approach has been questioned and met with scepticism; likewise the objectivity and authority of the scientist. This is also the time when the authorities of the artist and the spiritualist (in various religious forms) were also being questioned. The museum took its part in looking at things in a different way than before and different exhibitionary modes were being formed that were more critical. This was a development that was in resonance with Nietzsche's criticism that modern people were being fed with 'indigestible stones of knowledge' (as cited in Henning, 2006: 40). In fact the encyclopaedia mode wasn't created by philosophers as an overarching totalising system; it was intended to be a network of interlinked and discrepant information (Tega 1996, as cited in Henning,

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2006). Victorian encyclopaedism can also be thought of as a means of creating a 'mass culture', just like a reflection of the mass goods production on the Fordist, Taylorist assembly line, which finally had to be replaced by mass-customization and we can see its reflection in today's museum and today's changing education systems.

Over time, the museum has adapted itself to the new technological, philosophical and social developments and with the help and use of more and more hybrid display techniques; Victorian encyclopaedism has replaced itself with a more interactive museum model that would fit better into the 21st century. The shift in the museum's mission, i.e. to serve the public instead of only serving special group(s) of people (see section 7.1.1 for the reasons of this shift), has made the subject (which could just be anybody) gain a more valuable place with respect to the objects making up the museum. This fact was obviously backed up by the disbelief in or collapse of grand discourses and authorities of knowledge and it was the same fact that had allowed for the levelling of the relationship between consumers and producers of art, science, and religion and therefore the museum and its visitors. The Marxist ideology of the 'active citizen' also seems to have helped prepare the public for the democratisation of knowledge and hence the interactive science exhibits. This was naturally also a way of controlling the citizens by making them be directed by objects in the museum.

Museum visitors have started enjoying interactive exhibits, where they could touch and play with artefacts, have good fun and at the same time enhance their knowledge. These exhibits again serve the purpose of levelling up relationships, especially between the public and the scientist and artist, because the public can take initiatives and play around with scientific and/or artistic tools (or both together) in the museum; for instance, performing their own scientific experiments for themselves. It's intended that this helps them build up a more intimate relationship with science or art and literally get the feeling of what it is like to be a scientist (or artist) and to know science (or art) from a different perspective, which is different than the perspective they might get by learning in a classroom at school or reading about these things from books alone. In some science exhibits, even subjects can become the object of investigation such as the ones on optical illusions or organs of the body. In these exhibitions, the museum facilitates that subjects investigate and learn about themselves (Henning, 2006).

The new interactive exhibits have the function of bringing vitality and excitement to what we might loosely call 'dead knowledge', which has lost its liveliness and appeal in the hands of high institutions responsible for collecting, keeping and dispersing knowledge, like schools, universities, libraries, and older version of museums etc. The new ways of approaching things in 21st century museums, resemble the time of the curiosity cabinets (ibid.), where things were being collected and exhibited not for the sake of education per se, but out of curiosity and excitement. So, new museums seem to serve as a means to satisfy a societal need that has risen out of the natural fatigue that has resulted because of the obligation to digest centuries of accumulated knowledge and still keep the level of interest in knowledge high enough.

Exhibition strategies can be grouped according to some dualities that they refer to: Object-led vs. experience-led exhibitions, hands-on exhibits vs. illusionistic and simulation based exhibits. Although we can mention the inclinations and dominant trends in museum exhibitions like above, visitors are very diverse and their needs and wants are as diverse as themselves. Therefore, all techniques can be (and are) used in different occasions, with different purposes.

Figure 4.1 describes the degree of design and orchestration of museum experiences (Kotler et al., 2008: 6). On the horizontal axis we can see a range of potential museum experiences. On the vertical axis, on the other hand, we can see the different interaction levels that visitors might have with the museum offerings. These might range from the simple display of objects to more complex and interactive exhibits, where visitors immerse themselves more.

Figure 4.1 Degree of design and orchestration of museum experiences
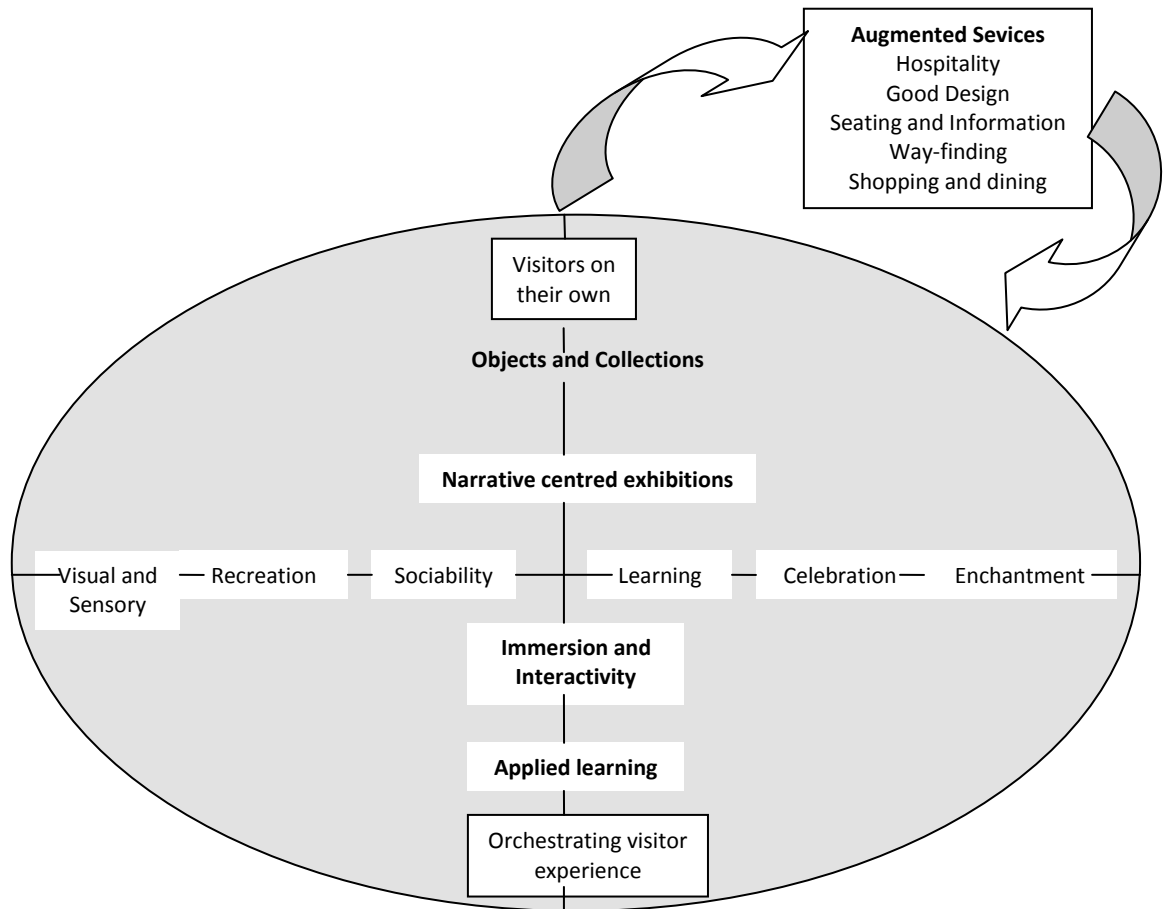
Source: Kotler, Kotler & Kotler (2008: 6).

Museums obviously might not be able to please every kind of visitor at all times. However, they can use techniques like visitor segmentation to address those segments that they find most suitable for their museum activities, or they can choose to please different groups of people at different times by offering their favourite exhibition techniques in different time periods.

4.4 New Archival Systems: Democratization and Mass Customisation of Knowledge

The advent of new information technologies and therefore information processing techniques have created a whole new dimension in the way we manage and deal with knowledge, which obviously involves knowledge about our past and therefore forms the basic blocks of our perceived memories. Historical traces of any kind can be digitalised and

saved in numerous ways with the help of computers and then called back in a matter of seconds whenever and wherever they are needed. The filing systems that are used in archives, libraries and museums have made it possible that more and more things referring to the past can be put together in more and more limited spaces (eg. the use of open stack systems, digital kiosks and info centres, the advent of the virtual museum etc…) This is a new organisation of time and space. This means we are literally swimming in an information pool. While this fact means that information about wider range of things is one step closer to the general public (to more people), on occasions it might as well turn out to mean the contrary if it is not clear to that public how this abundance of knowledge is to be dealt with. Our capacity and quality of processing information of the past and building/creating blocks of knowledge out of them has vast consequences on our present and future, for this information has a great influence on our identities and self-perceptions in the first place.

The democratization of knowledge has been a significant step in the development of our societies. It also naturally has brought about an abundance of interpretations. It is an ongoing process that the responsibility for these interpretations and meaning-making processes is being handed over to the wider public, instead of being kept under the dominance of particular institutions that collect and preserve this information. The evolution of the museum in the 21st century directly reflects the democratization of knowledge and the replacement of responsibility from the shoulders of this institution over to the shoulders of the public. Instead of building historical, curatorial narratives, the museum of today tends to accept the importance of interpretation of information in the creation of knowledge and leaves it to the public to receive raw information and build it into knowledge by means of its own interpretative ways. With the disappearing of the rigid separation of storage and display, the museum becomes more transparent. Rather than taking the role of an educator, it takes the role of a facilitator and/or a moderator. 'The museum operates as a holding container or flow-through and transformation station. …and teaches the user how to cope with information' (Henning, 2006: 136).

This new system of knowledge creation in the museum presents a parallel to the developments in the marketplace. The production of knowledge can be said to have gone through three major processes just like the production of any other product in the

marketplace. Historically, the products in the marketplace have gone through the periods of tailor-made production, mass production and mass customisation. In tailor-made production, every product was made to fit every individual customer that wanted to buy it. Then came a period of mass production, where Fordist production techniques were used in order to produce as many products as possible within the realm of as short periods of time as possible. This has proved successful and became a significant part of the modern period. Finally came mass customisation, where tailor-made and mass production techniques were being used simultaneously to provide the products that customers would choose for themselves but at the same time could make it possible for the company to supply for the huge amount of demand that flew from the customer.

The same production stages seem to have taken place for knowledge production as well. To draw a parallel, the tailor-made part of knowledge production took place when knowledge was being produced in the hands of certain focal points of power, like the palaces or churches or other religious centres. Information was being gathered and made 'knowledge' by them, with no possibility of criticism. This kind of 'knowledge' reflected exactly those things what these focal points of power wanted other people to know. In other words, the knowledge was tailor-made for ascendant and influential bodies. Then came the mass production period for knowledge production. In this period, the production of knowledge was decentralised and divided between certain institutions such as schools, libraries and museums that were given the power to collect, reserve and distribute the knowledge that they have produced out of raw information. Then came a time when the information gathering and knowledge producing processes of the society reached a saturation point, where the produced knowledge came to be questioned by people more than ever before. This is the time when institutions like the museum had to become more transparent and flexible with respect to knowledge production. This is the time when knowledge began to be produced in a mass customised way. People could get into the museum and build their own knowledge according to their own backgrounds, because the museum started giving them the opportunity of reaching raw information that was less and less influenced and shaped by curatorial designs. Interpretative museum designs also became very appealing and consumer agency started to gain power. In the information that the museum provides, it is possible to form some kinds of memory, however there are also counter-memories

(Henning, 2006) in this information depending upon how knowledge is being produced/constructed. Therefore, memories and counter-memories coexist within the walls of the museum. We can say that the information being provided makes up the mass-produced part and the interpretation of this information by people makes up the tailor-made part, which together make up the mass customisation of knowledge when they come together.

4.5 Commodification of Knowledge, Experience and Memory

The above stated similarity between knowledge production and any other forms of production shows the process in which knowledge has become commodified. It has not only been knowledge that has been commodified, other intangible things like memory and experience have also been commodified and taken their places in the marketplace. Heritage has also been commodified economically by means of the consumption of culture through art and museums (Graham et al. in Corsane, 2005: 32-3). This commodification process has gained much attention and been of great importance to many scholars over the years. The commodification process has been investigated from a quantitative (i.e. how much of human life has been commercialised and it is continuously increasing?) as well as a qualitative perspective (What aspects of human life can be commodified, and how are they being done so?) (eg. Mutola, 2007; Hugenholz, 2004).

The commodification of things that used to be thought of as belonging purely to the subjective, private sphere in nature was a strong sign of the phenomenon of the ever more blurring of the boundaries between what are called 'subject' and 'object'. This phenomenon has been pushed forward in many aspects of human life in general, as well, as in the case of the rise of materialism and our increasing attachments to objects (eg. Belk's (1988) extended-self concept) in our identity creation processes.

4.6 Value co-creation

The main drive behind the inclination of the marketplace towards creating intangible assets, has been caused by the developments in production, communication and transportation technologies. This meant that competition between companies was becoming more and

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fiercer than ever. In order to be able to keep up with these changes and to keep their competitive advantages, a lot of companies had to change and widen their mission statements so as not to fall into marketing myopia (Levitt, 1960) and be able to assert a customer value that would make sense today as well as tomorrow, when the tools of competition have developed and changed. So, instead of merely selling gas, a company would define itself rather as providing energy solutions, which might involve new dimensions to the business as time progresses and lets the company adapt itself to the new market environment and not be left out of it. With a tougher and tougher competitive environment in the marketplace (also in great part due to globalisation) businesses had to develop their skills to understand the evolving needs, wants, and expectations of their consumers as quickly and accurately as possible. This meant that producers had to come one step closer to consumers, not necessarily physically, but at least from a communicative perspective. For the consumer, having been extremely influenced by materialism, this new intimate relationship with the producer that has come to existence seems to have been welcomed and the effects and influences that they have on each other amplified.

In the marketing literature, this trend has been made sense of through cognate set of conceptions that take their initiation point from not only getting closer to the consumers but also crystallize into slightly different conceptions by means of referring to different perspectives and dimensions that seem to shape the marketing landscape.

> Various signs from the market and the literature reveal that the consumer role is changing. Many terms have been used in an effort to capture the new consumer roles: prosumer, protagonist, post-consumer, consum-actor, etc. However, these terms converge to describe more active and constructive consumers as well as their market experiences and relationships with companies (Cova and Dalli, 2009: 3).

Some of the prevalent conceptions in the marketing literature referring to the changing role of the consumer are co-production, co-creation (of value), service-dominant logic of marketing, collaborative innovation, consumer agency and consumer resistance, working consumers, consumer as producer etc. (ibid.).

While the concepts like consumer agency, consumer resistance, consum-actor refer to the existent *power* relationship between consumers and producers that is shifting towards the wider involvement of the consumer in the production process, concepts like co-creation (or co-production), service dominant logic of marketing and collaborative innovation refer rather to the *nature* of the creation of value, from the point of how the value is being created (it is co-produced, co-created, innovation has been made collaboratively) and how labour is being shared between producer and consumer in the value creation process.

4.7 Conclusion

After goods and services, experiences have become valuable, assets in our economies today and together with it our museums, which have felt the need to change and renew themselves by satisfying their visitors' new needs and wants as much as possible. In this kind of an atmosphere, museum consumption has started to focus on consumer experiences, which are values that have come to be co-created by museums' workers and visitors (together with other stakeholders of museums). Under these circumstances, museums are introducing new experiential settings within their buildings such as interactive and hands-on science exhibits, where visitors can play around and experiment with the objects presented. Here we witness the commodification of experience (and of memory as well in historical exhibits).

Using new technological devices and tools, museums are introducing new archival systems, where a lot more information can be kept in much smaller spaces and can be reached within seconds. This has in turn helped bring in more democratization of knowledge by allowing visitors to be able to choose the bits of information that they want and interpret them according to their own perceptions of the world instead of how curators shape and interpret the bits of information that they choose for their visitors (like in the past).

All of these changes depend on the fact that museums are becoming more and more visitor-centric, employing better and more professional marketing skills, opening up their collections to a wider public (instead of addressing a selected group of people like in the past); emphasizing subjective experience and questioning 'objective reality', which used to

be the main focus in old museum paradigms). However, some find this marketing orientation dangerous because they think this will prevent museums from giving visitors what they actually need and make them focus only on what they want. In the Victorian encyclopaedism paradigm, objects were the main focus and they were presented in an encyclopaedia format, whereas in new interactive museum paradigms, the interaction between objects and subjects is focused upon. In the new museum, grand discourses and authorities of knowledge are replaced by subjective interpretations of ordinary people, who may or may not consult curators and therefore the relationship between the museum and its visitors has levelled up just like the relations between consumers and producers of art, science and religion. People find the opportunity to engage themselves in science or art more closely because they can play around with the objects in the museum. Here, the museum serves as a facilitator/moderator instead of an authoritative educator. Apart from being democratized, knowledge is being mass-customized in the new museum with the union of raw information with subjective interpretation. New information technologies and information processing techniques have brought a new dimension to the way we manage and deal with knowledge. The new museum is more transparent because storage and display are not separated any more. In general, the agency roles of subjects and objects are changing to make visitors more active and constructive. This is a reflection on museums of a more general trend in the market, the blurring of the consumption and production spheres. In the marketing literature, this phenomenon is referred to with the following terms: co-production, co-creation (of value), service-dominant logic of marketing, collaborative innovation, consumer agency, consumer resistance, consum-actor, working consumers, consumer as producer etc. Thus in this chapter, I have tried to draw the basic theoretical framework with which museums as a context will be investigated in this project.

CHAPTER 5

REBRANDING OF MUSEUMS

5.1 Introduction

Its brand is one of a company's most important assets and it is represented mainly by its name, slogan and logo. 'There is growing support for viewing and managing the brand as an asset and thus having the brand drive every strategic and investment decision' (Davis and Dunn 2002: 15). Name, slogan and logo make up the visible parts of the brand, its face, as it were, that is seen and perceived by consumers. It's the way through which consumers recognize and remember the brand. However,

> A brand is much more than a name and the physical embodiment of that name on stationary, clothes, plant, equipment, flags, and so on. A brand has a meaning to all stakeholders, and arguably most importantly to external and internal customers. For them it represents a set of values and promises and even a personality (Daly and Moloney, 2004: 30).

This is even more so in a service business due to the intangible nature of the offering. As a service offering is intangible, a brand's promise and values are generally the only things by which customers can judge the quality of that service. So, a brand has tangible and intangible elements to it and rebranding can be about changing some or all of these elements. Every year, we can witness a lot of brands trying to rebrand themselves and appear with a totally new makeup. However, rebranding is a strategic and important decision in that it usually brings a company a great amount of costs, a good deal of work to do, the necessity to convince the stakeholders to take the rebranding step and make them get used to the new situation. Even so, 'rebranding has been an increasing phenomenon worldwide' (Kaikati and Kaikati, 2003). The terminology used in the literature to describe the changes in brand elements are confusing. Rebranding has been and can be confused with the following terms that are used in literature that refer to the practices of changing a brand: repositioning, brand extension, revitalization, and brand transfer.

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According to Aaker (1991), the main purpose of rebranding is to increase sales and to enhance brand equity. However, rebranding carries its own risks. If unsuccessful, rebranding may diminish brand value and cause the company a lot of trouble.

> Changing a corporate brand name suggests the loss of all the values that the old name signifies, which challenges traditional marketing wisdom with regards to brand equity... it may nullify years of effort and can seriously damage or even destroy the equity of the brand (Muzellec and Lambkin, 2006: 804).

Therefore, the marketing department carries a great responsibility during the whole rebranding process. For many companies it might be a better choice to go to recommunicating instead of rebranding in the first instance. In this way they might avoid the risks of rebranding and build a better communication with the consumers. The changes in the museum world have forced many museums to adapt to the new museum environment and because of that, the rebranding phenomenon has become an important activity that is practiced by ever more museums today. Therefore, this chapter is dedicated to the literature review of the phenomenon of rebranding.

5.2 Corporate Rebranding

Rebranding can take place on the corporate level, business level and product level (Muzellec and Lambkin, 2006). When it takes place on the corporate level, it necessitates a whole change in the organization. 'Product re-branding is a widely studied area in the marketing discipline but corporate rebranding is quite a new phenomenon in an academic context' (Ahonen, 2006: 32). So, corporate rebranding hasn't been investigated much in the academic literature although it has become a very popular practice that many companies have exercised and are still exercising (Muzellec et al., 2003; Merrilees and Miller, 2008; Muzellec and Lambkin, 2006). Most research done on this topic is covered in practitioner journals and the business press (Muzellec, Doogan, and Lambkin 2003). We can see many examples of corporate rebranding in the grey literature and the popularity of the phenomenon shows that there are so many corporations going through rebranding exercises that we can say that

there is a need for more academic research on this topic. The 'first attempt to explore the marketing issues of relevance to the rebranding phenomenon' has been undertaken by (Muzellec et al.: 31), where they define rebranding as 'the practice of building anew a name representative of a differentiated position in the mind frame of stakeholders and a distinctive identity from competitors' (ibid.: 32).

> A possible characterization of rebranding is the creation of a new name, term, symbol, design or a combination of them for an established brand with the intention of developing a differentiated (new) position in the mind of stakeholders and competitors (Muzellec and Lambkin, 2006: 805).

We can say that there are various degrees of rebranding and each company exercises its own choice.

Rebranding is an activity that should be exercised with good reason because it necessitates a long term commitment to a brand and also it takes a huge amount of investment, 'running into millions of dollars in many cases' (Stuart and Muzellec, 2004: 472; Clavin, 1999 and Dunham, 2002 also mention its costliness) and 'carries a high level of reputation risk' (Muzellec and Lambkin, 2006: 803). However, when there are good reasons for rebranding, a company should not hesitate or be late in doing it, because not rebranding would cause many problems for the company as well. By means of corporate rebranding, what the company wants to achieve is to send a different message to the marketplace, showing that something about the organization has changed. What's critical here is that the company should really have something new to say to the public and also find the right means of communicating this message, for if the company fails to find the right means and ways of communication, the public might interpret the message in the wrong way. This would obviously lead to failure in reaching the right consumer segment(s) and loss of promotion expenditure. Rebranding is itself a message, and should be the outward manifestation of some real change.

For the purpose of extending the theory of corporate rebranding, Merrilees and Miller (2007) have developed the following six principles. First three refer to the process of revising

the vision, principle 4 to attaining internal support or 'buy-in' to the new vision, and last two to implementing the new corporate brand strategy. These principles are as follows:

1. Designing a suitable brand vision for the corporate rebrand should balance the need to continue to satisfy the core ideology of the corporate brand, yet progress the brand so it remains relevant to contemporary conditions.

2. Successful corporate rebranding may require retaining at least some core or peripheral brand concepts to build a bridge from the existing corporate brand to the revised corporate brand.

3. Successful corporate rebranding may require meeting the needs of new market segments relative to the segments supporting the existing brand.

4. A company applying a high level of brand orientation through communication, training and internal marketing is more likely to have effective corporate rebranding.

5. A successful company having a high level of integration and coordination of all aspects of the marketing mix, with each brand element aligned to the corporate brand concept in its corporate rebranding strategy implementation, is more likely to have effective corporate rebranding.

6. Promotion is needed to make stakeholders aware of the revised brand, with possible additional benefits if non mass media are included in the promotion mix.

It is clear that before going through a thorough rebranding, a company must first understand and know itself very well. What its core values, unique selling proposition, capabilities and competitive advantages are should be clear. The company also must understand the market and its customers very well. It must know its competitors and know the changing consumer trends, which may cause a company to address different consumer segments as time goes by. Internal and external communication must be very good so that the messages can be reflected well to stakeholders. The company should develop a brand strategy that shows the route to follow.

Juntunen et al. (2009: 7) have presented the following process model of corporate rebranding. Figure 5.1 shows the stages that a company goes through within the process of corporate rebranding.

Figure 5. 1 Phases of corporate re-branding
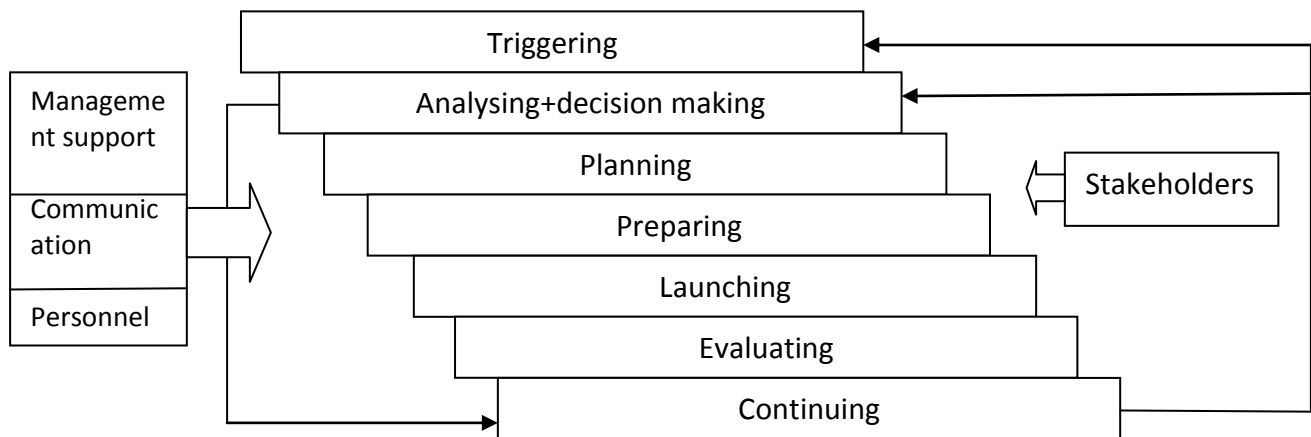
Source: Juntunen, Saraniemi & Jussila (2009: 7).

We can see that many actors are included in the process including internal and external ones as rebranding affects all of them. The phases do not have to follow each other like in the order shown above, they can be intertwined and/or overlapping. The sub-processes also include several phases and again can be intertwined and/or overlapping (Juntunen et al., 2009: 6). As rebranding is quite a complicated process, companies usually get consultancy from outside companies, which are specialized on this topic.

5.3 The Rebranding Mix

As for the question of 'What exactly does the corporate rebranding process entail?' Muzellec et al. (2003: 88) have defined four stages. These stages are shown in table 5. 1.

Table 5. 1 The Rebranding Mix: 'The Four Elements of Rebranding'

Repositioning	Renaming
Redesign	Relaunch

Source: Muzellec, Doogan & Lambkin (2003: 34).

5.3.1 Repositioning: According to Rosenthal (2003), repositioning is different from rebranding; the brand does not change in repositioning, but the perception of the brand does. That is, the identity of the brand remains the same throughout repositioning. Repositioning is only a part of rebranding; changing some or all elements of a brand makes

up other parts of rebranding (Muzellec et al., 2003; Muzellec and Lambkin, 2006; Rosenthal, 2003). 'Positioning involves finding the proper 'location' in the minds of a group of customers or market segment so that they think about a product or service in the 'right' or desired way' (Keller, 2003: 95). According to Ries and Trout (2001), 'repositioning means creating a radically new position for the company in the minds of its customers, competitors and stakeholders' (as cited in Muzellec et al, 2003: 34).

5.3.2 Renaming: As the name implies, renaming is changing the name of the brand. The name of the brand is a very strong indicator of the core qualities of a brand such as its identity and image. According to Kapferer (2002),

> When a company changes its name, it gives a very strong message to the stakeholders. Renaming is therefore sometimes considered in order to send a strong signal to stakeholders that the company is shifting its strategy, refocusing its activity or changing ownership (as cited in Muzellec et al., 2003: 34).

In the UK, a lot of national museums have changed their names during the last few decades such as The Welsh Folk Museum turning into the Museum of Welsh Life and Derby Museum of the Borough of Liverpool turning into the World Museum. Some are still planning to change the names of their branches to build a stronger brand name and identity. Brand name has significant importance and power for any brand in that it stimulates recognition, reliability and value. Name changes have strong implications on brands because a name change might damage the reputation of the institution and it might take a long time for the new name to be remembered and recognised.

5.3.3 Redesign: When a company redesigns its brand, it also changes its identity. Brand redesigning may vary from changing small things like changing the way the store employees dress or it might be as complex as making a complete makeover throughout the whole organization and changing everything from product packaging to logo, slogan and even the way business cards are designed. In this case, the redesign is carried through on all elements of the organization's livery such as stationary, brochures, advertisements, annual reports,

offices, and delivery trucks, which are the visible manifestations of the company's desired position (Muzellec et al., 2003).

5.3.4 Relaunch (communicating the new brand): The new brand needs recognition by the stakeholders and this should be facilitated by a new communication campaign whereby the new brand is introduced to internal and external customers. Internal customers can be informed through internal means of communication such as the Intranet, internal newsletters or brochures, by organizing meetings or workshops. The external customers can be informed through advertising, and press releases.

5.4 Drivers of Rebranding

'The main drivers for corporate re-branding are decisions, events or processes causing a change in a company's structure, strategy or performance of sufficient magnitude to suggest the need for a fundamental redefinition of its identity' (Juntunen et al. 2009: 4). Rebranding doesn't happen without its reasons. The motivations for rebranding may be as vast as the number of corporations. However, it's possible to make generalizations by bringing similar motivations together. Table 5. 2 clarifies the main drivers of rebranding according to statistical data received from rebranded corporations over time.

Table 5. 2 Drivers of Rebranding

Change in ownership structure	Change in corporate strategy
Mergers and acquisitions	Diversification and divestment
Spin-offs and demergers	Internationalisation and localisation
Private to public ownership	
Sponsorship	
Change in competitive position	**Change in the external environment**
Erosion of market position	Legal obligation
Outdated image	Major crises or catastrophes
Reputation problems	

Source: Muzellec & Lambkin (2006: 34)

Shifts in the marketplace caused by competitors, who have merged/acquired/divested, new competitors, changed economic or legal conditions, new focus or vision for the company, which may be due to a new CEO (may also be other reasons), distancing the organization from its social and moral baggage, and to present a new more socially responsible image are also among the motivations for rebranding (Stuart and Muzellec, 2004: 473-4).

The company might wish to change its identity and/or image through the rebranding process. In each case, the company has to work both inwards and outwards, affecting both internal and external stakeholders of the company in order to be able to complete the rebranding process successfully.

5.5 Types of Changes in Rebranding

Rebranding isn't always exercised in the same way by all companies. There are different levels of it. There is indeed a continuum in rebranding from the evolutionary modification of the logos and slogan to the revolutionary creation of a new name (Stuart and Muzellec, 2004); or from revitalizing a current brand to a full name change involving alterations in brand values and promises (Daly and Moloney, 2004: 30). Daly and Moloney (2004) have developed a table showing the rebranding continuum.

Figure 5. 2 Rebranding Continuum

Change category	Change format	Comment
Minor changes	Aesthetics	Varies from a simple face lift, to restyling, to revitalising the brand appearance or aesthetics which may have dated and be in need of change.
Intermediate changes	Reposition	Use of marketing tactics especially communication and customer service techniques to favourably reposition an existing brand name, thus giving it a new image.
Complete changes	Rebranding	By definition the name is new to stakeholders, so they don't know what the brand stands for. Therefore the values and image of the new brand must be communicated to all stakeholders through an integrated marketing communications campaign.

Source: Daly & Moloney (2004: 31).

Depending on the balance between their needs, interests and budgetary constraints, companies can choose to get involved in either part of this continuum. According to Stuard and Muzellec (2004), the types of changes made by corporate rebranders fall into three obvious categories – name, logo and slogan changes. The permutations possible in corporate rebranding are:

- Name plus logo
- Name plus logo plus slogan
- Logo only
- Logo plus slogan
- Slogan only

A change in only one of the elements will result in an evolutionary change to the brand, whereas at the other extreme, the change will be revolutionary where name, logo and slogan are changed simultaneously (Stuart and Muzellec, 2004). The place a company chooses to take in the rebranding continuum is obviously proportional to the risk of rebranding that the company will take.

5.6 Reasons for Rebranding Museums

Many museums in today's world are in a process of refurbishing and renewing themselves. They feel the need to change themselves mainly due to lack of funding by the government and the fact that the competition in the leisure, recreational, entertainment, and education sectors has reached higher levels than they have ever reached before and are threatening museums. Under these circumstances, museums have to redefine their place uniquely and as attractively as possible with respect to the above named sectors so that their offers will be preferred by audiences over other offers in the market. Museums have to do this renewal due to the fact that in spite of the museum 'boom' that has taken place in the Western industrialized world since the 1970s, the demand for museums in terms of attendance does not appear to keep pace; the overall trend suggests that the museum sector is struggling to maintain its audiences, this being the case in England, Scotland and some other EU countries (Burton and Scott, 2003). Museums are making more and wider use of marketing and

branding techniques and strategies in order to be able to reach a wider audience and some museums such as the British Museum and the Guggenheim Museum are very successful at it, however 'most museums reach only a low level of professionalism in their brand management' (Baumgarth, 2009: 30). It seems that more time (and money in most cases) is needed for a wider range of museums to be able to apply professional brand management tools.

In order to see how museums need to rebrand themselves, they should first understand what makes them special and different from their competitors mainly in the cultural, recreational and leisure sectors. Being founded as modern institutions dedicated to education and improvement of the cultural level of society, museums were established as institutions responsible for public good. However, after the expansion of the leisure time available to the working classes, recreational facilities have improved and museums have found themselves in an atmosphere, where they had to compete for visitors' time against many other institutions that appeared in the leisure market. Under these circumstances, instead of focusing merely on the public good, museums had to start focusing more on making visitors happier in terms of satisfying their ephemeral pleasures, but neglecting their long time wellbeing. Culture has been turned into a commodity that is to be sold in a market, just like other products. As the expectations of leisure visitors are increasing day by day, museums that can satisfy these expectations have a better chance of survival in the industry. Today, museums have to find fun, exciting and entertaining ways of serving the public. They cannot hang on to the Victorian encyclopaedism paradigm any longer, where they used to educate the public like a book or an encyclopaedia would educate them. The values of the museum world have changed to give way to more democratic practices and a museum-visitor relationship based on equality. The space of the museum becomes a sphere where members of a society can gather, think, talk, exchange ideas, discuss about matters, and most of all communicate with each other. This way the museum can act like the public sphere of Habermas (1962), although it is debatable whether the museum can effectively function as a critical public sphere. Weil (1997: 260) thinks that the museum is evolving to become a centre 'available to its supporting community to be used in pursuit of its communal goals'. In this way, the museum acts rather like a facilitator for the public to achieve their communal goals rather than an authoritative lecturer rendering the visitor a

passive learner. This means that the visitor is becoming more active and more powerful than (s)he has been in the past. At the moment we can see this trend in the co-creation of museum experiences. This trend is a reflection of the common trend of 'consumer is king', in today's markets. The museum will likely become a platform that enables a good information flow where the content of this flow will not only be determined by the museum, but the public will also have a say in the accuracy, type and depth of the information that is produced in the museum with their direct contributions.

It's not only museums that are renewing themselves; cultural institutions in general are also changing their positioning strategies because 'today's cultural consumers are not those of two decades ago' (Pulh et al., 2008: 4). A study has been undertaken by Puhl et al. (2008) to examine the directions taken by cultural consumption so as to determine their ramifications for cultural institutions and in this study seven broad consumer trends have been identified:

- Trend 1: From individual to collective forms of consumption

This trend refers to cultural offers being in the service of social ties. Many consumers are seeking social ties and the social dimension of the cultural experience they attend is very important to them. Therefore many cultural institutions promote conviviality in their marketing and positioning strategies.

- Trend 2: Spectator interest in awakening the senses

This trend is about stimulating the senses of the visitor or audience member in different ways due to the fact that consumers are seeking more and more sensory pleasure. Some offers involve one or two senses while others can involve all senses.

- Trend 3: Acknowledgement of the spectator's need to be actively involved

This trend is about the audience being actively involved in constructing his/her experience instead of being passive and leaving the organization as the only producer of the experience.

There can be different forms of audience participation, they can get fully involved in the creation of the offer or they might be involved at the peripheral parts.

- Trend 4: The quest for 'edutainment'

This trend refers to the inclination of consumers towards entertainment and emotion instead of pure education. The trend towards hedonistic consumption can be said to be related to this trend.

- Trend 5: Mixing of genres and paradoxical consumption

This trend refers to the way the consumers may at times be contradictory and also unpredictable and unstable. They can change according to the context they're in. Cultural offers can take place in many different non-traditional venues; such as concerts taking place in streets, shopping malls, churches, castles. Genres can also be mixed within the compounds of programmes such as the genres of classical music and pop music can be mixed together in the same programme.

- Trend 6: Cultural consumers who 'want it all and want it now'

This trend refers to the time constraints that consumers feel in these times. People in today's society have to do as many things as possible in a minimum amount of time. Because of this, they feel the need to be able to consume as much as possible in a given time. Speed is very important for them.

- Trend 7: The integration of new technologies in consumption

This trend refers to the involvement of new technological developments in cultural consumption. These technologies can provide new learning environments for people. They can provide a richer cultural experience to the audiences.

These trends affect museum consumption practices as well and museum positioning strategies are also affected in turn. These trends are a guideline for museums in the new age which feel the need to reposition their offerings. Most of these trends can be seen in new museum offerings today. Especially the inclusion of more senses, the use of new technology and the quest for edutainment can be seen in many new museums. Many museums now have websites and they complement the museum visit there. They also use high technology artefacts to create a fuller museum experience where the visitor feels as though he/she's a part of the scene that's built inside the museum. The museum websites are especially relevant for consumers who want it all and want it now. Museums need to adapt to new technologies in order not to fall behind in areas other than marketing, with a view to the new generations, who will be their visitors in the future. Larger museums are well aware of this fact and use the Internet not only to publicize their products but also as a means of complementing them. Museums can place their databases alongside some practical information about their museum activities such as guided tours, exhibitions, conferences and seminars on the webspaces that they occupy. Thus it can be seen that the Internet has opened up a new and vibrant space for museums. However, 'the virtuality of experiences offered increasingly through the Internet is blurring the distinctions between what is authentic and what is real' (Burton and Scott, 2003: 59). Pure education is also not used alone in modern museums any longer, most of the time it's not preferred if it's not complemented by entertainment and an interactive communication, where the museum experience and even knowledge is being co-produced. The visitor feels the need to be actively involved in the production of the museum offerings. Due to these kinds of changes, many museums are currently involved in a complete makeover and repositioning. The branding of contemporary museums has differed from the branding practices of the old days. First of all, museums didn't need to use professional branding tools as much as today whereas a healthy branding itself has become vital for museums in terms of survival in today's marketplace. Secondly, today's museums not only have to focus on those attributes that they've always focused on, but today they also feel the need to add new attributes to their offerings that make the museum experience equivalent to an ideal leisure experience.

Museums can differentiate themselves in terms of many different qualities they can offer their visitors. They can differentiate themselves in terms of the experiences they offer but

they can also differentiate themselves in terms of things like quality, service and value that they offer.

Increasingly museums are assigning greater attention to service differentiation and positioning (helpful information, dining and shopping facilities, providing child strollers, and so on); personnel differentiation (friendliness, caring, responsiveness, and competence of staff); and technological differentiation (interactive tools, virtual reality presentations, computer-generated information, web sites, galleries that enable visitors to design their own tours) (Kotler et al., 2008: 136).

There are a range of experiences that museums can offer and a museum can choose to occupy a position in terms of how it places itself on this range of experiences (Table 5.3).

Table 5. 3 Range Of Museum Experiences

Excitement	Amusement	Contemplation	Learning
Thrill	Fun	Musing	Curiosity and discovery
Adventure	Play	Meditation	Observation
Fantasy	Pleasure	Reverie	Pattern discernment
Immersive experience	Laughter	Reflection	Instruction
	Sociability	Aesthetic experience	Skill-building practice
	Diversion		Experimentation

Visceral ⟷ **Emotional** ⟷ **Intellectual**

Source: Kotler, Kotler & Kotler (2008: 136).

A museum could choose to focus on sociability and fantasy as its core experiences, while choosing to have aesthetic experience and reflection as its secondary experiences for its positioning strategy. Some museums choose to stress education over entertainment as a way of distinguishing themselves from other organizations in the recreational sector however due to a paradigm shift in museums, i.e. moving away from old Victorian

encyclopaedism towards more visitor-oriented co-creative museums, museums of today generally tend to involve entertainment in their business as well.

5.7 Conclusion

Rebranding can be about changing some or all of a brand's tangible and intangible elements. Minor, intermediate and complete changes can be made to a brand. This is called the 'rebranding continuum' (Daly & Moloney, 2004). It is an important strategic decision to select which elements to change because, if done incorrectly, rebranding can nullify years of effort and seriously damage or even destroy the equity of a brand (a long term commitment to a brand is the desire of all companies and rebranding might affect it negatively). The actual purpose of rebranding though is to increase the visitor numbers and enhance brand equity and when done correctly it can have very fruitful results.

Despite its risks, rebranding has become a widely exercised practice in the museum world nowadays for 3 reasons: first, cultural institutions in general are changing their positioning strategies because 'today's cultural consumers are not those of 2 decades ago' (Pulh et al., 2008: 4), second museums have to compete with companies in the leisure, recreation and education sectors; therefore they need to add elements of leisure, fun, entertainment and education in their offerings (education is served together with fun as opposed to its being served alone as in the past). If a company is doing rebranding, it should really have something new to say to the public. Museums have to redefine their position in the marketplace uniquely, communicate their new position to their audiences correctly. Third, funding constraints (as governments are not supporting museums any longer as much as they once did) have made museums look for alternative funding sources. This has made them find new ways of looking more attractive to their surroundings in order to get sponsored, attract more visitors and try to prove their governments that they actually deserve the grants that they receive from them.

In today's world, becoming a 'brand' is more important than ever for a sustainable existence in the current competitive marketplace. In this kind of an environment, some brands feel the need to change themselves in order to become stronger brands. The process is called

rebranding and the changes made might vary from minor to major changes depending on the needs of the company. Every change brings its own risks with it; therefore the decision of rebranding must be taken very carefully. Many rebranding and refurbishment activities are going on in the museum world today because the concept of museum is changing considerably. A company may choose to do rebranding on 3 levels: a) Corporate level, b) Business level, and c) Product level. If a company is doing rebranding it should really have something new to say to the public. It should develop a new branding strategy; know its core values, unique selling proposition, capabilities and competitive advantages very well. It also should know its market and consumers very well (its competitors, the changing consumer trends etc.). Internal and external communication must be very good so that the brand can find the position in people's minds that is desired by the company's rebranding activity. The vision of the company should be revised and must be communicated well internally and internal support should be received. Museums are using more and more marketing techniques to reach a wider audience but most have only a low level of professionalism in their brand management (Baumgarth, 2009: 30).

Museums used to focus on public good alone. However, today they cannot act like a parent institution; they're no longer conceived of as being superior to their visitors anyway. They have to find their ways of survival in the wild conditions of the new marketplace in which they receive less support from their governments. So they use a phenomenon that has occured in the past decades, i.e. commodification of culture. Culture has come to be treated as a commodity and an industry to be presented in museums as well as elsewhere so the model of public good has turned into selling culture as a commodity in the museum.

Although the museum has stopped acting like a provider of public goods directly, it has turned into a center which is the provider of necessary facilities and conditions in which public goods can be created and communal goals can get fulfillment. This happens within the co-creative atmosphere in the new museum. Single narratives have turned into multiple narratives and multiple experiences. There's an increasing equality and democratization in museums; the power relationship between the public and the museum is changing in favour of the public. Museums can differentiate themselves in terms of experiences, quality, service

and value. They can differentiate their services, personnel and technological structures and build their repositioning and rebranding activities accordingly.

CHAPTER 6

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

6.1 Introduction

Following the literature review that frames the structural part of this research project, this part of the study is arranged to construct the research design and methodology of the thesis. In this part, the purpose of the research, the research design, data collection and analysis and interpretation of data will be investigated. This research is involves a qualitative, interpretivist, ethnographic case study. The reasons as to why this kind of a research orientation has been chosen for this research will be revealed throughout this chapter.

6.2 Purpose of the research

The *aim* of this research is to analyse contemporary British museums as an outcome of the development of consumer culture in Britain. My goal is to investigate how as an object of consumption, contemporary museums are defined and managed as brands. Specifically, I study the current restructuring of the RAMM from postmodern marketing theory perspective in order to demonstrate the notion of museums as brands in Britain. In order to be able to reach this aim, the following *research objectives* have been developed:

1. To investigate RAMM as an example of an English museum which is undergoing construction, refurbishment and rebranding with the intention of fitting into the 21st century museum landscape.
2. To view a transforming English museum, the RAMM, through the lens of postmodernism.
3. To investigate the strategic branding and rebranding processes for the RAMM.

Table 6.1 is an account of the objectives, the data required for those objectives, the type of data utilized and previous related studies is made.

Table 6. 1 Objectives and Data Requirements

Objectives	Data Required	Type of Data	Previous related studies
To investigate RAMM as an example of an English museum which is undergoing construction, refurbishment and rebranding with the intention of fitting into the 21st century museum landscape.	• Facts about changing UK museums • Paradigm shifts in museums • Literature regarding the reasons for the change processes in UK museums • Literature regarding the characteristics of 21stcentury museums	• Historical research conducted on the development of British museums • Secondary sources on relevant governmental bodies in the UK (eg. HLF).	Travers (2006) Anderson (2004) Hein (2000) Henning (2006) McLean (1995) Kelly (2006) Burton & Scott (2003) Falk & Dierking (1992) Kotler (2008) Prahalad & Ramaswamy (2004) Preziozi & Farago (2004) Schroder (2004)
To view a transforming English museum, the RAMM, through the lens of postmodernism.	• Postmodern Marketing Theory • Effects of the postmodernism discourse on museums going through change.	• Primary resources: participant and non participant observations, interviews, photographs, website analyses, social media tools.	Brown (1993) Firat (1991) Firat & Venkatesh (1993, 1995) Jameson (2001) Manolis & Meamber & Winsor & Brooks (2001) Obermiller (2002) Arias & Acebron (2001) Bybee & Overbeck (2001)
To investigate the strategic branding and rebranding processes for the RAMM.	• Museum branding and rebranding literature	• Primary resources: participant and non participant observations, interviews, photographs, website analyses, social media tools	Scott (2000) Caldwell (2000) Holt (2004) Schultz & Hatch (2006) Muzellec & Lambkin (2006) Stuart & Muzellec (2004)

Note: Table produced by the researcher.

Within the framework of this research, detailed accounts have been drawn to these research objectives. These accounts have been written in the results sections of this thesis. In this section, the research methods and tools that have been used on the way to finding the answers to the research questions are described.

6.3 Positivism vs. Interpretivism and Qualitative vs. Quantitative Research Paradigms

The qualitative-quantitative debate can in fact be taken further back to the mind/body problem in philosophy. The problem arises due to not easily being able to reconcile body and mind which are seemingly of different natures. This problem has taken an important place in metaphysics and philosophy of mind throughout the history of philosophy. Mental phenomena appear to have a qualitative nature in which things do not have a physical existence outside of the mental realm, or an ideal world as Plato would put it. Whereas in the physical world consisting of physical bodies, things are substantially different. They seem to be quantitative in nature. There are two theories regarding the resolution to this problem. One theory is called *monism*. Monism posits that mind and body are two sides of one and the same thing. Monist materialists claim that they are both matter whereas monist idealists claim that they are both in the mind. The other theory is called *dualism* that claims that mind and body are two distinct substances or ontologically separate categories.

There have been many proponents and opponents of both positivism and interpretivism. These two camps rely on different epistemological and ontological assumptions. Positivists believe in an external reality that is out there for the scientist to discover, measure and understand whereas interpretivists stress the impossibility of a reality that is purely independent of the observer.

There has been an interpretive (also called linguistic) turn in science in the last half of the 20th century. However its basis lay in the earlier works of Kant, Nietzche, Marx and Freud.[36] Wittgenstein is thought to be among the most prominent philosophers of the last century who executed the linguistic turn. 'The different perspectives associated with the interpretative turn in qualitative research consider the social world not as a collection of external 'facts,' but as a subjectively experienced construct' (Mottier, 2005: 2). According to this, in a scientific experimentation the observer is no longer outside the system (s)he's observing, but by means of measuring that what (s)he's measuring, (s)he becomes a part of the observed reality or system. This means that the experimenter is no longer neutral. This

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[36] http://www.brocku.ca/english/jlye/interpturn.php

kind of an orientation has great implications on the epistemology of science. It becomes impossible to arrive at ultimate truths. Like Guba and Lincoln (1994: 113) have suggested,

> Knowledge consists of those constructions about which there is a relative consensus (or at least some movement towards consensus) among those competent (and in the case of more arcane material, trusted) to interpret the substance of the construction. Multiple 'knowledges' can coexist when equally competent (or trusted) interpreters disagree.

According to symbolic interactionism theory, the interpretations are not made up by the interpreter in isolation. They are shaped by the interactions that the interpreter has with others surrounding him/her. The interpreter gives meaning to the world through his/her interactions with others.

> The first premise of symbolic interactionism is that human beings act toward things on the basis of meanings that things have for them… The second premise is that the meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows… (Blummer, 1986: 2).

The positivist/Interpretivist divide in the philosophy of science has affected the field of management and consumer behaviour today, along with other social sciences and humanities. This turn necessitates that 'truth' or 'meaning' is not in the reality out there but is as experienced by the perceiver. In interpretative research, researcher subjectivity is therefore elevated as opposed to its being degraded in positivistic research. Objectivity and subjectivity cannot be clearly separated, after all. Within this perspective, 'data' have a constructed nature. The 'social problems' that bear the need for research are also not 'given' but socially constructed. Therefore, when the researcher collects data from the participants, (s)he does not actually collect information from them, instead the researcher and the participants actually mutually construct the meaning involved in the data collection. 'Qualitative research, also called naturalistic inquiry, is developed within the social and human sciences, and refers to theories on interpretation (hermeneutics) and human experience (phenomenology)' (Malterud, 2001: 398). Qualitative research is multi-method in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that

qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.

> Qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials – case study, personal experience, introspective, life story, interview, observational, historical, interactional and visual texts – that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals' lives (Denzin & Lincoln, 2004: 2).

There are significant differences between qualitative and quantitative approaches and researchers either rely solely on statistical analyses, finding them 'objective' and not relying on the fuzzy and subjective nature of qualitative research or they reject quantitative methods because they find it too rigid and don't believe quantitative techniques are able to measure many things about human nature, which is not countable. However, we have seen in the past that marketing researchers agree that each approach has its own merits and value and are tools to be used to measure different things in different research settings. There are weak and strong sides of both positions, after all. Each type has its place in business research and is used on different occasions according to the nature of the research problem and the nature of the data to be collected. In general, when expressed simply, qualitative research is interested in numerical, logical and objective data, while qualitative research in words, images and the subjective. These two types of research are actually complementary rather than opposing each other and when used under the right circumstances each provide us the ideal data collection procedures (see Arnkoff and Glass, Elkin, Levy and Gershefski 1996: 269).

'Qualitative researchers are interested in understanding how people interpret their experiences, how they construct their worlds, and what meaning they attribute to their experiences' (Merriam, 2009: 14). Qualitative research methodologies are designed to give the researcher a perspective on how a target audience in a given culture or situation senses, thinks and feels, by means of immersion into that culture or situation. Qualitative approaches are seen to be 'subjective', whereas quantitative approaches more scientific and 'objective'. 'Quantitative research is a means for testing objective theories by examining the relationship among variables. These variables, in turn, can be measured, typically on

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instruments, so that numbered data can be analysed using statistical procedures' (Creswell, 2008: 4). Qualitative research is primarily concerned with process and quantitative research with outcomes or products. 'Despite many proposed differences between quantitative and qualitative epistemologies, ultimately, the heart of the quantitative-qualitative 'debate' is philosophical, not methodological' (Krauss, 2005: 759). Table 6.2 compares the axioms about positivist and naturalist paradigms.

Table 6. 2 Contrasting Positivist and Naturalist Axioms (Beliefs and Assumptions)

Axioms About	*Positivist Paradigm (Quantitative)*	*Naturalist Paradigm (Qualitative)*
The nature of reality	Reality is single, tangible, and fragmentable.	Realities are multiple, constructed, and holistic.
The relationship of knower to the known	Knower and known are independent, a dualism.	Knower and known are interactive, inseparable.
The possibility of generalization	Time- and context-free generalizations (nomothetic statements) are possible.	Only time- and context-bound working hypotheses (idiographic statements) are possible.
The possibility of causal linkages	There are real causes, temporally precedent to or simultaneous with their effects.	All entities are in a state of mutual simultaneous shaping, so that it is impossible to distinguish causes from effects.
The role of values	Inquiry is value-free.	Inquiry is value-bound.

Source: Lincoln & Guba (1985: 37).

The concept of 'reality' is different in logical positivism and humanistic methods of enquiry. In logical positivism, there is reality outside of the observer and it can be grasped by using logical deductive and objective approaches. This kind of a perception of reality has been the object of much debate. Humanistic methods of enquiry maintain that 'positivism is pseudo-scientific, inflexible, myopic, mechanistic, outdated and limited to the realm of testing existing theories at the expense of new theory development' (Goulding, 2002: 11). Table 6.3 shows another comparison between qualitative and quantitative modes of inquiry.

Table 6. 3 Predispositions of Quantitative and Qualitative Modes of Inquiry

Quantitative Mode	Qualitative mode
Assumptions • Social facts have an objective reality • Primacy of method • Variables can be identified and relationships measured • Etic (outsider's point of view)	**Assumptions** • Reality is socially constructed • Primacy of subject matter • Variables are complex, interwoven, and difficult to measure • Emic (insider's point of view)
Purpose • Generalizability • Prediction • Causal explanations	**Purpose** • Contextualization • Interpretation • Understanding actors' perspectives
Approach • Begins with hypotheses and theories • Manipulation and control • Uses formal instruments • Experimentation • Deductive • Component analysis • Seeks consensus, the norm • Reduces data to numerical indices • Abstract language in write-up	**Approach** • Ends with hypotheses and grounded theory • Emergence and portrayal • Researcher as instrument • Naturalistic • Inductive • Searches for patterns • Seeks pluralism, complexity • Makes minor use of numerical indices • Descriptive write-up
Researcher Role • Detachment and impartiality • Objective portrayal	**Researcher Role** • Personal involvement and partiality • Empathic understanding

Source: Glesne & Peshkin (1992: 7).

Qualitative and quantitative research methods each have certain strategies of data collection. Sometimes these two methods are used together to form mixed methods. Mixed methods also have data collection strategies of their own (Table 6.4).

Table 6. 4 Alternative strategies of inquiry

Quantitative	Qualitative	Mixed methods
• Experimental designs • Non-experimental designs such as surveys	• Narrative research • Phenomenology • Ethnographies • Grounded theory studies • Case study	• Sequential • Concurrent • Transformative

Source: Creswell (2008).

In this research, an interpretivist stance has been taken due to the belief in the co-constructed nature of the social reality that is being investigated. Therefore qualitative research methods have been used due to the nature of the research question, which is about the cultural constitution of a museum. It is quite difficult and inefficient to measure the cultural constitution of an institution by means of quantitative methods. The social reality that takes new shape throughout the refurbishment process is the focus of concern here and is a product of an integrated co-construction process that involves many actors. The researcher that is trying to make sense of this process cannot be thought of as being outside of the process. She has been a part of this process and has made interpretations of the messages that were in flow throughout the context during this process.

The cultural constitution of the museum in question, i.e. the RAMM, includes the whole change process that the museum has gone through, i.e. the refurbishment process. During the refurbishment process, a restructuring of the whole museum has taken place, which has not happened overnight, the museum has been shut for refurbishment over a long time period of around 4 years in total. The change process that has resulted with the refurbishment has actually started as long ago as 2001. This particular research has taken place over more than half of the refurbishment process and the nature of various dimensions of the refurbishment process has been the major focus and concern. The research participants are mainly the staff members of the museum because they are the ones that are directly engaged in changing and restructuring the museum and their perspective about the events and behaviour happening in the museum is central because it's part of the reality that is being investigated here.

There is a focus on *meaning*, which is central to the interpretive approach to social science (Bredo & Feinberg, 1982; Geertz, 1974; Rabinow & Sullivan, 1979) and understanding the meaning, for participants in the study, of the events, situations, experiences, and actions they are involved with or engage in is a primary goal that qualitative research can help us achieve (Maxwell, 2005: 22).

The meanings that museum staff members ascribe to the phenomenon of change has been deemed particularly important and investigated by means of trying to capture their thoughts and feelings regarding the change process. In order to understand the dimensions of change and the change process, the whole context of the museum in general, where the participants of this study act, had to be understood as well because the circumstances under which actions or events occur actually gives those actions or events their shape. Meanings that people ascribe to those events and actions are also shaped by those particular circumstances. 'Qualitative research is especially useful for understanding a process and developing causal explanations' (ibid.: 22-3). Qualitative research can be shaped according to the unanticipated circumstances that the researcher faces. It is not restricted to a strict research plan as opposed to quantitative research and is flexible enough to identify and incorporate various influences into the body of the research. For these reasons, the nature of this research is more in line with the nature of qualitative research methods. It's obviously always possible and meaningful to develop further research, of qualitative and/or quantitative nature to test the results of this research.

Due to its qualitative nature, this research carries the following list of assumptions that qualitative designs have (according to Merriam, 1988).

1. Qualitative researchers are concerned primarily with **process**, rather than outcomes or products.
2. Qualitative researchers are interested in **meaning --** how people make sense of their lives, experiences, and their structures of the world.
3. The qualitative researcher is the **primary instrument** for data collection and analysis. Data are mediated through this human instrument, rather than through inventories, questionnaires, or machines.

4. Qualitative research involves **fieldwork**. The researcher physically goes to the people, setting, site, or institution to observe or record behaviour in its natural setting.

5. Qualitative research is **descriptive** in that the researcher is interested in process, meaning, and understanding gained through words or pictures.

6. The process of qualitative research is **inductive** in that the researcher builds abstractions, concepts, hypotheses, and theories from details.

In this study, an ethnographic case study has been deployed as a means of data collection due to the nature of the study. This method will be explained below.

6.4 The Case Study Method

Before investigating why the case study method has been chosen as the most appropriate method of research for this particular study, what a case study actually is ought to be defined.

> A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident... The case study inquiry relies on multiple sources of evidence (for triangulation), and benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis (Yin, 2009: 18).

All these factors are present in this research. 'Arguably, we are witnessing a movement in the social sciences away from a variable-centered approach to causality and toward a case-based approach' (Gerring, 2007: 3). In general, case studies are the preferred method when a) 'how' and 'why' questions are being posed, b) the investigator has little control over events, c) the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within a real life context (Yin, 2009: 2). The aim of this particular research is to understand the cultural constitution of a local contemporary UK museum, the change process that the museum is going through. In order to be able to understand the process, we are necessarily posing 'how' and 'why' questions such as 'How is the museum changing?', 'How are these changes being communicated to the

people of Exeter?', 'Why are these changes taking place in the museum?', 'Why was the old version of the museum not enough?' etc. In this research, the researcher has little control over events (although this control is higher in an ethnographic case study, than in an ordinary case study) and the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within a real life context. Because of all these factors the case study method has been thought to be favourable for this piece of research and used as the research method.

Case studies can be explanatory, exploratory, or descriptive. This is an exploratory case study, which attempts to define the questions and hypotheses for a subsequent study. 'Exploratory cases are sometimes considered as a prelude to social research' (Tellis, 1997). In *exploratory* case studies, fieldwork, and data collection may be undertaken prior to the definition of the research questions and hypotheses. This type of study has been considered as a prelude to some social research. However, the framework of the study must be created ahead of time. Pilot projects are very useful in determining the final protocols that will be used. Survey questions may be dropped or added based on the outcome of the pilot study. Selecting cases is a difficult process, but the literature provides guidance in this area (see Yin, 1989a). 'Case studies can be used to accomplish various aims: to provide description (Kidder, 1982), test theory (Pinfield, 1986; Anderson, 1983), or generate theory (e.g., Gersick, 1988; Harris & Sutton, 1986)' (Eisenhardt, 1989: 535). The case study in this research is used to provide description and generate theory, rather than to test. 'While single case studies can richly describe the existence of a phenomenon (Siggelkow, 2007), multiple case studies typically provide a stronger base for theory building (Yin, 1994)' (Eisenhardt and Graebner, 2007: 27).

'Case studies typically combine data collection methods such as archives, interviews, questionnaires, and observations' (Eisenhardt, 1989: 534). Yin (1994) has identified six primary sources of evidence for case study research, namely:

- documentation,
- archival records,
- interviews,
- direct observation,

- participant observation, and

- physical artifacts.

'The use of each of these might require different skills from the researcher. Not all sources are essential in every case study, but the importance of multiple sources of data to the reliability of the study is well established' (Stake, 1995; Yin, 1994 as cited in Tellis, 1997). No single source has a complete advantage over the others; rather, they might be complementary and could be used in tandem. Thus, a case study should use as many sources as are relevant to the study. Table 6.5 indicates the strengths and weaknesses of each type:

Table 6. 5 Types of Evidence

Source of Evidence	Strengths	Weaknesses
Documentation	• stable - repeated review • unobtrusive - exist prior to case study • exact - names etc. • broad coverage - extended time span	• retrievability - difficult • biased selectivity • reporting bias - reflects author bias • access - may be blocked
Archival Records	• Same as above • precise and quantitative	• Same as above • privacy might inhibit access
Interviews	• targeted - focuses on case study topic • insightful - provides perceived causal inferences	• bias due to poor questions • response bias • incomplete recollection • reflexivity - interviewee expresses what interviewer wants to hear
Direct Observation	• reality - covers events in real time • contextual - covers event context	• time-consuming • selectivity - might miss facts • reflexivity - observer's presence might cause change • cost - observers need time
Participant Observation	• Same as above • insightful into interpersonal behaviour	• Same as above • bias due to investigator's actions
Physical Artifacts	• insightful into cultural features • insightful into technical operations	• selectivity • availability

Source: Yin (1994).

The qualitative data set that has been used in this particular research includes field notes from participant and non-participant observations, photographs, some meeting notes, in-depth interviews with museum staff members, analyses of archives and websites as well as social media tools that the museum uses. '... interviews often become the primary data source. Interviews are a highly efficient way to gather rich, empirical data, especially when the phenomenon of interest is highly episodic and infrequent' (Eisenhardt and Graebner, 2007: 28). The researcher has made long periods of participant observation by means of being a volunteer in the museum- absorbing and monitoring the changing ambiance as the museum went through its refurbishment process. Consequently, there were many short-term interactions with museum staff, management and visitors. By means of these research tools, it was possible for the researcher to get an insight into the dynamics and motives of the change process. The change process of the museum in this research is a unique change process and we are not aware of previous research in this area.

Ethnography is a social science research method. 'Ethnography literally means 'a portrait of a people'. An ethnography is a written description of a particular culture - the customs, beliefs, and behavior- based on information collected through fieldwork' (Marvin Harris and Orna Johnson, 2000: 26). Ethnography has its roots planted in the fields of anthropology and sociology. Present-day practitioners conduct ethnographies in organizations and communities of all kinds. Ethnography has been initially developed as an anthropological method designed for seeking answers to central anthropological questions concerning the human beings' ways of life. Understanding cultures and how cultural processes develop over time is a basic concern for ethnography. These cultures might include the cultures of various societies or groups of people or working organizations and the like. In order to answer their research questions and gather research material, ethnographers (sometimes called fieldworkers) often live among the people they are studying, or at least spend a considerable amount of time with them. They try to go native in that particular group's culture.

The case study in this research has been carried out using the ethnographic method. Ethnographic research is a qualitative methodology which requires the researcher to interpret the real world from the perspective of the informers in the investigation (Dobbert,

1982). 'The basic premise in ethnographic studies is that concepts, behaviours, and theories develop inductively, from the specific to the general (Fetterman, 1989)' (as cited in Fairhurst and Good, 1991: 16). The central core of ethnography is a concern with the meaning of actions and events to the people the researcher is trying to understand; it always implies an understanding of culture. All of us learn about culture by observing other people, listening to them, and then making inferences. We need to put ourselves in the shoes of other people, the lives of the people that we are researching. We need to understand and feel their realities. We as researchers also need a theoretical basis, but we need to use inspection in order to be able to identify with and get a sense of the reality that's going on. We should approach the social situation from different perspectives and be imaginative, free, flexible and creative while doing this. The theoretical framework should be set prior to the interpretative research process. This framework will also be set prior to the formation of the researcher's insights and his/her affects on people that are being worked on. The researcher is responsible for being aware of the theoretical framework as well as the nature of his/her influences on the public (s)he's working on.

'In developing case studies using the ethnographic research approach, inferences are made from three sources: 1) from what people say; 2) from the way people act; and 3) from the artefacts people use (Spradley, 1979)' (as cited in Fairhurst and Good, 1991: 16). These three sources have been used in this research by means of the particular data collection procedures, which comprise mainly participant and non-participant observations, in-depth interviews, meeting notes, secondary sources such as web pages of the museum, organizational documents, brochures, newsletters, archival materials, fliers and other physical artefacts.

The variety of data sources that are employed increases the trustworthiness of the research by means of triangulation, which refers to reaching the same results from different means of data collection. Triangulation, used in all types of qualitative research, refers to the process of using multiple data collection methods, data sources, analysis, or theories to check the validity of the findings. Triangulation is defined to be 'a validity procedure where researchers search for convergence among multiple and different sources of information to form themes or categories in a study' (Creswell & Miller, 2000: 126).

In order to understand and make sense of the culture of change in the Royal Albert Memorial Museum, various data were collected from the field of research using the ethnographic method. The researcher has submerged herself in the social atmosphere of the museum in the middle of the refurbishment process and in this way got valuable insights about the change process that the museum has been going through. The details of the data collection methods are further explained in the data collection section of the methodology.

There is generally need for a long term engagement in the field for a full fledged ethnography to take place. However, ethnographic case studies can be conducted over shorter spans of time to investigate smaller fields of interest in order to be able to generate hypotheses. This research isn't a full-fledged ethnography but an ethnographic case study, because the researcher was in the field over shorter spans of time. The researcher was not working in the museum but she was doing volunteering on site and was there regularly. If she was working in the field with the staff members on all occasions, it could have been ethnography, but in this case we can say that it has the nature more of an ethnographic case study especially due to the fact that the researcher has had little control over events in the field.

6.5 Research design

This ethnographic case study was carried out over a period of two and a half years, during which the refurbishment process of the Royal Albert Memorial Museum has been followed and investigated. Multiple fieldwork methods have been used to conduct the research. These have been mentioned in the section right above this one. The main research question that has motivated this research has been formulated as a result of an accidental incident, where the researcher has got in touch with the Royal Albert Memorial Museum, which is the case study of this research. Residing in Exeter, the researcher has found out that the museum was being closed for a major refurbishment project and started wondering about the change process. The first question that came to her mind was: Why is this museum being refurbished and according to which criteria? Then she came to realize that this change process would have a lot of implications for museum marketing and management in general.

Then a literature review has been undertaken about the changes happening in museum marketing. Library research for relevant literature from all possible sources and formats, including journal articles, books, theses, the Internet and expert contacts has been made and the initial basic research question has been arrived at: What are the basic changes that are happening in 21st century museums? After that, some other research questions have been formulated. Another literature review has been made about these questions and after the literature review, the questions have been reformulated and redesigned according to the literature review made. This iterative process has been reiterated all throughout the research, where the results of any research done has affected and changed the course of the rest of the research carried out. The data collection procedure has been cyclical in that instead of following a linear procedure, the researcher has moved back and forth between doing literature review and collecting primary and secondary data. Data have been checked with respect to their relationship with the literature and the literature has been checked with respect to the data gathered from the context field. The collected data have been analysed and written up in the findings section of this thesis.

6.6 Interviews

After the designation of the main research questions, the researcher became a volunteer at the museum in order to be able to get involved in the activities that were taking place. Although the museum was closed, some parts of it were still open and there were many activities taking place in those parts. After a while, pilot research was carried out in order to get more acquainted with the field of the study but before the pilot study, 8 staff members were asked to fill a short questionnaire with 4 questions to get a sense of what is relevant to be asked in the pilot interviews. Within the pilot research; direct and participant observations, some interviews with the museum staff members and visitors were carried out. However, these interviews were short; they took on average 15-20 minutes. Altogether 13 interviews with the museum staff members were carried out within the pilot research. In light of the data collected from the pilot research, further literature has been reviewed and some preliminary research objectives defined.

As part of the full scale research that came after the initial pilot study, 30 in-depth interviews have been carried out with RAMM staff members that the researcher was able to access. Some of these staff members had already been interviewed in the pilot research, but only superficially when compared with the actual interviews. An interview guide was designed that would investigate the individual stories of the respondents with RAMM, their views about some different phenomena about the museum and the museum in general, and their perspectives about the new changes happening in the museum. The full interview guide is in appendix 2.

The challenging part of the interview process is to gain access to the respondents, being able to study them and getting familiar with their world in order to understand their 'reality'. The problem of gaining access to the respondents was easily overcome because of the friendliness and openness of the museum staff members to the public and therefore to researchers. Volunteering had made the researcher familiar with some staff members and it became easier to reach other staff members through them and they've accepted to make an interview very easily. The respondents were quite open, co-operative and sincere in discussing the different aspects of what was going on in RAMM during the refurbishment process. Especially in the second round of interviews, the process was easier in some respects, probably due to familiarity and a more relaxed relationship between the researcher and the interviewees. The problem of reliance on the personal interpretations of the respondents was solved by the repetition of many aspects about the topic by many different respondents in different interviews. Data saturation was reached and the data collected from the latest respondents meant no more than filling in the details of the basic phenomena that came up in the rest of the research. Other methods of data collection such as participant and non-participant observation, analysis of written documents received from the museum and its website etc. were used in a way that increased reliability. Informal conversations with many staff members were also made naturally during the research process, which helped build friendly relationships with the respondents and made them more open. These conversations gave way to informal information gathering by raising issues that would not have come out in the rather more formal interview and revealed the respondents' relationships with others in the network.

The pilot research took place between 22 February and 5 March 2010. General questions about the refurbishment were asked in order to get some insight about what's going on in the museum. The questions were based on the themes that came up in the first basic observations. The results of the pilot research have directed the subsequent data collection procedure of the core research in that it has shown the basic themes that were commonly mentioned by most of the interviewees and apparently needed further attention. The questions in the interview guide of the core research were also formed with the help of the insights gained through the pilot research, mainly according to the first interview results. The questions in the interview guide were semi-structured. They were audio recorded and transcribed.

The core research took place between 16 September and 7 October 2010. These interviews took on average one hour's time; the shortest one having taken around 30 minutes and the longest one 1:45 hours of time (for some information about the interviewed staff members, see appendix 3). One of them, the head of leisure and museums works for the City Council, another one, the marketing manager of RAMM works both at the museum site and at the City Council. All members of the management team, who are actually the leaders of the sub-departments of RAMM have been interviewed. These departments are the following ones: visitor services; collections and interpretation; conservation and technical; learning; marketing and design. Some support staff have also been interviewed as well as the community museums officer, who helps small museums in the region including RAMM. Some volunteers and visitors have also been interviewed but these interviews were very short ones. The rest of the interviewees consisted of the rest of the staff members the researcher was able to reach. The interviewees have been reached through e-mails. These e-mails have been sent to all staff members of RAMM and interviews have been made with the ones that have responded. As has been mentioned elsewhere in the thesis, thirteen staff members have been interviewed for the pilot and 30 staff members for the core research, 9 of which were the same people interviewed in the pilot research (i.e. they were interviewed for the second time).

Main interview and survey ethics codes have been followed during the interview process (see Watson 1996a & 1996b for survey and interview ethics for data gatherers and

respondents). Voluntary participation was ensured, the interviewees did not answer specific content that they didn't want to answer. There was mention of confidentiality only once, where the information provided by the interviewee was not wished by her to be shared with the public in the format of a thesis and the confidentiality thereof has been kept. The other respondents didn't ask for any confidentiality issues. They didn't speak of those things that they thought were to be kept confidential anyway. Potentially objectionable, threatening, or very intrusive questioning was avoided.

6.7 Data collection

Within the domain of this research, primary and secondary data have been collected. Primary data include one to one interviews with the RAMM staff members, direct and participant observations, photographs that the researcher has taken, and field notes that she has made. Secondary data include some documents belonging to the museum like some editions of the *RAMMable* newsletter, news and events leaflets, CDs, photographs etc.

After the primary data collection procedure, data have been transcribed. The next step was to define codes within the data. By means of open coding, themes were identified within the data text. Then axial coding was used to categorize the similar codes within the data. Through selective coding, similar codes in the data were grouped under a couple of general themes. The categories generated and classified are listed in Appendix 3. Memo writing was also an important step in data collection. Memo writing consists of notes taken either during the research, or before and after the research. Field notes were made in order to draw the frame of the general environmental conditions. These notes were made during the interviews and on other occasions.

6.8 Photographs

Within the framework of the research, 125 photographs were taken. These photographs were taken in RAMM in the Library, St. Nicholas Priory, and in the Guildhall of Exeter. They provide insight into the activities carried out in RAMM, firstly the refurbishment activity and then the smaller activities that take place in RAMM such as activities taking place in gallery shows; playing with kids while at the same time teaching them history and a lot of other

things. These photographs also show the interior design of the buildings which are either made according to some historical facts or educational designs of different sorts. These help show us background knowledge about the museum from which more information has been received by means of other techniques that have been used such as interviews, participant and non-participant observation etc. These photographs can be seen in appendix 5. By means of these photographs, data that have fallen out of other data gathering techniques can be read and analysed. These photographs complement the detailed written notes (and vice versa) made on site during visits and they can also be considered empirical texts that can be read and analysed. Visual data have a meaningful place in understanding the new museum experience that is being developed in the new century, considering the mostly visual nature of the museum experience. There have been developments in visual anthropology, which according to Murdock and Pink (2005: 152) 'aims to develop visually thick and open-ended accounts of everyday visual practices and visual environments'. These developments have affected the ethnography practices in other areas of enquiry as well. Photography is but one of many visual methods that are being used in ethnography, such as film, video and drawing. These can be used as methods of data recording and/or methods that the research participants can be brought to use in creative ways in order to bring out what they have within them. The data that have been received through photography in this research can be analysed and used to develop theoretical arguments.

6.9 Field notes/observations (direct and participant observations)

Kusenbach (2003: 458) argues that 'ethnographic methods can roughly be divided into interviewing informants and observing 'naturally' occurring social settings, conduct and events'. Observation is a complementary and necessary part of this research and by means of data triangulation; it increases the validity of the research by approaching the topic from different angles. The researcher has been on site during the data collection and taken notes and photographs on every possible occasion. Apart from these direct observations, participant observations have also been made during the times spent on volunteering. The researcher has spent a lot of time in the museum playing games with children, attending many volunteer tours and working behind the scenes. During these times, participant observation has taken place.

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6.10 Documentation

There are two types of documentation: external and internal. External documentation consists of materials that everybody can read while internal documentation consists of materials that only the museum staff can read. Mostly external documentation has been collected from the museum and there is only one type of internal documentation examined, which is the staff newsletter. A lot of physical materials have been collected from the museum including archival materials, flyers, newsletters, brochures and physical artifacts. All these materials can be considered as texts that can be read and analyzed. The websites of the museum (the main museum website and websites for various projects) are also texts. They all have been analyzed in the results sections of this thesis. Documentation actually includes all secondary data collected for this research.

6.11 Sampling

During the first stages of data collection, the sample included all stakeholders of the museum including its staff members, visitors, donors, volunteers etc. However, as the research proceeded, there appeared difficulties in reaching many stakeholders and out of convenience the research had to be limited to many staff members of the museum, some volunteers and some visitors. Because the museum was closed, it was also difficult to reach visitors; they could only be reached on special occasions. Therefore, the main focus was on the staff members of RAMM and they have been alerted via e-mail about this research and in-depth interviews were undertaken with the ones that have responded positively to the e-mails. Thirteen staff members have been interviewed for the pilot research and 30 staff members interviewed for the core research, 9 of which were the same people interviewed in the pilot research (i.e. they were interviewed for the second time). The focus on staff members was reasonable because the research is about the change process in the museum and the staff members are the ones that are directly responsible for the change process.

6.12 Conclusion

In this research, an interpretative, qualitative research methodology has been used due to the co-constructed nature of the social reality that is being investigated. This is because of

the nature of the research question, which is about the cultural constitution of a museum. The social reality that has taken new shape throughout the refurbishment process of the RAMM is the focus of concern here. This change is a product of an integrated co-construction process that involves many actors such as museum staff members, Exeter City Council, Heritage Lottery Fund, other funding agencies, visitors of the museum etc. and the researcher that has been making sense of this process cannot be thought of as being outside of it. A focus of meaning is central in interpretative research and therefore it's central here too. Understanding the meaning that the participants ascribe to the events, situations, experiences, and actions they're involved in has been a primary goal of this research. The meaning that they ascribe to the phenomenon of change and their thoughts and feelings about it has been particularly important. Qualitative research is especially useful for understanding a process and developing causal explanations (Maxwell, 2005). Qualitative research is more flexible than quantitative research and it can be shaped according to changing circumstances that might change during the implementation of the research.

Primary and secondary data have been collected by means of becoming a volunteer in the museum and making field notes, in-depth interviews, participant and non-participant observations, participating in some meetings and taking meeting notes, photographs, analysing archives, websites and social media tools. Data triangulation has been ensured so that the research would be more reliable. After the primary data collection procedure, the collected data have been transcribed, codes defined within the data, open coding, axial coding and selective coding have been made in order to define categories and themes and gather similar codes under these categories and themes in order to make up a coherent story of the refurbishment process.

This research involves an ethnographic case study. The reason that it's not a full fledged ethnography is that the researcher has been in the field over shorter spans of time than would be the case in a full fledged ethnography. It would have been a full-fledged ethnography if the researcher was working in the museum as a staff member but this wasn't the case. The researcher was there as a volunteer and didn't participate in museum activities every single day. The sample of the study included mainly most of the staff members of the museum together with some visitors, donors and volunteers. The research has been cyclical

in that the researcher has been going back and forth between the findings from the literature review and from the data collected through primary research, so each have shaped one another during the research process.

Different types of research methods have been utilized for the aim and four different research objectives of this thesis, according to the nature of the data to be gathered in each case. Social and historical research have been conducted by gathering data about the development of consumer culture in Britain and the development of British museums, in order to lay the foundation for the primary research, the extended case study of RAMM. By means of the extended case study, the micro processes (the refurbishment/rebranding of RAMM) have been related and extended to the macro structure of the consumer culture of Britain.

CHAPTER 7

BRITISH MUSEOLOGY CONTEXT AND THE HISTORY OF RAMM

In this chapter, the first research objective of this thesis is being examined. It is about investigating RAMM as an example of an English museum which is undergoing construction, refurbishment and rebranding with the intention of fitting into the 21st century museum landscape.

The museum sector in Europe in general has been through ups and downs after the Second World War.

> The expansion of museums in Europe during recent decades has been financed largely by grants from national and regional governments. The slowing of the global economy in the 1990s, together with new political and social challenges demanding more and more public attention, has resulted in a partial abandonment of museums. In 1996, Zimmer and Toepler wrote that the policy of cultural subsidies was entering a period of recession in Europe. Today, the infrastructures have disappeared and museums are finding it increasingly difficult to obtain financing for special exhibitions and other projects. In the future, museum financing will likely not come exclusively from governments but will also come from other sources, such as sponsorships (Mejon et al., 2004).

Most arts and heritage organizations in Britain, after the Second World War, have started operating on a mixed funding model based on receiving funding from different resources such as public subsidy, private investment and earned revenue (House of Commons, 2011). In time, with the modernising reforms that governments have brought about, public agencies (museums included) have come to have to justify the value that they give for the money that they receive. They were asked to prove that they use the public funds they receive in the most effective, efficient and economical ways possible. 'They had to demonstrate that no other lower cost ways of providing the same service could be found and that no other organization would be able to make a similar or greater contribution to

the society at a lesser cost' (Weil, 1994). This approach that has been adopted by governments rests on a utilitarian perspective and therefore has been criticised by many for disregarding the 'value' of culture and bringing out its instrumental 'impact'. In any case, it is quite difficult to measure the actual impact that museums make to the society due to the immaterial nature of what museums offer. Researchers are still working on finding appropriate ways of measuring these immaterial impacts.

7.1 Introduction

The main aim of this thesis is to analyze contemporary British museums as an outcome of the development of consumer culture in Britain. RAMM, as a UK museum that is currently involved in a huge change and renewal process, gives us insights into the dynamics that shape and force UK museums to change. This chapter delineates the contextual characteristics in which the refurbishment process of RAMM is embedded. First, historical development of British museology is discussed in order to situate the changes taking place in a small local museum, RAMM, into a macro context of changing British museology. Second, historical development of RAMM is portrayed in order to set the scene for the change processes, which started with the refurbishment of RAMM. These contextual characteristics not only familiarize the reader to the context but also help to contextualize the change process, which will be analysed in the following chapters. This chapter contains three main sections: development of the British museology context in light of the paradigm shifts taking place in the museum world, history of RAMM, and description of contemporary RAMM.

7.1.1 The paradigm shifts that have taken place in the museum world in their historical development

Since the time museums have been invented, they have been a topic of interest for many diverse areas from anthropology to marketing, from arts to architecture, because museums take place right in between the world of ideas and the material world. They are both about ideas and about things. Therefore, changes that happen in museums can have many dimensions. We can talk about individual changes that happen to museums but we can also talk about bigger changes that seem to affect quite a wide range of things and can be seen

to influence the museum world as a whole. This part is mainly about these latter kinds of changes with some particularities about British museology in it.

Museums all around the globe are striving to be relevant to their societies by changing and adapting themselves to the developments that have shaped their societies. Many museum managers have had to make a lot of evaluations in terms of the internal (what kind of capabilities and resources museums have) and external (macro environmental issues) structures that their museums find themselves in. These evaluations were done in order to find the right position or role that those museums should have in their societies. Obviously the services that these museums will offer should be able to meet the needs apparent in the current marketplace. Throughout the last century, times have fastened and changes have happened at a faster pace than before and especially in this time period museums have been going through a lot of changes in the search for adapting themselves to the needs and wants of the continuously changing marketplace of that time period. 'Museums as we know them belong to a very particular historical era, appearing first in eighteenth century Europe' (Henning, 2006: 12). From this time period on, the conceptions about the role of the museum have undergone dramatic changes. These changes all revolve around the relationship between objects and people, namely things and ideas as stated above. What objects mean for people, how they are handled and what kind of meaning they are ascribed to all define the characteristics of the change that is happening. After all, the visitors and museum staff partly constitute the museum and they themselves are there because of the material objects that make up the museum collection.

In order to see the changes museums have gone through, we need to first see how and in what kind of climate museums initially appeared. It is difficult to define the beginnings of museums though. 'What exactly was an early museum? Medieval collections of Cathedral treasures and other hoards kept by royal and aristocratic families throughout Europe long predate the posited beginnings of museums in the Renaissance' (Arnold 2006: 14).

> The premier historian of the Italian Renaissance Paula Findlen claims that museums were one of the chief supports for the cradle of Western Culture: the Renaissance. In embodying a kind of 'theology of objects' – an attitude that emerged from the

'intertwining between new concepts of possession and new concepts of culture'- museums quite simply created and defined the Renaissance (as cited in Arnold 2006: 14).

The British Museum was the first secular museum of its kind. It was a museum dedicated to scientific scholarship and based upon the French Encyclopedists' ideal whereby a single institution could reflect worldly knowledge and represent the entirety of 'human achievement' through its collection of objects (Caygill 1985: 11).

It is difficult to determine what came first, the museums or the Renaissance because answering this kind of a question is the same as answering the hen and egg question. We can say that the ideas that created the Renaissance were already there and they have helped create museums and we can also say that the museums created the Renaissance in that they prepared the grounds on which the ideals of the Renaissance were cultivated. 'The development of human civilization came to be understood in scientific terms, and understanding evolution and the natural world became a search for truth. A product of the Enlightenment, the British Museum was created within this ethos' (Yasaitis 2006: 450). We can say that the first public museums were based on private treasures and colonially captured properties. The first public museum in the world, the British Museum, was founded in 1753 and it was founded as a result of Sir Hans Sloane bequeathing all his collection to the king of that period in return for a certain amount of payment to be made to his heirs. The Louvre Museum also was based on the wealth of the aristocracy that was dispossessed after the French revolution. Some collections were being shown to the public beforehand also, however their exhibitions were limited and also the public it was exhibited to was limited, only the privileged could see these collections. These collections were shown to people as a sign of power.

The early decades of the British Museum provide a clear view into the values of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century British society. Objects were acquired to add to the museum's scholarly pursuits and to substantiate scientific rationales' (Yasaitis, 2006: 454). The public museum, as we know it today, appeared in its modern form during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In the new form of the museum, the

collections were shown to the public as a whole and to everyone. Michelle Henning names this process the 'democratization of treasure (Henning 2006: 12).

The following quote describes the distinction between a private collection and a public museum.

> While the nature of a private collection is limited only by the resources, aspirations, and opportunities of an individual who may acquire, sell or rearrange holdings at will, the public museum is always of necessity a compromise shaped by competing interests as well as by practical constraints including the characteristics of objects acquired through gift or purchase, the architecture of structures built or redesigned to accommodate particular collections, and competition for funding from other quarters (Siegel 2008, preface).

Tony Bennett (1995: 19) argues that the formation of the museum was a very complex phenomenon and that it was linked with culture being fashioned as a vehicle for the exercise of new forms of power. He saw museums as governmental tools for transforming the inner lives of the population and civilizing them. It was also a way of reducing violent behaviour among citizens. Foucault (1995) argues that

> modernity marks a transition in the techniques of institutional power from repressive sanctions, directed at the body often in public spectacles, to the productive power, the power that incites behaviour, attitudes, and practices affected by discourse, surveillance, and other disciplinary technologies, and how institutional knowledges become complicit in such regimes.

Following Foucault, the birth of the modern museum is seen by many as a productive sort of power that is used as a disciplinary technology on the public. 'The modernist museum is highly educational in nature... Modern art museums and exhibitions have become a means by which global economic status and political identities are established and maintained' (Henning, 2006: 35). The situation of knowledge has changed from the modern to the postmodern museum.

In the modernist museum, knowledge was understood to be disciplinary, or subject-based.. In the post-museum, specialist knowledge remains important, but it is integrated with knowledge based on the everyday human experience of visitors and non-specialists. Were the modernist museum transmitted factual information, the post-museum also tries to involve the emotions and the imaginations of visitors (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000: 142-3).

The democratization of treasure brought with it the dissemination of other democratic ideals. The public started to want to adopt the ways of living of the aristocracy and they did so. Henning (2006: 13) describes how democratization of treasure has brought other democratic ideals and how changes in museums have affected nation-building and the construction of national identity in some countries. He argues that the basic values of the French revolution, namely liberty, fraternity and equality were based upon the ideas developed in this period and the Louvre, which opened in 1793, was one of the means by which the ideals of the post-Revolutionary democracy were constructed and disseminated.

During the scientific revolution the European museum evolved from a number of different collecting traditions, including the 'cabinet of curiosities', a tradition strongest in the German princely courts; the educational collections made by natural historians, particularly in Italy; the institutional collections of universities and colleges of physicians; and the collections of the relics of saints and devotional objects found throughout Catholic Europe (Burns 2001: 201).

Collections were made up of the large group of objects that were collected by wealthy and powerful individuals such as kings, emperors, members of royal families and noble people. In the curiosity cabinets exotic things that were brought from faraway places were presented and they were also luxury items- unusual, rare and 'extravagant' (Henning 2006: 20).

Henning continues (2006: 21): at their peak in the mid-seventeenth century, both curiosity cabinets and the emotion of curiosity were signifiers of intellect, power, privilege and property… they were also associated with great wealth, knowledge

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(because knowledge was associated with power) and conspicuous consumption... Curiosity cabinets were arousing interest for that what is curious, new, unknown and this kind of an orientation was leading to overconsumption in the sense that people became inclined to buy and make a collection of things that were curious, new, unknown to them. The curiosity cabinet was presented as the primitive ancestor of the modern museum (ibid.: 25).

The first collectors were of a selfish nature, they usually collected to keep for themselves and show these collections only to a small amount of people usually from their nobility circles. In time, governments started to confiscate or purchase these collections, combined them with other possessions either purchased or received as gift. What we call public collections that we can see in national and municipal buildings today were created in this way. This was how they became publicized and the collections were so valuable that their preservation (conservation) was initially more important than their utilization. So, the main purpose of the first museums was the collection or warehousing of the priceless original collections. These collections were kept in buildings that looked like the Greek temples or Italian palaces due to the fact that these invaluable collections were first kept in real temples and palaces.

In the curiosity cabinets, objects were collected according to their uniqueness and their difference from other objects (their standing out as anomalies). In the late nineteenth century, as a result of becoming more scientific oriented, museums changed from their predecessors in terms of privileging the typical specimen over the singular curiosity. That is to say, instead of finding out those objects that stand out from the crowd of other objects, the aim was to find out those objects that carried the typical characteristics of a particular type of objects the most so that they would bring an understanding about the type of things they represented. This was a result of the scientific turn that took place in the period. Enlightenment thinkers were collecting systematically as opposed to the collectors of curiosity cabinets and therefore contributed to natural history's evolution as a discipline. Even the meaning of the modern word 'science' was different in the Victorian era referring to a smaller domain including natural history, chemistry, astronomy and physics; it was almost the same with the term 'natural knowledge'. By the end of the 19th century, the word

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'science' was widely used and natural history became popular in the Victorian era. Humankind's relationship with nature has changed dramatically (Yanni, 2005).

'By the 19th century, new habits and new forms of attention emerged as an unforeseen consequence of the new arrangements of objects in the museum' (Henning 2006: 14). Objects were arranged according to the new historical and aesthetical understandings of the period. These understandings were based on the new scientific paradigm of the period and they affected life altogether, not only museums. The bourgeoisie in especially the Victorian society and also in the main centres of continental Europe, where scientific knowledge had been developed, were very self-assured and they had developed a new relationship to the past and the rest of the world, in that these colonial powers took their cultures as being at the top of civilization and for them cultures of the rest of the world were behind them on the ladder of development. They supposed that these cultures would be just like them when they would have completed their evolution. So, the cultures of the colonial powers were imagined by them to be universally valid. They were judging other cultures according to the scientific and aesthetic criteria that they had developed. They were ordering and assembling artefacts that they had got from all over the world. 'By the last decades of the nineteenth century, historical arrangements dominated many museums' (ibid.). The objects were being organized according to their place in a group of objects that are related to one another. This was different from the organization of objects in the curiosity cabinets. In the curiosity cabinets the singularity of objects were more privileged, whereas in the 19th century public museum objects didn't mean much when taken out of the group of objects that they belonged to. By the end of the 19th century, historicism was adopted as a dominant discourse. This was especially so in the art displays. 'There was a desire to contextualize artworks in a historical context... and there emerged the conscious need for precise architectural and display typologies for the public museum, differentiated from those that had characterized the interior of the private collection' (Whitehead, 2005: 15). In the Victorian museums, there was an obsession with the past and this has been criticized by many calling the museum 'a cemetery' and the artworks as 'corpses' (Henning 2006: 43). The comparison of the cemetery involved in it a reference to the over accumulation of knowledge. Museums were presenting knowledge just like an encyclopaedia and thus they were presenting bulks of knowledge accumulated inside the museum displays. This much

information was found to be a burden on the shoulders of the ones who were there to learn them. As a result, the spectator in the museum would become disoriented and confused.

As a solution to these problems, other exhibition designs have been developed, which are more interactive and give value to the experience that the visitor has with the displays. For instance some displays were arranged that would change themselves according to the point of view of the visitor. As the visitor moved, the display would change. There were also other displays where the visitor's behaviour would change the displays (eg. by pressing a button or adjusting the view). Different schools of art were trying different styles of displays of art objects. The art historian Buchloh (1988: 86) has argued that 'these kinds of exhibition strategies discouraged traditional practices of aesthetic contemplation and demanded a new kind of behaviour in the presence of the work of art' (as cited in Henning 2006: 62). With time, the space of the exhibition became theatrical or even cinematic (ibid.: 65). 'The primary aim of the exhibit development process is to provide an exhibition environment, which will enhance the visitor experience, by providing a physical context which will help visitors to construct their own interpretation from the exhibits' (Caulton, 1998: 39).

By the end of the 19th century, there was an inclination to turn museums into sites of popular attraction. Museums' function as popular attraction seemed to outpace their function as research institutions. So, entertainment and exhibition functions were emphasized over research. Also some opposition against this trend in the society appeared. There is still this trend and its opposition in the museum world. Turning museums into sites of popular attraction is thought by many opposers to block museums' scientific orientation and give it a more banal character by making them try to give only that what the audience wants to see, not what they actually need to see. In actual fact, it seems that museums need to find a balance between focusing on satisfying their audiences' needs and wants and focusing on scientific developments. In this way, a museum can also satisfy its audiences even more by challenging and inspiring them with new ideas and alternative interpretations on various matters.

In the 19th century, museums have come to a position that was equivalent to universities and during this period they have lived their golden ages. Art was being regarded as sacred, it

was glorified and celebrated more than ever before in museums. In this century, the museum became the temple of positivism. The fruits of the scientific endeavours and technology were being presented to all levels of the society by means of museums. However, after a while many members of the public have fallen behind in being able to understand the scientific information presented in museums. So, a division appeared between museums and the public and therefore a need appeared for new regulations to manage the relationship between them. This situation continued to the 20th century. 'The conflict between the public and its cultural institutions has been one of the most debated questions in the 20th century museum summits' (Sabancı University Sakıp Sabancı Museum publication, 2002). In this period, the educational characteristics of museums were being questioned. The introduction of compulsory education in schools during this period (in Britain, Foster's (also called elementary) education act was accepted in 1870 and school provision was made compulsory afterwards) made schools become the main centres of public education, leaving museums behind in terms of education. Thus, museums came to pay less attention to education and their respect for the public audience declined automatically. The museum's role didn't have to be directly related to the public audience any more, its new role would be to collect, preserve and protect the unique, beautiful, special objects that were worthy of collecting. In the end, there came a time when the public was considered almost as a distraction from the essential work of museums (Skramstad, 1999). However, there was worry in the society that more traditional, collection-focused museums were not meeting the needs of their audiences. Therefore, new types of museums started to be created that were more focused on education. 'Since 1997, this has been driven forward in England by government policies that have insisted that education in museums should be centrally positioned' (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007: 2). Museum education philosophies have been influenced by the deschooling movement, which suggests that institutions, particularly the institution of education are the main reason for many of society's problems. Illich (1970) tried to show the fruitless nature of institutionalized education and clearly declared the end of schooling. He stressed that education should be self-directed and supported by informal, intentional ways of social relation building. Schools as a part of the industrial society were using mass-production techniques in education and producing similar individuals with similar orientations. According to Reigeluth (1996), this was necessary in the industrial age because students had to be sorted in order to create the

labourers and managers of the future and if everyone got highly educated, they wouldn't do the simple, boring, repetitive tasks asked of them in industrial factories without questioning the authority. However, as we are now in the information age, needs have changed from those of the industrial age, now companies are flat, their staff work in teams and industries are looking for people who can think and take initiatives. Therefore, schools need to educate students in different ways than before. 'The paradigm of instruction has to change from standardization to customization, from a focus on making sure that learners' needs are met – a 'Learning-Focused' paradigm' (ibid.: 14). Educators are also trying to find alternatives to schools. Museums come into question at this point. The need for education in museums has risen and museums have appeared as a new educational model for the society. In museums (especially in new ones), the public can be engaged in experiential activities in which they can see, touch (other senses can also be involved) and work with real objects of historical, artistic and scientific significance. They obviously do this with the help of curators, education officers and other museum staff members that have knowledge on matters that the museum chooses to focus on. A distinction needs to be made between education and learning though. 'In Britain there has been a major shift from the expression 'museum education' to the expression 'museum learning'. The semantic shift from 'education' to 'learning' represents a major philosophical change in the way in which the educational functions of museums are being understood' (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007: 4). Museums are not like schools, they don't have particular curriculums to obey, and each museum may present their own perspectives on particular issues. They engage their audiences in physical ways, where they have to use their senses. Audiences are free to choose what they want to be engaged in. The environment is rich and surprising. These kinds of changes make museums different than schools and the activity in museums can be called learning instead of education whereas schools can be said to be engaged in pure education.

As a matter of fact, during their evolutions, museums have gone through three stages according to their foci of interest: acquisition and preservation; scholarly function and popular education (Anderson, 2004: 36-7). It is quite natural that museums have started their journey with the acquisition and preservation of objects because collections are at the heart of museums and they are the core elements that a museum builds itself on. The second function, i.e. scholarly function made museums take the same role as today's

colleges and universities, where the institution provided higher learning not for the entire population but only for a select group of people. Museums have not lost their scholarly function; however they have shifted their attention to the third function, i.e. popular education. 'Low (1942) suggests that popular education is different from formal education basically due to the fact that it's mainly for adult learning and it's always a voluntary act of the individual. There are also no examinations and grades' (as cited in Anderson 2004: 39). We will see in the 21st century if these two closely related but distinct areas of endeavours will find their original contributions to the society by means of not copying each other but focusing upon their own points of strength so that they can present the best fruits of their work in the best possible way. Especially due to less governmental support and a necessary competition with private museums, which are necessarily visitor oriented, we have seen in museums a turn towards the visitor in the 20th century.

> Stephen Weil has suggested that museums have moved beyond collections and collecting so dominant in the 19th and early 20th centuries, to become institutions rooted in interpretation in its broadest sense, actively seeking to provoke thought and the exchange of ideas between the museum and its visitors. In the 20th century, museum research expanded beyond collections to include museum practices and the museum's visitors themselves (Alexander and Alexander 2008: 9).

In the 20th century, public service became an important point of focus, more so than the maintenance of collections. Due to museums' becoming more visitor-oriented, social welfare became important for them and many museums devoted much attention to their own communities.

After the industrial revolution that happened in Great Britain in the 1700s, leisure and recreation have become important parts of people's lives because big machines took much labour off of worker's shoulders. In the 20th century the inclination towards leisure and recreation has been cemented. Workers demanded shorter working hours, long holidays, and weekends free of work. Therefore, they've had even more leisure time. The leisure industry therefore has grown and has become a big industry. This had an effect on museums. They've had to compete with companies in the leisure industry and they've had

to fight for people's leisure time. Because of this, they had to be as fun as, as colourful as, as effulgent as the companies in the leisure industry. This has been criticised by many who claimed that this kind of an orientation was blunting the educational, scholarly, scientific character of the museum by only targeting pleasures of the society, which are in essence much less important.

A significant development in the history of museums is the invention of new museum types such as ecomuseums, neighbourhood museums, community museums etc. We can see that one common element of museums in the new age is that they include audiences more and give them more active roles. These are developments that make up one part of the New Museology that many authors talk about (Vergo 2000, Halpin 1997, Heijnen 2010, Ross 2004). De Hond et al. (2010: 71) claim that there are 'two versions of New Museology: the British and the Latin one. The Latin version of New Museology is characterised by Grassroot-initiatives and museums that either arise because of these initiatives, or facilitate wishes, ideas or projects by persons or communities. The British version on the other hand aims towards the museum as both facilitator and initiator, but strongly focuses on including its surroundings'. The term New Museology is used by many authors but although it refers in general to the paradigm shifts happening in the world of museums, the time periods it refers to differs from author to author. For instance,

> According to van Mensch (1992), the first museum revolution took place around the year 1900, where the museum has institutionalized and became more professional. The second revolution happened in the 1970's, where the function based museum was replacing the collection based museum. The third revolution refers to the shift that more and more people become aware of the social accountability of the museum and its possibilities within the public domain and that the museum is in the role of the facilitator (as cited in Heijnen, 2010: 14).

Another author, Max Ross (2004: 84), claims that the museum world has gone under radical change since the 1970s. 'The new museology as interpreted in this article, refers to a transformation of museums from being exclusive and socially divisive institutions (see Merriman, 1898: 165; Duncan and Wallach, 1980; Pearson, 1984: 34; Hooper-Greenhill,

1988: 224; Bennett, 1988)' (Ross, 2004: 84). Yet another author Stephen T. Asma (2001) presents the evolution of museums in three phases: the first phase has taken place in the 17th and 18th centuries. The second one has taken place in the 19th century, when Charles Darwin's influence was strong. And the third phase has begun in the 20th century and continues with the postmodern museums that we have today.

However the categorization of museum evolution phases might be made; we can say that the 1970s have made up an important period for museums along with the world itself. These years have been the years when modernism has slowly given way to postmodernism. In 1970's and afterwards, a change and transformation process has begun in every area of life, which can be referred to with many different terms and these changes have affected a lot of things. This transformation process has been tried to be explained with different approaches. Some of these explanations have focused on the cultural changes, some on the transformation in production and management. According to regulation school theorists, since the 1970's a new liberal policies have meant that, economic growth has slowed; workers have been exploited, vis-à-vis capital, as outsourcing and offshoring effects disrupt traditional labour markets; income inequalities have risen; efficiency and profitability has increased in some parts of the economy, but the effects have not been distributed evenly; and inflation has risen. In response to this crisis of the Fordist regime of accumulation a new regime has emerged. This has been the Post-Fordism process, which has been dwelled upon very much after the 1980's. In this process, mass production, standardization and rigid modernist cultural norms have given way to flexible, dynamic production techniques that can meet greater demand and postmodern cultural norms. Formations such as information society, postmodernism, globalization have been formed during this transformation process (Aydınlı, 2004).

As a result of all these changes happening in the society, museums as the main cultural institutions have got affected along with everything else. In fact, 'the museum world has undergone radical change since the 1970s. Political and economic pressures have forced its professionals to shift their attention from their collections towards visitors' (Ross, 2004: 84). Economic factors have been effective in this kind of an orientation.

In recent years, the share of government revenues going to British museums has declined, and these museums increasingly have turned to patrons and private sector sources, including corporations for the support of programs. The British national museums are encouraged to produce their own income (Kotler, Kotler & Kotler, 2008: 195).

According to Greenhalgh,

In these times of desperate financial pressure, the major museums of Britain more than ever before are concerned with their public role. To justify themselves, they have to generate large attendances and attract sponsorship. In short, the museum can no longer exist simply as a receptacle guarding our heritage or as a haven for scholars. It is also compelled to be a place of enhanced interest to the general public, which is increasingly seen as a main source of funding for the scholarly and conservation activity the museum takes part in, by contributing at the door providing a target for commercial sponsorships (as cited in Peter Vargo 2000: 88).

So there occurred a need for museums to turn to the visitors in order to function more efficiently. Becoming more visitor oriented means that museums are becoming less elitist and less exclusive, which they had been in the past. Accessibility levels in museums have increased. Differences among visitors that come from different socio-economic levels of society are being treated the same way. Some differences, which are thought to be indicators of postmodernism take place in many of today's museums.

One of the most basic shifts that happen in the arena of museums is the blurring of the line that separates the producer and consumer of museum experiences. The co-creation of museum experiences by museums and their visitors means that museums take on the role of facilitator that provides the tools for the visitors to create relevant museum experiences that are mass customized for them. Max Ross (2004: 84) argues that the movement towards a more visitor-centred ethos can be seen as entailing a corresponding shift in the identity of the museum professional, from 'legislator' to 'interpreter' of cultural meaning.

In addition to the fading of the consumer-producer divide, in the new museum, object or collection centeredness has coded its place to visitor-centeredness. This new orientation has caused the museum to redesign the balance of science and social statements, that is, poetics and politics. Weil (1990: 4) has stated the following quote in an international conference put on by the Smithsonian Institution:

> [We] will consider the fundamental relationship between ideas and objects, conception and presentation in the context of exhibitions. We will organize… around two general approaches: the poetics and politics of representation. Poetics, in this case, may be understood as identifying the underlying narrative/aesthetic patterns within exhibitions. The politics of representation refers to the social circumstances in which exhibitions are organized, presented, and understood. Clearly these are intersecting domains which draw on a common pool of historical memory and shared (often unconscious) assumption.

For example, after the 1960's, political narratives that lay underneath museum exhibitions were being questioned by the general public, critics and the museum community. Things like colonialism, ethnic or racial discrimination, misrepresentation of issues relating to certain groups of people etc. started to be debated widely by the public.

In the postmodern museum, another change has been the inclusion of intangible elements in the representation of especially cultural phenomena. Instead of using only objects, museums have begun to use intangible elements such as music, oral history etc. The very concept of collection has expanded in the postmodern museum.

In postmodern museums, exhibits are not any more the only ways to educate and/or entertain the public. Many other tools such as 'discussions, workshops, performances, dances, songs, and meals' (Hooper-Greenhill 2000: 152) have started to be used, which show a great distancing from the Victorian encyclopaedism paradigm.

The qualities of the new museum of the 21st century that has emerged as a result of all the past developments have been summarised by Anderson (2004: 2) as in table 7.1:

Table 7. 1 Reinventing the museum		
Traditional Museum		*Reinvented Museum*
	Governance	
Mission as document	……………………………………	Mission driven
Elitist	……………………………………	Equitable
Exclusive	……………………………………	Inclusive
Reactive	……………………………………	Proactive
Ethnocentric	……………………………………	Multicultural
Internal focus	……………………………………	External focus
Singular mission	……………………………………	Shared vision
Single visionary leader	……………………………………	Shared leadership
Top-down management	……………………………………	Bottom-up management
Assumed value	……………………………………	Earned value
Good intentions	……………………………………	Public accountability
Social activity	……………………………………	Social responsibility
Paternal	……………………………………	Mutual respect and stewardship
Managing	……………………………………	Governing
	Institutional Priorities	
Management	……………………………………	Leadership
Various activities	……………………………………	Mission related activities
Collection driven	……………………………………	Audience focused
Limited representation	……………………………………	Broad representation
Internally based	……………………………………	Community based
Open to the public	……………………………………	Visitor oriented
Business as usual	……………………………………	Institutional assessment
Voice of authority	……………………………………	Multiple viewpoints
Focused on past	……………………………………	Relevant and forward looking
	Management Strategies	
Inwardly driven	……………………………………	Responsive to visitor needs
Isolated and insular	……………………………………	Participant in marketplace
Selling	……………………………………	Marketing
Assumptions about audiences	……………………………………	Knowledge about audiences
Hierarchical structure	……………………………………	Learning organization
Unilateral decision making	……………………………………	Shared decision making
Compartmentalised goals	……………………………………	Holistic, shared goals
Cautious	……………………………………	Informed risk taker
Fund development	……………………………………	Entrepreneurial
Individual work	……………………………………	Teamwork
Static role	……………………………………	Strategic positioning
	Communication Style	
Privileged information	……………………………………	Open communication
Suppressed differences	……………………………………	Welcomed differences
Debate/discussion	……………………………………	Dialogue
One-way communication	……………………………………	Two-way communication
Keeper of knowledge	……………………………………	Exchange of knowledge
Protective	……………………………………	Welcoming

Source: Anderson, 2004: 2.

The upper table shows the continuum of change that created a paradigm shift that has been taking place in the museum world since a century ago. This change process continues into the 21st century. This shift has moved us to the contemporary museum with a new paradigm, the details of which has been explained above and will be further explained below.

Another paradigm shift that seems to take place is about the way people have treated objects. There are important differences between the way people have treated objects in the past and in the present. Here,

> Objects' are interpreted differently from 'things' as in the 'thing theory', where the distinction between things and objects is claimed to do with their relationship to a human subject (Brown, 2001: 4). We encounter a thing when we bump into it, or when it breaks down. Things are also unnameable, unintelligible, vaguely apprehended – 'that thing over there'. Objects, on the other hand, are interpretable, meaningful, things made into evidence, documents, and facts… Simply put museums turn things into objects (Henning, 2006: 7).

When viewed from this perspective, the objects that have been collated in collections that later made up museums, have always been full of layers of meanings and diverse reference points. If so, what has changed over time? It is clear that these layers of meanings have changed with respect to different time periods and places but there are also other things that have changed in humans' relationship with objects in the context of museums.

There are important differences between the past and present in the way objects are displayed in museums. In Western Europe these differences are probably seen most strongly through religious relics. Before the enlightenment, it was common practice to collect objects related to religious reference points that were thought to have special powers. Physical remains of <u>saints</u>, such as bones, pieces of clothing, or some object associated with saints or other religious figures and deceased ancestors or effigies of gods are among the objects that have been collected and ritually displayed. Religious relics were kept in special boxes called reliquaries. Reliquaries from the later Roman period were entirely closed. Later in medieval

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Europe reliquaries usually revealed part of the relic they contained, through a glass or crystal window. Even when relics were available to view in this way, most were kept in private chapels, and only brought out on feast days. Restriction of view was, therefore, an important element of relic keeping. It was important that people did not look too closely at these objects. This is an understandable fact not only in the light of the reality that these objects were considered to be too valuable because of their religious connotations and couldn't be put under risk by close examination but also because security systems were not as developed as today and those relics could have been stolen quite easily if people had been able to get too close to them and they may have been exposed as inauthentic.

However, in modern museums the paradigm of displaying objects has changed. Objects have become the focus of study. Although there might be restricted access due to security reasons, a clear view of the object is provided for the general public. This development has been parallel to the scientific developments that have taken place. With the rise of science and technology, it was necessary that scientists and researchers have free access to museums to explore objects that are related within their areas of study. Today, wide access to collections is among the most important principles that museums need to obey and they are working on ways to make this possible to a greater extent. Putting collections online is one of the most commonly practiced means for wider access.

The researcher's personal opinion about dominant museum trends in general are as follows: Visitor orientation has brought museums into a totally different way of being. There are as many viewpoints as there are visitors and this makes the museum an arena where different viewpoints are negotiated. This brings about an extension of the democratization processes. This democratization brings about development and progress. One negative aspect of visitor-orientation could be that becoming too influenced by visitors, museums might not be able to develop a perspective that is independent of visitors' wants, which are not always in line with their actual needs. Another danger or opportunity is that a museum might take on a political stance and respond to the needs and wants of some visitors while neglecting the others.

With the inclusion of a more storytelling oriented perspective, together with emphasis layed on the importance of subjectivity for interpretation, the visitor is being absorbed into the museum experience more fully, instead of having its attention dispersed by a fragmented focus laid on the multiplicity of objects. Storytellling also helps visitors construe meaning within the museum.

The co-creation trend seen in museums also helps visitors get immersed in the museum experience more completely and to feel that they are an essential part of the museum. This creates an atmosphere where learning is seen as interesting and envigorating, and as an opportunity where one can use and enhance one's inner capacity.

7.1.2 Historical Background of RAMM

In order to make sense of the change process that RAMM has been going through, we need to first know about its past and then evaluate the developments that have taken place throughout its history. This section is devoted to the extended history of RAMM and it will be a necessary part for understanding the coming chapter, which is about the change process in RAMM.

The RAMM building was started in 1867 and the last bit of it was built in 1899. 'Museums sprang up in large numbers in Britain between 1890 and 1920' (Vergo, 2000: 88). When we consider that 'the first university museum of Britain, the Ashmolean museum, was built in 1683 and the British museum was opened to the public in 1759 (Kotler et al., 2008: 10)', we can count RAMM among these museums. The starting dates of RAMM, 1867 and 1899, are right after the important extension of the railways to Exeter being completed in 1844, which allowed an increasing number of lower middle class and working class families, who were both able and willing to explore, to enjoy their holidays and days visiting the South West (Shaw et al., 1999). Museums are after all the showcase of a city and its treasures and after the inclusion of its regional museum; the city of Exeter was able to present itself to more people coming from different regions. This period is also right after the Great Exhibition that was held in 1851. Prince Albert was one of the organizers of the Great Exhibition. When Prince Albert died in 1861, one of the Secretaries for the Great Exhibition and a Devon MP, Sir Stafford Northcote, proposed a memorial to Albert should be established in Exeter. An

appeal for funds was launched and a meeting the following year created the blueprint for the Devon and Exeter Albert Memorial Institution (the first name of the museum). This was to be a new building on Queen Street, housing a museum and art gallery, a free public library, a school of art and a college. 'For museums as tourist destinations, location will always play a significant role' (Caldwell, 2000: 33) and this museum has been located on a very fertile location, right on the junction between Queen Street and the city centre, where most Exeter citizens pass by at least once every day. The roots of the museum that we now have were greater to include other institutions in them, which have become separated in time. The head of leisure and museums explains this process in the following way:

> When RAMM was built in 1867, it had a small museum, it had a library and it had a College and the College later moved into what is now the Phoenix and the Art College lived at the rear of RAMM and then of course the College grew out of the Bradninch Building and moved up the hill and it began and the School of Chemistry was our, was what became our conservation labs and so on. The library of course moved out and became the county library and we filled the building up and so you know our institution has set up all those and we're very proud of that (Alan Caig, head of leisure and museums).

RAMM was transferred to Exeter City Council in 1870 under the Free Museums and Libraries Act and therefore became a local authority museum. Through this appointment, specialization in different aspects could be made possible. As will be explained below, the need for space required for the college and the library forced them to move out of the institutional complex. This provided a specialization for the museum as well. Over time, therefore, the RAMM as a museum became more professionalised.

Here's the history of RAMM taken from an extract from a report, which details developments at the museum from 1900 sent to the researcher by Julian Parsons, the collections and interpretations officer of RAMM:

> By 1900, the museum building had extended to fill almost all the available space between Exeter's Queen Street and Bradninch Place. The museum extensions had

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reached the steep terracing below Bradninch Place and for now could go no further. This was going to cause problems for the refurbishment that is taking place now. The situation was cramped towards the back of the museum building. Within RAMM the separate departments and the College in particular, had reached the point where they needed to expand and to gain some autonomy from the original institution. In 1904 the College governors applied to buy Bradninch Place and two houses in Gandy Street as a site for the erection of a new building for additional classrooms, laboratories and a College Hall, whilst still retaining their accommodation in the York Wing. The remainder of Bradninch Place was demolished in 1911 to make way for the College's new buildings, built in a Neo-Georgian style by Tait and Harvey, the architects for Phases IV and V of RAMM. The College then formed the nucleus of what was to become the University College of the South West in 1922, and the University of Exeter in 1955. The Library too was beginning to outgrow its place in the main building and the museum was suffering as a result. In 1909 the City Council were offered £15,000 from the Carnegie Trustees towards the building of a new Free Public Library. The offer was accepted but plans stalled due to the on-set of the First World War and indecision about the site. The Council delayed to such an extent that the Trust money was almost withdrawn and by 1917 the situation at the Library was reaching breaking point.

At a City Council meeting in November 1917, the Governors of the museum expressed their frustration:

Apart altogether from the risk of losing the Carnegie grant, there is an urgent necessity to secure a new building in order that our Public Library may develop on sound lines. The Royal Albert Memorial was designed to accommodate a museum and a library of moderate size and importance. We have long outgrown the original limits in the minds of the founders. The Museum is cramped, and exhibits of value are thrust into cellars because there is no room for them upstairs. The Library has overflowed into all sorts of odd corners and crannies, and there is reason to fear that we have suffered because of our lack of shelf room… In short, we have reached the point where we must give ourselves elbow room or definitely announce that we no longer aspire to keep pace with our opportunities. This is only one of several matters about which we are at the

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parting of the ways, and are compelled to decide finally and irrevocably whether Exeter is to remain the true centre of the County of Devon or whether we will allow the scepter to pass to another town, and settle ourselves into the role of an ambling market town; a sleepy Cathedral city. Our whole history this far has been a repudiation of limitations. Are we going to fail now?'

In spite of this impassioned plea wrangling over the site continued to cause delays, and the Curator of the Museum, Mr. F.R. Rowley, was forced to start turning down gifts due to lack of space. Rooms at Rougemont House, acquired by the Council as part of the Rougemont Estate in 1911, were already used as storage for the museum and very little extra space was available there. The situation was felt to be very 'difficult and discouraging'.

In 1920 the museum accepted from Mr. C.V.A. Peel his collection of big game animals from all over the world. It was almost unique for a public museum to receive from one donor at one time a series of nearly 50 well-mounted mammals and was it viewed as a nationally important collection. The building proved itself quite unequal to such a collection - a window and its stonework surround had to be taken out to get the elephant in, and the giraffe had to lie on its side until the ceiling could be raised to accommodate it. The rest of the collection was housed in what became known as The Peel Hut, built at the top of the terrace behind the museum and reached via a new corridor connected to the small picture gallery. In this corridor were displayed plans for a proposed purpose-built Natural History Museum which were never carried through, but served as an acknowledgement of the present building's inadequacies.

By 1922 there was still no progress on finding a site for the new library and the Carnegie Trustees threatened to withdraw the grant if plans were not initiated by the end of 1925. They increased the grant to £19,000 and in 1924 plans for the new library were finally approved. The architect was Mr. Greenslade who had designed the National Library of Wales and the new library building was completed and opened on 11 October 1930. The removal of the Library from RAMM meant a sudden increase in available space for the museum. For the first time the building could be viewed as a

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whole and issues such as storage could be considered. The Curator's Report of October 1930 demonstrates some of the problems they were dealing with. Congestion in the exhibition spaces, overcrowding in the Art Gallery and the lack of accommodation for study collections, workrooms and stores all needed to be confronted. They considered using the vacated Reference library for gallery space but couldn't due to inadequate lighting. The Natural History Room was becoming 'inconveniently crowded' and the study collections were cause for concern as they were not safe in the rooms for the General Public and were scattered all over the building. They also needed a proper workshop: 'We have never had a convenient work room, but only a makeshift one at the top of the building, in a place partly used for stores and with inconvenient access'. Their stores were scattered between Rougemont House and Paul Street. The report finishes, 'It will be noted that I consider it necessary to retain the Peel Annexe and to keep the historical collections at Rougemont House. To attempt to bring these into the main building would make it impossible to provide any room for expansion of the Science collections. The further growth of the museum will necessitate the absorption of the Art School, and the York Wing at present occupied by the University College'.

This envisaged growth was again interrupted by the onset of the Second World War. Extensive bombing of the City in May 1942 had little direct effect on the museum but diverted all possible funds and attention elsewhere, and parts of the museum were taken over for use by the War Office. After the war a report by eminent town planner, Thomas Sharp, recommended the building of a new museum for Exeter along the clean, simple lines of post-war architecture. He considered RAMM a relic from the past which had no place in the post-war city. Subsequently, only part of Sharp's plan was implemented and RAMM was left untouched. In 1957 the University College moved out of the York Wing and the Art School moved in, thus freeing up space for the museum. This must have been good for both the art school and the museum because art education cannot be thought without art objects a lot of which can be found in museums, and because of this reason art museums have been used as convenient places for teaching art history for a long time.

This change increased the exhibition space available and enabled complete circulation of the first floor so that visitors did not have to retrace their steps. It also made it possible to close the Museum independently of the College of Art so that people using the latter for evening classes did not need to enter any part of the Museum premises. Access to the College of Art was via the York Wing's main entrance. The occupation of the York Wing by the College of Art was approved as a temporary measure until a new building could be completed, but it was not until 1972 that this happened. In 1980, a series of single storey structures, including a boiler room and fumigation chamber, were built within the main, central courtyard. In 1983, when the University building became the Arts Centre, the Peel Hut and all the other huts that had accumulated in the area behind the museum were demolished. In 1986, a number of excavations took place in the area behind the museum in order to investigate the causes of a large shear crack in the north-west wall of Gallery no. 2. A series of small soundings were excavated along the wall and they revealed the depth and edges of the ditch of the outer defenses of the Norman castle where it had been truncated by terracing for the museum. The crack was subsequently filled but remains a cause for concern. Also in the late 1980s, in response to rising visitor numbers the City Council decided to commission a feasibility study for a development plan for RAMM as part of a general review of its museums service. This study was undertaken by Harrison Sutton Partnership. It covered the core functions of the museum, including curatorial care, storage and methods of display, as well as facilities such as catering, toilets and access for the disabled. In particular it looked at ways of drawing visitors in and involving them interactively in the displays. While the proposals contained within the report were not executed as presented, a number of alterations aimed at addressing specific needs highlighted within the study were subsequently carried-out. The Museum shop and café were introduced on the ground floor in 1992 and 1993 respectively. In 1994, the main public toilet facilities were totally refurbished and, in 1996, a new passenger lift and disabled toilet were introduced within the light well of Hayward's original Phase I building. In 1995, further modifications to the natural history stores allowed, for the first time, a complete circuit of the ground floor. In 1999, the museum was awarded an HLF grant of £1.17m to develop the World Cultures galleries, culminating with the total refurbishment of two major and two minor first floor gallery spaces

along with related servicing and means of escape works. An additional £300,000 Designation Challenge Fund grant resulted in the formation of the new ethnographic storage facilities on the second floor and newly formed mezzanine level of the York Wing along with a program of conservation and documentation for the collection.

7.2 Contemporary RAMM

Today, Royal Albert Memorial Museum is one of Exeter's most important treasures (if not the most important one) and illustrates a good example of an English museum changing in order to adapt itself to the 21st century. By examining RAMM, one can see how far and to what degree the phenomenon of change, which is taking place in many museums in the current century, is actually taking place. RAMM is responsible for saving, conserving and promoting not only Exeter's past but also the historical remains that came to Exeter from all over the world. The museum has a special meaning for Britain and the world as well. RAMM cares for a wonderful and diverse collection consisting of over one million individual objects and specimens from all over the globe. They are divided into the following curatorial departments: antiquities; ethnography; natural history, decorative and fine arts. The collections contain items of local, national and international importance, and many are of outstanding historical or cultural significance.

It seems to be the case that RAMM has felt the need to change due to several different reasons that are the main reasons for change for many other museums as well. The external reasons for change in museums are defined by Will Phillips (1993 in Anderson, 2004: 367) as follows: 'globalized competition, demographic shifts, electronic technology, audience fragmentation and the democratization of the museum support'. Globalization has made firms compete with global firms not only abroad, but also within their own country due to the fact that global companies now exist everywhere and force companies to compete with them all over the world. The case is not different in the museum world. Especially after having a virtual presence of their own, museums now have to compete with other museums, at least with the ones that are also online. This means that museums have to change in order to adapt themselves to the world. Demographic shifts are about changes in the population structure of a place. Museums have to take these changes into consideration and prepare

their offerings according to the tastes and needs of different visitor segments. A failure to do so might make a museum come face to face with various accusations such as racism, sexism and the like. Museums also have to keep pace with technological developments. Museums are institutions that deal with information and data. There are new developments in archival systems in museums and also virtual developments that museums now have to consider. It's highly probable that museums that cannot keep pace with these developments will fall behind in the race of competition. Audience fragmentation is about the multitude of choices that exist outside of the museum world that potentially draw visitors' attention, these are other leisure time options such as videos, sport, 500-channel interactive TV and the like. Museums need to know how to draw back the attention of visitors from other leisure time options to themselves. If they cannot renew themselves regularly they'll probably fail to do so. Finally, the democratization of museum support suggests that funding of museums used to be made by aristocracies of nations, however, this trend has changed and now visitors are responsible for the funding of museums. The reduced governmental funding has made museums become much more visitor oriented and therefore keen to find out about the characteristics of the visitors, in order to be able to serve them best. Therefore, a museum needs to keep up with the consumer trends in the society in general. This makes a museum up to date and able to serve better.

7.2.1 Introduction to the Refurbishment of RAMM

Exeter's Royal Albert Memorial Museum, which is a service of the Exeter City Council, has been closed for expansion, enhancement and refurbishment purposes in December 2007 and it has reopened in December 2011. Being a very old museum, and considering the changes in the new museum environment today, RAMM has felt the need to go through a major refurbishment process. According to Camilla Hampshire, the museum manager, this refurbishment process is the first major refurbishment in RAMM's 140 year history, although it's had little pieces of investment from time to time for changes. These little changes had been done on a minimal budget and the renovations weren't done in a comprehensive and coordinated way as it has been done today. People had to do what they could do with the resources they've had.

The idea of a holistic change in RAMM wasn't a new idea. It has occurred long before the museum has been closed for refurbishment.

> I think it was a germ of an idea within the council before I arrived. You know the museum you know it's a big cultural institution, it's a flagship organization of the city and maybe something needed to be done about it. Because there are lots of lottery funded capital projects happening around the country and Exeter hadn't really had that sort of investment from the country, that level of investment. I think there was a germ of an idea and that may have, I imagine, been part of the reason for my appointment because I've been involved in a couple of projects in my previous role (Camilla Hampshire, museum's manager).

Camilla has arrived in the museum in 2001 so the idea of the refurbishment had its roots back in those times. It has taken a long time for it to develop and come to a stage where it turned into reality. The museum has got the necessary funding for its refurbishment process mainly from the Heritage Lottery Fund and Renaissance in the Regions. Alan Caig, head of leisure and museums says that he and Camilla have come and looked at the service together and thought the following:

> …although RAMM is a well loved museum it's not achieving its potential and the museum itself looked quite tired and the displays were all set out as, like art galleries really, where you have a silver gallery, you have a paintings gallery, you have an architectural gallery, we didn't think that was really what audiences wanted, we thought what audiences wanted was to understand what the collection was about Exeter so we thought it's time to rethink the way the museum presents itself (Alan Caig, head of leisure and museums).

Many changes have happened in the museum during the refurbishment process. However, as a matter of fact the way that things are presented in RAMM might have changed but RAMM staff members in general don't think that this has changed the general product of RAMM. They are loved by the community as they are, after all, and they have to keep that essence while renewing the old bits which do not make sense any more in a modern

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museum. Before any changes are being applied on RAMM, they will be checked against those things that make up RAMM's essence.

> We just check it back against, is it really RAMM, does it really fit with what we think RAMM is trying to be. Everything from the colours of the galleries to the door handles. It's almost subconscious now because that's the way we do it. So it's not the forced thing but sometimes if you're not sure particularly with some of the interpretation and some of the designs, if we're not sure we look at it and we say, you know is that distinctive, is it quality, is it inspiring, is it going to make you think, is it giving you something other than an opinion and that's how we work through things (Ruth Randall, marketing manager).

> What doesn't change is RAMM's connections… we are who we are and we are about Exeter in Devon, that is what we do and that is what our product is about I think, at the heart of it, how we present that to a global market though is the way we present things may change but I think our product hasn't (Kate Osborne, access officer).

RAMM seems to be a museum that is devoted to its past and the past of Exeter and Devon, however it's trying to build its future independent of the old rules and values of the old museum world. RAMM's challenge is to find the balance between these two seemingly opposing directions. It's making a braid of the new and the old. Presenting the old for the new generation is what the duty of a museum is about. So resolving this challenge has always been part of a museum's task. However, the old doesn't change, it always stays the same but the new keeps changing all the time and keeping pace with it needs good observation, modification and adaptation skills. So, a museum needs to do its best to keep up with the new. After all, like the famous aphorism: 'It is not the strongest of the species that survives, nor the most intelligent that survives. It is the one that is the most adaptable to change' (attributed to Charles R. Darwin (1809-1882)).

There is uniqueness about this redevelopment project. The refurbishment project of this size is a huge project to work on. There will be government cuts.

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Arts organisations, <u>museums</u> and <u>libraries</u> in England need to brace themselves for further public funding cuts of £11.6m... ACE (Arts Council England)'s chief executive Alan Davey said he had been told that cuts to the DCMS budget would be passed on, equating to a 1% cut in 2013/14 of £3.9m and a 2% cut of £7.7m in 2014/15 (Brown, M.; <u>The Guardian</u>, Monday 10 December 2012).

According to Susan Eddisford, community museums officer, cuts in general will be as follows:

A 50% cut in Arts Council England admin costs which have resulted in restructuring. They have responsibility for museums and libraries, cuts in Local Government grants and finally the outcome of the next Comprehensive Spending Review which sets budgets for government department, scheduled for 2015.

With these government cuts the scenario will change and people will only get the chance to work on smaller projects. Therefore, Camilla sees this project to be of great importance and a marvelous opportunity for RAMM staff. It's normally not very probable to find a chance to work on such a project.

So that's going to be pretty unique in their careers. They were here at that moment when we've got the chance to do it. It won't happen again because the government is going to make such drastic cuts to the cultural life of this community (Camilla Hampshire, museum's manager).

However, Camilla is also concerned about the amount of overspending the museum has. It is a very difficult time for RAMM managers and especially for key stakeholders and politicians because obviously they are the ones who have to account for this overspent. Going into the next elections with a huge overspend like this is the last thing politicians would want. However, the potential outcomes of this project seem to look so exciting to them that they are willing to find ways of tackling this problem. The good thing is that the city council is very supportive of RAMM.

Although RAMM hasn't been through major refurbishment changes before this project, the 'World Cultures Collection' of the museum has had a significant investment 10-11 years ago through the investment received from the Heritage Lottery Fund. The 'World Cultures Collection' is a designated collection, which means it's in the national scheme that recognizes nationally important collections and is considered to be of pre-eminence to the national heritage. This is a pride for RAMM and therefore Exeter as well because it shows people that not all the important collections are in London. Due to this designation badge, RAMM has undertaken the scheme to redisplay the 'World Cultures Collection'. That has probably been a catalyst for today's refurbishment because they have redisplayed the collections but they have also refurbished the galleries the collections were sitting in. This made people realize that actually the building could be pretty fantastic inside as well as outside and how wonderful 'World Cultures Collections' were when they were displayed. So, it made it much easier for the management team to say to the city council that what they're trying to do in the refurbishment project is to bring the rest of the museum up to the standard of the World Cultures Collection. This was due to the fact that the 'World Cultures Collection' looked pretty new and the rest of the museum started looking pretty tired, even more tired than it was before. So, the first, minor refurbishment has led to the major one. However, the 'World Cultures Collection' will start looking a bit tired after the refurbishment of the museum as a whole but they cannot ask for another piece of lottery money from the Heritage Lottery Fund this time for they say they wouldn't be able to get it because they have extracted all the funding. What they will instead try to do is treat the 'World Cultures Collection' and try to level it up with the new displays using the facilities that they can find in the museum.

7.2.2 Stakeholders of RAMM in the refurbishment process

In this section, stakeholders of RAMM, which are actors of the refurbishment process, will be introduced and investigated. 'Stakeholders are entities with the capacity to influence the success of the museum and without whose support, the museum would not survive' (Rentschler and Hede, 2007: 155). The main stakeholders of RAMM are the following ones: visitors, community groups, Exeter City Council, funding bodies of the museum, collectors, experts, architects, engineers, contractors, consultants, volunteers etc. Each stakeholder

makes up a piece of the puzzle of RAMM and many of them come together at one time to co-create the museum experiences. RAMM has many stakeholders but the description of some basic ones, the ones that basically determine RAMM's well being, will be enough for the purposes of this thesis. These are the visitors of RAMM, stakeholders that are the funding sources of the refurbishment, and the volunteers of RAMM. Each of them are described below.

7.2.2.1 Visitors of RAMM

Visitors of RAMM are one of its most important stakeholders. They are the group for which the refurbishment has actually taken place. RAMM needs to follow and understand what visitors are expecting of RAMM and what they would be happy to find in the new museum. As explained many times before, there have occurred many differences about visitors in the last couple of decades. One of the main differences in visitors is related with the fact that societies in the west have become more democratized and more agency has been given to the peoples of these nations. The introduction of new technologies has brought about new ways of communication. These kinds of differences have been explained mainly in chapter 2 and chapter 4. These kinds of differences have caused visitors to expect more of museums just like of any other institutions that provide services to them. Taking these differences into consideration, RAMM has felt the need to go into refurbishment.

Data that is taken from the visitors will make up a great insight as to how RAMM can redesign its offerings and how it can become more meaningful to at least most of its visitors after the refurbishment. Due to the refurbishment the museum itself actually has had to keep its visitors away for four years, due to the nature of the process, however in this period RAMM has tried to reach them in other ways and also create a good expectation as to what might come up in the new RAMM, get people excited for the experience they'll find in the new museum. In this sense, the refurbishment might have had a knock on effect on the visitors but obviously research needs to be done to find this out.

'RAMM gets around 250,000 visitors a year' (Nena Beric, redevelopment project coordinator). Local people (most importantly), people who are visiting the region and

especially Exeter, people who visit Devon and Cornwall for the beaches, gardens and outdoors make up the museum's target visitors. Exeter is a historic English city dating back to the dark ages, and today most of its visitors come for its university and cathedral and RAMM makes a wonderful alternative to the primary reasons for visiting Exeter. Families make up almost 50% of all visitors of RAMM. As the second biggest group, older people make up one fourth of the visitors of RAMM. Lastly specialists and young people each make up one eighth of the visitor population of RAMM. Visitor groups of RAMM can be divided into the following categories: flourishing families, settled suburbans, struggling families, blue colour roots, secure families and affluent greys. RAMM gets a lot of repeat visits (taken from a meeting between RAMM staff members and the I AM[37] branding team from London, in which the researcher has participated).

RAMM's visitors come from all parts and levels of the society. According to surveys, the audiences match the demographic makeup of the city so that lower economic groups are equally represented in RAMM, which is a special quality of this museum that is different from many other museums. It's a very popular museum that can draw the attention of so many diverse audiences. The head of leisure and museums said that wherever he goes people are asking about Gerald the giraffe, which is the iconic figure of RAMM. It has been the most attention drawing object in the museum, the one that people remember and talk about the most, with a smile on their faces. Although it tries to attract everybody in the society, its basic target audiences are actually families. Families are what they have in mind when they design and write things. They are basically trying to draw three basic groups of people into the museum: people of Exeter, people of Devon and the tourists that come to Exeter from all over the world. Retired people are also an important target audience for RAMM. In Exeter there are many retired people who are interested mainly in history. According to the Exeter City Council's economic trends report (2012), retired people make up the 15.6% of the population of all Exeter.

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[37] I –am associates branding team is the branding team that RAMM worked with for the rebranding of the museum and creates innovative and profitable customer experiences through their expertise in brand consultancy, interior design and people & culture. They create customer experiences that build advocacy and business profitability (http://www.i-amonline.com/what-we-do).

Table 7. 2 Population

Indicator Source – See Note 1 on page 15	Exeter
Population Totals	119,600
Percentage increase in totals	0.67%
Population under 16	18,100 (15.1%)
Population of working age	82,900 (69.3%)
Population of retirement age	18,600 (15.6%)

Source: http://www.exeter.gov.uk/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=16292&p=0, EHOD Economic

Trends Report – February 2012 (revised March 2012).

According to my observations, most of the volunteers that come to RAMM are elderly, retired people and their contribution to the museums' promotion is great. Holmes (2003: 341) verifies this statement with the following quote taken from his research on the motivations of volunteers in the UK: 'the demographics of volunteers are changing and volunteers are more likely to be retired individuals than seeking work experience'.

RAMM's visitors are extremely diverse and RAMM considers it important to have something interesting in the museum for all different visitor groups. From the education point of view, with the amount of visitors that RAMM has (around 250,000 visitors a year), they cannot tailor their services to everyone as opposed to some record offices or libraries where everyone is being served. So they tend to make generalisations about what's needed by dividing the audience into sub groups according to the life stages they're in.

> I think of the RAMM audience in terms of very young children, 0-5 and their parents as carers, I then tend to think in terms of children aged about 5-12ish in school but also aged 5-12ish not with their families, visiting their families out of school, so you've got parallels there. I tend to think of young people usually aged about 13-23/24 so teenagers and slightly older students etc. so no longer younger children but young adults… married or with children and responsibilities…. People being in their 20s, 30s,

40s and families working busy… people as sort of 50 onwards, sometimes retired or perhaps a bit older, but older learners. I tend to think of audiences in terms of learning stages (Kate Osborn, access officer).

In the interviews made for this study, RAMM staff members have stated on different occasions that they don't like to use the word 'consumers'. They like using the word 'visitors' or 'audiences' instead. All staff members seem to agree upon this terminology. This is due to the characteristic of the special relationship the museum has with its visitors. Within the new museum culture, it's usually not possible to differentiate the consumer and the producer of museum experiences. Within the new museum environment, we witness a blending of the relationship between consumers and producers of the museum experiences. The consumer takes on an ever more active role and gets heavily involved in the creation of value within the museum. The museum at times becomes the consumer of the experiences, stories, thoughts and ideas of its visitors. Especially as interactivity levels are taken higher, visitors of RAMM are in the process of becoming the co-creators of RAMM's product. This topic will be investigated further on in the following results sections.

The 'Living Here' project, which will be introduced later in the study, has been a project which has improved the involvement levels of visitors from Exeter. The project proved very successful and took on a life of its own. People used the project to communicate with each other and they came to build up subgroups within the Living Here community. So, audiences linked with each other to form multiple communities in one big community. Visitors also got in contact with each other in other instances than within the realm of the Living Here project.

The museum also affected some people's identities. Within the framework of the museum projects, people who came from outside of Exeter became involved with Exeter's locality. Especially with the Moving Here Project, which again will be introduced further on in the study, links between Exeter and people coming from out of Exeter could be found out and people could be linked better with Exeter's identity.

7.2.2.2 Stakeholders that are the Funding Sources of the Refurbishment

The refurbishment process of RAMM is a huge process, where a lot of funding has had to be received from a multitude of sources. RAMM is a service provided by the Exeter City Council, therefore it's a local authority museum and the management obviously works in line with the policies of the City Council. RAMM hasn't been founded as a city council museum, though. It was founded as a private voluntary charitable foundation, but the Exeter City Council took it over in 1870 under the Free Museums and Libraries Act and therefore it became a local authority museum.[38]

I wondered why the stakeholders have provided them with the funding that they have and what kinds of sanctions they've asked from the museum. I have asked the museum manager about this and the answer I received was as follows:

> …Yes the project has several funders, principally the Heritage Lottery Fund, who as part of their assessment process requires considerable detail in regard to the proposed architectural and display scheme. Their awards are for what they call 'Approved Purposes' i.e. what they have read about and approved in your proposals- nothing else. Other funders secured subsequently have tended to fund particular aspects of the project, for instance the external landscaping or the Devon & Exeter Galleries or artist commissions. We haven't had to change our plans to do any of this because it was all part of our original plan. (Remember the HLF doesn't provide 100% of the funding – so there is always scope to bring other funders 'on board'. Our project has been shaped by a strong shared vision and the funding has followed this. The vision hasn't been shaped by the requirements of funders but instead by finding the alignment between our vision and prospective funder's own objectives.

The employees make up another important stakeholder group of RAMM. Parallel to the development about teamwork having gained more significance than before, teamwork is deemed very important in RAMM. According to Menguc et al. (2012), teamwork helps build more customer knowledge creation (CKC) capability, which is a higher-order construct

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[38] http://www.rammuseum.org.uk/web/data/rammconservationplan2003.pdf

comprised of access, value, motivation, and combination (for details on these sub elements of CKC see the cited article). As an important employee group, the management team comprises the leaders from all museum sections. They meet up regularly to co-ordinate activities. The employees of RAMM have different contracts with the museum; some are there only for the refurbishment period, while others have been working there for over 10 years. There will be many organizational changes after the refurbishment but they are not known yet. Employees are divided between at least three main buildings in different parts of Exeter.

It will be a change again when we move back to RAMM, not everybody will move back into RAMM. What we've done is we've taken the office spaces away so that we create more gallery spaces so the plan being is that some members of staff will move back into the museum but we will retain the Phoenix, this top floor, so some staff will stay here. Conservation will move back into the building. Front of house obviously all have to move back in and some of the members of different teams will move back into the museum… (Nena Beric, redevelopment project co-ordinator).

Being divided into different buildings might be seen as producing a lack of unity; however the staff members in each of the buildings seem to work in harmony and in synergy with each other, at the moment, and it is hoped to stay so after the new arrangements are implemented. There are many volunteers of RAMM from all ages and backgrounds. Volunteers contribute an average of 5,000 hours each year: the equivalent of 3 full time staff members.

Other stakeholders of RAMM are collectors, experts, architects, engineers, contractors, consultants, the project manager who oversees the project on the client's behalf namely Focus Consultants, a quantity surveyor who looks at all the different costing elements of the scheme and (Focus Consultants again), a CDM (construction design management) coordinator which is Northcroft and they look at all sorts of health and safety issues on site, fire engineers who are ARUP (an independent firm of designers, planners, engineers, consultants and technical specialists offering a broad range of professional services) and they look at the fire strategy for the building, funders, community members, donors and

teams responsible for the branding of the museum. BAM Construction is the main constructor of the building. After finishing their work and they have left their place to a local firm Benbow from Newton Abbot.

RAMM has many funders. The funding that is received by the Heritage Lottery Fund makes up most of the funding that was required for the refurbishment of the building. Then comes the Renaissance programme, which is the government's investment in regional museums. RAMM's World Cultures Collection has been identified as a pre-eminent collection of national and international importance by MLA's (Museums Libraries and Archives) designation scheme, so the collection has benefited from the Designation Challenge Fund. Exeter City Council is naturally one of the great funders of RAMM. The other funders are given in table 7.3:

Table 7. 3 List of funders for the RAMM

- Growth Point
- Garfield Weston Foundation
- DCMS/Wolfson Foundation Museums and Galleries Improvement Fund Designation Challenge Fund
- Big Lottery Fund
- Arts Council England
- V&A Purchase Grant Fund
- The Art Fund
- Pilgrim Trust
- Esmee Fairbairn Foundation
- Victoria and Albert Museum
- British Museum
- Friends of Exeter Museums and Art Gallery

Source: http://www.rammuseum.org.uk/about-ramm/funders, retrieved on 01.07.2012.

With the necessary funding received from the relevant sources of income, new posts have been created in RAMM such as the post called 'project manager', whereby they had

someone who liaises between all the contractors and all the builders and the rest of the staff members. There are also many members of the staff, who are on short term contracts and there for different projects that run for a couple of years. One project finishes and then another one begins and other people come in and so on. So a lot of the staff members change regularly. Also new staff members were needed and acquired for the application process to the Heritage Lottery Fund and they stayed on in RAMM after the funding had been received. So, they've had to consider the funding that had to go to the new staff members. They've also had to consider the funding that had to go to collecting, which is called the cost of collecting.

7.2.2.2.1 Heritage Lottery Fund

The main contribution to the redevelopment project was made by the HLF. The Heritage Lottery Fund has contributed nearly £10 million to Exeter City Council's £15 million redevelopment project. This project is expected to allow RAMM to grow and develop to meet 21st Century needs and maintain its position as Exeter's No. 1 attraction.[39]

After doing the feasibility study for the redevelopment project, RAMM has applied for the Heritage Lottery Fund in order to receive some funding. RAMM has been through the application process, which was long and voluminous because of the paperwork and planning involved. Unluckily the museum had to work on this process twice because their project fell out in the first application but the city council has supported and encouraged the museum to reapply.

> Our project was the one that fell out but they encouraged us to go back in again and the city council was very committed and supportive of going back in again which was fantastic because even making those applications cost quite a lot of money…The detail you put into the application is quite considerable. So we've had somebody to help coordinate the application process and help us with the business plan. But then you've got an audience development plan, you've got to have architectural proposals, exhibition design proposals. So you've got to have at least two of your consultants on

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[39] http://www.rammuseum.org.uk/about-ramm/funders

board to actually get through the application process. That's why it's expensive; they don't do that for free. You have to pay their fees for doing that (Camilla Hampshire, museum manager).

As part of their assessment process, the HLF required considerable detail in regard to the proposed architectural and display scheme. RAMM appointed the exhibition designers and architects right from the start as if their application were going to be successful, because if they had appointed them only for the application process it could have been the case that the exhibition designers and architects could have fallen out after they've got the funding because they don't necessarily get the job afterwards. Alan Caig, head of leisure and museums, explains below how they applied for the Heritage Lottery Fund for funding and how they got it.

We spent a lot of time choosing the right architect and we wanted architects who understood old buildings and who also understood how to extend them. We choose an architect that, some projects we admired very much but one in particular was the Horniman Museum in South London which they had done a very similar job on. The Horniman, which is quite similar and built about the same time or started about the same time as RAMM they extended that, it's near a park a bit like ours is and their collections, although different, were you know analogical to ours so we liked what they'd done so we hired them and as it happens they had worked on that project with some display engineers called Ralph Appelbaum and Associates. We liked their work as well so we hired them too so between us we sort of worked up the initial draft project and submitted that to the Heritage Lottery Fund for funding.

RAMM has been an ideal choice for the HLF too because the 'HLF has concentrated on delivering change through aiding the infrastructure of existing attractions, as opposed to providing grant aid for new attractions' (Olding, 2000).

7.2.2.2.2 City Council Funding

In terms of income, the museum has strong ties with the City Council. The museum belongs to the city council, so obviously some of the council tax goes to the museum although many members of the public are not aware of this fact. In order for this redevelopment project to get funding from the city council, the most important thing was to get a political buy in on the project because RAMM is a county museum, it's the county museum of Devon but for historical reasons it needs to be funded by a small city council of Exeter, which is a burden on the city council. However, it hasn't been too difficult to get that political buy in on the project because Exeter is a very special city with a great sense of its own identity. It is a historic city in a beautiful location and it's an important location for businesses with its wide transportation capabilities and strategic position. It has a beautiful Cathedral. As the museum reflects the historical characteristics of the city, the city council gives a special emphasis to the museum. RAMM is a museum, which represents Exeter's identity and it's an indivisible part of the city of Exeter. RAMM has a different relationship with the city council than what would be considered usual.

> Exeter is the county town of Devon and we are the county museum of Devon. So, although we have this county function, we're not funded by Devon County Council, we are entirely funded by the city council. That means that the city council runs a very big museum from quite a small council. So, about 8% of the council's revenue expenditure, to exclude elements of housing, is spent on the museum. Now that's probably unique in the UK for a council spending so much on a museum. Usually museums are a tiny percentage of a council's spend. In Exeter it's quite significant. So that means we have a profile within the council, which is much larger than would be normal. So in terms of being able to have a conversation about a project like this and being in a role to compete with the council funding, we're in a much stronger position. The council is much more aware of the museum, they're much more interested in us…. So, it's easier for me as an officer to get the museum agenda up to the top than it would be if I was working for a different authority where I'd be competing against libraries, I'd be competing against social services, and roads and all that. There is a pride within the city that goes with that. A pride about the museum… So, it's something that the HLF,

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when they were assessing our application, were very aware of because obviously they would like to see more local authorities behaving like Exeter and taking that active pride and interest in their heritage (Camilla Hampshire, museum manager).

As we can see in the quote above, RAMM is an ideal match for the HLF because it's maybe the most attractive visitor attraction in Exeter. Due to unplanned changes that have happened in the redevelopment work, more expenses had to be made. 'Just how big a facelift only became clear once BAM Construct UK (the construction company responsible for RAMM's refurbishment) came on site and began to demolish some of the more ramshackle bits: far from solid Victorian foundations, it turned out that the rear of the building was sitting on a Norman defensive ditch, which the Victorians hadn't filled in properly. As a result the back of the building was sinking into soft mud!'.[40]

The building being a Victorian building we had a lot of structural issues, which obviously have a knock on effect on the programme. So for instance we had a wall, it's famous, it's called wall 10, it's basically a wall within the building but it had no foundations, which BAM our contractor investigated further and basically made the decision that the wall had to be taken down and rebuilt. So, basically the wall was taken down, new foundations were laid and the wall was rebuilt and we had similar issues in one of our other galleries, in the templates gallery, where we had some subsidence due to, the back of the building was built on a Norman ditch, which is around 11 metres deep so it's quite a big void, which we always knew about but we've had a lot of subsidence over the years and a lot of cracking in some of the gallery walls... (Nena Beric, redevelopment project coordinator).

Because of these changes, the redevelopment project had a massive overspend and the local authority which was already making a huge commitment to the museum, had to put extra money into this project to complete it. However, it doesn't have this money at hand, so the local authority will have to take on an equivalent of a mortgage to cover the cost, which is an unwanted position both for the city council and the museum, which will be the source of this

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[40] http://www.rammuseum.org.uk/New-galleries-taking-shape/

problem. This kind of a burden is a real political setback for the council politicians and this would be the last thing they would want before any elections to come.

7.2.2.2.3 Renaissance in the Regions

While RAMM was doing the capital redevelopment project, they were also getting a big revenue funding stream from 'Renaissance in the regions'. Since 2003, groups of museums in each of the English regions have been receiving funding from the government to improve and extend their services, as part of a programme called Renaissance.

> Renaissance in the regions is sort of coming to an end, it might end or it might carry on as something different but it won't be as useful for what we want it to do, it was all about capacity building and it's all about making museums, some museum much better, making them stronger and better able to cope with life so that has worked extremely well so even if it ends we'll be grateful for that… (Alan Caig, head of leisure and museums).

The museums in many regions are big and they serve the whole region and not only the city that they find themselves in. However, in the case of museums like RAMM, where the city councils are responsible for their funding, it is not possible for the city councils to maintain such big museums. Therefore, the government wanted to try to help large regional museums be better off and so RAMM has got funding from the government. In RAMM, this money has helped fund lots of programmes like family learning, schools work, anything where there is a gap and RAMM didn't have something. It has run until March 2011 and no one knew what would happen afterwards at the time of the data collection. 'It could be after March 2012 that it ceases to exist in its current form' (Mark Griffin, front of house manager). On the whole, 'the benefits of Renaissance funding have come with a raft of targets, deliverables and evaluation requirements' (RAMMble Staff Newsletter, Issue No 52, July 2010).

One significant development about income will be the money cuts. There are supposed to be two lots of money cuts coming to RAMM (this is not for certain at the moment but highly

probable), one from the City Council itself because local authority funding is under threat and the other one will be from the Renaissance funding, which comes from central government. When these cuts will take place, it will probably have an impact on the staffing structure because obviously there will be less money.

7.2.2.2.4 Volunteers of RAMM

A vital way that museums interact with the world is by means of the volunteering opportunities that they offer their communities. Volunteers play a crucial role for museums around Devon. They are an important work force and a good opportunity for museums to integrate with the public. There are many volunteer run museums in Devon. Volunteers of museums usually consist of elderly people, (in fact 'the largest group of people who volunteer is the newly-retired'[41] and people who come from other walks of life. Therefore, elderly volunteers cannot always realize what they need to run a successful museum because museums are organizations and they need organizational management skills like every other organization does. They usually lack necessary skills like customer care, marketing, financial budgeting and management. They also usually tend to be technologically deficient. They can't build up the technological infrastructure for going worldwide and therefore the museum cannot become mere competitive using volunteers. However, although they might be lacking technological background, this might at times turn out to be an advantage for them in that while more technology oriented modern museums can become too modernized at times and lose their authenticity, those smaller volunteer run museums can keep their authenticity in contrast, which can be much more attractive for audiences.

The following news took place in a RAMMble Staff Newsletter: Devon museums are joining forces with youth volunteering organizations to find ways of using young people's skills to benefit museums and to provide training and work related experiences for the young people taking part. Pilot projects will see youth ambassadors recruited to work with four small museums from May to September (2010). They will help to develop projects that will excite and interest young people and find new ways to engage them with heritage. By listening to

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[41] Gibbs, http://www.amitie.it/voch/4_VoCH_Volunteering_UK.pdf; p: 45

young people and finding common ground, museums will be able to adjust their programming and reach out to young people. The project will help all small museums by identifying models and approaches for greater participation by young people (RAMMble Staff Newsletter Issue No 50, May 2010).

The refurbishment process has been built on the motto: 'Home to a million thoughts'. Therefore the museum feels the need to understand and communicate with people from all age groups. By means of combining different age groups, the museum finds an opportunity to learn about the expectations and means of communication with these groups. The young ones can benefit from old ones' experiences and the old ones can learn about the new developments that they can use in their museums from the young volunteers. It is also possible to make use of volunteers as a sample group that represents society and its expectations from museums. Volunteers have the ability to represent visitors and because of this, a museum can also benefit from its volunteers in the co-creation process in that they can learn from their volunteers and through this way get closer to the public in general.

7.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, the contextual characteristics and boundaries have been highlighted within which RAMM's refurbishment process has taken place and been shaped. The changes and paradigm shifts that museums have been going through have been highlighted through an overview of museum history starting from the beginnings of museums until their current existence. The paradigm shifts that have been taking place in museum history give an insight into the changes that took place during the refurbishment process of RAMM and show how far these developments have actually overreached their original birth places and made themselves felt all over the globe. One of the most important results of these changes is that museums have become more visitor-oriented than ever before. This orientation has triggered the discussions regarding museums' actual mission; that is, whether museums are there to be only scientific and education oriented, in which case they can include things that visitors need to learn and not only enjoy; or museums are there to please visitors, in which case they only include those things that give pleasure to them. Another important point in changing museums is the co-creation phenomenon, which involves the blurring of the

distinction between producers and consumers of museum experiences. This phenomenon changes even the viewpoint of the question above. The human (subject) and object relationship has changed in museums and how this change came about is explained in this chapter. The British museological scene has been described, history of RAMM has been told, and the motives for the refurbishment process, the stakeholders that have taken place during the refurbishment and funding sources have been described.

CHAPTER 8

ROYAL ALBERT MEMORIAL MUSEUM VIEWED THROUGH THE LENS OF POSTMODERNISM

8.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to research the second objective of this thesis which is to view the RAMM that has just gone under refurbishment, through the lens of postmodernism. This is supposed to be an example to the newly changing museums in England. This chapter therefore lays out the features of the refurbishment process that RAMM has gone through, from various angles.

This chapter fulfills these targets in two steps. The first step is to research the paradigm shift that has been taking place in the museum world (that has been mentioned in the previous chapter) and apply these observations to RAMM; and the second one is to lay out what the changing elements in the museum actually are. There are elements that have changed, however there are also elements that had to stay the same. Those elements that had to stay the same will be covered as well.

8.2 RAMM as a postmodern consumption object

The Royal Albert Memorial Museum and Art Gallery has gone through a huge refurbishment process between 2007 and 2011. RAMM wanted to change and adapt itself to the new century. Throughout the last century the role of the museum has changed dramatically and they came to operate in significantly different ways. 'Museums are in revolt' (Knell et al. 2007: xix). The paradigm shift that is taking place in the museum world is now forcing museums to adapt themselves to this change and hence many of these museums feel the need to go under long refurbishment processes. Being a contemporary museum that is trying to renew itself according to the needs and wants of the new century, the changes happening in RAMM highlight and give a clue as to the widespread climate of change that draws all other museums towards changing themselves. Therefore, the analysis of the change process that RAMM is going through and the characteristics of the new RAMM as a

contemporary museum can shed light to an understanding of contemporary museums in general.

Museums are reflecting upon postmodern ideas and postmodern consumption trends and creating 'places that appeal to consumers'. Like in all forms of media, places in museums are presented according to that particular museum's perception of that place and the design of presentation that it chooses. The same is true in the case of the RAMM, as well. According to the museum staff members, consumers of RAMM consist of all members of the society. As museums are mostly visited by tourists and most of the tourists are by nature economically and in many cases culturally as well, affluent individuals, representations made in museums are naturally made mainly for affluent individuals of the society. Also, the City Council members, who provide an important part of the museum funding belong to a higher status in the society. Under these circumstances, the collections exhibited in the museum are shaped by their worldviews. However, as the new slogan of the new RAMM 'home to a million thoughts' suggests, everybody in the society is actually being represented by the new museum. The researcher has discussed this subject with the museum manager Camilla Hampshire, who says that they do not design their exhibitions according to different levels of consumers but they present the same thing to everybody hoping that each consumer will evaluate them according to their own cultural background. By providing opportunities for expression to all members of the society, the co-creative activities of the museum such as the 'living here' and 'moving here' projects give space for wider respresentation in the museum. This quality of the museum is in line with the postmodern characteristic which breaks down the distinction between elite and mass popular culture (Jameson as in Dorst, 1989: 116).

In the refurbishment of the RAMM, there were things to be changed but there were also things that had to be kept the same. In fact, there seems to be a double-edged tendency that seems to affect museums around the world. The tendency to constantly change to fit in the new century and be flexible to be able to adapt to changes on the one hand and the tendency to become more and more standardized, having to obey the rigidness of certain standards on the other. These two seemingly opposed tendencies actually go hand in hand because as museums become advanced and professionalized, they increasingly feel the need

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to adapt to existing standards. The museums that can find a balance between these two opposing points and reconcile them seem to reach success in the contemporary museum world. These become professionalised and

> the products of museum professionalization are greater collections care, better understanding of fiduciary responsibility, code of ethics, standardization of museum practices, greater attention to constituency needs, accreditation and improved salaries for museum workers-to name a few (Edson and Dean, 2001: 207).

Museums are not the only venues that are affected by standardization. We can see in all areas of civilized life the need for obeying certain standards that have been developed and agreed upon. 'We are usually unaware of the role played by standards in raising levels of quality, safety, reliability, efficiency and interchangeability - as well as in providing such benefits at an economical cost' (Ioannides and Hadzilacos, 2003: 1). By means of standardization, it is guaranteed that all standardized museums will have a minimum quality level set by the standards after all. Fahy (2005: 4) names some aspects or some of the consequences of having standards in a museum:

> The development of standards in many aspects of collections management, accompanied by the link with central government funds, will eventually improve standards of care and raise awareness in some museums. Other benefits of increased standardization in collections care and documentation practices are the potential for increased mobility between museum staff, who will not have to learn new systems in every museum they work in; in the field of documentation, museums may be able to exchange information between each other more readily and easily than they have hitherto. This is an exciting prospect and may have profound implications upon the ways in which museums disseminate information about their collections.

There are certain standardization criteria for UK museums and museums go through change processes according to these criteria in order to be acknowledged as qualified museums in the UK. This procedure for standardization helps UK museums bring the value and quality of their services to a high enough degree. Museums in the UK are being standardized by the

accreditation scheme. Accreditation makes museums more professional because it focuses on national standards of documentation, collection, care and accessibility and improves their standards, makes them more aware of what the visitors and users expect and are looking for.

The Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (which has been abolished on May 2012 and its responsibilities transferred to the Arts Council England) has developed an accreditation scheme for museums, which sets nationally agreed standards for museums in the UK. The scheme is deemed to be one of the most innovative and effective developments in the museum sector. It has set the pace for raising museum standards in the UK and it has also been used as a model and source of inspiration for museums overseas. The requirements for accreditation can be found in Appendix 6. According to RAMM's records, RAMM is among the 1795 Accredited Museums in the UK. Over 100 new museums are working towards applying for Accreditation for the first time. RAMM is one of a select group of 16 museums in the country that is piloting advanced level 3 accreditation.

The Accreditation Scheme brings many advantages to museums. According to the Arts Council England, to become eligible for the Accreditation Scheme, museums must meet the Museums Association 1998 definition of a museum: 'Museums enable people to explore collections for inspiration, learning and enjoyment. They are institutions that collect, safeguard and make accessible artefacts and specimens, which they hold in trust for society'.

8.2.1 The Reflections of the Paradigm Shift on RAMM

RAMM's refurbishment process can be said to have been parallel and mainly related to the paradigm shift (mentioned in the previous chapter) that has been taking place in the museum world. However, RAMM was not one hundred percent free to do the changes it wanted. RAMM's will for change is not only balanced with the standardization requirements and having to keep some things the same. It is also the case that, according to the research conducted by the museum and also as is seen from daily relationships, RAMM is very much loved by the members of the public (taken from the meeting notes of RAMM with the 'I AM' branding team). Therefore, RAMM is trying to change but at the same time keep its best

loved qualities so that people will keep on loving RAMM. So, RAMM's will to change while at the same time keep its best qualities pull RAMM towards their direction and the ultimate change that has eventually happened in the museum has been a byproduct of the power that these two forces apply. Most of the interviewed staff members said that people 'love' RAMM. Many people find RAMM sympathetic and they have a feeling of love towards it. They added that this kind of a love relationship is not usually built between a museum and its visitors and that RAMM is rather unique in this sense. This 'love' seems to be close in nature to the attraction that staff members felt towards the museum before they were recruited. Under these circumstances we can speak of a charismatic aura that the museum seems to have that produces the capacity of drawing in various stakeholder groups towards itself. A refurbishment project is not without its risks. RAMM's refurbishment carried the risk that people wouldn't like the changes made in RAMM, therefore extra care was given to the decisions regarding change.

The new RAMM holds a position different than that of older museums. 'Older museum paradigms (basically Victorian encyclophedism) would rather have a one-way conversation' (McLean 1999: 89) style in which the museum would deem itself as the only authority that is responsible for dispensing information and knowledge about worldly phenomena to the public and render the museum visitor a 'tabula rasa' on which to record those bulks of information and truth that flow from the museum. Being visitor oriented causes an elimination of the old paradigm in museums. Where visitors are thinking, asking questions, wondering about information and also able to give information themselves, a museum cannot just lay everything out like an encyclopedia.

> What we've tried to do is... give them (audiences) more voices and give them more stories instead of laying everything out like an encyclopaedia (Ruth Randall, marketing manager).

In fact, the new RAMM wants people to get critical, ask questions not believe everything they are told and bring new dimensions and viewpoints to existing phenomena at hand, shortly RAMM wants people to think for themselves.

It is not just us telling people it's a two way thing and telling stories and exciting people to think different, perhaps provoking people a bit, challenging people a bit (Ruth Randall, marketing manager).

In the new way of dealing with information and knowledge, the new museum holds a drastically different epistemological viewpoint in which it assumes the coexistence of multiple truths about any particular worldly phenomenon and is modest enough to open itself up to the possibility of receiving information and learning about different truths from visitors themselves. This result of the paradigm shift seems to be a dominant characteristic of 21st century museums and can be said to be part of the democratization of knowledge. In museums working with this perspective, ideas and thoughts are deemed very important, even more important than objects themselves. In general, 'today's museums are engaged in an entirely new enterprise aimed at eliciting thoughts and experiences in people' (Hein, 2000: 8) and this is possible to achieve in many other ways than by means of objects alone. RAMM seems to have adapted itself fully to such an orientation as we can see in its new slogan. In the new slogan of the museum the museum is thought of as being a 'home to a million thoughts'. This proposition is different than the proposition 'home to a million objects', which at first instance could have been thought to literally fit a museum better. However, this slogan shows that in this museum thoughts are seemingly held more valuable than objects. Objects are but means of producing thoughts, which are the valuable end results. According to the new RAMM, a museum should be a battleground on which thoughts fight against one another or a playground on which they encompass and support each other. These thoughts don't necessarily have to come from specialists or people who are deemed to have valuable comments by virtue of their career positions. These thoughts can come from ordinary people, from children or from any other public member. Camilla Hampshire, the museum manager says the following: 'It's this whole thing of all these little bubble thoughts that can happen and there might be, you know, people come from the university and go 'Hah, that's a very rare example of X and I know that this is similar to the example of Munich' and whatever, very academic and quite specialized. But it might be … coming in and saying: 'Gosh, doesn't that look blue and braky?' and each of those are valuable to us'. Jameson (2001) argues that the separation between high and low culture has been diminished and this has integrated high culture with popular culture and this in turn

has helped the creation of a one big varied consumer culture. This postmodern integration of high and low cultures takes place in RAMM too, because both of these cultures are equally important for RAMM. However, it could be the case that this is so just because RAMM has as its target market the whole society and not because it's postmodern and it would have refined itself only to either the high culture or low culture segments of the market if its marketing strategy found it appropriate that way. Whichever is the case, we can see that the museum is trying to create the best co-creative environment and this alone seems to be postmodern.

The most important of all is that the interaction between people and objects is actually stimulated within the environment of the museum. RAMM came to the idea of 'a home to a million thoughts' while working with the 'I AM' branding team, where staff members have thought about what the essence of the museum is and what kind of a museum RAMM is. The museum manager went on to say: 'We have that one and a half million objects in the collections so the strap line shouldn't be home to a million and a half objects, because that's not that interaction between people and objects. Home to a million thoughts is meant to capture that…' (Camilla Hampshire, museum manager). The reasons for having various objects in the museum has become more important than what kind of objects to have in the museum because it's not about objects, it's about what you feel, think etc. when you see the objects (from the meeting notes of RAMM staff with the 'I AM' branding team). For example, silver objects used to be displayed together in the old museum but in the new museum the story behind these objects is more important and answering the questions like 'why are there lots of silver spoons in this museum, what does silver mean to Exeter?' (Alan Caig, head of leisure and museums) is of more importance than the fact that there are silver spoons in the museum. Just showing silver on its own does not give any kind of feel for Exeter or the people of Exeter. So, they have thought that what they could do was to change the displays entirely so that it gave you a feel of the story of why those things were in the museum, how important they were and what they meant to Exeter and so on. This storytelling perspective is stressed in the following quote: 'So we went for, when we finally did the project we turned the displays into a chronological display so you start from pre-history and you come through to the 20th century' (Alan Caig, head of leisure and museums). As Alan Caig says, in the museum the stories of especially Exeter citizens are taken into

consideration and instead of the commercial value of objects, the value relative to what Exeter people say is mentioned and the objects are organized according to their historical narratives in a chronological order. This is a postmodern idea and the curator's decision seems to be an objective criteria based upon an evaluation of subjective user comments.

In the new RAMM the relationship with the visitor will be enhanced as much as possible. The hands on activities, where people can actually touch some museum objects are a part of this. The galleries will be more interactive and lectures will be held that are more interactive with the public, where people can come up with their own comments, questions and thoughts and discuss them with the lecturers. Interaction with the public can be said to be the basis of the new museum paradigm in RAMM. To boost the interaction with the public, the city council is gradually allowing RAMM to use more social media so that it can have more conversations with the public. At the moment, RAMM is promoting itself by means of social media such as Twitter, Facebook and You Tube. For example they have put the video of Gerald the giraffe when it was being moved, had to come out of the building, go around and get craned. They've got some interviews that Radio Devon did about some objects on there, they've got some television interviews, visual interviews that the company did with them and they've also got some animations that some children did in workshops. There's a little animation of someone making a mount, time lapse photography etc. All those videos are theirs; they've got their own copyright for them. 'We are also hoping to use more social media at RAMM and we have a group of staff who get together to contribute ideas and discuss how we can use social media. They are known as SMAR - Social Media at RAMM' (RAMMble Staff Newsletter, Issue No 54, Sept 2010).

As a result of the interaction of RAMM with its visitors, some projects start with people, some start with the collections in the museum, whereas in the old days it only used to start with the collections. Being a museum under refurbishment, which is trying to carry those new values of the paradigm shift discussed in the last chapter, RAMM has been trying to improve its levels of accessibility. This is a result of becoming more people or visitor-oriented. The very phenomenon of accessibility has two levels to it. A museum can be accessible physically or it can be accessible intellectually and ideally it can be both at the same time. RAMM has been improving its physical accessibility by means of making

functional additions to the museum building that would make it possible for disabled people to go around the building in an easy way just like everyone else does. Getting around the museum used to be very difficult, access for wheelchair users was difficult from certain areas so they've got level access now throughout the building. RAMM has also been trying to improve its intellectual accessibility by means of being equally understandable to a highly educated as well as an uneducated person. For example, by means of using different techniques such as 'tagging' on the Internet (letting people tag objects on the Internet), RAMM can get hold of different perspectives that people hold about different objects in the museum, different associations that they might be able to make about those objects etc. These comments are from ordinary people and they are very important for the new RAMM. RAMM staff members prepare the panels next to the objects only after reading those comments. In this way, RAMM has actually been making an effort to use ordinary people's language in order to express objects' qualities, whereas in the old version it was the other way round. Curators were responsible for creating the expressions related to the objects' qualities and ordinary people would try to understand and learn those expressions, which were more academic in nature and therefore didn't access many people to the same degree.

> Earlier discourses about the relationship between museums and the public were characterized by the belief that the curator was pivotal to the history of the authoritative museum; the all-seeing, all-knowing role in the museum that set the museum apart from its constituents (Barett, 2011: 144).

Alan Caig, the head of leisure and museums, claimed that another facet of intellectual accessibility involves not taking intellectual stances towards museum objects. Instead of making value laden comments about museum objects based on our own belief and cultural system, it is important to keep the objectivity towards those objects.

> You don't take intellectual stances, you know it's all very relative, we don't say for example that the objects that came from, oh I don't know, from specific islanders, we would not say they have a specific meaning or we would not try and judge them in a western way, we would try and show this is what they meant, what we think they meant to the people who used them but we might be wrong and whereas 30 years ago

and you go to a museum, you would be told by the curator that this object did this and this is what it was for and of course that was terribly wrong, you know, we try not to make any moral judgments so, and a lot of objects we have given back to the original communities (Alan Caig, head of leisure and museums).

Here we see that the museum has become more critical and questioning towards history and other factual data in the name of finding the best approximation to what has really happened and is especially careful about not directing visitors to the wrong direction regarding historical truths as has been the case in many museums in the past. It's not only the museum that is critical and questioning. The museum also lets visitors become critical and questioning as well by designing platforms on which the public can ask questions to the responsible staff members of the museum that tell about factual data. On these occasions, museum visitors find the chance to discuss, criticize or add comments to the communicated pieces of information.

The world has seen a globalization trend in the last couple of decades. As an opposition to this trend, the world has seen an anti-globalization trend as well, made up of people, who believe in the detriments of the globalization trend (Held and McGrew, 2007; Fernandez, 2008). This has brought the localization trend with it. Nations started to see the globalization and localization trends coexist next to one another. An example to this could be being able to eat local food in a global food chain. We can say that the same thing has happened in RAMM in that it has taken a step towards becoming global by having a web site of its own and promoting RAMM to the world, while at the same time it has taken a step towards becoming more and more local. As the museum started to gain a more local oriented view point, it is changing to include Exeter's identity as its focal point. On the other hand, being online, it will be possible to exist in the global arena and relate to other worldwide collections and even make trade.

The other significant change that has happened after the refurbishment is that storytelling has become a central issue in the new RAMM. Objects have lost their centrality and left it to stories instead. The museum has become like a theatre, where a performance is taking place. Objects are like actors but they don't make much sense without a script to make them

mean what they mean for the audience. Therefore, the museum focuses more on the script rather than focusing solely on the objects in the new RAMM. The story behind the objects ending up at the museum is a point that RAMM staff members have stressed that the audiences will be informed about in the new museum. Head of leisure and museums stresses that the museum is like a theatrical enterprise and expresses the differences in the new RAMM with the following quotes:

RAMM is playing a history play; it's the kind of play or film that takes you through hundreds of years and shows you how things changed and uses objects and events as shorthand for bigger stories. It evokes a much bigger universe in your mind than you're actually seeing because of the way you put things together. Old RAMM sort of gave you things to look at. New RAMM will give you things to look at and then, not explicitly, but will pose questions like, why is this object here. It's a change in the way we present things, it will be much more about the way we present things, it'll be much more about, we will be asking more questions. One of the examples is that in the chronological part of the history there will be a section where we put our clocks and that together with transport because clocks were never important until trains started to run and you had to know what time the train arrives and until then every town in Britain had a different time, you know there'd be a clock in the middle of the town, which would say a particular time but it didn't agree with the one down the road, they had to find a way of making all clocks agree so that the train always arrived at the same time. Little things like that that you begin to understand about how the society developed is what we're trying to put into the displays (Alan Caig, head of leisure and museums).

Spectacle I think is important and although there's no acting or no live performance what you want is things which present themselves and they don't just sit there, they do actually project what they are and what they do. They talk to you and you know that by the setting they're in or by the information you give about them or the way you like them and that kind of thing so I think of it as being much more of a theatrical enterprise than probably anybody else does... and I think that's important (Alan Caig, head of leisure and museums).

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However, there's one thing to draw attention to. Although RAMM is now more story-oriented than object-oriented, the museum always works from the strengths of the displays; therefore objects still keep their significant position. It's unlikely that this will change because collections define museums.

> We could do any history subject in the world but there wouldn't be much point, the point is to get more children, more families interested in the displays and the objects that we have in the museum (Kate Osborn, access officer).

Another significant change that will take place in the new museum is that people will be allowed to make more noises and they will be able to use more senses. The visitors will be able to use their eyes, ears, hands and of course noses to get what's given in the museum. This will enhance the entire museum experience and help visitors feel as though they were really living in a time period or geographical area that the museum presents at that point in time.

8.2.2 Some Postmodern Qualities of RAMM

We can see that a great deal of the postmodern qualities that have been mentioned in the literature review part of this research actually take place in the new RAMM. It is however difficult to claim that the new RAMM will be a fully postmodern museum, for two reasons. One is that no one can really agree upon an ultimate definition of postmodernism. Actually as Brown (1993: 19) puts it: 'few terms have been so widely used, and abused, in recent years as 'postmodern', 'postmodernism' and 'postmodernity'' and secondly, there are many other discourses taking place under the chimney of the new RAMM and they all clash and negotiate with each other to create a new museum culture. Therefore, none of these discourses seem to occupy the playground of the museum totally but only partially. In the following part, the most obvious reflections of postmodernity upon RAMM will be discussed with examples.

8.2.2.1 Expanded Boundaries of RAMM: Fragmented Museum

The RAMM has been going under many changes on the way to becoming a more modern (in the sense of being contemporary and new) museum. As discussed above, one of these changes is that the levels of accessibility are changing to include a wider audience. The online presence of RAMM contributes to this change to a great extent. Also especially with the out and about program, RAMM has been able to reach people who aren't normally very accessible. Below is an account of the different facets of the expansion of RAMM's boundaries based on data gathered from the in-depth interviews with staff members, participant and non-participant observations and some other data collection techniques (see chapter 6 for details) used for the research.

8.2.2.1.1 Changing Spatial Boundaries in the RAMM Building

Within the boundaries of the refurbishment the most outstanding changes are obviously the changes made to the actual buildings of RAMM. The central building of the museum is in itself very important. 'The building itself is an integral part of the brand value; hence in managing these historic architectural assets museum directors must also acquire skills in building maintenance' (Caldwell, 2000: 33). RAMM's a listed building, which means it's of architectural interest, and therefore changes that can be made to the RAMM building are limited. Listing is a special treatment that is applied to buildings of particular merit or interest. Special protection is given to these kinds of buildings that are identified by the relevant governmental bodies (Mynors, 2006). By means of listing, it is not only possible to keep historically significant buildings under care and control for future generations, but listing is also a message to the public that draws their attention towards that building for its significance.

> Listed buildings are buildings that are protected, because they are of historical or architectural interest. And.. written over 200 years old is listed. And many of the museums tend to be in old buildings so there are limitations on the changes that you can make (Susan Eddisford, Community museums officer).

This is one of the reasons the new RAMM cannot be said to be fully post modern. It has to keep its uniqueness and historicity as best as possible while at the same time keeping up with the latest novelties of the new century. Different discourses are clashing against each other within the museum arena until they are somehow negotiated but that's beyond the topic of interest in this thesis.

There are many contractors and designers involved in the change process. Prior to the arrival of the contractors, RAMM has first developed its own design brief for the whole building and also the exhibition design brief for the individual collections. The design brief detailed RAMM's aspirations for the project and what they wanted to see from it and that was the basis of the design. So, the brief was developed and then the consultant team, the architect, the quantity surveyors, the engineers were all appointed according to the design brief that was developed. It also went down into details about what RAMM wanted to see in particular galleries, also about front of house operational issues etc. So, the exhibition design was a collaborative work with the exhibition designers.

Once the design has been agreed upon, they went through the RIBA[42] (Royal Institute of British Architects) stages and then it went out to tender, it was advertised, the contractors expressed their interest, they were interviewed and the most suitable ones have been selected (Nena Beric, redevelopment project co-ordinator).

Table 8.1 shows the parties responsible for various works that needed to be done during the refurbishment process.

Table 8. 1 Key Roles in the Refurbishment Process

Main contractor	BAM Construction Ltd
Architects	Allies and Morrison
Exhibition designers	Ralph Appelbaum Associates
Project manager and quantity surveyor	Focus Consultants UK Ltd
Structural and services engineers	Building Design Partnership
Construction design management	Northcroft
Exhibition fit out	Benbow Group

Source: http://www.rammuseum.org.uk/The-new-museum-takes-shape/

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[42] You can see the RIBA stages in Appendix 6.

The space has been redesigned and the museum has a new outlook by the end of the refurbishment process. The RAMM was very excited about it and has followed the work of the contractors very closely.

> …we are coming towards the end of the base build works (October 2010)- there's a lot of finishing works going on in galleries so when I say finishing there's lots of floors going down and being painted, lighting going in so it's all the items that happen towards the end of the project that are happening and what we've been doing over the last sort of 8-9 months has been walking around galleries and looking at each gallery on an individual basis and looking at what finishes are acceptable, so a contractor might paint a room and we will go in and have a look and see, you know what we think about the work that they've done in terms of quality, the architect is actually responsible for that and they are actually responsible for signing of various elements of the work but obviously as the end users we are very, very keen to see that so you know we are on site every week.. (Nena Beric, redevelopment project co-ordinator).

Nena adds, however, that they were supposed to not get involved in the day to day running of the site because any change to the project could potentially cause a delay so they had to be very very careful, step back and leave the work to the contractors. She added that there was also a clerk of works team from the City Council that went on site every week to control the work from the client's point of view. There was, however, a close tracking of archeological finds that might come up from the digs.

> Heritage Lottery Fund, English Heritage, the Archeological Field Unit do what they call watching briefs, whenever there is a major ground work on site, so for instance where they're doing excavations or digs for foundations the Archeological Field units will come in and just watch what they are doing and look to see if any archeology turns up (Nena Beric, refurbishment project co-ordinator).

The space has been extended and RAMM has had some very good spaces and galleries in the end. False ceilings were being taken out and a lot of spaces became a lot bigger than before.

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The spaces became more interactive than before and there is more space for big exhibitions in the new museum. RAMM's multi-million pound development project reveals the old Victorian spaces and some hidden architectural features.

> Most of the interior space will be displays based whereas quite a lot of it in the past was offices and laboratories and so on. But all the accommodation space in the museum is essentially going to be displays based so the hope is to get more material out for people to see (a staff member).

During the course of the refurbishment, RAMM has been renovating the building in order to bring it back to its old architectural structure, which has changed many times in history according to the tastes and needs of different time periods. However, the original structure of RAMM's building is a unique one that gives the museum a unique particularity. According to the records of RAMM, the oldest parts of the building date from 1867 and even the newest section was completed in 1899.[43]

The removal of false ceilings and partition walls in RAMM's galleries has uncovered hidden features that haven't been seen for decades. The galleries were stripped by local building company Arque in preparation for the arrival of the main contractor HBG at the end of June (2010) and the features revealed included vaulted ceilings, ornate window frames, fireplaces and wrought iron ventilation grills. Many of these original Victorian features will be visible in the newly refurbished galleries. Some of these revealed features can be seen in Figure 8.1 below.

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[43] http://www.rammuseum.org.uk/news/new-galleries-taking-shape

Figure 8. 1 Ceilings-RAMM

Image up: Cllr Kevin Mitchell, Lead Councillor for Environment & Leisure, admires the Victorian vaulted ceiling exposed in the Rowley Gallery with Marketing Manager, Ruth Randall.

Some architectural/spatial changes that some staff members have told have been done in the museum are as follows: They have organized the first and ground floor, when you used to walk in previously you walked in through the main doors in Queen Street side and you would either turn left or right or you would go up the stairs, now the architects have created two, what they are calling spinal routes through the museum, so they have created 2 brand new corridors that will take you from front to back so on the ground floor you will walk in again through the street entrance and you will have an opportunity to go left or right or again up the stairs or you can walk right through the middle of the museum and you also have a new vista from front to back, which you never had before. The biggest change that people will notice will be the new extension, which is towards the rear of the site, as part of that houses a new temporary exhibition centre so previously they had 2 temporary exhibition galleries, they've now got 3 on the first floor so they've got a brand new temporary exhibitions gallery, they've also got a new reception and a new entrance so they'll have 2 entrances to the museum, the existing Queen Street entrance and the new garden entrance, they've also got a new conferencing room, a meeting room as part of the new entrance. Another big change is, there's a bridge from the new entrance which takes you out onto the Roman wall so members of the public will be able to go up a number of steps onto

the wall and then come into the museum from that side too. The Roman wall has been there for a long time but it's never been accessible so that's been quite an important change in the project.

> …we have more Roman wall than anybody else does, we've got lots of Roman walls left and the museum is next to it and one of the elements of the projects is to build a bridge from the museum onto the Roman wall so you'll be able to go on there, see over the wall, see what the Romans would've seen… (Alan Caig, head of leisure and museums).

According to the change plan put forward by the museum, the following changes have also been made. One thing is the central courtyard, which closed to the public before re-opening; previously an open courtyard with lots of plant rooms and store rooms, this area was like a back of house area. As part of the new design, the architects have decided to take out all of the plant and demolish all the rooms to create an open, huge central courtyard space. There's a south wall of that space, which is one of the existing walls of the museum and an old masonry wall, so that's all been opened out, again nobody will have seen that before. It's a neutral space with roof glass in it, which lets natural lighting in. There's also a new bridge which goes across the space and at the west wall. There's a double height display case, which houses about 150 of RAMMs iconic objects. False ceilings have been taken down to reveal the fantastic old architectural volumes. Some features like roof lights and roof lanterns which have been covered by polystyrene low ceilings not to be seen for a long time, have been stripped out. The building has gone back almost to its original state. Galleries on the ground floor that used to be sectioned into various different rooms, the café, a staff room, an activities room, which was divided into 2 separate rooms, all have been knocked out now to create this one large gallery, which will be the Devon and Exeter gallery and is on the ground floor. Those spaces were open to public access but the galleries weren't. A lot of storage and office spaces in the museum have been turned into gallery spaces with the refurbishment. So for instance, in the first floor there used to be 2 spaces, which were taken over by office space and storage, they've now been knocked out and are now two new galleries. The number of galleries in the museum have been increased. Access to the museum (on both physical and intellectual level) has been improved. In the new museum,

there will be café facilities, areas where people can leave bags, lockers, decent toilet facilities, some visitor information screens in order for people to be able to see what's actually happening in the museum. This is something they've never had before. Postmodern changes in the museum started first in architecture, which has not been taken into consideration in the old RAMM due to several reasons explained above. In the refurbishment, the architectural characteristics of postmodernity have been given a special emphasis. So, in the new RAMM, visitors can see more of the historical construction of the museum. Being able to access the collection is an important thing as well and for this purpose they've designed a collection study center and that's where they store most of the reserve collection. They have designed an area, where members of the public can come in and handle real objects; it will be on an appointment basis. They call this area a 'handling gallery'. People can come in and go onto their computer network and interrogate various bits of a collection so that's a really good learning resource which RAMM didn't have before. Really good education facilities are key at new RAMM.

A very basic change in the building is the new extension RAMM has had built at the rear of the original building to have some more gallery space at hand. The striking point is that this extension is a very modern 21st century building, and not a pastiche 19th century building. The reason for this is that RAMM finds it extremely inauthentic to try to make a pastiche building by imitating the old instead of building a modern building that belongs to our century.

> …We don't want to create a pastiche 19th century building, because we are a museum, we deal with authentic things. We're not involved in dissection. So we wanted a 21st century building at the back. But something that was sympathetic to the existing building. So that's quite a challenging brief for architects. ..Although it will have this modern element which is clearly very modern, the rest of it is about bringing out the character of RAMM (Camilla Hampshire, museum manager).

Another important change is related to the design of the galleries. Their design will be more visitor-oriented. On the whole, they will provide the visitors better learning tools and atmosphere.

Members of the public will be able to come in and look really close at an object, whereas before things were quite high up so, and also with the interactive as well you'll be able to interrogate what the meaning, how birds have evolved, how insects have evolved and all that sort of thing so it's quite a good learning tool there as well (Nena Beric, redevelopment project co-ordinator).

The new architectural vision aimed at making the building a more understandable and integrated one with respect to the old version of it. The old version was rather a haphazard and incongruous assortment. Since the time the building was built, various people had done various changes on it, which lacked a unifying principle.

...It wasn't an easy building to understand, it'd been messed around a lot. Different people have done all sorts of awful things to it, dreadful ceilings and you know hidden.. spaces inside so the second part of it really was to return the building to the original architects' vision and also extend it because one of our specialities was temporary exhibitions so we wanted a purpose built exhibition space so we built an extension to house that (Alan Caig, head of leisure and museums).

They're spending a lot of money now on huge plant and equipment to do all the environment stuff and they've got doors in better positions, double glazing is better and there's more controlled environment around the whole museum whereas before it was localized which means they can control the environment say with world cultures gallery but that's next door to the art gallery, all we'd have is plug in heaters, you know it was very poor system. I think you need to bear in mind also that the museum was added to over the years and was originally built in the 1860s and it was added to bits and pieces, so now what they've done by knocking through the walls and opening up doors they've joined it all together in one big complete system, which will improve it as well (Mark Griffin, front of house manager).

The extended areas inside the museum will make the museum capable of handling big exhibitions like other modern museums. 'Rhythm, spectacle and narrative' (Alain Caig, head

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of leisure and museums) are the key principles that RAMM is after. The condition of the museum building inside the city is also being highlighted when making the building an understandable one.

…You will always know where you are in it, whereas before it was, although it looked nice from the outside it was a sealed box on the inside so you wandered around, there were no windows, there was no sense of orientation, and you didn't know where you were going next. New RAMM is, you will always know where you are going, you will be able to see the next thing, you will be able to understand where you are because the windows are back so you look out there and that's Queen Street I know where I am and it also, … because we've got 2 entrances you'll be able to go and come in the front entrance on Queen Street and come out on the back and you're in a new space with the Roman Wall and some landscaping and you can go through that into Rougemont Gardens so we are increasing the way in which people can find their way through the city, so it has quite an architectural impact as well as what we're doing inside, you know opening up the city and showing the Roman Wall in a way that it's not been shown before in a proper setting… (Alan Caig, head of leisure and museums).

The use of space in the museum will be different. Apart from being extended, it will be redesigned and made interactive. Interactivity is a very important feature of new museums. Interactivity in museums didn't appear suddenly though, it underwent an evolution.

Interactive science exhibits were associated with political empowerments and creativity in the 1960s and '70's. Later on, interactivity has become 'a dominant model of how objects can be used to produce subjects', intended to turn 'unfocussed visitor-consumers' into 'interested, engaged and informed technological citizens, to increase the public understanding of science and to make science museums more attractive to visitors. By the 1990s, interactivity becomes a kind of 'feedback system' in which visitors' engagement with exhibits is monitored and registered as part of the museum's 'internal audit' (Barry 2001 as cited in Henning 2006: 83).

Interactivity is about the museum experience being co-created by the museum together with its visitors. The museum encourages the visitor to get engaged with the museum objects, which are especially there for them to be handled. Co-creation of value is an important phenomenon in marketing and consumer theory literature (eg. Prahalad & Ramaswamy, 2004, 2005). It makes up one of the basic building stones of the service dominant logic (Vargo and Lusch, 2004). There are many replica objects in RAMM made especially for the purpose of bringing the consumer to touch the specimens and get a feeling of belonging to the time period that is being referred to. Children are encouraged to wear old Victorian clothes and feel themselves like little Victorians. They play around with objects and use the museum as a playground, where they socialize with each other, share ideas, thoughts and comments while learning about history and the like. RAMM staff all agreed upon the higher level of interactivity coming to the museum. The galleries are more interactive.

One distinctive character of RAMM is that it has decided to keep the galleries colourful as opposed to many other museums, which tend to use colors like white or gray in the hope to keep the seriousness of the museum environment. RAMM, however, finds this seriousness a bit abrasive in that it tends to be quite reminiscent of the old paradigm of the Victorian encyclophedism, where the distance between the visitor and the museum is striking and kept alive by means of different strategies such as not letting the visitor be loud in the museum. The new museum will be very colourful and this is a significant sign that the barriers between the museum and the public are being brought down. RAMM did not used to be an authoritative museum that avoided being on the same level with the public, but with the new colourful galleries this will be communicated clearly and visually to the visitors. In RAMM, where the boundaries between the consumer and producer of museum experiences tend to collapse within the co-creation paradigm, being colourful gains a special importance and has a special meaning just as letting people be loud in the museum gains importance. This is how the new RAMM is going to be like.

> The architects wanted to paint the whole building in shades of white… We wanted our galleries to be colourful. Because that's RAMM, RAMM's colourful, RAMM's not like every other museum, it's distinctive. I just think that they (the architects) just have an

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aesthetic in their head, you know clean glass, you know white, lovely and we just said that that just isn't RAMM. So we've got green and pink, hue blue, pink in the hall, bright pink in the hall… They (the galleries) have different personalities as well (Ruth Randall, marketing manager for Leisure and Museums).

We have always said that we wanted to retain sort of quirkiness and warmth and the character of the building, which I think we have. Actually I think we have made it even more quirky, purely down to the choices that we've made in terms of the colour choices and that kind of thing. So I suppose that will make us different because I can imagine that people will think when they walk in that the building will be this kind of, very modern, you know, neutral space and I think a lot of people will be surprised by that. They will be surprised that certain elements of it aren't like that, certain elements are quirky, are warm, are inviting and other elements are neutral and those two things need to work together (Nena Beric, redevelopment project co-ordinator).

RAMM does not only address the educated, upper class visitor like in classical museum examples but opens its doors to everyone in the society, tries to reach highly educated people like specialists and university members as well as ordinary people like school kids and workers. When asked if the museum makes a distinction between the public and professional people, Camilla Hampshire told the following:

We don't really divide our audiences in that way at all. In some ways they're all general public. People who you call experts are usually people who are able to look after themselves. They will look at something and know what it is or they will know how to contact a museum and see things in the reserve collection.

However, we can actually say that RAMM's target visitors are mainly restricted to families, local people and people from Devon. The old RAMM audience exactly matched the demographic make-up of the city so that the lower socio-economic groups were equally represented as the higher socio-economic groups (from the meeting notes of RAMM with the 'I AM' team).

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These are postmodern qualities that RAMM has. The collapse of the division or bluff between producer and consumer of especially knowledge and art is quite a postmodern quality. RAMM wants to keep the museum distinctive, friendly, accessible and surprising by all means.

Another important difference in the new architectural structure of RAMM is that it will have some facilities that old RAMM used to lack. It didn't have facilities for disabled people but it will have them in the new building. The new RAMM will also have a café but it won't have a shop.

> …Obviously in this day and age income regeneration is quite important and it will become more important and we will have a café and we will hopefully be able to do some kind of conferencing and also hiring out of spaces, which is what we used to do before for receptions and things but it wasn't myself but Alan and Camilla, that's our head of service and museum manager, did some research into other museum shops and a lot of them don't make money. So we decided that it would be better to have a larger café or another room, where we can entertain. Rather than have a shop, we can still sell things for children and things to do with temporary exhibitions but not a big gift shop (Ruth Randall, marketing manager for Leisure and Museums).

Another request for change during the refurbishment has been put forward by the access officer. She has stated the need for social spaces in the museum, the need for seating, the need for people to gather. People don't just stand up and read the cases, they need to be able to sit down and think and be able to chat. The decisions regarding the arrangement of these are dependent on the curators because they are the ones who know the collections and therefore they will be the ones who can do the arrangement. The modern visitor facilities too have changed with the refurbishment, especially facilities for the handicapped. They will make the building more convenient and up to date. They are essential for a new museum building.

According to the common explanation of the staff members, the content of the galleries starting from the ground floor will be as follows: History of Exeter on the ground floor

(geological formation of Exeter-Devon and Exeter Formation Gallery), Devon and Exeter Early Gallery, Devon and Exeter Late Gallery, how the museum relates to the rest of the world and finally a section related to the Victorian collectors of RAMM. The courtyard, the core part of the museum is at the center of the development.

One of the consequences of the refurbishment is supposed to be creating the right atmosphere for the right themes and stories developed as exhibitions inside the buildings. For instance Naome Glanville, the exhibition technical assistant, tells us about how the talks that take place in the St. Nicholas Priory match with the setting:

> I programme lunchtime talks at the Priory and those seem to do really well, I'm focusing on either art or history. The (St. Nicholas) Priory is quite oldy worldy. It's a nice historical setting. So I thought well archeology, history, antiquity, when people come along it's the right venue for it and also if you talk about paintings and art and that sort of things, it's quite nice as well.

On the whole, there's a lot more space in the new museum and the spaces are lighter. There are more opportunities for study and hands on. They have taken out bad looking partition walls and full ceilings so the rooms are bigger. The project has been trying to return the building to more like it would have been when it was opened in 1860 in terms of the natural volume of the galleries and the spaces. They have made the spaces a lot more usable so they could be more interactive. There's more room for families to come and stay. The way they're going to display the items will be different in that there's going to be a mix of items in some cases according to stories being told in those cases rather than just similar items being exhibited together without a story. So they will be getting people to think differently.

8.2.2.1.2 Virtual RAMM – the Internet Presence of RAMM

Another structural change that has taken place regarding the museum is related with its online presence. RAMM is developing and extending its online presence by means of adapting itself to the new technological advancements. Online presence is an obligatory extension of every organization's being nowadays. Without an online presence, an organization's presence is far away from being complete. Therefore, as a part of the

refurbishment process RAMM has set up its own web page independent of the Exeter city council's web page and it's extending its online presence by means of using different web tools like YouTube, Twitter, Flicker, Facebook and the like.

> We plan to link the online activity with traditional events and visits using Facebook to host images, video clips and comments from our audience. These may come from events people have attended or simply RAMM related content people share with us and others. We will supply content ourselves, as one of the main purposes of the page is to attract people to our website and our events. And of course our museum when it reopens (RAMMble Staff Newsletter, Issue No 52, July 2010).

To the question regarding how RAMM's social media is edited, Rick Lawrence, the digital media officer has given the following answer:

> We take a more informal tone than official web content aiming for a conversational feel. Images are taken specially or chosen from those not used for other publicity. Any query Helen and I cannot answer we refer to the appropriate department and pass the answer on.

> Our website previously, although it had good content, it wasn't vibrant enough, it didn't have, you know now you can sort of access the collection as well, although limited at the moment, hopefully that will be developed (Nena Beric, redevelopment project co-ordinator).

RAMM has hired a digital media officer just for the purpose of being able to build up this web presence in a professional way. Rick Lawrence, the digital media officer explains the content of his work in the following way:

> We're taking bits of information from our collections database and making them available as a searchable database online. Each object will have (a) photograph(s) as well. What we're trying to do is get it so that members of the public can write comments about the objects, you know tag them. As in, say they're looking at the

puzzle jug they could put.. Norman, funny, you know just one word, key words to describe them. That'll then give us an idea of how people search for objects… We find out what ordinary people would call them. So we can make sure when we communicate about objects and exhibitions online anywhere, we're speaking in plain English. Rather than baffling them with obscure curatorial terms. And also as the objects get tagged, you can then search by those tags to find objects in a different way. Say you search for circle, you'll pull up every object that somebody thought was linked with a circle.

The idea of tagging is to create keywords associated with an objects record. We can use those keywords elsewhere and make it easier for people to find related information. It also gives us an insight into what words people associate with our objects, which can add to our knowledge about an object (RAMMble Staff newsletter, Issue No 55, Oct. 2010).

Here we can see that the museum is actually trying to set itself on the same ground level, as it were, as the public. This kind of an approach reminds us of the collapse of boundaries between the producer and consumer of the museum experience, hence the democratization of the museum experience.

The Internet provides the public an alternative museum experience however it cannot be said that it has the potential of replacing the museum visit. These two different experiences can be thought to complement each other rather than replace each other and when they are used together they give a much stronger museum experience.

We are now increasing our web presence by quite a lot and I think that in fact the Internet is enabling museums to fulfill a potential that they never quite managed before… (In a museum) you can look at the objects, you can read panels, you can take the book away but with the Internet either as a mobile version or when you go home you can then complement all of that and read around it and spark more questions off and go back and look again so I think the two work incredibly well together… the real object always has more presence than a photograph of it and you can always understand it better when you see it and you can see it with similar objects or with

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contrasting objects so that in itself has an intellectual presence that you can't get on the Internet but on the Internet you can have huge amounts of information that you can select from or move onto other things, you can draw conclusions, you can find comparisons…complementing what you have seen in real life.. so I think the two really work together… the interaction we have with our audience is not just on site for that two hours but throughout the week… (Alan Caig, head of leisure and museums).

In a museum visit you get the chance of seeing things in physical form and getting visceral sensations related to that, but you cannot get indepth information about single objects or group of objects as easily. New archival systems in museums have created an opportunity for museum visitors to get access to much more data inside the museum. However, the visitors might not know how to deal with vast amounts of data stored. On the Internet, much data can be stored and also presented in ways that can be more meaningful to the museum visitors. We therefore see a change in the museum experience in general to include more dimensions to it. This gives visitors more freedom regarding the way they choose to interact with the museum.

The introduction of the online presence has another useful conclusion for RAMM. The Internet provides RAMM a possibility for merchandising.
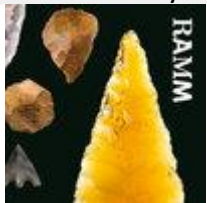
…We had a shop and we thought about having another shop but we decided that it's very difficult to manage, very difficult commercially to manage even though we'd have franchised it to somebody but you never get the standard or the quality or the type of things that you want, so what we're going to do is have a small number of things to sell, some merchandising that would just be done round reception and we hope to develop sort of an Internet shopping because that way it's back to niche marketing again, you know, not enough people interested in, I don't know, a book about giraffes, will visit the museum whereas perhaps around the world if you do it there'll be lots of people who are interested in a book about giraffes so that's just an example…. (Alan Caig, head of leisure and museums).

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With the online presence RAMM also wants to develop its merchandising skills by means of Internet shopping. RAMM won't have a shop as they used to do but they will use Internet shopping to reach people around the globe financially. This is also useful for the promotion of the RAMM brand throughout the world. It will help RAMM earn money while at the same time move RAMM closer to all museum lovers around the globe.

8.2.2.1.3 Social Media and RAMM (Co-creation)

RAMM makes use of social media in order to reach many of its audiences. This is new for RAMM, but Susan Eddisford, the museum development officer for museums in west Devon and curatorial advisor, claims that RAMM is ahead of other museums in Devon in online issues. "The council is gradually allowing us to use more social media so that we can have more conversations" (Susan Eddisford, community museums officer). The need to get permission from the council in order to use these kinds of media slows the process a bit but this is how it works. The museum has started to use web tools such as YouTube, Twitter, Flicker and Facebook to keep in touch with its audiences. Table 8.2 below shows an example from Facebook, where RAMM advertises the events it's designed:

Table 8. 2 RAMM's Facebook adverts

01 July Thursday	
	Exhibition: Elegance - two hundred years of dressing to impress Place: Killerton, Broadclyst, Exeter, Devon EX5 3LE Time: 01 July Thursday 11:00 - 16:00. 01 November Monday 11:00 - 16:00.
30 June Wednesday	
	RAMM exhibition at Kents Cavern: Cutting Edge Place: Cavern House, Kents Cavern, 89/91 Ilsham Road, Torquay, Devon TQ1 2JF Time: 30 June Wednesday 09:00 - 17:00. 30 September Saturday 09:00 - 17:00.
10 May Monday	
	Gallery in the Gardens Place: Rougemont and Northernhay Gardens Exeter EX4 3SA Time: 10 May Monday 07:30 - 09:30. 10 September Friday 07:30 - 09:30.
15 May Saturday	

	RAMM display at Topsham: Global Gardeners
	Place: Topsham Museum, 25 Strand, Topsham, Exeter EX3 0AX
	Time: 15 May Saturday 14:00 - 17:00.
	01 August Sunday 17:00.

03 May Monday

	RAMM display at Launceston: Curious Curves
	Place: Lawrence House Museum, 9 Castle Street, Launceston, Cornwall PL15 8BA
	Time: 03 May Monday 10:30 - 16:30.
	01 July Thursday 10:30 - 16:30.

19 June Saturday

	This week (21-27 June 2010) is National Insect Week
	Place: Anywhere
	Time: 19 June Saturday 10:00 - 19:30.
	27 June Sunday 10:00 - 19:30.

11 June Friday

	RAMM at the Contemporary Craft Fair
	Place: Mill Marsh Park, Bovey Tracey TQ13 9AF
	Time: 11 June Friday 10:00 - 17:00.
	13 June Sunday 10:00 - 17:00.

01 April Thursday

	RAMM display at Westonbirt: Global Gardeners
	Place: Westonbirt Arboretum, Tetbury, Gloucester GL8 8QS
	Time: 01 April Thursday 09:00 - 09:00.
	02 June Wednesday 09:00 - 09:00.

20 May Thursday

	RAMM at Devon County Show
	Place: Westpoint, Clyst St Mary, Exeter EX5 1DJ
	Time: 20 May Thursday 09:00 - 18:30.
	22 May Saturday 09:00 - 18:30.

04 May Tuesday

	RAMM exhibition at Exeter Picturehouse: Artful Encounters
	Place: Exeter Picturehouse Bar, 51 Bartholomew Street West, Exeter EX4 3AJ
	Time: 04 May Tuesday 18:00 - 22:15.
	17 May Monday 18:00 - 22:15.

Source: http://www.facebook.com/home.php#!/RAMMuseum?v=app_2344061033,

Date: 09.02.2011

By means of having a presence on social media, RAMM links with many audiences with much less effort than other methods. It can get across its news and things that it would like people

to know. This way it can also get feedback from the public very easily. This ease is explained by Rick Lawrence, the digital media officer, as in following quote:

> We organise our time so one of us (Helen and I) checks for posts/tweets and replies. It is quick and easy to post and tweet now we have an up to date browser. We have to follow the city council's social media policy which is a set of safeguards to avoid any contentious or offensive material being published. We use Hootsuite to schedule routine marketing messages - events, exhibitions, vacancies, etc. Now social media is established at RAMM it is less bureaucratic but it would be better if more staff could see it.

So social media seems to be indispensable for the co-creative atmosphere that an organization, which works so closely with its audiences, would like to build and keep.

8.2.2.1.4 Mobile RAMM (Touring Exhibitions-RAMM Out and About)

As a transition period practice, RAMM has coordinated touring exhibitions. Exhibitions have been taken to places such as schools. Schools especially have appreciated this activity very much because it was convenient for them to have the museum exhibitions at their doorstep. However, this activity is not a particularly easy way of offering the exhibitions, so although some institutions might wish that RAMM continues this activity, it is not yet certain if such a practice will be continued after the refurbishment of the museum. This activity is a very good opportunity for the promotion of the museum and a good way of increasing consumer awareness about RAMM.

The out and about programmes have been really successful and provoked much interest around the county. There is the risk however that instead of visiting RAMM at its original place, some groups might want to have these out and about programmes continued even after RAMM has opened. RAMM might want to continue or not, depending on the resources it has.

I'd love it if we continued when we reopen. I mean I don't know if we'll have the resources to do it but you know as a concept I think it's a really good idea. Cos we've made some good friends and partners along the way. You know with other organizations and yeah I think it's a good learning experience (Naome Glanville, exhibitions assistant).

Figure 8. 2 RAMM Out and About Programme

The following information taken from a RAMMble Staff Newsletter gives a view to the exhibitions that have taken place at various different venues as part of the out and about program between April 2009 and March 2010, as an example: Visits to RAMM off-site exhibitions have hit a new high this year (April 2009 to March 2010) with well over 200,000 visitors being reached through our partnership programme. That's compared with 155,000 for the same period the previous year (table 8.3).

Table 8. 3 RAMM's Out and About Programs

Exhibition	Venue	Visitor numbers
Creative Castles	Powerham Castle	8,852
Global Gardeners	Lawrence House Museum, Launceston	870
Curious Curves	Fairlynch Museum, Budleigh Salterton	3,870
Various hands on Activities	Devon County Show, Westpoint	6,387
Hands on Geology	Lyme Fossil Festival	318
Romans	Dunster Visitor Centre	28,074
Micro Sensation	Bicton Gardens	59,821
Micro Sensation	Knightshayes Court	13,493

The Contemporary Craft Fair	Bovey Tracey	6,080
Global Gardeners	Beaminster	560
Fossils	Clyst St. Mary, Exeter	15,942
RAMM in the Library (incl Off The Wall Exhibition)	Exeter Central Library	13,731
Token Values	Bovey Tracey	24,017
Romans	Exeter Guildhall	13,730
Living Here West of the Exe	Exeter Guildhall	2,178
Global Gardeners	Rosemoor	1,875
Henrietta Revealed	Exeter Guildhall	2,081
Cutting Edge	Kents Cavern	5,099
Elegance	Killerton	9,096
Total Visitors reached:		**216, 074**

Source: RAMMble Staff Newsletter Issue No 50, May 2010.

As already mentioned before, one consequence of the refurbishment process has been the outreach work (the out and about programme) that RAMM has. The outreach work used to be undertaken earlier as well but with the refurbishment it has become a very critical point in reaching audiences, especially reaching those ones that wouldn't normally go to a museum.

8.2.2.2 De-differentiation in RAMM: Categories are Blurring

The blurring of categories within the museum occurs in a couple of different aspects. Here, these aspects are summarized under two headings; the first one refers to the instances of de-differentiation on the museum level while the second one is restricted to the level of objects only.

8.2.2.2.1 Museum

An important change that a member of staff has named is that the new museum will be meaningful to everybody on many levels and that it will be perhaps less elitist than it has been in the past. This refers to the collapse of traditional hierarchies (no division anymore between people of high and low cultures) and the process of democratization of knowledge in the museum. This is an indicator of de-differentiation in that it shows that the divisions or differentiations among groups are collapsing. There's also a unification of focus in RAMM,

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which is another indicator of de-differentiation in that differentiation in areas of focus is avoided. To the question regarding RAMM's focus, the following quote has been given by one of the staff members.

> I think it's going to be very much focusing on the collection as a whole. I don't think it will become a specialist museum… It's an education and learning place, where everything is available. So, I feel every part of the collection will get its day in the sun, as it were. So it's going to be a very good balance across the collections (Rick Lawrence, digital media officer).

Different collections will be mixed, different subject areas will be linked to each other. The focus will be less on particular collections; it will be more on the way the collections can be viewed together. So, for example one gallery will include art, natural history and antiquities together and it will be based around stories rather than subjects, specialisms and objects. So, for example if the story is about Devon in general, there will be archeological background specimens of Devon in the gallery as well as art works produced in Devon, animals found in Devon etc. So, RAMM is trying to set the context for the collections as well as displaying those collections. Context is found really critical.

> New displays, you know we've got quite a mix of collections together so when you come in through the new entrance and you come to our introductory gallery we've got quite an eclectic mix of collection in that gallery, that's really giving people an introduction to RAMM (Nena Beric, redevelopment project co-ordinator).

The new museum will be focusing more on Exeter, the identity and general being of Exeter; therefore they have changed the way they make the displays. The displays will give an insight and feel as to why the objects are actually in the museum, how important they were and what they meant to Exeter. They will give a feel for Exeter and Exeter's people. The displays are turned into chronological displays so you start from pre-history and you come through to the 20th century and see Exeter's chronological history.

I think we get people who want to just know a bit more about Devon and Exeter and I don't think previously with the way that the collection was displayed that they were able to do that in a really easy way. I think now that we display the objects and telling the story of Devon and Exeter, I think we'll get more and more people who'll learn more about the county or the city in which they live so I think that'll be great (Nena Beric, redevelopment project co-ordinator).

The geographical identity of Exeter is basically grounded on certain parts of Exeter, especially the eastern part. The 'Living Here Project' is about creating an atmosphere where communities out of Exeter can feel that they belong to Exeter and to strenghten their Exeter identity. Within the boundaries of this project especially the western side of Exeter is involved. Naome Glanville, Exhibition Technical Assistant, explains this project in the following way:

The Living Here project is a community project. It's based in, well it's to do with people who live west of the Exe, so the other side of the river, Exwick, St. Thomas, Alphington; because the city of Exeter has a really big sense of place, there's like the city walls, and the history, and the Roman and all of that but outside of the city, on the other side of the river perhaps some of the communities don't feel that they are part of Exeter. I don't know how to explain it but it's about having that sort of sense of place and your own history and sharing the history and the heritage of that place.

Helping build this kind of unification among Exeter's citizens under the same citizenship values can be thought of as an important part of the mission of the museum of Exeter. This mission would obviously be in line with the basic policies of any city council and a great service thereof.

8.2.2.2.2 Objects Telling Stories

As a result of the refurbishment, the focus in the museum has shifted from objects to stories. People's stories have become a vital part of the museum, which can be said to be due to democratization of knowledge and the attempt to solve the storage problem that

RAMM has. Therefore, storytelling has become a central issue in the new RAMM. The museum has become like a theatre, where a performance is taking place. Objects are like actors but they don't make much sense without a script to make them mean what they mean for the audience. Therefore, the museum focuses more on the script in the new RAMM rather than solely on objects. We can say that this is another example of de-differentiation. The story behind the objects ending up at the museum is a point that RAMM staff members have stressed that the audiences will be informed about in the new museum. Head of leisure and archives expresses the differences with the following words:

> RAMM is playing a history play; it's the kind of play or film that takes you through hundreds of years and shows you how things changed and uses objects and events as shorthand for bigger stories. It evokes a much bigger universe in your mind than you're actually seeing because of the way you put things together. Old RAMM sort of gave you things to look at. New RAMM will give you things to look at and then, not explicitly, but will pose questions like, why is this object here (Alan Caig, head of leisure and museums).

Why the objects in the museum were important for people, why they made them or bought them, how they used them will also be focused upon. The scripts that the museum plays will be around objects, rather than the personal lives of people though. While changing the perspective with respect to dealing with objects, RAMM doesn't want to change those parts that made it so much loved by the audience, those parts that made it what it actually is.

Being more visitor-oriented, RAMM has arranged focus group meetings with the public and the themes that are being worked on in the museum have come out of these meetings.

> It's a two-way thing, it's not just us and it's not just our opinion we carry lots of other people's opinions and voices and stories and so we want other people's stories as well as the ones that we've got. We also asked them to help us name the galleries. We've done three focus groups for the gallery names and the branding but we did do others beforehand on the content of the development, stories for the galleries and what the themes should be and they were with specialist groups and all sort of different

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groups… Themes came out of the focus group meetings and then the curatorial team worked on the stories with the designers and then we had a scriptwriter to come in and write the script so the script is similar throughout (Ruth Randall, marketing manager).

After that, the curators have been doing all the object selections as well as preparing the storylines.

8.2.2.3 Juxtaposition of Opposites

Maybe the major juxtaposition of opposites in RAMM is the quest for keeping the balance between newness and RAMM's perceived essence which is mainly about being friendly, welcoming, enthusiastic, ambitious, responsive to new ideas and views, quirky, surprising etc.[44] RAMM has made the decision to change. It feels the need to change, be modernized and therefore adapt itself to the 21st century. There are fundamental changes happening within the framework of this process, however RAMM wants to do this without losing its very essence that makes it what it is. The basic values and the basic identity of RAMM need to stay the same. There is a specialty about this particular refurbishment process from this perspective, which is stated in the museum manager's following words:

I wouldn't want the identity of RAMM to change fundamentally. Those values (RAMM's values) should hold true and it's one of the things about this redevelopment project that often in development projects they can shift around quite a lot because it takes many years to do and people come and go and politicians change and stakeholders take a slightly different view, they can move around a bit, they get pulled one way and pulled another. This project is fairly unique in that it's actually been very true to the original vision. It hasn't changed over 10 years… We've also had a very stable team so we haven't had lots of people coming and going so that helps keep the vision true as well. I think that's to do with something about the sort of grounding of the museum. It is quite clear about what it's doing and why it's doing it (Camilla Hampshire, museum manager).

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[44] in line with the RAMM values listed on http://www.rammuseum.org.uk/about-ramm/our-values

Some members of the public proclaimed that they are afraid that RAMM will lose its beautiful essence and be spoiled in the end of this refurbishment process. So, RAMM staff members hold the responsibility to find and be aware of those basic things that make RAMM so loved and admired by its community members and stress those things while changing or making better other things that do not belong to RAMM's essence. Therefore, they don't want to reinvent RAMM. This is a challenging situation and requires attention and awareness on the part of the people who are responsible for the change. They have to have much empathy for the people of Exeter and be able to put themselves in their shoes as well, where it's necessary.

> We work on a premise that it's unlikely that people will travel too far just to come to RAMM unless they're interested in a particular thing, but we'd like anyone who travels to Devon to want to come and see RAMM… We have a very big local following and lots of repeat visits because people of Exeter have RAMM as part of their daily life really and it's free (Ruth Randall, marketing manager).

> We've got a lot of support in the community for the museum and I think our essence is that you know we're inclusive, we're always here, you know RAMM is always here, we're about learning, we're about families and I just think that essence will continue and there'll be more to come (Nena Beric, redevelopment project co-ordinator).

Although one of the most important aspects of RAMM is that it's a modest institution in that it doesn't claim to be the beholder of all knowledge, it still remains to be a very much trusted institution by the public.

> People can believe us, we're not going to let them down, scare them or … trust it is… and I think where it comes in more is when you've got more face to face interaction. So if you're doing community projects or talks or debates or anything like that it's that feeling that we are trusted people (Ruth Randall, marketing manager).

So, keeping the essence of RAMM is what the museum owes the people of Exeter, who are strongly attached to the museum. The fact remains that the main thing that RAMM wants to keep its pre-existing charm in the eyes of the visitors and the love relationship that it has with them, for this is the main differentiation point of RAMM. It needs to further develop the genuine relationship that it has with its visitors.

8.2.3.3.1 Building

Another striking example of the juxtaposition of opposites in RAMM is the 21st century modern extension that has been built next to the old Victorian building. It seems to be a symbolic sign of RAMM's general inclination to juxtapose the old with the modern inside of the museum.

In the new museum, they are basically trying to be modern and up to date with the way they display and interpret things because they obviously can't modernize the items that they are displaying, they'll naturally go on displaying old, ancient items most of the time. Modernization is mainly referred by the museum staff as being particularly about the way things are presented in the museum. It's about changing the atmosphere and finding new and modern ways of making it possible especially for youngsters to be able to immerse themselves into the museum experience more fully than before and become enthusiastic about it and understand it better. It's the way they work with the collections that is modern and not the collections themselves. They are working with increasing amount of good quality replica objects because original objects are not always handleable, they can be very fragile, rare and very expensive or the museum might have only one piece of those objects. Although there are original objects to be handled in the museum (in case there are many of them or they are not very valuable) they can't let people handle original objects all the time but the replica objects can be very useful to give an idea about the original objects, show people how an original object actually works, what it's about etc.

8.2.2.3.2 Objects vs. People's Stories

The concept 'museum without walls' has been introduced long time ago by Malraux in his renowned book 'Le musée imaginaire' (Malraux, 1947). This concept actually refers to the

transformation that has shaken the arts world after the introduction of the reproduction technologies. After this transformation and with the rise of telecommunication and computer technologies, originals could be reproduced infinitely and could be seen all over the world. The art of photography was also a revolution and with these revolutions, limits have loosened. The walls of the museum became transparent and we started to see museumisation in places other than the space within the museum walls. Our streets and cities started looking like museums, with so many diverse things being able to come together in narrower spaces. Museums have started using the Internet and therefore opened their doors to everyone. These developments have made Malraux's famous concept an everyday reality. With the web presence we can reach museums' online databases and we can make global comparisons of museums (or objects).

> I think it's a kind of intellectual and museum version of think globally and act locally…when all museums have their catalogue online you'll be able to search for everything and you'll be able to compare this jug we've got with the jug that's in the US or another jug that's in Australia or whatever (Alan Caig, head of leisure and museums).

Keeping up pace with global trends wasn't the only reason for RAMM's online presence however. Another reason why RAMM had to have an online presence is related with a problem that it has about storage place. Space is a real problem for the museum and when they acquire an object, they have to think about what's called the cost of collecting; about how important it is in relation to the amount of conservation and future care it might need because obviously objects cost money to store. RAMM is having a hard time finding space for new collections; therefore they have decided to build part of their presence on the Internet so they can use a virtual space there. This practical solution has been really successful in RAMM's case and has had other positive side effects to it as stated in the quote below:

> It's really the fact of the space, if you keep collecting stuff you've got to put it somewhere. It sounds silly but that's a real problem. And so, and obviously now these days there's so many more ways of looking at collecting. And we're looking … so but

sharing expertise between collections so you don't physically have it all in one place but you make links with other people that have similar things. You can make links to other collections and enhance everybody's knowledge of one collection. And you can do that academically. Nowadays with new media and Internet and everything, you can actually do that quite easily. So, you're not saying: 'I need one of those', you can say: 'This is one of those and that's in Chilton.' Or you know you can actually draw all the collections together. You'll have roots but also you can draw them together to make a better collection. Although they're not specifically in the same place (Ruth Randall, marketing manager for leisure and museums).

RAMM has started collecting immaterial objects like stories and memories of people and it stores them in the virtual space it has on the Internet. For example the Living Here Project is about recording life on the west of the River Exe. 'Usually the starting point for Museum projects is the Museum collections. In this one the starting point was people. The people who live and work in Exwick, St Thomas, Cowick and Alphington. Through Living Here we wanted to get people interested in heritage by starting with their own lives, histories, experiences and interests'[45]. You can see some examples of this project further down in the Living Here Project section.

With these immaterial objects, the interactivity level also has been taken much higher and we can talk about the full co-creation of museum experiences which is a necessity of the experience economy. With an online presence a museum can interact with its visitors all throughout the week as opposed to interacting with them only when they are on site. This is the immaterial version of the museum.

8.2.2.3.3 Local and Global

One important aspect of RAMM's essence is that it is the museum of Exeter and Devon and therefore focuses on locality. This is actually RAMM's biggest responsibility as well, to make Exeter and Devon known to people, to the citizens of the region as well as to the tourists that visit the region. This is what RAMM is actually trying to focus on and do in a more

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[45] http://www.livinghere.org.uk/page_id__571_path__0p1p.aspx

systematical way in the new museum. Before the refurbishment the focus was on Devon and Exeter too but it had a more loose nature. Now especially Devon and Exeter's history is being treated more systematically, subsequent time periods being exhibited following each other.

The focus on locality is being juxtaposed with becoming globalized by means of having an Internet presence. RAMM will have to compete with the museum trends from all over the world and its products on the Internet will be followed by a wider audience again from all over the world. RAMM seems to have to keep the balance between local and global visitor needs and wants. To find the right balance between locality and universality is a challenge for the institution and it proposes a dilemma.

8.2.2.4 Experiential Aspects of RAMM

One striking innovation in RAMM concerns the involvement of more senses. Aside from seeing and hearing, touching also becomes a dominant player and has a significant meaning in the new RAMM. RAMM leaves out some of the old objects for people to touch. This is a part of RAMM's getting people more involved in the museum experience. Hands-on concept is being applied and there is a lot of enthusiasm among youngsters for these kinds of activities. Rachel Ackerman, the volunteer coordinator, has told about the importance of touching with the following words:

> We are letting people handle stuff for the sake of interactivity. We've started this 1,5 years ago. We pick the items that can be replaceable (the curators decide this) or that are not that important if broken or something. We let people handle them. Sometimes some bad things do happen to these items but these activities have been very popular and improved our relationship with the visitors. People feel themselves closer to us. We've experienced some bad things but we're learning along the way. We're improving ourselves.

Another thing that is modern in the museum is that there are more interactives nowadays. More interactivity with the visitors is a new phenomenon that is prioritized in the RAMM. Visitors can get engaged in the museum experience more by means of interactives. RAMM has downloadable and interactive resources to support teaching in the classroom and these

can be used by children for personal study. The resources are designed to extend and enrich the themes studied in the workshops and encourage wider investigation of subject areas and enjoyment of RAMM's collections.[46]

One of the staff members has drawn our attention to the dangers of becoming too modern. She tells us that it's the quality of the visitor experience that is important both in terms of collection care and visitor experience and this cannot necessarily be earned by being modern. Some bigger museums with a lot of funding could fall behind when it comes to visitor experience while some small museums could provide a much better visitor experience.

> Small museums don't use the technological approach very much so they seem to be managing their own individual personality. All small museums are different, they tell a different story. Some are maritime, some are agricultural… There's nothing worse than going into a museum which is full of computers and you're not sure what they are there for and half of them don't work. I think there is a danger that you lose the museum experience if you are too modern (Susan Eddisford, community museums officer).

In today's marketplace, where experiences are frequently deemed more valuable than goods and services, building upon the experiential sides of the museum offering seems to bring much advantage to a museum and focusing on the visitor experience is a necessity for a visitor-oriented approach to museum marketing.

8.2.2.5 Hyperreality

Hyperreality is referred to as one of the basic conditions of postmodernity and it has been mentioned in the literature review under postmodernism (see chapter 2 for details). With the games and activities that are prepared, where atmospheres are created that are supposed to be similar to the ones that have happened in history, children are put in hyperreal atmospheres in the name of learning about their past. Replica objects help create

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[46] http://www.rammuseum.org.uk/RAMM-learning-resources-and-interactives/

this atmosphere as well as the authentic buildings of the museum themselves. While the museum is closed, especially in St. Nicholas Priory, there have been many activities of this kind. The building itself is a part of history, so the games and activities played within this building referring to those old times when the building was in use, make up quite realistic occurrences and can be said to be examples of hyperreality.

8.2.2.6 Authenticity

Grayson and Martinec (2004: 297) have given an account of the meanings that are ascribed to the widely used word 'authenticity'. According to their research, the word "authentic" is associated with 'genuineness,', 'reality,' and 'truth' (Bendix 1992: 104; Costa and Bamossy 1995: 300; Goldman and Papson 1996: 142; Kennick 1985: 4; Peterson 1997: 209; Phillips 1997: 5; see *Webster's New World Dictionary of American English,* 3d ed., s.v., 'authentic'). They refer to the term as being too comprehensive. The words that are used to define 'authenticity' are in fact also words difficult to describe just like the word 'authenticity' itself and they might mean different things to different people in different contexts. For instance what is real for one in one context might be fake in another.

While integrating many postmodern qualities into its daily routine, RAMM values authenticity in the museum. Therefore, I have asked the staff members to describe the term in their own words and what their perception of the term is and they have given similar answers although their points of view changed slightly according to the meaning they ascribed to the term.

RAMM seems to be trying to keep its authenticity in two ways. These two points and more have been expressed by RAMM staff members below. What I think is the most striking answer they have given is the fact that as opposed to the common-sense view that suggests that authenticity is the opposite of modernity, some have claimed that in some situations modern can be more authentic. Authenticity has been used by the staff members mainly as having two basic connotations. One of them is that objects can be authentic in themselves; the other one is that one's approach to things in general can be authentic.

Authenticity means quality, it's going back to that brand thing about being a trusted source of information, we give our quality information, accurate information, we're honest when we don't know something, we don't make things up because we are frightened to say we don't know, if we don't know we don't know and we say so. I think we play it straight, we are honest, we are dependable, trustworthy and I think for me that's what authentic means….. and it's original, real, unique objects are what we have, so that's the other meaning of authenticity we make. If you want to see what an 18th century gun looked like we have one, that's what you would see not a replica (Kate Osborne, access officer).

When authenticity is used with respect to objects, the originality of the objects is mentioned. RAMM's collections contain many original objects from ancient times and in this sense the collections are deemed authentic.

If it's authentic it's original, to me it means original. It's meant to be original ideas, meant to be a sign of quality, a sign of good way of working (Mark Griffin, front of house manager).

The following staff member has interpreted authenticity to mean doing more of that which the museum is responsible for.

I think to me it's (modern extension against the old building) enhancing the authentic side of it because the new gallery pretty much looks like the old one, obviously architecturally it's slightly different but you're able, or you will be able to put on more temporary exhibitions, which is an authentic part of what we are doing. Of what we are about. Not just in the fabric of the building but traditionally what the museum is about, it's about engaging with the public and promoting our collection and promoting the local artists and that kind of stuff so they can do more of that so in that sense authentic (Mark Griffin, front of house manager).

RAMM is a very active museum. They do a lot of temporary exhibitions to make sure there's always something going on in RAMM. This is not the case in many other museums around.

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Some museums don't do that many temporary exhibitions at all so for a visitor coming in that's free, they don't see much changing at all, it's just the same old objects and the same old cases displaying in the same old way and so it's been good for us to do a lot of temporary exhibitions and bring a lot of different people in and there are also family activities in there and we do all sorts of educational programmes so it's got a very buzzy place and feel about it (Mark Griffin, front of house manager).

For another staff member, authenticity is about being true to people and is expressed as follows:

We wouldn't do anything disreputable or tell people something that was wrong or we always say RAMM can have a sense of humor but it would never be frivolous. To me it's a way of guiding your way through (Ruth Randall, marketing manager).

RAMM staff members have tried to express what authenticity means for them in their own words; however as a concept the term authenticity remains to be a difficult one to pinpoint. In many instances it's difficult to name what is authentic and what is not because it is a very subjective term.

Authenticity means to me the ability to look as if it is real. Because I think real authenticity is quite difficult to achieve and it's actually a series of mirrors, you know I don't think, it is a difficult concept isn't it. It's a bit like, it's something that you've strived towards but you might actually have to demonstrate rather than be... because I think it depends what level you are working at because an object might be authentic because it was used by such and such person to do such a thing that's what you said so that's authentic, whether you can then authentically say this is what it meant in a culture, this is why they used it and so on. I doubt you know, authenticity started to thin out and therefore you have to, ...You have to find out a way of putting it in a setting that suggests there are different options or there are different ways of thinking about it so, yeah I think authenticity is a difficult concept a bit like sincerity (Alan Caig, head of leisure and museums).

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RAMM building has been initially designed in the 1860s and because it's a listed building it's quite important to maintain the structure of the building. However, instead of trying to highlight and show the original features of the building, in the past, they have tried to make the building modern by hiding some of the old features of the building which apparently seemed outdated to them. For example, with false ceilings and partition walls they have hidden many old features of the building in the 70s. Under the current refurbishment process, they have removed all these additions and the hidden features that haven't been seen for decades are there to be seen once again. The features revealed included vaulted ceilings, ornate window frames, fireplaces and wrought iron ventilation grills (Figure 8.3).

Figure 8. 3 Hidden Features of RAMM Revealed

(http://www.rammuseum.org.uk/Hidden-features-revealed/)

During the sort of 50s and 60s, the tendency was to have a lot of surface mounted electrical installations, that's just how things were done in those days. I think as well because some of the ceilings were quite high they were looking possibly at running costs, you know you had these big huge volumes of running costs of that much more, expensive, it's just the way things were done in those days and museums had a lot of incremental graves over the years and you know it's just trying to reveal the original architecture (Nena Beric, redevelopment project co-ordinator).

Revealing the old features of the building seems to be a part of the inclination towards making things more authentic in the museum. The following quote explains the balance that RAMM strives to keep in modernizing things but at the same time keeping RAMM's essence

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and authentic outlook untouched. Modernity and authenticity discourses seem to coexist harmonically within the museum.

> …it's a lot more modern than what RAMM was doing but they still have, it still feels like RAMM but when you walk around I know it's difficult to explain but they haven't made it so modern, they left so many original features… They're bringing it to the 21st century but they haven't lost the feel to it and the general look of the buildings… (Rachel Aakerman, the volunteer coordinator).

The redevelopment project co-ordinator Nena Beric made a similar comment and stressed that RAMM is authentic in shape, but should be modern in the mind.

> Just because we're in a Victorian building doesn't mean that we can't be modern in our way of thinking.

The researcher has attended the meetings RAMM staff members have had with the 'I AM' branding team,[47] where they did some brainstorming about the details of the rebranding of the museum. The main issue discussed in these meetings was about how to make the refurbishment without loosing the already created image of the museum. The following major themes were discussed in the meeting:

The first challenge is to decide what RAMM's essence is all about and communicate this to the teams responsible for the refurbishment. RAMM has to communicate this mainly to the architects and designers responsible for RAMM's redevelopment project because they don't have a feeling for it. Even the staff members of the museum were not completely sure of what RAMM's essence actually was all about. In fact, these meetings were actually arranged exactly for this reason, to bring together different thoughts and ideas that staff members have and join them on a common ground so that they talk the same language as it were.

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[47] I-AM is a brand experience consultancy firm based in London. They create innovative and profitable customer experiences through their expertise in brand consultancy, interior design and employee engagement. They create customer experiences that build advocacy and business profitability.

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8.2.2.7 Chronology

As stories have become more dominant players than objects in the museum, RAMM has changed its way of displaying objects. Instead of displaying similar objects together in different departments, like for instance displaying golden objects together in one place, RAMM has decided to display the objects according to the contextual story that they have. These objects are displayed according to the principle that whoever sees these objects should be able to understand why those objects are actually in the museum, how important they are, what they mean for Exeter. In order to provide these bits of information, a major change that has been made in the museum during the refurbishment is that the displays are turned into chronological displays that starts from pre-history up until the 20th century. The story of Exeter is revealed and the meaning of the objects can be understood with respect to the place they have in Exeter's story.

RAMM tells the history of many different time periods, however RAMM is open for multiple interpretations of history and is inclined to complement its knowledge with that of its visitors. In order to do this RAMM encourages debates and conferences, where different historical perspectives can be revealed, discussed and criticized in projects like the Moving Here Project, historical objects are interpreted by ordinary people that come from all around the world. These interpretations are used in object labels. So, RAMM is open to multiple (even infinitely many) interpretations of history and historical objects. RAMM contributed to the program called 'A history of the World in 100 Objects', a 2010 partnership between the BBC and the British Museum which involved schools, museums, and audiences across the UK[48]. Comments have been collected from the public and many interpretations of history have been made. The following quote from the British Museum director reflects the inclination of British museums towards the revelation of multiple histories, which is a postmodern phenomenon. Museums in this project, in which RAMM took place, have selected objects from their collections and gathered up a world history from their perspective.

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[48] http://www.bbc.co.uk/ahistoryoftheworld/about/

Telling history through things, whether it's an Egyptian mummy or a credit card, is what museums are for, and because the British Museum has collected things from all over the globe, it's not a bad place to try to tell a world history. Of course, it can only be "a" history of the world, not "the" history. When people come to the museum they choose their own objects and make their own journey round the world and through time, but I think what they will find is that their own histories quickly intersect with everybody elses, and when that happens, you no longer have a history of a particular people or nation, but a story of endless connections (Neil MacGregor, Programme 1, broadcast 18 January 2010).

During the refurbishment in the new RAMM, the presentation of the different historical time periods is being reconstructed. Objects used to be the most important actors in the construction of these histories, but now stories are. They are being reconstructed according to historical storylines. Surprisingly, Exeter's story (or stories) interest(s) many people from outside of Exeter. We can see this in the involvement of people, who aren't from Exeter in the Living Here Project, where they got involved in Exeter's history. This seems to be an example of the shrinking of place as a concept after globalization. RAMM's Internet presence also reinforces this trend.

8.2.2.8 Pastiche

The museum staff members have stated that the museum has especially not chosen to make a pastiche extension to the original Victorian museum building because they thought it would have been very inauthentic to do so.

I think modern museums are about the real thing (so modernity is about authenticity, they don't clash)… The modern extension is modern not authentic, I think it's a very honest, if authenticity is about honesty then I think it might not be authentic if the new extension had been pretend Victorian or pastiche, I think the fact that it's a modern extension is honest and therefore authentic. I see authenticity as a very modern thing (Kate Osborne, access officer).

The extension is a thoroughly 21st century building and doesn't try to hide this fact and the fact that it does not pretend to be an old Victorian building makes it very authentic in that it doesn't try to deceive people in one way or another.

8.2.2.9 Consumers as Producers (Co-creation of Value)

There have been attempts to offer and promote a 'service dominant logic'(S-D logic) of marketing (Vargo and Lusch 2004, 2007, 2011). These attempts redefine marketing theory and practice. They call it a fundamental shift in worldview (Vargo and Lusch 2004: 2), where marketing is thought to have reached another level in its history, having evolved from a goods centered model of exchange to a service centered model of exchange. These attempts have been noteworthy in that they redefine the role of the customer and place the customer on a higher participatory level than was previously set. The customer is thought to co-create the product together with the producer. Its primary relevance to this study is that the customer is the merging of the concepts of consumer and producer together. This because of the assertion that 'value is always co-created with and determined by the customer' (Lusch et al. 2007: 7). We can see the same role change in RAMM's redevelopment project, where consumers are more involved in all stages of value creation that are offered in RAMM. For instance, in the Living Here project, memories, experiences and thoughts of customers (or rather visitors) make up the basic value that is being created and the museum is only a facilitator in bringing these pieces of value together and presenting them to the public using its Internet skills. RAMM is changing itself to suggest and even stress that the way the museum thinks is not the only way to think and that there are as many ways to think as there are people. In the old RAMM, information and therefore knowledge used to be in the hands of a couple of curators and museum staff, whereas in the new RAMM information and knowledge is also given to the hands of the people. This is about the democratization of knowledge. RAMM is daring to share the authoritative power of knowledge with its audiences in order to fit better into the 21st century. Naome Glanville, the exhibition technical assistant, tells us about the differences between the old and new RAMM in the following way:

Basically a lot of the objects that we have, the museum was set up in Victorian times and a lot of the collections, you know some of them go to the Victorian times, the traditional collector, you know people who are… travelers of Victorian times, went out shooting animals. So a lot of the collections are quite colonial but we've got collections from all over the world… But the Moving Here project is about giving new stories to some of the objects that we have.

We see a multi-dimensional viewpoint in the new RAMM, where there is not only one way of looking at an object or a phenomenon regarding the past (or present too). Different ways of considering a single topic are researched now in order to see and make an understanding of the many facets that that particular topic actually consists of. In order to be able to do this, everybody's viewpoint is considered valuable. RAMM is actually reconstructing the old with the Moving Here project by means of giving new stories to some of the objects that RAMM has. This is part of the viewing of the past in a multi-dimensional way.

Actually the slimming of limits between producer and consumer is a postmodern quality which can be named under the postmodern quality of 'juxtaposition of opposites' (see p.195 for a detailed explanation) therefore it can be said to contribute to the postmodern quality of the museum.

One other area for value co-creation will be the object labels. They are arranged differently in the new museum. They have been changed according to the new way of thinking that encourages people to think and question. The curators will work based on the data received from the public. According to the museum staff, the curators have thought very hard about the object labels. They have been working as a group to decide how much information to give and what type of information, so if somebody is interested then they know where to go for more information or they can approach the right member of staff. The dosage of information is critical. They won't put so much information out there that people won't bother reading or will get confused about. Most of them will keep the title nice and simple and then there'll be a little bit more information underneath it. The language of the written information will also be nice and simple for the public to understand easily. Ordinary people's own words about certain objects will be available for the curators to be used as a

result of activities like the Moving Here project where ordinary people's own words about objects are being collected.

8.2.3 Changing Elements in RAMM

In this section, the actual elements that are changing in RAMM will be investigated. However, after mentioning the changes, I will mention the challenges that museum staff members have told they faced during the refurbishment process. The changes that are being made to the museum are made under these constraints so they have to be considered before evaluating the changes.

8.2.3.1 Changing Activities in RAMM

The museum is turning more into a tactile experience. Hands-on concept is being more widely used within the museum. This is supposed to activate the visitor by means of involving in more sensory data and therefore absorb him/her into the museum experience more fully and this should eventually make them have more fun within the museum and have a better basis for learning, as well. The museum is also changing its noise strategy to allow for more noise inside the museum and this is also a strategy for enhancing the museum experience by letting the visitor get more involved. New museums are also more visual based.

> ...visual arts in the museum is a big thing now, so it's more visual based not just a picture on the wall. They could be having kind of audio/visual show and sound effects that kind of stuff so it's more to do with sensory hands on stuff than opposed to looking at objects and using your own reading skills, to read information, ...plus the design of the building (Mark Griffin, front of house manager).

A lot of the strengths of the displays will be changing with the refurbishment, as well. There is a desire to put more objects on display. Therefore, in order to fit in more 18th, 19th, 20th century objects for instance, many Roman artifacts have been removed. The strengths of the collections changed, however the schools might expect RAMM to do the same things as before but RAMM will have to offer something that will reflect RAMM more. So, if Romans

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are presented, but obviously with less objects, this will not be enough to keep the schools occupied, there will be need for other themes to come in play, according to the strengths of the collections. A wider option will be offered so for instance the theme will change into conflicts or war, so Romans will be talked about but together with other complementary themes. So, what the collections are better at doing will make up the new points of focus for school visits.

In the new museum, there will be opportunity for more of the collections to be shown, some of them that have been reserved; people haven't been able to see.

> We have created a 'Creative Collection Research Center', where some of the reserve collection will be held in the building and it'll be much more accessible storage, so that we can actually take people into the stores and show them things that aren't on display (Camilla Hampshire, museum manager).

The relationship of the visitor with the collections will change allowing for more interaction and diversity to keep them occupied in a new way.

8.2.3.2 Changing Collections

According to RAMM's museum manager Camilla Hampshire, the term museum is an overused term and many institutions that don't even have collections can refer to themselves as being museums. So when we say the word 'museum' it might come to mean a whole range of things. There are many other institutions that tell stories other than museums, such as heritage centers, heritage sites, castles, palaces, ruins, World Heritage Sites, science centers, zoos, trade shows, commercial company collections, antique shops, archives, libraries, private collections, stores etc.[49] According to Camilla, however, the collections are at the heart of museums. If an institution doesn't have collections it's very hard to call it a museum. It might be called a visitor attraction or a visitor experience instead.

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[49] http://www.chr.org.uk/Museums/musmeaningwhatisamuseum.htm

Collections are the heart of museums because if you don't have collections then it's quite hard for you to be, you know you're not a museum. You are a visitor attraction, a visitor experience. You know you're all of those things. So museums are about their collections. I suppose a modern museum is about what you do with those collections. It's about that interaction between people and collections. And that's what we all manage and facilitate, is that public engagement with collections. And that can be in many many different sorts of ways. So, you know we try to support those interactions which can be very very diverse. I suppose that's what is different about a modern museum. Old fashioned museums used to be about well this is what you learn about an object. This is what you should take away from the object and that's it. Whereas nowadays we recognize that there are many different perspectives to be brought in some of these engagements with the object and they're all valuable. And actually how people react to that actually enhances our understanding of those objects (Camilla Hampshire, museum manager).

Although the collections are at the heart of a museum, in the 21st century the interaction between people and objects has become more important. So we can see a clash between the old and new perspectives. Camilla Hampshire suggests that collections are at the heart of museums. But she also stresses that 'We have that one and a half million objects in the collections so the strap line shouldn't be home to a million and a half objects, because that's not that interaction between people and objects. Home to a million thoughts is meant to capture that…' (Camilla Hampshire, museum manager). Here we can see how the new museum paradigm is slowly replacing the old one.

One of the most significant changes that have taken place within the area of collections is to do with natural history collections. The paradigm for collecting animals for museum displays has shifted. In the past, collectors used to shoot big animals and put them on display in the museum. However, today it's not that easy to do this. David Bolton, curator of natural history, tells us about this:

We have to use material, which is old cos we can't any longer obtain large exotic mammals. You know we can't go out and get a tiger, a lion, a giraffe, an elephant, it

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will be against international law, .. and if we could get them from zoos we could possibly still do that but most of the zoos don't release the animals they have… they usually like to keep them for themselves if they have a use for them (David Bolton, curator of natural history).

Camilla Hampshire, museum manager goes on to explain this further:

Instead of going out and shooting big game animals, now museums might collect written records, or film or something else of those animals. It's a bit like when we go out and do field surveys in Exeter, natural historians they'll perhaps go and look at the bank of a river, they'll collect every insect that is in that square meter. They will check them all whereas in the past perhaps they would have been killed and put into drawers, now we collect the data, we photograph it and everything else and then they're released.

The means of collecting have changed a lot in the course of history. The ways in which they used to collect in the 19th century can be quite shocking today. Many of those means have become illegal today. So RAMM has material in there that is quite controversial. The nature of collecting has changed and the globe is shrinking. The Internet is one of those things that are opening up heritage. By means of tools like the Internet, a museum can use its skills to capture heritage digitally by means of helping people share their memories, personal photographs, their own experiences etc.

One of the things we often used to get in the old museum was all the stuffed animals, it's terrible that the museum has these stuffed animals, what are they doing, going out shooting animals when they're endangered. And of course you know then getting across to the public that in the 19th century when those objects, those animals were shot, that was common practice, that was seen as perfectly acceptable. It's only now, with our 21st century awareness of conservation that actually we think. So that's a change and we need to show the public how that's happening. Same with world cultures. You know we have material in there, which is quite controversial. The means by which it was acquired in the 19th century can be quite shocking. So there's this

whole thing about actually how we now have a much more equal relationship with indigenous peoples and we share information. So changing nature of collecting and the shrinking of the globe as well (Camilla Hampshire, museum manager).

With the passage of time, ways of collecting change according to the environmental climate of particular time periods.

> The apologetic signs distance the museum from the now dubious acts of killing and mounting, and allow the museum to present a fresher outlook; more in tune with current sensitivities, while still displaying their collections… Contemporary museums are no longer collecting for public display with the same energy as their predecessors. Museums with nineteenth-century roots have been criticized as complicit with the colonial project, and their collections branded as imperial archives. Where taxidermy was once considering beautiful and the practice a delightful recreation for young ladies, it now makes people squeamish; it is seen by many as a gratuitous spoilage, as death on display (Poliquin, 2008: 123-126).

The RAMM actually has a very big natural history collection, however, the old RAMM was more about natural history and archeology and the new RAMM will give more way to other areas such as arts and world cultures.

> It started off with essentially natural history and archeology being the dominant players. And gradually things have changed whereby new areas have been trying to observe themselves and fight for space so that today it's more about what the public are deemed to need, in terms of their participation… and simply museums don't play the same role in natural history as they used to do… (David Bolton, curator of natural history).

Due to regulations about collecting animals, there is a lack of interest for animals in museums, which means there's a shift of meaning of national history in museums. According to David Bolton, the curator of natural history, with the advance of technology there appeared other ways of meeting live or dead animals in places other than museums, such as

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zoos or by means of increased tourism opportunities in their original birthplaces. So, the need to have animals in the museums seems to have diminished.

8.2.3.3 Changes in the Marketing Activities

RAMM seems to be in the middle of a change process also from a marketing point of view. We can say that it has been dominated by a curatorial perspective so far but is in the process of giving more importance to marketing. 'Museums are increasingly becoming marketized and the bodies that run these institutions demand that they be managed as if they were businesses and therefore the marketing function within museums and galleries has been put under increasing pressure and at the same time raised to a new status' (Caldwell, 2000: 28). According to the marketing manager Ruth Randall, it was at first not very easy to convince the management team about getting professional help from a branding company for the rebranding of the museum because for the management team this would have looked as though they didn't know their job. However, Ruth has tried to convince them that this would be a better way to a healthier branding of the company and she managed to convince them in the end. New RAMM is becoming more audience oriented and is including them more and more in the things that they do up to a point, where the audiences co-create the museum experiences together with the museum staff members. These show that RAMM is opening itself up more to a marketing perspective.

RAMM's target market encompasses all members of the society. The main point of differentiation for RAMM is its relationship with its local community. The museum is not only for educated, high class people as it has been the case for many museums; it's there for everybody and it makes this known by the public on every occasion.

RAMM has been very popular, very much loved, admired, and treasured in Exeter's community. This kind of a connection that a museum builds with all parts of the community is an unusual occasion. Due to the fact that its target market encompasses all members of the society, marketing RAMM's product becomes a challenging task.

There really are all kinds of people in RAMM, all kinds of ages, some come for exhibitions, some come to look at their favorite objects, some come for activities and that's why it's quite difficult to represent RAMM because we're trying to represent it to everyone so as a marketing job it's a challenge (Ruth Randall, marketing manager).

The profile of visitors stated in section 8.2.2.1.1 is going to stay the same in the new museum. Children's education in the museum is especially considered vital, so children are the main focus.

RAMM uses different means of promotion such as advertising through the tourist information centers and reaching out leaflets all around Devon. However, the website, especially the new website remains to be the basic means of promotion, an area which RAMM has been pushing very hard and they've been getting more information on the collections on there. The current website is very good at letting people know what RAMM is up to, how to get involved with RAMM during the refurbishment. One of the staff members said the following:

It has helped schools book up school workshops more quickly and it's been very useful for being able to download activities and it's especially useful when it gets connected with places like the BBC, because for example they've picked up RAMM's website to create a mosaic, a Roman mosaic interactive and people have found RAMM through the BBC, which has been really useful for RAMM.

Another opportunity when RAMM has worked with the BBC has arisen as a result of a program that has taken place on BBC's Radio 4. 'The Radio 4 series, A history of the World, each of the 100 episodes has Neil McGregor talking about an object from the British Museum. Each episode includes various experts so it's not like a lecture. Along with other museums, we were invited to contribute objects to the website, working in partnership with our local BBC radio station… You can find RAMM's objects listed under Devon or simply go to our page on the website.[50] The head of leisure and museums and the museum manager both

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[50] http://www.bbc.co.uk/ahistoryoftheworld/user/RAMMexeter' (RAMMble Staff Newsletter, Issue No 55-Oct 2010)

think that the Internet won't change the identity of RAMM but on the contrary reinforce its identity. For them Internet means that they'll be able to reach more people and for longer periods of time, all throughout the week as opposed to reaching them only on the time of their museum visit. RAMM is working on putting the entire collections database online. New RAMM will also be working on Internet shopping so more people interested in the same thing will be found easily. This is because they normally cannot get too many visitors interested in the museum shop and they can find more people if they go online.

According to the expressions of many staff members; other means of promotion (other than social media) include the media, newspapers, local newspapers; and they've got posters as well. They don't do too much TV exhibition advertising at all, because it's too expensive to do that. A lot of the advertising is through the local press, word of mouth and leaflets. They send promotive material out to all the attractions and hotels and Bed and Breakfast places, as well. If they have a specific exhibition they then do a bit of more push on that or they do a press release. There are also advertising boards outside the museum. The events leaflet comes out every quarter of a year. They don't have a massive budget for promotion so if people are interested in the events; RAMM will link into 'what's on in Exeter', where the public can see about events and what's on. According to Caldwell (2000: 32), 'in order for a museum to enter the repertory of choices of a potential visitor, it must generate a certain level of name awareness, and name awareness can come from various sources such as advertising (usually), through the mass media or through word of mouth'. It seems that RAMM is preparing the grounds well for creating name awareness in visitors by means of the above named techniques. However, it's not necessary only to create name awareness but 'once a degree of name awareness is established, it must be cultivated with proper reminders' (ibid.).

> Different media have their own advantages. Word of mouth provides long lasting loyalty effects, visual design develops a consistency of image and gives the first impression, the Internet and website expands the limits of time and space. These communication and promotional tools normally work together to attract consumer's attention (Kotler and Kotler 1998: 210-220).

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RAMM has been changing things in the museum but at the same time trying to manage the way that these changes are being communicated to the public. They have been trying to build a unity in the marketing communications towards the public. They have to say the same thing in the same way by building up an integrated marketing communications strategy. This necessitates first that the RAMM staff members themselves are actually aware of what's going on in the museum and have the same perspective in reflecting these things to the public. They have therefore first tried to articulate what they think RAMM actually stands for and then they have given that to a designer telling him to show them what that looks like. Then this designer showed visually what RAMM stands for. He has built up RAMM's visual identity according to the identity that has been figured out and agreed upon on the branding meetings that RAMM has done with the 'I AM' team from London. RAMM staff members have done three meetings with this team. The visual designer Ned Campbell did the next stage, which is the visual interpretation of the branding work.

After the work that they have done with the 'I AM' branding company from London, they all agreed on the slogan that they thought reflected RAMM very well. That slogan is (as previously mentioned): 'A home to a million thoughts'. This slogan represents RAMM very well because RAMM does not only want to represent its collections, but to stimulate thoughts and ideas, seek opinions, start conversations and encourage debate.[51]

> We might not use that (the slogan) written anywhere but you sort of keep that in your mind and then written some descriptors about what RAMM is going to feel like and look like when we reopen. And it's also informed the work we've done on the galleries because and interestingly I always tell people this because it's why we think RAMM is distinctive and we wanted RAMM to stay being distinctive (Ruth Randall, marketing manager).

Another slogan that came up in the branding meetings with the 'I AM' team was 'RAMM has got a gravitas with a twist'. Kate Osborne explains what this is supposed to mean and wishes

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[51] http://www.rammuseum.org.uk/Welcome-to-the-new-museum/

that these meetings had been done way before the time they were done, because those values would've had more influence on the actual redevelopment:

> In other words, RAMM is a serious place, we do things properly, we know about our collections, we are a reliable trusted source of information but we're not boring. You know we've got a sense of humour and a little twist on things (Kate Osborne, access officer).

This twist on things is actually what makes RAMM have the 'Paul Smith' style. This twist represents the unexpected side of RAMM and shows how RAMM likes to surprise people with little extras.

As for other changes in the marketing mix we can say the following: The building itself has changed architecturally. A modern extension has been added to the building. A cafe has been built for the new museum. More displays have been built and they are better accessible, there are more and better objects on display and we shouldn't forget about the fact that different ways of collecting natural history specimens are being applied in the new museum.

To give a clue as to the perceived identity of RAMM, the following question: 'If old RAMM and new RAMM would have been people, what kind of people would they have been?' was asked to the museum staff members. Some of the randomly chosen answers included the following ones:

One staff member said: 'Old RAMM was like David Attenborough and new RAMM like Bruce Perry'. Another staff member said: 'Old RAMM was male and sort of 50's early 60's; new RAMM was female and, I don't know, middle aged, in between a child and a middle aged person. If they met they would say to each other: Hello and welcome to a bigger and better version of yourself. But it's still there. The old RAMM values are still there.' Yet another staff member said: 'Old RAMM was someone who's been around a long, long time but I say, you know, an older person either in age or attitude. I'm a guy so I'd probably think of it as a male. New RAMM is a new man if you like, a new way of doing things, a new exciting way of,

a bit like when you get a young person starting university or you get a new person starting a new job whatever age it doesn't matter, they're all excited which is really great. A bit of both male and female.' According to yet another staff member, 'RAMM would be a fairly experienced person, who really liked working with children and telling them about the place they lived in and why it's like it is and telling anybody why it's like it is and giving lots of interesting things to think about and do and facts and ideas and giving them the chance to dip into their library, as it were, and look at things. A creative educator I suppose, it sounds a bit pompous but you know an entertaining and creative educator I suppose is what I mean.'

From the above considerations, we can see that the new RAMM is thought to be associated more and more with a female energy. This perceived change about the new museum is significant. The cultural stereotypes about males and females usually suggest that males are more powerful, authoritarian, a bit more distanced, take on the role of a supporter while women are more compassionate, protective, unconditional receivers. The above comments of some RAMM staff members seem to be a result of their attribution of some cultural stereotypes about gender roles that they think are suitable to the old and the new RAMM. According to that, the fact that RAMM is turning into more of a facilitator (which is more compassionate) rather than an educator (which is more authoritative) reflects its new perceived female characteristic. New RAMM is valuing visitors' thoughts, ideas and fellings and their expression in the museum more than before in which case new RAMM is more receptive, which is again another perceived female characteristic it has. Another female characteristic seems to be that RAMM can be said to be more sincere, cordial and intimate with its visitors just like a mum is with her kids (at least usually more so than a dad) when its accepting the fact that it cannot be the beholder of all knowledge and it needs its visitors to bring in knowledge for RAMM.

8.2.3.4 Focus Diversity

A refurbishment outcome is the diversification of focus. In the past the focus used to be more on history and archeology. However, with the refurbishment, RAMM is willing to diversify its topics to include science and arts.

From the education, I think what we want to be now is to be much more diverse. At the moment our workshops really are on history. And although that will still be the core, we are looking at going more into the science side of things and broadening the topics so that we can bring in more of what RAMM is offering with its artifacts. And therefore crossing the boundaries of different subjects a little bit more, which is what we're hoping the schools will want. Because this is what their new curriculum is saying… So yeah geography and science particularly will come in more. Personal skills and very much more focus I think on personal learning and also on skills. On skills based rather than purely historical skills. It will be much broader skills based and that's our challenge and that's what we're hoping for (Neil Heasman, education officer).

The diversification of focus is also mentioned by David Bolton, curator of natural history, with the following quotation:

It started off with a natural history and archeological bias before the art college side of it, that art side of it came into being. So it's always been very strong natural history collection and the old displays concentrated more on natural history and gradually over the years that diminished as a percentage of the overall displays. And with the new displays it's probably an even smaller portion…

As a result, RAMM will be a museum with many diverse topics and interest areas. These will not only help RAMM give its audiences a richer service, but will also make it possible for RAMM to reach a much more diverse group of audiences.

This raises the question as to who gives the decisions regarding the content of the exhibits and when there is a controversial issue about the content how this conflict is resolved. On this subject Camilla Hampshire, the museum manager, says the following:

The city council doesn't have a particularly instrumental view of the museum. Councillers don't get involved in those details about what content to exhibit. Their role is to make strategic decisions. Officers's role is to make the operational decisions. What goes on a label or how an object is presented is an operational decision. When

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we are dealing with a sensitive issue, we would consider it very carefully, take a range of views on it, we would try to present a balanced view. That's our professional responsibility. It's not our role to drive a particular political agenda. We are presenting history; we're not actively involved in resolving a conflict. We are presenting a balanced view. If it's particularly controversial, we try and present both sides of the argument. My job as a museum manager is to make sure we run as a coherent organization. We would have those internal discussions but then we would come to an instituitonal view of how we're approaching something. Leadership is important.

So we can see that although decisions are given in a democratic way, leadership still has an influential effect in the management of the museum. We can see that although the general policy of the councillers is not to get involved in those details about what content to exhibit, as Rick Lawrence has stated on p.221, they have to follow the city council's social media policy which is a set of safeguards to avoid any contentious or offensive material being published. Presumably this also covers the policy about the exhibitions of the museum.

8.2.4 New Projects in RAMM

Due to the refurbishment, RAMM has been closed for a long time. However, during this time RAMM hasn't stopped making projects. RAMM got involved in a lot of community projects. So, we can talk of a museum without an actual museum during this process. However, new projects have been brought into life during this time period. In order to form new projects, there is a team of people who look at proposals. They receive all the proposals that come from staff members or from anywhere else and they investigate on them to choose the ones that they want to get involved in.

These proposals can either come from members of staff or they could come from anywhere. Quite often with the community ones, proposals come in but a member of my team go into meeting partners and other community providers and asking them if there's a project, if there's something that we can do that fits together, that we can work with people that they are working with to enhance what they do. Sometimes they come in that way and that would normally go into a proposal and then we'd

choose which ones to do… We worked with a whole group of providers in four areas of the city so we worked with Age Concern, schools, young volunteers, the Ivy Project, we worked with Cricklepit media down in St. Thomas, we worked with vulnerable people as well (Ruth Randall, marketing manager).

Probably the most significant new project of RAMM is the archiving of stories of people, whether it be stories of ordinary people or stories of collectors or the historical story of the changes happening in RAMM. As a new practice, RAMM has started recording the changes as they go along to make up a historical background to the museum. These stories are part of the immaterial museum of RAMM. Stories take on a new and significant meaning in the new museum. They are part of a new museum experience, they contribute to the co-creation process that's trying to be flourished, which builds up a more advanced relationship level between the museum and its audiences, while at the same time providing a more practical way of collecting because if you collect stories instead of objects, you don't need to pay for space and conservation of those stories.

Some projects start with the people while others start with the collections. The ones that start with the people are called the community projects. Living Here and Moving Here are among these kind of projects. Some significant displays that have been running recently are Romans, World War II, ancient Egypt displays (these being the three main subjects that the schools wanted from RAMM and that it can offer), displays on art themes and themes around the world cultures collection. RAMM always works from the strengths of its collections and displays. So, they try to choose the themes according to the objects that they have in the museum, but the most important of all is to get the public involved, at the same time.

a successful museum is not just about putting objects on displays, labels and interactive but the baseline, that's the basics but beyond that it's about meeting people and talking to them and running events and interacting humans to humans, that's also what a successful museum is about. If there's a museum that simply opens its doors, lets people in and lets them out again and nobody ever talks to anyone, you know they never meet anyone from the museum and you know do anything that's

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beyond putting things in glass cases I think that would be a failure (Kate Osborne, access officer).

There are two main projects that RAMM has developed and our respondents have been mentioning them in the interviews quite often. These are the 'Living Here Project' and the 'Moving Here Project'. Under the umbrella of the Living Here project, there are other minor projects such as Cricklepitmedia (Future Heritage Project), Radio Free Project, Living Here Primary School Project and many others. The Moving Here Project is about recording people's stories, ideas and feelings about the objects they see. You can see some examples of these down in the Moving Here Project section and on the following website.[52]

8.2.4.1 Living Here Project

One of RAMM's new projects is called the 'Living Here' project. This is a project which is held quite important by the museum staff; many of them have been talking about it in various interviews.

The Living Here project was about RAMM encouraging and supporting a whole community to curate its own museum. In this case it's a virtual museum - the Living Here website. This website has lots of museum characteristics. It shows exhibitions, publishes research, promotes activities and explores collections. It's a place to find learning resources and ask questions.[53]

The importance of this project lies therein that the beginning point of it is the people, whereas in other projects it is usually the museum collections. This point is stated on the web page of the project as follows:

Living Here is a special community project that RAMM started about 3 years ago. It's special because it's different to everything RAMM has done before and it's also different to community projects run by other museums. Usually the starting point for museum projects

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[52] http://rammuseum.org.uk/Moving-Here/
[53] see http://www.livinghere.org.uk/page_id__571_path__0p1p.aspx

is the museum collections. In this one the starting point was people. The people who live and work in Exwick, St Thomas, Cowick and Alphington.[54]

This quotation refers to a very important basic feature about the very concept of the museum in that the project, which was initially dependent on the museum becomes actually not dependent on the museum any more, but on the visitors of the museum and we see that the boundaries of the museum concept has widened itself.

> …the Living Here website. That's the end result of it and basically the project took on a life of its own, as people from the community became involved in the project and for example some history groups were set up, people found each other, they used the project to find each other, like joint interest… It's quite interesting because quite a few people that weren't from Exeter who have moved to Exeter became very, you know, they've got involved in the project, it's interesting how people who aren't from here actually put down roots and investigate the history (Naome Glanville, exhibitions assistant).

We can see a similar perspective in the words of another interviewee. As an interviewer, I asked the following question: 'You have collected stories from consumers, under the project named Living Here. Can you tell me a little about it please?' However, my interviewee Penny Hammond, the community development officer, noticing a prejudice in my question regarding the word 'consumers' answered the question in a very interesting way:

> The way you asked that question was telling thought…. because you were talking about people as consumers. <u>RAMM was the consumers</u>. Because the Living Here project was about the community. It's their heritage, it's their history. Therefore they are the experts. And RAMM facilitates the process for them to explore their own heritage. Therefore anything that they give to us, we are the consumers to add to it. So, it's the community first, RAMM second.

Table 8.4 gives some examples of the stories people told for the Living Here Project, from the Living Here website.

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[54] http://www.livinghere.org.uk/page_id__571_path__0p1p.aspx

Table 8. 4 Some Stories Collected through the Living Here Project

Sue remembers life west of the Exe

By Cyrus

Name: Sue Lonton

When and where you were born: Exeter 1960

How long have you lived in the west of the exe: 48 years apart from London.

What are some of the most important / special places for you west of the exe and why? She went bishop blackall her favourite lessons were English, art and design.

She used to go to a cafe in Cowirk Street and St. Thomas park with her mates.

What are the most treasured memories of living here?: Playing with her mates in St. Thomas park and sun bathing on the flood prevention scheme.

How has the area changed in your lifetime?: Less traffic. no St. Thomas shopping center or St. Thomas library van in front of the school that's now a half centre.

What makes living here special?: it's quite quiet. a quite strong sense of community it's got a lot of amenities/shops, libraries/banks.

(This page was added by Cyrus Lonton on 19.01.2009)

St Thomas

DCC bus parked in Cowick Street

Devon County Council

My everyday life in 2008

By a lady who popped into the DCC outreach bus

I moved to Exeter in 2006 and started going to the St Thomas Baptist Church. I don't know how old the church is but I think it's been there quite a long while, looking at it. They're all very friendly there. And I work in a charity shop two days a week on Cowick Street. I do the codings on the hangers and sort out the clothes sizes. I enjoy it in there.

We go to the Showman pub to do karaoke. It gets quite busy in there. St Thomas is nice and easy to get up into town with the buses. I think they could improve things with the traffic. It's nice to have the doctor's surgery up here and not have far to go to the doctors and the local chemist where you get your prescriptions. It's nice to have a library local to get to.

This page was added by Sarah, Curator of West Exe on 02.02.2008.

Source: http://www.rammuseum.org.uk, 18.02.2010

There are also stories about post-war Exeter, life west of the Exe, Alphington in the memory of one of the residents, rope makers of St. Thomas, memories of peace and war etc. There are even poems and a lot of photographs on the website. Presumably the use of the museum as a repository for memories has a nostalgic effect on the audiences.

> Internet is one of those things that is opening up the heritage... projects like 'Living Here', that is all about using our museum skills to help capture that heritage, is not necessarily in the form of objects we're bringing into the building, we're helping people share memories, their personal photographs, their own experiences of living in Exeter and capturing it digitally (Camilla Hampshire, museum's manager).

Here we see again the postmodern quality of the collapsing boundaries between the concepts of consumer and producer. The co-creation concept comes into play again. Through collecting people's lives, thoughts, histories, experiences and interests, RAMM collects its immaterial objects for the immaterial museum.

8.2.4.2 Moving Here Project

For this project, people who have moved to Exeter from near or far are invited to meetings where they wear gloves and touch particular museum objects and make their own comments about those objects. These comments are valued by the museum as an important input; recorded and displayed on the museum's online catalogue. In this way, the museum can get to know about different viewpoints and most importantly they can simplify curators' language by using people's terms instead of scientific terms, which they find out in these kinds of sessions. The exhibitions assistant Naome Glanville draws attention to the cooperative aspect: 'Another objective is to introduce those people to the museum and make them feel they're a part of it as well and give them an opportunity to say we're here, come and join us, be interested in things we're doing and what we've got to offer...' Contact has been made with different community groups, particularly who have people in them that may have come from other countries or from outside of Exeter, for example people who have retired in Exeter. The project is trying to be inclusive. The project is about giving a new perspective to the stories of old objects and also recognizing that a lot of objects have moved here. Some of the people, who attend the meetings can be able to shed light on

some of the objects. They might say that they have used one of those objects or that they can remember their granny using one of them.

> …We don't know what's going to come up, that's the beauty of it. The comments will be collected and they're going through a wetting process of the curator. If there's something horrendous and accurate they might filter it out and the comments then will be added to the online database so that can be viewed in public. So if you're a person experiencing that object, then you can read the whole story going with it (Naome Glanville, exhibitions assistant).

The Moving Here Project is a very good example to the co-operation between the museum and its visitors. Here they are co-producing the museum's product.

> It's about teaching people as well, about what a museum does. And the fact that we have a massive collection, I know the museum is closed but even when it's open, there's a massive collection of items in any museum that's hidden away. And it's your chance to see it. So, it's to give somebody a special experience as well, that they wouldn't necessarily always have if they visited a museum. So they get to see things in storage, they understand a little bit about how you handle objects, they get to see objects closer and touch some of them obviously with gloves on. And to discuss them and also a curator is there. Now the curator often knows something about the objects but may not know everything by all means. It's adding to the expertise. Because we've got to be open minded. People come in and they might know a lot more than the curator or us about it. So it's learning for everybody in a way. And also making connections between things. We did work with a group and saw an object from South America and related it to something from a completely other culture, just through the object actually. We're keeping an evaluation diary of some of the things that we're learning along the way as well as in that project as well (Naome Glanville, exhibitions assistant).

Here are some comments collected from the Moving Here Project. These are some examples but you can find some of these and other comments about other objects on the following website.[55]

The following comment was made by a visitor on the object called the Exeter Puzzle jug; you can see its picture below in Fig. 8. 4:

Figure 8. 4 Exeter Puzzle Jug

The following description about this object was made by the museum: The figures on this decorated jug are thought to represent naked bishops, dancing girls and musicians. It was made around AD 1300 in Saintonge in medieval France, but was found in pieces on an Exeter building site in 1899.… To this description, a visitor of the Moving Here project made the following comments:

> I think it's delightful. It manages to get wine, women and song in one pot…. That's exactly it. All that work just to make a joke!... I once knew a girl called Saintonge! (Richard from Exeter, in a Moving Here session organised by RAMM Exeter, on 22 July 2010).[56]

The following comment was made for the object called the Arctic map, which you can see below. The definition for the object: Carved bone map used by Inupiaq–Inuit fishermen. The map represents a short length of Artic coastline. The user can work out where he is by feeling its edge (Figure 8.5).

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[55] http://rammuseum.org.uk/Inspired-by-Objects/
[56] http://www.bbc.co.uk/ahistoryoftheworld/objects/gsTBY1J2T9KVyP1I3AgmSA

Figure 8. 5 Arctic map

> This is presumably made by people without an aerial view. Our map is visual. Theirs is tactile…. Have you ever given this to a blind person? If it's in the Arctic Circle, they spend four months of the year in darkness (Roz Davis, volunteer on Moving Here).

The following comments were made for the object called the Nigerian headdress, which you can see below. The definition for the object: Yoruban headdress in the form of a face with intricate hair design (Figure 8.6).

Figure 8. 6 Nigerian headdress

> [I am from Cabinda, the region between Congo and Angola]. The men have short hair and wear a single piece of cloth draped around them over the shoulder. Only the women have long hair…. The kings also wear an animal skin of leopard or lion, also draped over the shoulder. Sometimes they wear necklaces made from carved ivory (Marie-Therese, member of Rejuve-nation, from the Democratic Republic of Congo).

I don't think I'd be able to dance with this on my head! It would be nice to see someone with it on their head…. [I like African art]…. I've got African paintings on my wall…. A man sitting under a tree, women carrying water…. I've got a carving at home. But it's not wood, it's graphite…. And I've got a couple of heads. One reminds me of my son…. (Audrey Toms, Jamaican member of Rejuve-nation).

Apparently there are 40 million Yoruban people around the world…. A lot of items we (RAMM) have were gifts given to the Reverend Henry Townsend which he then gave to the museum. He was a missionary in Yorubaland in the 19th century. He developed a good relationship with the people there (Rowena Hill, Conservator).

The following information about the Moving Here Project appeared on one of the issues of the RAMMble staff newsletter and shows the diversity of people joining the Moving Here sessions: Sometimes the people who come to the Moving Here sessions come up with the most poetic ways of describing our objects. So far we've shown objects and recorded responses of groups from the synagogue, women learning English, community interpreters, and local history enthusiasts who worked on Living Here. We're holding two sessions with a self-help group for people from ethnic minorities who have disabilities or look after disabled relatives. In September we've got a slot planned with older people from Age Concern, and we're organizing sessions in October with Chinese elders and Muslim elders. Some come back a second time, and some have asked for a third session (RAMMble, Issue No 54, Sept 2010).

8.2.4.3 St. Nicholas Priory

St. Nicholas Priory, which is a 900 year old guest wing of a former Benedictine Priory in Exeter City Centre, has been developed by RAMM into a Tudor town house (which is actually what it was back in one part of its long history) with the funding received from the Renaissance in the regions. The Priory is home to a new display of some of Exeter's original Tudor artefacts from RAMM's collection. They've furnished it and made it into a fully working museum. In St Nicholas Priory replica furniture and artefacts can be touched and used. Now it's especially attractive for families with children. There are many activities and

plays arranged for small children. Staff members from the museum's education department arrange these plays and there are volunteers to help them carry out these activities. I have taken place in these activities as a volunteer and recorded what has been going on. These plays are inspired by different stories from history such as Britain's story about colonialism, how people used the Priory in the old times and the like. They dress up, they make soup and eat it, they live the life of rich children etc. Once they've played about the Great Fire of London. That was about showing the kids the houses that were made of wood and materials that were very different from a lot of the houses of today and comparing and contrasting what they would do if they had to rescue things from the fire. RAMM's education team has invented what they call 'Robert the rat' for St. Nicholas Priory as a new project (Figures 8.7). Here's what it's about:

> He's a little puppet and a rat, a Tudor rat that lives in St. Nicholas Priory and he's quite mischievous but he is a way of encouraging very small children with their parents to go around St. Nicholas Priory and start talking to each other, it's about getting parents talking with their children because not all parents know how to do that necessarily or don't quite know what to do with themselves in the museum so it's a way of having a little friend who helps you chat and find out about things (Kate Osborn, access officer).

Figure 8. 7 Robert the Rat

Source: http://www.rammuseum.org.uk/Robert-the-Rat's-adventures/Young-RAMM/

They have done things like magnetic mosaics in the old RAMM, and it grew very popular over time so they'll have that again in the new RAMM. With that, children will be able to

make a Roman mosaic when they want. They will be able to try on armour, which has been endlessly popular, when it was tried, children loved it. There are costumes to try on, bricks to play with, plates and spoons that are appropriate to display; they can play with them and try things out, they can grind herbs, they can do all sorts of things. These things are not there for any other reason than relating to the collections and therefore helping children understand the collections on display better. They have done a lot of work with small children on what gets them to think and to talk with their parents. Even though small children might not be in the position to understand the real significance of the information being given during these plays and activities, they see and get a sense of the artefacts and objects that were significant in those old times. Therefore, these insights are hoped to form impressions in children's minds and be turned into real knowledge with the information that they will build up on top of that later in their lives.

Here are some pictures from the St. Nicholas Priory. You can see various rooms dressed up according to how they would have looked like in Tudor times. The colours of the period are used in the rooms. The Priory is presented as the 1602 home of the wealthy Hurst family. There are also Elizabethan items from the city's collection. History is however presented in a modern format. Museum theatre is used as you can see in the photographs below. In the photographs, the museum actors are animating how people should have lived in this Priory in the old times, how they used to cook without modern technological items, how they used to eat dinner together, wash their hands etc. This makes up a great opportunity for children to learn history by watching a live history show.

Figure 8. 8 a, b, c, d, e, f, g and h: St. Nicholas Priory

Apart from its historical value, St. Nicholas Priory is home to many talks, lectures or special events during the closed period of RAMM. These can be about many different topics and can range from topics like 'going to school in medieval Exeter' to 'Vienna secession' to 'Activities for early years: Robert the Rat finds treasure'. There are especially some family activities in St. Nicholas Priory, where children can play with objects that have historical and educational value and parents can at the same time find good possibilities for relating with their children better. People can also naturally meet other families and socialize with each other in this venue.

Aside from these above named projects, RAMM also arranges events that are entertaining, informative and fun, in order to keep the interactivity level high. For instance, there are family fun days, days where you meet experts and talk more in depth about the collections or objects and things. There are talks and lectures, where people can go critical about things and ask questions to experts, questioning the orthodoxy about different phenomena. The access officer chooses to use the term services instead of projects. She says that the services that RAMM provides are fashioned according to RAMM's audience needs and what resources RAMM has. Here's the story of one of the family fun days taken from one of the staff newsletters:

> The usual inventive fun was available to families over Easter. Wild Hats and Wind from the East made use of lots of natural materials and there was good contrast between the wild and exotic hats and the precise and formal Japanese gardens. Neil finished the week with a wonderful workshop 'I've got rhythm' – which he certainly has – and managed to inspire it in others by using all sorts of timing games and exercises using the Teignbridge Play network's wonderful collection of percussion

instruments. The next week saw the Romans on the Cathedral Green. For 'Aqua' we built a wonderful aqueduct out of giant Lego and polystyrene pipe insulation that did actually transfer water from our 'mountain' to our urban fountain (with a bit of hasty adjustment!). We also made model Roman baths and talked about the relevant archeology under the Cathedral Green. Roman Siege involved some serious shooting (to Oly's delight) using the miniature onegars to bring down the cardboard Britons on their rampart. This was popular with the children, their parents and grandparents! The last day was looking at Buildings as Inspiration – which arose out of RAMM's own design but also incorporated the cathedral. Lots more fun to come at summer half term and summer holidays (RAMMble Staff Newsletter, Issue No 50, May 2010).

These are mainly the new activities that RAMM is working on. There will obviously be new ones to come and some of them might change or get deleted altogether but the content should more or less stay the same. RAMM has had to face many challenges during the refurbishment process mainly due to the variety of the parties involved in the process. As a matter of fact, the involved parties couldn't take action independently of each other so this has slowed the process to a certain degree. The following challenges have to be taken into consideration before the changes in RAMM are evaluated.

8.2.5 Refurbishment Process - Changes and Challenges

During the refurbishment process RAMM's situation has been continually changing due to the continually changing situations of different parties involved in the project. There needed to be a good deal of orchestration and synchronization among RAMM staff members and other parties responsible for the project (for the stakeholders see pp. 177-190) during the refurbishment for it to go well. As said before, the refurbishment is a waiting game and everybody has to meet their deadlines so that the work doesn't stall. It's a continuous redesigning process.

> That can be slightly disconcerting if you spend several months choosing objects and doing the research when they have to say cut a part of that out. But that's part of the process. That's part of the redevelopment itself. And because of my previous

employment in the redevelopment work of another museum, I've got used to that idea. It's something that you expect. You work, you create then it gets changed. It's like reediting a piece of script. And then you work with the constraints that you have. That's basically what we all have to do together. So that's one of the challenges…. It's a waiting game. Because you can only do so much, you have to wait for everybody else to catch up. So with the actual features and the architects and the builders, they will come across nags which could delete the project. And the way we work with that is just to carry on so when we need to deliver a material, we meet our deadlines so we're not falling behind ourselves. We're trying to be ahead one step of the way (Anthony Eccles, Curator of Ethnography).

David Bolton, curator of natural history, states the same points in another way:

I'm afraid things have changed from the original concept to what being realized we're going to be able to afford.

There have been many changes and difficulties during the refurbishment. The biggest change throughout the project has been the amount of time it has taken. There have been difficulties with the building structures; there have been unexpected additions to the building work due to unexpected weaknesses of the old building. There were also physical limitations with the building process so it has taken much longer than was originally planned. These delays have had a knock-on effect on the exhibitions, the displays. They had to be delayed as well. Therefore the opening deadline has extended until late 2011. Financial constraints have naturally had to play an important role in the restructuring of the museum as in anything else and the project had to take shape according to these constraints. Another difficulty is from an educational point of view; because it has been difficult to visualize what the galleries were going to look like, it's been difficult to produce what the education department needed to produce for schools. So, they had to have something up and ready but they weren't physically able to see how it was going to look so they had to use their imagination a bit. At the same time the schools' curriculum is changing so schools don't know what they'll want either. So this has been another challenge. There will have to be some pre planned galleries for schools but they might not be what they actually expect them

to be. This will eventually have to find its solution by collaboration between the museum and the schools within time.

Another challenge has been about the gallery that has already been refurbished in 1998, the World Cultures Gallery. This gallery doesn't fit into the new refurbishment. However, they cannot ask for yet another lottery funding to renovate it because of the fact that it has already been redeveloped a while ago. Therefore what they are doing is they are trying to give it a bit of a fresh look, add a little bit of content here and there. There are cases, which will be changed over time. They will have to work with designers and architects to come up with solutions. Then they'll have to consider the costs for the little changes they'll have to make in that gallery.

Yet another challenge during the refurbishment has been the difficulty regarding the dissemination of information to staff members. It has been such a busy process and while everybody has been busy doing their work, it has been quite difficult to disseminate information to them periodically although it has been a necessary thing to do.

On the whole, it seems that not being able to have a real museum to refer to has been the greatest challenge for most of the staff members during the refurbishment process. They had to make sure that they made audiences aware that there were activities going on in RAMM and they had to make them have the habit of checking these activities regularly. This was a challenge for the closed museum. So, we can easily say that RAMM staff members had to think differently during the course of the refurbishment process.

8.2.6 Organizational Changes

The refurbishment has naturally meant some changes on the organizational level as well. First of all, RAMM's situation has been continually changing in the course of the refurbishment and job descriptions of the RAMM staff have also been continually changing accordingly. Museum staff members have been reorganized very early on in the project. The staff remained, they all had something to do but their work changed slightly. There are going to be big changes in terms of staff work structure after the refurbishment too.

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We are going to have to make changes as we go back into RAMM because it's a different building and our situation with the council is very different and Renaissance might be ending so we have to make big changes there but we don't know what those are yet (Alan Caig, head of leisure and museums).

Many of the staff members have been talking about the changes in their job descriptions in the interviews conducted. Naome Glanville told me about her job description changes in the following way and she summarizes the situation quite well:

From my perspective, well my job has changed a lot. I think hmm, we had to adapt to its continually changing situation. Because it's going out a little bit into the unknown. You can't plan for everything and I mean I love that to be honest. And I still do a little bit of what I did do.

A relatively large number of RAMM staff members are on short contracts and work on a project basis, these projects run for a couple of years and these staff members leave as soon as the project that they are in is over. So a lot of the staff members do change reasonably regularly anyway.

A location change has taken place as well due to the refurbishment. Almost all of the offices of staff members had to move to the top of the Phoenix Building. According to some staff members this location change has brought about some interesting insights regarding the relationship of the staff with each other. Kathryn Gallery, the education resources assistant tells about this development in the following way:

Relationship in RAMM has changed. We talk to staff in different ways, there's more unity. People didn't used to talk to each other before, now that we're in the same place, they do. It's a very productive process. There's friendship, support and laughter going on. There's also stress and frustration too.

Some teams in the museum have completed their work and left their place to newcomers. For instance, the 'I AM' Branding team from London has completed its work and left its place to the visual designer of the brand. BAM Construction has completed their work and was replaced by the Benbow Group.

Volunteers have an important role in providing the friendly, welcoming atmosphere in RAMM. At one time there are usually between about 50-60 volunteers, and around 60-70 staff members. Volunteers are mainly used in galleries to look after the public and answer questions, give guided tours on occasions. Instead of expecting people to read the informatory material inside the museum, the museum finds it much more useful to have a volunteer to help them out. According to the volunteer coordinator, people seem to have really liked having somebody to say hello to and ask questions if they need to. The volunteer coordinator is responsible for preparing well trained, happy volunteers, who can answer questions, help people out, enhance visitor's experience and who know where to stand back and let people look around by themselves if they're quite happy doing that. Volunteers get involved in museum work for lots of different reasons. The need to become socialized can be one of the basic reasons; some people might want to have something to deal with to fight against boredom and feelings of uselessness if they happen to be jobless at that time or unable to take the responsibility of a fulltime job, it might be that they are recovering from an illness and just want somewhere to volunteer or things like that. So volunteering can actually help individuals in different ways and give them an opportunity to work with flexible hours that they can arrange with the volunteer coordinator. There is also an opportunity for virtual volunteering in RAMM.

> 'Virtual volunteering' is a way to get involved at a time that suits the volunteer, from a place that suits them, without some of the restrictions of other volunteering opportunities. So what kinds of things can a 'virtual volunteer do?' Proof reading, collating information, mailings, Consultation/'youth proofing', researching, podcasts, blogging, promotion, maintaining and updating online community pages, developing an online forum, translation, book recording and Braille translation (RAMMble Staff Newsletter, Issue No 55, Oct 2010).

8.2.7 The Interaction between RAMM and Its Macro Environment

While RAMM is changing itself, it is automatically changing its macro environment too and more specifically the cultural structure around it. This section is about the changes RAMM is going through that will have an effect on the macro environment and also how RAMM gets affected by its environment, in return. In fact, it is quite difficult to measure the effects a museum has on its environment because the things that a museum gives to its surrounding such as education, entertainment, the improvement of the life quality of its citizens and things alike are highly abstract to measure and until now researchers generally have engaged in measuring financial, economic and other measurable criteria to try to capture what value a museum brings to its society. Corsane (2005) talks about four different versions of capital that museums provide the society: 'cultural' (after Bordieu), 'human', 'social' and 'identity' capitals, which are deemed to describe a wider range of benefits that people might get from museums. Other different categorizations can be made but because these kinds of benefits are difficult to measure, RAMM is itself making research on what it brings to the society, to the macro environment by engaging a PhD student to work on this topic. She's trying to find a methodology, which captures the socio-cultural benefits of the museum on a wider hinterland so RAMM knows and is able to show what it brings socially to its community.

One of the major shifts that have happened in the museum is that it is taking Exeter, its history, people and identity as its major focus. This seems to be a result of the museum's more visitor-oriented new strategic inclination. We can say that this is probably the reflection of the customer-oriented marketing trend that's dominated the world markets in the last decades. Mark Griffin, the front of house manager, explains this as follows:

> Things have changed quite a lot. In a lot of older museums, you can walk around all day and not talk to anybody, staff ignores you, you used to find staff asleep in the museum. Curators wouldn't come and talk to anybody and if someone turned up with an object it was oh don't bother me, they forgot that actually it's the public that pays for them to take care of the collections. That's all changing now so since I've been here (in RAMM) the focus has definitely been different… we've become much more interactive with the

public and much more focused on the public. With the new RAMM that will continue but probably with less staff… so the curators are there to not just shut themselves away but to interact with the public. The same with the education team, …marketing is about bringing people in and getting the message across … it's much more about service delivery, being there for the public.

So, we can say that the museum is getting closer to the visitors day by day and being Exeter focused seems to be one of the consequences of it. For RAMM, the relationship that the collections have with Exeter has become an important area of interest. They want visitors to not only see the objects in the collections but relate the objects to the city and what they mean (or meant) to the city. So they thought it's time to rethink the way the museum presents itself. For instance, in the ceramics gallery it's not important to see ceramics, but it's important to understand what ceramics actually means to Exeter and how those ceramic objects have found their way to Exeter and how important they are for Exeter and so on. So, the displays have been changed entirely to include the story of why and how those objects actually ended up in Exeter's museum.

> (RAMM) A most unusual museum, it's the most unusual museum that I've come across that really has embedded itself in the consciousness of its local community, very much loved and admired and treasured really by the people that live here… (Alan Caig, head of Leisure and Museums).

> Before I came here 10 years ago, I used to be an assistant curator at Plymouth, so I used to come up here occasionally. So I knew that RAMM had fantastic collections, it's got this amazing building, got a very good team of people here, so all of those things were draws for me, but when I arrived here and experienced this sense of ownership that the public have of the museum, that was a bit of a uh wow! You know people feel very strongly about the museum, they feel that it's theirs, and you know it has a part to play in the community, a recognized part of the community (Camilla Hampshire, museum manager).

In the museum, the identity of Exeter is being investigated from the communal, historic and geographic viewpoints. The museum is trying to bring forward a sense of place about Exeter by sharing the history and heritage of Exeter. They want to provide the society a sense of their own identity, show them why they are like they are and why the city is like it is. They want to hold a historical record for the city and its inhabitants. They are also changing their perspective regarding the interpretation of collections by considering and making people understand them with respect to their meaning and connection with the city of Exeter and its people.

The management of the new museum wants to focus on using the RAMM as a tourist icon. According to Lam (2005), Tourism Western Australia, the government arm of tourism marketing in Western Australia, have defined their notion of a tourist icon as follows:

> …the iconic significance of an attraction came from its ability to create a sense of awe in tourists, draw large numbers of visitors and be readily identifiable as West Australian (as cited in Meethan et al., 2006: 114).

Alan Caig, head of leisure and museums, is surprised and disappointed at why the museum hasn't been used as a tourist icon before and tells that that was one of the things they've had in mind as they extended the museum.

> Well, the museum has been used as a tourist icon before but only to an extent, which we want to improve much more with the development project. The museum doesn't have the capacity to become a destination in itself; however it is big and interesting enough to add to the attraction of the city. It can be among those 5 or 6 things that people would like to choose to come to Exeter for. The location of the museum is after all very strategic, it's very close to the city center, to the shops, cafes and everything else and it gets more visitors than the cathedral does. (Alan Caig, head of leisure and museums)

RAMM has a Development Trust, which raises money for the improvement and refurbishment of the museum through its trustees who are supported by patrons and a

fundraising committee.[57] 'RAMM's Development Trust has set up a Business Club in order to enable local businesses to get involved with the Museum. As a Business Club member Guildhall Shopping Exeter will raise its local profile by sharing in the interest generated by RAMM's reopening, its wonderful collections, fabulous new displays and prestigious changing exhibition programme'.[58] RAMM tells the story of Exeter as an international place.

> Our museum tells the story of, in a way the story of Exeter as an international place, you know we have this huge natural history collections of animals from all over the world and we have huge world cultures collections and that's because Exeter was a port and because Devon was a place where the army particularly, well and the navy were based and they came back here and retired and brought back the things that they had collected with them and gave them to RAMM and that's, we try and preserve that so it's a, it's a story of Exeter and Devon really but seen from a slightly oblique angle, we don't tell you how agricultural labourers lived in the 16th century for example but we do tell you about what the city looked like and why it looked like that and so on. It's not about personal lives on the whole although there'll be some information about that it's very much about objects and why objects are important and why people bought them or made them or so on (Alan Caig, head of leisure and museums).

So, this is one effect RAMM has on its macro environment. Another effect that RAMM has on its macro environment is related with the democratization of knowledge. By means of suggesting that the way the museum thinks is not the only way to think, the museum actually makes people become critical and not believe in information that they get from others without questioning them and learn to think for themselves. In this way, the museum actually introduces and teaches a new paradigm to the city, different than the ones regular museums used to teach.

> …skills of learning to learn, learning for oneself, questioning not just being told this and going off but actually getting people to think for themselves, to talk, once they start talking and conversing they'll get thinking and for them to think for themselves that's

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[57] http://www.rammuseum.org.uk/development-trust
[58] http://www.guildhallshoppingexeter.co.uk/ramm.html

kind of what… so that's all I think we can offer and I guess that RAMM as a whole offers that, we offer an experience that is different from anywhere else and if that doesn't make you think I don't know what will (Kate Osborne, access officer).

Our societies have developed much and transformed themselves over time. Many say that the new era we've entered is knowledge based and hence our economies are called 'knowledge economies' (Foray and Lundvall, 1996; Covwan et. al, 2000; Cooke, 2002 etc.). According to Dolfsma and Soete (2006); in fact all societies are and have been knowledge based, however, because knowledge has accumulated the most in our times; developments in our current economy are related to 'knowledge' and noteworthy for their dynamics. Now knowledge is perhaps the most important factor that determines the living standards even more than other things such as labor, land or tools. In such a climate of today's world, the responsibility that museums have in bringing people to learn has become more visible and important than before. RAMM's transformation is based on the enhancement of its capacity to provide a better learning atmosphere both for its own staff members and visitors and create a culture of learning as a part of its organizational culture. The line separating visitors from staff members is becoming more and more transparent anyway, with the co-creation paradigm becoming dominant in the new museum. New RAMM is meant to bring opportunities of learning to its members and transform itself continuously. It will be ready and fit for the 21st century only to the extent that it will be able to achieve this goal. As Tobin (1996: 2) argues, 'knowledge is no longer the sole province of management; all employees at all levels must be charged with the responsibility for their own learning and for applying that learning to their jobs'. RAMM realizes this by means of such activities as having a transparent knowledge internal database-Intranet open to all staff members, making meetings regularly to share information on different topics and get staff feedback on issues regarding the museum etc. Therefore, we can see that RAMM is becoming more of a learning organization everyday.

As a learning organization, new RAMM will offer its environment what the Museums, Libraries and Archives calls the 'generic learning outcomes'. The Museums, Libraries and Archives Council has prepared a self-help improvement framework for museums, libraries and archives. The generic learning outcomes fall under this framework. They make it

possible to describe what and how people learn in museums, libraries and archives; help them identify and evidence the benefits for people taking part in museum, library and archive activities; and have a proven track record of measuring outcomes. The generic learning outcomes can be considered a self help toolkit for museums, libraries and archives to evaluate themselves according to certain criteria. GLO is a very important toolkit for museums but it should be periodically evaluated through consumer surveys to find out whether the classification of subjects stated in the GLO are sufficient or new subjects need to be added. These GLO measurements should be held on different life stages as the consumers are influenced by environmental or demographic changes in their lives. For example, things that a young girl would expect to see in a museum would be different than the things she would like to see when she's become a mother or an elderly lady. Tracing these changes in the consumer would provide an interesting, fruitful and valuable documentation for museums. More details about the generic learning outcomes can be found in Appendix 8.

8.3 RAMM as a Brand/the Rebranding of RAMM

The third objective of this thesis is to investigate the strategic branding and rebranding process for RAMM. This section is about how RAMM has been evolving as a new brand and developed the new branding (or rebranding) of the museum within the framework of the refurbishment process. Nowadays all national museums are looking for a stronger branding strategy in order to have a stronger identity, raise the value of their museums and have a better image in visitors' minds. A good branding strategy can help raise resources by increasing the reputation of the brand. Branding also helps local museums to raise their competitiveness in the globalized marketplace. Branding is a rather new concept for museums and as Caldwell (2000: 29) argues, the strategic importance of the concept of brand identity for museums has began to take root in the 2000s and it is thus imperative for us to understand what a brand means in the museum context. In order to make visitors loyal to itself, a museum needs to create a powerful brand that can pull toward itself (a) particular visitor segment(s).

'Customer loyalty has been a major focus of strategic marketing planning and offers an important basis for developing a sustainable competitive advantage – an advantage that can be realized through marketing efforts' (Dick and Basu, 1994 as cited in Uslu and Cam, 1994: 586). In this thesis, the concern is a museum in the process of becoming a real brand and what it had to go through during this branding process. Here we witness the marketization of the public sphere of a museum, which is a part of the wider phenomenon of the public sector having increasingly adopted the methods and values of the market. Marketization has reached the museum world after it has already covered other institutions such as education, religion and politics. In the case of RAMM's rebranding process, we can see that museum branding is used as a marketing tool to build a robust identity and strong and long lasting relationships with the public. Going through this process, RAMM had to build a new systematic branding strategy in all its programs, from the exhibition, educational activities to all merchandise products.

Initially, one thing has sort of triggered RAMM's decision to go under refurbishment and change. That was the refurbishment of the World Cultures Collection 10-11 years before the actual refurbishment. As previously explained on p. 149 in details, it was the initiator of the whole refurbishment process that RAMM has gone through.

RAMM's refurbishment process wasn't only a refurbishment process though; it was also a process where the brand itself was changing to find itself better, to involve different meanings and values for its audiences as is suitable for the 21st century. In the new era, where the emergence of museum brands has become vital, 'the marketing function must develop the identity of the institution into a 'brand'' (Caldwell, 2000: 28).

There's a historical background to the naming of the institution of RAMM. The name that the brand has been using or has been named after in different media wasn't always RAMM. RAMM used to be called Exeter City Museums and Art Gallery in the 1970s. But for the past 10 years they've been building up on RAMM. That's the Royal Albert Memorial Museum and Art Gallery but they don't say RAMMAG because that'd be quite a mouthful and unpleasant to articulate. However, some media have used the name RAMMAG (Royal Albert Memorial Museum and Art Gallery) and some have used RAMM. There has been a confusing situation

regarding the name of this museum because for a long time both names were at play: Exeter Museums and Art Gallery and RAMM. So, after Camilla arrived, they have made the decision to call the institution 'RAMM' and to push those letters forward by encouraging the press and others to use RAMM instead of other names. This is part of the new branding strategy now and people responsible for branding are trying to push this forward. Having 'royal' in your name is actually a privilege that not many institutions in the UK can share. It's part of the history of the building of RAMM. After Prince Albert died in 1861, they wanted to build a practical memorial to his work. That's why the museum became the Albert Memorial Museum and then a bit later they had a royal visit when they opened the extensions of the museum and that's how they became the Royal Albert Memorial Museum. So, that royal sanction is part of the history of the building. From a rebranding perspective, we can say that the process had already begun with the renaming of the institution a decade before the refurbishment process.[59]

As stated before, RAMM has worked with an outside company called the 'I AM Associates' for the rebranding of the museum. They have done three meetings with that company in order to get museum staff's perspective about where the brand should be going, make them realize the important features of the brand, its strengths and weaknesses, make them agree upon what they would and wouldn't like the brand to involve. They discussed how they could actually reflect the values of the brand to the public and things like that. One of the reasons for these meetings was to reach a consensus about the future of the brand and make integrated marketing communications possible.

> …you've got to make sure that your colleagues don't go off and do something that isn't quality, that doesn't fit the branding and then doesn't fit the ethos (Ruth Randall, marketing manager).

The marketing manager stresses that the marketing department should be the guardian of the brand; look after it carefully and not let anyone mess with it. As time goes by the marketing department has started to make other staff members police the brand as well.

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[59] http://www.rammuseum.org.uk/about-ramm/founding-the-museum

They are getting better at it, they are asking for advice more and newcomers are also made aware of these desired behaviour patterns more. An important part of the branding process is to get the staff use the brand properly, consistently and always, after the new brand has been settled in people's minds with the branding work that has been done. They have to make sure that the staff members don't do something that doesn't fit the quality standards of the brand, that doesn't fit the new branding rules and then doesn't fit the ethos of that brand. The marketing department is responsible for making sure these criteria are securely met.

Needless to say, RAMM's website has to promote the values of RAMM and be friendly, lively, informative and so on, in line with RAMM's very character. RAMM as an organization has a unified character; they tend to involve everybody in the organization for a lot of things and nearly everybody in the organization have put stuff up on the website.

RAMM gives particular attention to keeping the core values of its brand safe and untouched by all means. While changing the perspective with respect to dealing with its objects, RAMM doesn't want to change those bits that made it so much loved by the audience, made it what it actually is.

> We don't want to reinvent RAMM, because everybody loved it then. So what we've tried to do is more of the same if you like so keep it quirky and distinctive and surprising and make the displays more accessible and give them more voices and give them more stories instead of laying everything out like an encyclopedia, so you've got glass wear there and china there, they all tell stories now, themes in the galleries and they tell stories and invite questions and give other people's opinions as well as ours (Ruth Randall, marketing manager).

What the new brand has in common with the old brand is that it reflects that RAMM is different by their welcome; it is a friendly organization that keeps itself in touch with the

public, cherishing people's opinions, thoughts and feelings. These are again to do with the initial values of RAMM, which are found on the following website.[60]

The answer to the question of whether RAMM is rebranding itself or it's just repositioning the existing brand is seemingly not very clear. However, in any case, 'the language of brands is taken from the world of consumer product marketing and must undergo some modification if it is to be used to address the concerns of the museum marketplace' (Caldwell, 2000: 29). RAMM is changing many things in the museum except the things that seemingly make up the essence of the brand. Alan Caig, the head of leisure and museums doesn't think the process can be called re-branding. He explains this in the following way:

> It's not so much a re-branding as a re-packaging of an existing brand I think. It's really just making sure that people recognise it for what it is and understand how good it is because I think it's a brand without having known it's a brand if you like, people know about it so we're trying to be a bit more, a bit cleverer I suppose about how that works and how we use it so, on the website and that kind of thing and of course we are constrained by the fact that we are part of the City Council, the City Council also has a brand and it is quite important I think that people know the City Council runs the museum, it's a public service, it's run by… (Alan Caig, Head of leisure and museums).

The RAMM is trying to exist as a brand under the City Council umbrella brand. It is linked to that brand but it tries to make itself known as a separate brand that has its own distinguished character. Alan Caig says that only half of the people are aware that the museum belongs to the council and many people don't care about it but it's important to know for a taxpayer that the tax that they are paying doesn't only go to emptying the bins but it goes to creative things, as well.

RAMM is actually in the process of rediscovering itself and bringing forth those qualities that are typical of RAMM and reinforce them to the public. RAMM is a local museum and after the refurbishment it is determined to get focused on the local more although it will open

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[60] http://www.rammuseum.org.uk/Our-values/

itself up to the world too, with its new website. RAMM feels that this is its main mission and a reason for its existence first of all. We can say that RAMM is known as a 'destination' brand, instead of a subject brand (Caldwell, 2000: 30), by virtue of its location. This is something that the new brand should reflect.

> We want to provide the society a sense of their own identity, you know especially people who live in Exeter and around, why are they like they are and why is the city like it is. We want to provide a source of information and education and entertainment for all those people and we want to provide a historical record for the city and its inhabitants so I think that's what we do (Alan Caig, head of museums and leisure).

In general, as the front of house manager puts it, RAMM might not go to that extreme point of changing lives, as the museum and the Museum Libraries and Archives Council likes to claim,[61] but provides an interesting and sociable place to be and it'll give people something else to go and see and do on a wet day or on a weekend.

They have lots of different things in the program that are of interest to lots of different people and they sell them slightly differently. However, it's always tricky to do one thing for everyone. It's a challenge to reflect RAMM with a single picture, for example. The marketing manager says that that's the biggest challenge.

> You have to pick out the general themes and not so much worry about the audience, just make sure that it says about RAMM, you know all those words that we thought about so it does say quality, it does say authenticity and it does say distinctiveness and you have to hope that everyone will pick that up (Ruth Randall, marketing manager).

So, RAMM is trying to position itself in the minds of the consumers according to the core values it has developed and be loyal to that image and make sure this image actually represents these core values. 'This has special importance for museums. With a strong brand identity, museums should be able to promote their changing products (exhibitions and

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[61] http://www.mla.gov.uk/what/programmes/renaissance/regions/east_midlands

programs) linked to the essential core elements and attributes associated with the long-term purpose of the museum' (Scott, 2000: 38). Positioning is becoming more and more important for museums. 'Positioning museums effectively in the 21st century may become a matter of survival' (ibid: 39).

According to Caldwell (2000: 31), the general strength of a museum brand might be measured according to the following factors: visitor satisfaction, name awareness, perceived quality, brand associations and other proprietary assets. The strength of the new museum brand of RAMM can be further investigated in time by means of relevant research tools according to these factors. It might be easier to achieve other things, but 'perceived quality is the single most important factor in determining the strength of a brand and it is slowly built up and takes a long time to erode' (ibid: 33).

In light of RAMM's rebranding story that has been told above, we can now check the parallels it has with the rebranding theory that has been outlined in chapter 5. RAMM will be repositioned as a tourist icon. In terms of corporate visual identity change, we see that RAMM has changed its name plus logo plus slogan. Its name and slogan changes have been mentioned before but logo change hasn't. The RAMM's old and new logos are in Figure 8.9 and 8.10 respectively:

<u>Figure 8.9 The Old RAMM Logo</u>

Figure 8.10 The New RAMM Logo

The old logo has been representative of the values of the old RAMM and had to be replaced by a brand new one that would represent the new spirit of the museum. For this reason, RAMM's designer Ian Wills has worked on the new logo design together with another colleague from outside of RAMM. Together they've created the new logo within the boundaries of the design brief that the city council has put forward. The brief of the city council would only allow a logo type, i.e. it had to be a type only treatment but this made the mm's look very dominant and heavy. Ian said that typographically, the word RAMM is quite ugly; if you just type it out, it just looks like an industrial brand; there's this harshness to it but the typographic quirk that was caught in the end made the new logo more memorable. According to him, the old logo was about ecclecticism; it had some practical problems with it, it was a bit unconfident, confused, shy in itself and wanted to hide away in a corner (instead of standing up on its own, which the new logo does). It was trying on all these clothes, a frock, then a suit, then it was a bit too tripsy, it was trying to be too clever. But now it's more confident and much stronger. While producing the new logo, Ian had in mind the logo of London's Victoria & Albert museum as a benchmark, which he said is among most designers' favourite ones. Its typographic solution was simple and elegant and had quality in it which he was after. Here's V&A's logo:

The connection between the '&' and the 'A' was the part that striked him the most and he then reflected it to the connection between the 'r' and the 'a' in RAMM's new logo. In order to bring in more friendliness, lower case m's were used. The typeface he used is 'Franklin Gothic'. He preferred a classic, established and not a modern typeface. The logo creation process was based on the findings of previous research done about the rebranding of the

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museum. Especially the research of the 'I AM' branding consultancy team and what RAMM has learned from them was key. Some visual research was done by looking at the works of some top institutions, these have provided inspiration. The management team had a direct influence on the logo creation, they were giving Ian the right feel about the new brand, while Ian was reporting back to them ideas and concepts. The logo is part of the communication tools of the new brand and like in all other messages that the museum gives out, it had to reflect RAMM's new personality: intelligent with a quirky sense of fun. Personal, engaging, and honest, never posed or contrived (as stated in the Brand Style Guide, 2011). By representing RAMM's more modest, inclusive and receptive new identity, the new logo was also in line with the 'A home to a million thoughts' tagline (i.e. by being receptive of million thoughts), which is the motto for the museum and it encapsulates everything.

Aside from the explanations made by the RAMM designer above, the change in the logo style can be interpreted from the researcher's perspective as in the following paragraphs, in light of the data collected from the RAMM during its refurbishment process. It can be said to be visually representative of the basic changes in organizational philosophy that have motivated the whole process.

As can be recognized instantly, the letters in the old logo are capital letters, each one written with a different font style. This might be a reflection of old RAMM's intention of trying to bring together many different groups of the society, i.e. people from different segments of the society and unite them under the roof of the museum by means of finding and presenting those things that are of similar interest to all these people. This is apparently also necessary for the creation of a nationalistic (in the positive sense of the word) atmosphere in the museum, which is one of the most important aspects of its mission as a museum of the nation, supported by a city council which uses the national money of the public.

Other than that, the fact that capital letters are used in the old logo reflects a sense of authority. We can say that with this slightly authoritative tone RAMM must have reflected the assumptions of the old museum paradigm, which is best represented in the Victorian aencyclophedism paradigm, which reflects the gathering of authoritative power in the hands of certain groups that have religious (previously), cultural and social capital (later on).

Among these institutions are encyclophaedies, schools, churches, theathers and other artistic institutions and the like. In time, we have witnessed a widespread leveling up of the relationship between these institutions and the public, i.e. audiences. This is the stage when it is assumed that both parties are in fact in need of each other to enhance their knowledge and understanding about various phenomena they're interested in. This seems to be also a result of the breaking of the taboos about knowledge creation and ways of learning, as well as the acceptance of and therefore respect for the value of the unlimited potential that different ways of seeing can bring. This brings us to the power of co-creation, which has been mentioned in the new business, marketing literature.

Apparently, this paradigm shift is what one can see when one compares RAMM's old logo with the new one. In the new one, the above mentioned authoritative tone has been removed from the logo with the use of small letters and a softer font style. All letters are written in the same font style (and they all look like the letter m), which might be thought to be a stress on the concept of 'unity'. This could be RAMM's referral to the concept of 'unity' to be presented to the public as a value, which might have eroded in the subcounscious mind of the nation due to some societal insecurities such as extreme/uncontrolled levels of multiculturalism being conceived as an identity threat, where it's becoming more difficult to define the concept and identity of Britishness. RAMM's unity concept could be seen as an attempt to understand and if possible cure the feelings of fear and insecurity of the public about this topic. In this sense, the priority of stressing differences (as inferred above from the old logo) only to bring them together under the roof of the museum might have become secondary for the new museum.

So, with these changes in RAMM we can say that the whole change is a revolutionary change instead of an evolutionary change as it would have been if only one of those elements had been changed (see Stuard and Muzellec 2004). We can say that there is a major, identifiable change in positioning and aesthetics. In terms of the corporate internal processes, we can see that the corporate values of RAMM have changed partially, but the essence of RAMM has been kept. Employee participation has been ensured throughout all levels of the rebranding process. The meetings made with the 'I AM' branding team was an attempt to

include the employees into the rebranding decision making process. It was emphasized that a consensus was reached on the sub topics, rather than decisions being imposed on employees. Employees' contribution to the changes being made and their full awareness of the changes is obviously key for a healthy, integrated marketing communication of the rebranding process to the public. After reaching a consensus about RAMM's new values, the visual designer expressed it to them in a visual way and prepared RAMM's new visual identity. The internal communication within the museum has been provided with tools such as Intranet and a RAMM newsletter prepared only for the internal staff members. In this way and with regular meetings, they have been constantly kept aware of the developments. The rebranding has been communicated to the public by advertising through tourist info centers, events leaflets (coming out every quarter of a year), website, social media, news on local newspapers, posters, local press, word of mouth, sending out stuff out to all the attractions, hotels and bed and breakfast places, advertising boards outside the museum. In this way, name awareness is being obtained and cultivated.

8.4 Conclusion

This chapter aimed at describing how Royal Albert Memorial Museum has been changing itself and evolving to become a rather postmodern museum. Firstly, the reflections on RAMM of the general paradigm shift that is taking place all over the museum world were investigated. 'What has to or should change or stay the same?' was a critical question that has led one part of the discussion in the text. Some elements had to stay the same due to either standards or because they were what made RAMM so much loved by the public. Other elements had to go, but obviously it's not an easy task to give a logical and satisfactory answer to this dilemma. There are some changes in RAMM that seem to be of a postmodern nature. These changes have been designated in this chapter. Secondly, the answer that RAMM has actually given to the above question has been answered, namely the changes made have been marked. While these changes were being made, there were also restrictions that had to be taken into consideration. These were the challenges of the refurbishment process and they have been named. Attention has been drawn to the interaction between RAMM and its macro environment. The corporate rebranding of RAMM can be perceived as a social impact to the society in itself because RAMM is a cultural/social

value of the community. As a case study of a local museum that is going under refurbishment due to the same reasons as many other museums around the globe, RAMM's story could give light to and be an example for the position that contemporary museums find themselves in during this phase of the century. The most striking change in RAMM seems to be that it is providing a much more critical and questioning environment to its visitors and giving them more agency in the co-creation of museum experiences. Finally, RAMM has been considered as a newly formed brand. How RAMM has been rebranding itself to become a brand that reflects new characteristics has been examined in the last part of this chapter. In essence, in this chapter, RAMM has been considered firstly as a postmodern consumption object and secondly as a postmodern museum brand.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

9.1 Introduction

This research has examined the nature of the interaction between consumer culture and museums in Britain, both of which are under constant and striking change and transformation in the last few decades. By means of this interaction, these two realms change, learn and are affected by each other. We can see this especially when we consider museums as objects of consumption, which has been the case in this study. From this perspective, we can better see the parallels between the changes taking place in the culture of consumption and the changes taking place in the museum world. The first research objective of the thesis is to analyse the changing nature of the museum landscape. In a world where consumer-orientation has gained great importance, we can observe that for the changes that they are going through, museums are relying more on their visitors' perspectives, taking their needs and wants more seriously than before, instead of changing according to their own criteria usually set by their managers or other museum people. The results of the case study have shown that there are many postmodern characteristics that have found their way to the museum as a result of the refurbishment and change processes and so to find out about the reflections of postmodernism on newly changing museums in Britain has become one of the objectives (objective number 2) of this thesis. Postmodernism is quite a controversial topic in itself and many times it strikes much debate; it usually does not exist on its own but in the presence of other discourses, especially the modernity discourse. To find out to what degree the postmodernity discourse has an influence over a certain museum setting is a topic of another research. However, its visible features and how these features come to define the examined museum has been a point of interest in this thesis. Another important aspect of the change processes going on in museums is about their branding and rebranding activities and this makes up the last objective of this thesis (objective number 3). In this work, the rebranding process of a British museum has been investigated from multiple perspectives, from the perspectives of many different stakeholders of the museum, in order to get a multi-dimensional view of the change.

The rise of the importance attached to branding in the last few decades seems to be an impact of the postmodern discourse. There are many degrees to which a museum can go through branding/rebranding and choosing the right degree remains to be one of the most important decisions in a change process. By synthesizing literature and primary research data, this thesis has provided a detailed account of how as objects of consumption, contemporary British museums are defined and managed as brands. This chapter reviews the main findings and key contributions of this research, with reference to its objectives; draws its limitations and makes recommendations for further research pertaining to the new forms of museums and museum experiences, in general, their branding/rebranding, in particular.

Consumer culture has gone through certain stages throughout the course of history, mainly depending upon the changing meaning of the concept of consumption. Consumption has got its most significance in the modern and postmodern periods. Consumer culture took its basic form in the modern period with its core institutions, infrastructures and practices being shaped by modernity. Then postmodernity has taken over and the meaning of consumption has changed especially with the postmodern reversal of production and consumption. The concept of the co-creation of experiences can also be said to be a by-product of this postmodern tendency. Many postmodern qualities have been reflected upon consumer culture in this period.

Changes happening in consumer culture have affected the world of museums directly to the extent that museums are perceived of as 'objects of consumption'. This has been a part of the wider phenomenon of the 'marketization of contemporary society, especially of non-economic sub-systems such as health care, education, arts, or science'.[62] As institutions offering history, arts, education, science, and technology; museums are among these non-economic sub-systems which are currently under the process of being economized. Under these circumstances, the questions of whether museums are valuable in and of themselves (traditional), or in light of their relationship with the public they're serving, in terms of the

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[62] Eberlein, 2012, http://soziologieblog.hypotheses.org/2146

value they bring to the society (contemporary), or else if they can be both and if so according to what criteria can they be both become significant questions to ask.[63] It's due to this marketization and the identification of the value of the museum according to society's needs and (many times) wants that have driven the process in which many museums have undergone refurbishment, rejuvenation, and rebranding activities in order to reshape themselves to fit into the postmodern consumer culture. In this culture, becoming a brand is deemed very important and valuable. It is even a strategic survival strategy to exist (longer) in the new marketplace.

The rebranding and refurbishment of RAMM can be seen from this perspective, i.e. as an answer to the changing needs of the marketplace which are shaped by and are a direct reflection of the changing consumer culture. In the new marketplace though, the boundaries separating the museum and its audiences that used to take place in the past have refined to allow for more interaction due to reasons such as more democratization, better collection, information and data protection systems. In the new interactive museum environment, experience co-creation has become the key element. In the new museum, the museum changes its audiences but its audiences change the museum just as well, in return. So, in fact people are embedded to the museum. In an interview regarding the logo change of RAMM, the designer Ian Wills, has talked about how the rebranding process has actually turned the museum into a desirable brand and mentioned about how RAMM has hopefully turned into an object of consumption with the following words: 'There probably has been a shift in terms of us as a desirable brand, something which can actually be consumed in a way... to make the brand more consumable has I think always been the deep intention'.

9.2 Key Research Findings

The main findings of this research can be separated into three main sections, each corresponding to the objectives of this thesis, which have been restated above in the introduction of this chapter (also previously stated in Ch 1). Key research findings for each of these objectives will be discussed in detail in the subsections below.

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[63] Sturgess, 2007;
http://aut.researchgateway.ac.nz/bitstream/handle/10292/521/SturgessC.pdf;jsessionid=7E9E26C23 0097720B09F29A2676917FF?sequence=4

9.2.1 Changing nature of the museum landscape: To explain the root changes taking place in the museum world that has forced many museums to go under refurbishment, regeneration and rebranding activities.

There are many changes happening in the museum world today, while there are also many things that have to stay the same. From the synthesis of the primary and secondary research carried out in this thesis and according to my own observations and interpretation of the data gathered, the most basic thing that is changing in museums today is that they are becoming more and more democratized, in all areas from knowledge production to the new arrangements made about the degree of participation of visitors and other stakeholders to the museum. Communication and interaction among different parties has gained a multilateral nature with communication starting from all possible sides, whereas previously it was mainly unilateral with communication starting from the museum management. The old Victorian encyclopaedism paradigm, where objects and 'knowledge' are laid out in the museum just like in an encyclopaedia, with the intention of being grasped and learned by the public, has changed to give way to a new museum paradigm. According to this new paradigm, the approach to and understanding of knowledge production and consumption has changed dramatically. Things that are found worthy of gaining information and knowledge about are generally quite multi-faceted in nature. This brings about the possibility of the need for multiple perspectives in defining, interpreting and drawing the boundaries of those things in question. In order to be able to create a healthy atmosphere of knowledge creation and consumption, new museums don't choose to leave this process merely to their curators and other museum people. They find that this kind of an approach would provide only a limited perspective at all times. Now what they feel themselves responsible for is not knowledge production per se, but the creation of a museum atmosphere that best provides the necessary tools for healthy knowledge production and consumption facilities to take place. With the bulks of information, interpretations, discussions, questions etc. that they receive from the visitors, museum staff members question their own ways of approaching phenomena and try to blend viewpoints to form a more crystallised perspective on things. In the new museum, everyone is learning and teaching at the same time.

These developments are all related with the 'co-creation' concept, which has been introduced to the marketing literature by Prahalad and Ramaswamy (2000), and has become a dominant concept ever since. However, the above stated developments are not the only manifestations of the concept of co-creation. It's not only knowledge that is being co-created in the new museum; the whole museum experience is actually being co-created. A visitor is constantly encouraged and instigated to interact and participate in the activities taking place in the new museum and therefore visitors and museum people shape these activities together, whatever they might be (gameplays, presentations, discussions etc.), by co-creating the museum experiences. The new museum takes co-creation to an extent where visitors' stories, their past experiences, thoughts, feelings etc. can take their places in the museum by becoming the immaterial museum objects.

A natural consequence of the transformation taking place in museums is the increasing tendency for '*objectivity*' to take a back seat and leave space for more '*subjectivity*' in the museum. This is in fact parallel to the scientific developments that don't give objectivity the credit they used to give in the old days, where objectivity wasn't critiqued as much and was deemed a natural and the most necessary requirement for scientificity. Questions such as 'how do you see?' or 'how do you perceive?' have become relevant. This obviously doesn't mean that objectivity has totally vanished from the museum space. It is still sought after but it has been realized that it's an ideal that cannot be realized fully and it has also been realized that subjectivity can also bring knowledge that wasn't thought possible beforehand. This trend has brought with it an increased subjectivity on the part of the curators while preparing their exhibits and the process of curating itself has drawn much more attention from the public in the last few decades. The curator is not the person merely putting objects next to one another, (s)he also brings his/her subjective nature to the fore and designs objects and information according to his/her own subjective criteria. (S)he does not do this only according to some historical or scientific aspects as (s)he used to do before (i.e. separating objects according to the scientific disciplines that they belong to, such as zoology, anthropology etc. or classifying them according to the historical periods they belong to), but (s)he might instead choose to organize objects according to some kind of stories such as

organising them with respect to their relation and significance to some human city or some other human affair for instance.

As a result of its reconceptualisation after the 70s, the concept of *'visuality'* has become another concept that stands out in the new museums. It is not only in museums that visuality stands out, though. It is actually one of the basic characteristics of the new consumer culture and its traces can be seen everywhere. As a result of the visual culture that has gained significance especially after postmodernism, creating an *image* has come to stand out as a vital component of strategic museum management, as it did in other organizations of the market. This is one of the reasons why refurbishment and renovation activities have gained momentum in the last few decades as museums have started to use visuality to a great extent in order to be able to impress visitors and create more efficiently an image that they need to create to facilitate visitor recognition and loyalty that brings in more cash in the long run.

The playground of the new museum witnesses a set of discrepancies. The tensions arising from between the dual points that create these discrepancies seemingly give vibrancy, spark and soul to the new museum. However, they are also the creators of conflicts and discrepancies that are in need of being resolved by the museum. These discrepancies are:

- Objectivity vs. subjectivity
- Virtual vs. physical
- Educated vs. uneducated
- Story-oriented vs. object-oriented
- Global vs. local
- High vs. low culture
- Customization vs. standardization

The new museum is extending the space it's functioning in. The physical museum building is only one small area when compared to the rest of the space the new museum uses and hence the phrase 'museum without walls' by Malraux (1947). By means of activities such as taking collections out to different venues and operating online on a virtual space, the new

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museum is everywhere and is less physical. However, the upgrading of the physical outlook of the museum building seems to be more important than ever before. In this matter the museum is moving towards two opposing directions at the same time. Globalization vs. localization trends also coexist within the new museum and balancing these two opposing tendencies creates another challenge. The new museum adapts to existing museum standards more than ever before for the sake of more professionalization, but on the other hand it has to find its own ways for more visitor customization in order to be able to create unique museum experiences that address the needs and wants of each visitor, because we're living in an experience economy. The museum is against visitor segmentation and tries to reach all audiences, from both high and low cultures. In this way, the target market is the whole society, one big varied culture has been created and only the various different services in the museum target different audiences. The new museum is trying to find balanced solutions to these and other discrepancies. These opposites first clash with each other in the museum but then they are united to create consensus and solutions.

The old museum was about Victorian encyclopaedism, the new is about the synthesis of knowledge, entertainment and participation. The degree of emphasis given to each of these dimensions varies from museum to museum but they all seem to have these aspects in them to some extent in one way or the other. The museum investigated in the research part of this thesis, RAMM, has these elements and it also has the elements of heritage, objects and history in it.

Finally, we can say that for the integration of the new museum with the public, and the creation of the new museum experience; interaction and the involvement of all seem to be key attributes. Multiple sources of communication and integration facilities are used for this purpose. These include the virtual museum, usage of social media tools such as Flicker, Facebook, Twitter etc. and mobile museum. Co-creation of all kinds is encouraged and this is obviously possible through a deeper integration with the public.

9.2.2 Viewing museums through the lens of postmodernism: To investigate the postmodern qualities that new museums have, from postmodern marketing theory perspective, focusing on the RAMM as an example

We can see many attributes of postmodernism in the new museum (for details see sections 2.4 and 8.1.3). Maybe one of the most striking one of these attributes is the juxtaposition of opposites. This seems to be responsible for the blurring of the line separating subject and object, which in turn is responsible for the activation of a co-creative atmosphere inside the museum. Boundaries have loosened and interaction has risen to a record high.

Another striking reflection of postmodernity on museums is related to the visual turn and the globalization of the visual that has affected every aspect of the cultural landscape. In the words of Nicholas Mirzoeff (2000: 3) 'Postmodernity is the crisis caused by modernism and modern culture confronting the failure of its own strategy of visualising. In other words, it is the visual crisis of culture that creates postmodernity, not its textuality'. The importance given to textuality before is now given to visuality and visual expression is indispensable for museums. Although 'postmodernism is not, of course, simply a visual experience' (ibid.: 3), the visual is a very strong characteristic of postmodernity. We can see this in the rapid development of the cinema, TV, Internet, and other technological tools based on visuality in the end of the 20th and beginning of the 21st centuries. However, obviously it is wrong to assume that postmodernity is restricted to visuality alone. But visuality makes up a more inclusive way to engage audiences.

Postmodern concepts have found relevance in almost all areas of marketing, especially in segmentation, distribution (Cova 1996), consumer behaviour (Holt and Sternthal 1997), and advertising (Proctor et al. 2002; Bulmer and Buchanan-Oliver 2004; Morris 2005). Museums that turn to marketing techniques more than ever automatically get affected by these postmodern concepts in their marketing strategies.

We can see many postmodern qualities in the new RAMM, especially in the architectural/spatial changes, exhibitionary designs, gallery designs, introduction of a virtual museum, design of some special visitor projects. Details are explained in section 8.2.2.

9.2.3 Strategic branding/rebranding processes of changing museums: To demonstrate the 'museum as a brand' concept, which sets the ground for many refurbishment and rejuvenation activities today and has become more important seemingly due to postmodern tendencies affecting museums among other institutions.

After the industrial revolution production technologies have made it possible to produce products more easily and in higher quantities in shorter time periods. As a consequence, products and brands have proliferated and supply exceeded demand (which has been the opposite in the past). Therefore customer became the king and a very competitive market atmosphere has emerged. In order to survive in this wildly competitive environment companies had to find new ways of transforming themselves and their products. It is in this environment that branding has become an important tool for organizations to be able to get a share in consumers' minds and stay there for as long as possible. In today's world, becoming a 'brand', cultivating that brand and getting fruitful results out of that brand in return seems to be more important and critical for sustainable market success than ever before. The rising importance of branding in the last century has been described and stressed in some business magazines with the following quotes: 'In today's world, branding is more important than ever... No branding, no differentiation. No differentiation, no long-term profitability. People don't have relationships with products; they are loyal to brands'[64]. 'The increasingly important role of technology, combined with global economic unrest, means a company's brand is more important today than it has ever been. Consumers, in search of certainty, rely heavily on a brand's symbolism and significance...'[65] We can say that this is a postmodern tendency that affects all brands in the marketplace. Some brands react to this trend by strengthening their marketing and branding strategies, tactics and practices while some others go further and take the radical decision to apply a complete rebranding and makeover to their brands. Kapferer (1997: 23) mentions that there was a different approach towards brands before the 1980s; 'Companies wished to buy a producer of chocolate or pasta: after 1980, they wanted to buy KitKat or Buitoni. This distinction is very important; in the first case firms wish to buy production capacity and in the second they

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[64] Goodson; http://www.forbes.com/sites/marketshare/2012/05/27/why-brand-building-is-important/2/

[65] Solis, http://www.briansolis.com/2012/03/the-importance-of-brand-in-an-era-of-digital-darwinism/

want to buy a place in the mind of the consumer'. This reflects a shift in understanding about what the concept of the brand actually refers to. A brand used to be widely recognised merely as a signifier, whereas today it is something much more than that.

The RAMM brand that has been the object of investigation in this study is a public sector brand that is trying to rebuild itself. It has been built as a brand (although not an ordinary one because of the 'royal' in its name, which not many museums are allowed to have) but in time the museum has affected people and the people have affected the museum; the public have loved and embraced the museum very much. The love construct is significant. It has been an expression referring mainly to a high loyalty level that consumers have with a particular brand. 'Although for decades researchers have studied how consumers form 'like–dislike' attitudes toward brands, the past few years have seen a burgeoning interest among both practitioners and academics in consumers' 'love' for brands' (Batra et al., 2012: 1). Kevin Roberts, the CEO of Saatchi & Saatchi, has introduced this concept in his 2004 book called *Lovemarks.* Roberts (p.77) suggests the following are the key ingredients to create lovemarks:

Mystery

>   Great stories: past, present and future; taps into dreams, <u>myths</u> and <u>icons</u>; and
>   inspiration

Sensuality

>   Sound, sight, smell, touch, and taste

Intimacy

>   <u>Commitment</u>, <u>empathy</u>, and <u>passion</u>

In RAMM's case, the important aspect is not the source of love but the contribution it makes to a brand in the sense that when consumers feel love towards a brand, they feel attached to that brand in one way or another and this makes the difference. It preferably brings loyalty to that brand together with it.

So, the modifications that have been made to the brand during the rebranding process have been mainly imposed by the local government and national funders but the local

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government has taken into consideration the wishes, thoughts and feelings of the public and made these changes accordingly. A delicate balance has been found between the dictates of the state and the public, as it were. So, the RAMM brand has remained a functional and an emotional brand at the same time, maybe more emotional than functional though.

The RAMM case is a very good example of the creation of a brand culture. In this case, a brand culture, a museum branding is being created and not in a restricted sense, it is being created from a societal, macro perspective. Macro structures and dynamics create the RAMM brand. Many different institutions and persons come together to create this brand culture. So, it's a clear-cut example of a brand culture. The state forms the brand culture of RAMM by means of the communication and feedback it receives from the public and then imposes this brand culture back on the public and makes them internalize it.

Corporate rebranding is a widely exercised activity in the museum world today. However, it's primarily the public, who affect the decision making processes. We can see that the museum experiences are co-created with the public. Within the co-creative atmosphere of the new museum, as Arvidsson (2005: 237) argues, we can see consumption as 'immaterial labour', and brands build on the immaterial labour of consumers. Contemporary brand management uses different tools and techniques to manage and make the most fruitful outcomes out of this free labour.

Technological developments also play a role in the evolution of branding and they need to be taken into consideration too. New social formations have come into being after the inclusion of the Internet and social media in our lives. In these formations, tens of millions of people are able to communicate with each other in a single online space and they create billions of page impressions every month. A brand has to adapt itself to this new atmosphere of communication, which is characterized by density, intensity and fragmentation.

One thing draws attention about the RAMM brand. It's about how the rebranding process has been applied. They have apparently not used the procedure listed in the literature fully. For instance, they have done the renaming a decade before the actual refurbishment has started although in the rebranding literature repositioning is prior to renaming (see chapter

5 for details). The idea of going through this huge refurbishment process wasn't clear until they have refurbished the world cultures collection and the rest of the building started looking tired. Therefore triggering and planning for the whole refurbishment came after launching the change for the world cultures collection.

9.3 Key Contributions

In this thesis, the changing nature of museums is highlighted. In the recent past, museums used to be places that enlighten people and bring them knowledge, but this was all, they weren't strategically focused on becoming brands. However, they are different now. They are striving to become brands, and only through branding do they assume to be permanently in the minds and hearts of people. They are being shaped under market conditions by becoming brands. Therefore, in this thesis I claim that by becoming branded, museums are turning into objects of consumption; they are being consumed by the public. This is one of the contributions of this research. This research presents an updated perspective that explores the relationship and interaction of the museum with the market and visitors, which is supposed to enrich our understanding.

The case study in this research is about the formation of a new brand culture that is imposed by the local state. A clear-cut example of the creation of a brand culture has been revealed in this study and the relevant brand is special in that it is a state brand. The demonstration of the co-creation of the new brand culture of a state brand with other stakeholders is a contribution of this thesis. The local state not only forms the new brand with the co-creation of other stakeholders, but it also does corporate branding and tries to make the public internalize this brand.

We can see the co-creation tendency that is spread throughout the market also in the museum world. It seems to be a reflection of postmodernism. We can see this in the RAMM context. Together with co-creation, terms, conditions, terminology in an organization all change. Instead of the division between employee (service provider) and service taker, now we have them all mixed together. Therefore past rules are no longer valid. A unified language has been formed. This thesis shows the actual occurrence of the phenomenon of

co-creation and its practice in a British museum. It also shows the importance that immaterial things have gained in the museum. For instance, museum experiences have gained great importance over museum goods and services. Also, thought and idea generation has become very important in the museum and objects are valuable to the extent that they can help generate thoughts and ideas. Storytelling has become dominant. This is a different approach that renders objects secondary and represents an important shift.

Another contribution of this research project is provided with the case study that has been undertaken. Observations made for this case study have been extended over 2 different time periods (one was made when the museum was being closed down and the other one when it was being refurbished) and the changes in the refurbishment concept have therefore been tracked. The micro process of the refurbishment of RAMM has been extended to a macro structure, i.e. consumer culture in Britain and in this way inferences have been drawn about the developments that are taking place in contemporary British consumer culture.

One thing that draws attention is the extent to which postmodernism has been embraced by the museum staff members. We can see that although many postmodern qualities are being put in use within the new museum, they are still not embraced fully. It can be seen that the museum staff members are in fact still very much influenced by modernism and they are carrying many modern concepts in their minds. For instance, the museum manager thinks that collections are at the heart of museums, but at the same time she thinks that stories are more important than objects in the new museum. These two tendencies seem to oppose each other but they coexist within the mind of the museum manager. In fact, we can say that the changes that are happening are harder to digest for older generations that came especially before the Y generation because the changes that happened in the lifetimes of these generations were much slower than the changes that came to happen afterwards and therefore they are in the midst of change but the pace at which they can internalize the change is slower. So, they tend to combine old and new values. This was what I felt when I was talking to the museum staff members, who consisted of mainly people of older generations than the Y generation. They seemed to have the modern and the postmodern

mindset at the same time. Drawing attention to the adaptation differences to change among different generations can be said to be another contribution of this research. It brings opportunities for further research.

The co-creation concept brings the involvement of all possible parties. Things change in the museum with the participation of everybody involved. This is democratization in the museum. Not only knowledge is being democratized but also attendance to the museum, participation in discussions and commenting on things, experience creation facilities, nondiscriminating approach to visitors have also democratized. In fact, we can say that everything has democratized and the demonstration of the widening of this concept is a contribution of this thesis.

9.4 Limitations

The basic limitation of this study is that it is a qualitative, interpretivist study of one English museum. It is based on the subjective observations and interpretations of the researcher. Therefore, although some theoretical assertions have been made about the changing nature of English museums, based upon RAMM, it is not possible to generalise from these findings to the wider population of English museums. However, the theories used to explore the changing nature of RAMM, and the associated conceptualisation of RAMM, can now be offered up to the museum community for verification at conferences and through publications. The viability and generalizability of the interpretative approach to the changing nature of museums is criticized by positivists due to lack of proof related with the difficulty in its statistical measurements as mentioned in Galloway's (2009) article on the social impact of the arts. However, as shown in the same article, theory based evaluations that have been undertaken in the interpretivist approach can be sufficient to achieve the transferability of findings to other cases. Therefore we can say that the interpretivist stance taken in this thesis is a sufficient approach.

Another major limitation of this research is that the museum under investigation has been closed throughout the research process and the project timeline has been broken many times due to some structural requirements that had to be met. Because of this restriction, it

was especially difficult to reach visitors. Some other stakeholders such as the funding bodies of RAMM have also not been reached. The main focus was on the museum staff members (although some data have been collected also from other stakeholders such as the volunteers, visitors and donors in the first round of the study). This is another major limitation. Yet another limitation is that the data collected from the museum belongs to a certain period only, due to timely constraints that the PhD degree has imposed on the researcher, so further data needs to be collected in order to see the differences in the museum and the outcomes of the change process.

9.5 Future Research Perspectives

According to Caldwell (2000: 31), the general strength of a museum brand might be measured according to the following factors: visitor satisfaction, name awareness, perceived quality, brand associations and other proprietary assets. The strength of the new museum brand of RAMM can be further investigated in time by means of relevant research tools according to these factors. It might be easier to achieve other things, but perceived quality is the single most important factor in determining the strength of a brand and it is slowly built up and takes a long time to erode (ibid: 33).

The time extension of the extended case study carried out in this research can be further extended. One of the observations was made when the museum was newly closed, and the other one was made during the refurbishment project. Another set of observations can be carried out now that RAMM has reopened. This way it can be seen whether the objectives of the refurbishment/rebranding process have been fulfilled or not (or to what extent they have been fulfilled). It can also be measured if the visitors and other stakeholders are happy about the changes that have been made.

The issue of the adaptation differences to change among different generations has been previously mentioned in the key research findings section. Further research can be made on this topic. Reactions to change and the flexibility with which different generations can adapt to them can be investigated with a comparative study. Their degrees of adaptation can be compared with one another.

The museum studied in this project is a museum that works in a network of relations with many institutions, which are the stakeholders of the museum. What the museum staff members do is build a network coordination process so that the whole network can work together in synchronization. Working in networks is a general trend in marketing today. Instead of organizations competing with each other, networks of organizations compete with each other. With the globalization process in RAMM, the networks get even larger with global parties coming in. Each of these institutions brings in some discourses of their own to the museum. Some of these discourses are more powerful than the others and by means of clashing and negotiating with each other; some discourses are left more dominant than the others. Further research can be made on finding out about these networks and discourses, how much strength each actually has on the museum and how they shape the museum. This could be carried out by a discourse analysis. Vargo and Lusch (2010) have been writing about value networks, however only on a conceptual level. Empirical investigations are also needed.

Museums are slowly having more and more immaterial characteristics. However, many are at the same time going through renewal and refurbishment processes and changing the physical outlook of their institutions. This seems to be a contradiction in itself. Further research could be done about the importance that museums ascribe to their physical sides, especially to the physical museum buildings.

9.6 Conclusion

The originality of this thesis lies in its attempt to combine and synthesize literature in the realms of consumer culture theory, museums, value co-creation and corporate rebranding in order to construct arguments about the situation that contemporary British museums find themselves in. These changes are mainly affected by the developments in British consumer culture especially due to museums' inclination towards more and more visitor orientation, in the last few decades. As a result, as consumers/visitors change, so do museums. The change in museums towards visitor orientation began after the 1980s, in Britain. Many museums are publicly funded and they weren't in need of attracting audiences for survival. However, this

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situation has changed. Museums started to gain less funding from the government and politicians started to demand value for money. Museums started to have to demonstrate that what they wanted to do would in fact be useful for the public. Another important sign of museums' turning towards visitors is the opening up of marketing departments in more museums. In the near past (back in 1990s) curators and designers used to do most of the work in museums and there were no marketing departments in many museums, in Britain. However, today museums have become more professionalized and they have marketing departments to regulate their relationships with the public. Together with the emphasis given to the visitors, some paradigm shifts have taken place in the museum. Museums used to have a one-way communication style (communication from the museum to the public) but they moved on to a two-way communication style (communication working both ways), instead. Museum experiences have started to be co-created with the public. Interactivity levels have risen. Museums have turned into learning organizations, both for themselves and for the public, but learning has changed from passive to active learning with involvement instead of instruction. There is also more agency and power given to education professionals in museums. A culture of learning is tried to be made dominant in the museum. Objects have lost their absolute centrality in the museum, many times being dependent on stories or themes of displays. The museum has become like a theatre, where performances are taking place. Together with these changes, museums have democratized themselves. We can say that postmodernity has had a great influence on new museums. It is now more important for museums to become brands in order to be more attached to their visitors and have a sustainable influence on their hearts and minds. Therefore, it is claimed in this thesis that by becoming branded, museums are now being treated as objects of consumption by the public. Rebranding is a phenomenon that has been prominent in the last couple of decades due to adaptation needs of many museums to the changes happening in the new century. Networking has become more active in the museum landscape; museums find themselves in an atmosphere, where it is less and less lucrative for them to act on their own. They have to embrace the public and relate to many other institutions other than their own, to be able to function fully.

These and other changes have been detected in the case study carried out for this thesis on a significant English museum, the Royal Albert Memorial Museum. Within this case study

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approach, an interpretivist stance has been taken, which is an appropriate method for the evaluation of the nature of change in museums. RAMM has just been through a huge refurbishment process, where many of the museum's material and immaterial facets have been redesigned and changed to fit into the 21st century. This refurbishment project is actually a reflection of the situation that many English museums find themselves in and the findings of this research shed light onto many aspects of the nature of the current museological landscape in Britain. It also sheds light onto the changing nature of the consumer culture in Britain because many changes being made in museums are actually made parallel to the changes happening in consumer culture.

APPENDICES

Content:

APPENDIX 1: INSTITUTIONS RAMM HAS COLLABORATIONS WITH

• Devon Wildlife Trust:

"Devon Wildlife Trust is a registered charity working to make Devon a Living Landscape in which wildlife on land and in the sea is varied, plentiful and widespread. We work towards this by securing the future of key wildlife sites, promoting the sustainable use of Devon's natural resources and increasing support for wildlife in the County. DWT is part of a national network of local Wildlife Trusts" (http://www.devonwildlifetrust.org/).

In the summer of 2012, Devon Wildlife Trust, Royal Albert Memorial Museum and Beaford Arts have organized a series of events to celebrate James Ravilious' photographs. This event was advertised as follows:

Exhibition – James Ravilious: Reflecting the Rural
19 May-29 July
Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter

This exhibition features a new selection of photographs from the Devon photographer James Ravilious (1939 – 1999): photographs taken by Ravilious during the 1970s and 1980s. For further information please visit the RAMM website.

• X Centre:

The X Centre is defined on its website as follows: "The X Centre is a modern and versatile conference facility located in the heart of Exeter in Devon. This unique venue combines an historic location with modern facilities and is available for a wide range of events such as conferences, meetings, seminars, networking events, lectures and functions" (http://www.x-centre.net/). Below is an ad for a RAMM exhibition at the X Centre:

"Exhibition at the X Centre: WEST OF EXE: future_heritage
This is a Past Event and has been Archived. A fascinating portrait of the West Exe area including film, photography, new media and art forms and memories from young and old.

10am to 4pm. X Centre, Commercial Road, Exeter Devon EX2 4AD"
(http://www.wherecanwego.com/event/224611-exhibition-at-the-
xcentre-west-of-exe-futureheritage/events.aspx).

• Kent's Cavern:

Kent's Cavern is a cave system in Torquay, Devon, England. It is notable for its archaeological and geological features. The caves are a geological Site of Special Scientific Interest and a Scheduled Ancient Monument, and are open to the public.

The caverns and passages at the site were created around 2 million years ago by water action, and have been occupied by one of at least eight separate, discontinuous native populations to have inhabited the British Isles. Below is an advertisement of a RAMM exhibition presented at Kent's Cavern.

RAMM Exhibition at Kent's Cavern: Cutting Edge
Stones transformed into a thousand tools.

With a wide range of objects from RAMM's collections this exhibition shows the variety of raw materials used to produce hand axes, spear heads and scrapers. It reveals sources of suitable stone in south west England and takes a look at some of the main sources from around the world.

This is a rare opportunity to explore the geology and material science of stone tools rather than their often discussed historical or cultural importance. Find out whether people used local rocks or traded stone over long distances. See how the physical properties of the stone influence the final shape, type and quality of the tool. Discover the latest dating methods and how scientists can determine the source of the stone. Examine and handle stone tools and learn how to identify them.

• Exmoor National Park:

Situated in the south west of Britain, Exmoor National Park contains an amazing variety of landscapes within its 267 square miles. A unique landscape of moorland, woodland, valleys and farmland, shaped by people and nature over thousands of years. Where high cliffs

plunge into the Bristol Channel, and cosy pubs and tearooms offer delicious local produce. Below is an ad for a RAMM exhibition held at Exmoor National Park Visitor Centre.

RAMM Touring Exhibition: Romans - Isca and Beyond

This is a Past Event and has been archived. Explore life with the Romans. When the Romans reached the South west in about AD 50 they claimed the area as one of the westernmost fringes of a huge empire. This exhibition tells the story of the conquest of the region and its effects on the local people. Discover what life was like two thousand years ago, and whether things really changed under Roman rule. 10am to 5pm, 7 days a week, admission free.

• Torquay Museum:

The fascinating Torquay Museum will give you a real insight into the history of the English Riviera – both modern and prehistoric - taking you back through 400 million years! Upstairs there's the interactive Explorers Gallery which is great for the kids, and there are plenty of intriguing artefacts from all over the world to discover, as well as from the famous excavations at Kent's Cavern undertaken by William Pengelly (a contemporary of Charles Darwin) which were pivotal in furthering the nation's knowledge of the origins of man. The museum also holds the country's only permanent Agatha Christie Gallery, dedicated to the Queen of Crime. Here you'll be able to view some of the family's personal photographs and mementoes, as well as costumes from the Joan Hickson Miss Marple series. Coming soon to Torquay Museum, Sci-fi at the Movies – From Another World, from 1st July to 4th September. Stunning costumes and props from some of the most iconic sci-fi movies ever made, including Star wars, Alien, Matrix, Terminator, Star Trek, Dr Who, I Robot, Fifth Element, V, Battlestar Galactica, Red Planet and Planet of the Apes. Torquay Museum is a key site on the English Riviera Global Geopark and a great attraction for all the family to visit (http://www.englishriviera.co.uk/agathachristie/things-to-do/torquay-museum-p137683/overview-t6902).

Renaissance has enabled Exeter's Royal Albert Memorial Museum (RAMM) to offer a range of assistance to Torquay Museum including the production of a joint exhibition, support for public activities and help with the conservation of objects for its Explorers Gallery. RAMM and Torquay Museum have joined forces to create new Roman exhibition and a programme

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of events to attract new audiences. Building on the strengths of both collections *Outpost of Empire: Romans in Devon* will be the first exhibition in Torquay's refurbished Pengelly Hall. Support from RAMM will enable Torquay to take the exhibition out into the streets and onto the seafront in a summer programme of activities and events designed to entertain summer visitors (http://www.exeter.gov.uk/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=8286&p=0).

• Powderham Castle:

Powderham Castle is located in a unique, picturesque setting just outside Exeter, beside the Exe estuary. Six hundred years of history are contained within the walls of one of England's oldest family homes. Sir Philip Courtenay began building it in 1391 and it has remained in the same family to this day, currently home to the 18th Earl & Countess of Devon. The magical setting and convenient location makes it the perfect venue for all manner of events including wedding receptions and business functions. For locals and visitors to Devon it is a 'must see' and with its many attractions - a wonderful family day out (http://www.powderham.co.uk/)! The following exhibition is an example of the collaboration between RAMM and the Powderham Castle.

RAMM Touring Exhibition: Creative Castles

This is a Past Event and has been Archived. A family fun and fine art exhibition. Two intriguing displays all about castles show fine art from RAMM's collection and fascinating facts about castles. Fine art reproductions showing how artists have portrayed a variety of South West castles from the 18th to the 20th century are on display in the Coach House.
Sun to Fri, 11am to 4.30pm (last tour 3.30pm) Open Easter Sat, closed
Fri 5 to Sun 7 June. 19 July to 31 August 11am to 5.30pm (last tour
4.30 pm). Admission rates: Adult £8.95, Child (5 to 14) £6.95,
Powderham Castle, Kenton, Exeter Devon EX6 8JQ
(http://www.wherecanwego.com/event/260000-ramm-touring-exhibition-creative-castles/events.aspx)

• Fairlynch Museum:

Fairlynch museum is located in the area between Exmouth and Sidmouth. "It occupies an imposing position on a bank overlooking the junction of Fore Street and Marine Parade. It is

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one of the very few thatched museums in the UK. The building is a typical example of a 'marine cottage orné' and is Grade II listed. The Museum holds approximately 4,000 items of men's, women's and children's clothing including rare pieces dating as far back as the early 1700s. On show is Honiton lace and other types of lace from this country and the Continent. The Geological collections feature the remarkable nodules, or small mineral clusters found in the cliffs. The Archaeology section includes artefacts from the Bronze Age as well as items from Roman sites. In the local history room you will find numerous albums containing information on all aspects of life in Budleigh Salterton through the ages" (http://www.devonmuseums.net/Fairlynch-Museum/Devon-Museums/). The following exhibition is an example to the collaboration between the Fairlynch Museum and the RAMM.

RAMM Touring Exhibition: Curious Curves

This is a Past Event and has been Archived. A history of exaggerated shapes in women's fashionable dress. A display explaining the many extraordinary garments worn by women in the past to accentuate their figure. Focusing on 18th and 19th century dress, there is information about cork rumps, bum rolls, bustles and hoops. A range of replica foundation garments are provided for you to try on. Open Monday to Sunday 2 to 4.30pm from Easter to October 2009. Admission charges apply.

Fairlynch Museum, 27 Fore Street, Budleigh Salterton Devon EX9 6NP

(http://www.wherecanwego.com/event/260005-ramm-touring-exhibition-curious-curves/events.aspx).

• RHS (Royal Horticultural Society) Rosemoor:

RHS gardens are designed to make possible at least the following four activities and events stated in the brochure about the venue which can be found online (at http://www.rhs.org.uk/Gardens/Rosemoor/pdfs/Events-Programme-2012):

Learn to Garden

There is always more to learn about gardening! These events are aimed at everyone, whether you are a complete beginner or have gardened for years. We will help you discover everything - and more – of what you need to know.

Family Friendly

These events can be enjoyed by children of all ages and their families. Although we have children's trails running throughout the year, these exciting and fun events offer something special and are guaranteed to entertain the whole family!

Plant Centre and Gift Shop events

These events are held in our Plant Centre and are all completely free to get in to! If you attend one of these events please be aware that should you also want to visit the Garden you will have to pay the normal garden entry fee.

Garden Kitchen Restaurant events

These events take place in the Garden Kitchen Restaurant and allow you to sample our chef's excellent cooking, often incorporating produce from Rosemoor's own Fruit and Vegetable garden.

As a product of collaboration, RAMM organizes events such as walks and talks at RHS Rosemoor Gardens. Two examples of such events are stated below:

RAMM talk at RHS Rosemoor: Victorian Souvenir Collecting and the Plant Hunt

Tony Eccles, RAMM's Curator of Ethnography, will highlight the souvenirs that the Veitch plant hunters collected on their travels to far-flung parts of the world. Many of these objects now form part of RAMM's World Cultures collection. The talk is held in association with RAMM's touring display, Global Gardeners, which charts the adventures of the Exeter and Chelsea firm of Veitch & Sons who sent intrepid plant hunters all over the world to collect new species of plants in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The display can be seen at RHS Rosemoor from 25 July to 23 August 2009. All tickets £14, RHS members £8, in advance only (http://www.facebook.com/events/120976222600/).

RAMM Walk at RHS Rosemoor: Veitch Plants at Rosemoor

This is a Past Event and has been Archived. Join horticulturist and Veitch expert Caradoc Doy on an afternoon tour of the Garden at Rosemoor identifying and discussing some of the most popular and attractive plant varieties introduced into this country by the Veitch family. 2.30 to 3.30 pm. Tickets £14, RHS members £8, in advance only. (http://www.wherecanwego.com/event/278599-ramm-walk-at-rhs-rosemoor-veitch-plants-at-rosemoor/events.aspx)

• St. Bridget's Nurseries (Exeter):

St. Bridget's Nurseries (Exeter) has defined itself on its website (http://www.stbridgetnurseries.co.uk/) as follows: "We've been growing beautiful plants on our nursery in Exeter for over 85 years and our home-grown plant department really is the gardener's choice. We are an independent family run company and our two garden centres have something for everyone whether you are a novice gardener or an expert. Our staff are at hand to assist you and with a restaurant at each centre your family can enjoy a full day out. We look forward to helping you to make the most of your garden. Tuesday, May 06, 2008".

Below is an example of an exhibition that RAMM has prepared in collaboration with St. Bridget's nurseries.

Royal Albert Memorial Museum Touring Exhibition: Global Gardeners
This fascinating exhibition charts the adventures of intrepid plant hunters of the Exeter and Chelsea firm of Veitch & Sons (information about this company is given below).
Date: 24 May to 29 June 2008
Time: Mon-Sat 8-5.30, Sundays 10.30 -4.30, Bank Holidays 9-5.
Venue: St. Bridget Nurseries, Old Rydon Lane, Exeter, UK, EX2 7JY

In the 19th and early 20th centuries, Veitch & Sons sent fearless plant hunters all over the world to collect new species of plants. As well as the plants they collected the travellers also brought back objects as souvenirs from the countries they visited. The Veitch family donated many of these items to The Royal Albert Memorial Museum (RAMM) in the 1880s and they

now form part of the Museum's World Cultures collection. These items provide a fascinating link between plants, collecting and empire. Visit the touring exhibition to gain a better understanding of the influence of Veitch & Sons plant collectors on our planted environment. St. Bridget Nurseries acquired the famous Exeter nursery of Robert Veitch & Son in 1969 when failing health obliged the late Mildred Veitch to sell the business. For many years the nursery was run separately but it is now a subsidiary of St. Bridget Nurseries. A family firm with its third and fourth generations in the business, St. Bridget Nurseries will always strive to ensure that the wonderful contribution made to horticulture by the firm of Veitch & Sons will never be forgotten. Preview the exhibition at St. Bridget Nurseries, Old Rydon Lane, before it opens to the public. Join Veitch specialist and horticulturalist, Caradoc Doy, in a walk around our Nursery and see some of the plant varieties introduced by Veitch & Sons. After a finger buffet in the Plantsman's café hear Tony Eccles, RAMM's Curator of Ethnography, talk about Victorian souvenir collecting featuring the souvenirs collected by the Veitch plant hunters.

Date: Friday 23rd May, 6 pm.

Tickets: £5 (inc buffet), must be purchased in advance.

Saturday 10 May, 12 to 4 pm.

(http://www.edp24.co.uk/news/exeter_s_royal_albert_museum_announces_november_programme_1_436058).

• National Trust:

National Trust defines itself on its website (http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/what-we-do/who-we-are/) as follows: "Back in 1895, we were founded with the aim of saving our nation's heritage and open spaces. 116 years later, we're still working hard to uphold these values. We're a UK conservation charity, protecting historic places and green spaces, and opening them up forever, for everyone". Elegance an example of the collaboration between RAMM and the National Trust:

15 March 2010

"Exeter residents will enjoy free entry into Killerton House from 15 to 31 March to see the new fashion exhibition, Elegance: two hundred years of dressing to impress. (Killerton is a fine 18th century house and glorious landscape garden surrounded by parkland-REF).

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Elegance is a joint production by Exeter's Royal Albert Memorial Museum and the National Trust combining the Killerton House fashion collection with fashion plates, photographs and magazines from RAMM's costume collection. All that Exeter residents need do to gain free entry to Killerton House and Gardens from 15 to 31 March is add their postcode to a special voucher in the spring edition of the Exeter Citizen, the city council's quarterly newspaper, and present it at Killerton reception" (http://www.rammuseum.org.uk/news/free-entry-to-killerton-for-exeter-citizens).

Exeter City Council's Lead Councillor for Environment and Leisure, Cllr. Kevin Mitchell, said: "Our busy programme of exhibitions and events in Exeter and Devon has kept the Museum's collections alive during the redevelopment and the National Trust has been a great partner. We like our collections to be enjoyed by all and we're delighted that, in recognition of our contribution to this exhibition, Killerton has offered free entry to the citizens of Exeter. This generous offer shows its commitment to local communities" (http://www.rammuseum.org.uk/news/free-entry-to-killerton-for-exeter-citizens).

The exhibition includes a selection of elegant fashions for men and women showing how people have dressed to impress for all occasions from the 1770s to the 1970s. The exhibition explores ideas about clothing etiquette and aims to demonstrate how changing tastes have affected what we regard as elegant. Luxurious accessories and children's clothes are also displayed and there are replica costumes to try on. Denise Melhuish, the Assistant Property Manager at Killerton said "This project with RAMM has been a great opportunity to work with Exeter City Council and to help build a closer relationship. As Killerton is on Exeter's doorstep we really want Exeter people to come and see what's on offer, to enjoy the house and garden, the wonderful views and great walks around the park- it's such a great resource" (ibid.).

• Devon Guild of Craftsmen:
"Devon Guild of Craftsmen is an acclaimed exhibition space for contemporary craft and design as well as a leading charity for craft education. Located in Bovey Tracey, our large craft centre offers inspiring exhibitions and events for people to buy, make and learn about

contemporary craft" (http://www.crafts.org.uk/). The following exhibition is an example of the collaboration between RAMM and the Devon Guild of Craftsmen:

RAMM Exhibition at Bovey Tracy: Token Values
"This is a Past Event and has been Archived. Contemporary interpretations of souvenirs from distant lands. This exhibition showcases items from RAMM's World Cultures collection alongside modern interpretations from a selection of Guild members. RAMM has an important collection of objects from different parts of the world. Some objects were collected as memories of a journey, curiosities and gifts of friendship. 10am to 5.30pm. Free. Call The Devon Guild of Craftsmen at 01626 832223 or visit www.crafts.org.uk for details. The Devon Guild of Craftsmen, Riverside Mill, Bovey Tracey Devon TQ13 9AF"
(http://www.wherecanwego.com/event/278591-ramm-exhibition-at-bovey-tracy-token-values/events.aspx).

• Devon County Show
"The Devon County Show is the biggest (and best!) event in the county calendar and is the perfect place to enjoy a relaxing day out sampling the many wonders of the local countryside. RAMM has a stand at the Devon County Show with information about the museum and activities to take part in at the show with the support of the Devon County Show. Delivering exhibitions and activities at venues throughout Exeter and Devon has been a major component of the Out and About programme. These events have helped maintain contact with regular visitors and reach out to new audiences. They have enabled RAMM to remain part of people's lives during its 2007 to 2011 closure period" (http://www.westpointarena.com/events/51/). Below is an ad about an exhibition at the Devon County Show:

RAMM at the Devon County Show
"This is a Past Event and has been Archived. Visit our stand, see how we bring Exeter's collections alive and enter the prize competition sponsored by Waterstones. Devon's archaeology and historical costumes feature on Thursday. Romans is the topic for Friday and on Saturday visitors can find out more about insects. Made possible with support from Devon County Show" (http://www.rammuseum.org.uk/whats-on/devon-county-show).

• Bicton Park Botanical Gardens

"Spanning nearly 300 years of horticultural history, these magnificent gardens are set in East Devon's picturesque Otter Valley, between the ancient city of Exeter and southwest England's Jurassic Coast World Heritage Site. The superbly landscaped park combines 18th century tranquillity with modern amenities to provide all year round enjoyment for everyone of all ages including historic glasshouses, a countryside museum, the Bicton Woodland Railway train ride, nature trail, maze, mini golf, indoor and outdoor children's play complexes, restaurant and shop" (http://www.bictongardens.co.uk/). Here's an ad for a RAMM exhibition that has taken place in Bicton Park.

RAMM Touring Exhibition: Micro Sensation

"This is a Past Event and has been archived. Discover the wonder of Victorian microscope slides. This exhibition offers a rare opportunity to see images of a selection of amazing Victorian microscope slides from the Royal Albert Memorial Museum's collection. The enlarged images of microscopic plants, insect and animal parts, starfish and plankton, reveal the beauty and wonder of patterns and shapes in nature. 4 April to 3 September, 10 am to 6 pm. Admission: adults £6.95, children/concessions £5.95, children under 3yrs old free. Bicton Park Botanical Gardens Museum Building, East Budleigh Devon EX9 7BJ. The magnificent 63-acre (25 ha) historic park is superbly landscaped with lakes and fountains. It also contains more than 1,000 trees including 300 species and 25 champion specimens together with many flowering plants. Bicton Park is renowned for its 18th century Italian Gardens" (http://www.wherecanwego.com/event/259999-ramm-touring-exhibition-micro-sensation/events.aspx).

• Lawrence House Museum:

"Lawrence House, Launceston, is a fine Georgian house built in 1753, located in a street which John Betjemen described as 'having the most perfect collection of 18th Century townhouses in Cornwall'. It is owned by the National Trust and leased to Launceston Town Council, who use it to house the town museum, and as a civic centre. Admission is free but donations, which support the work of the museum, would be appreciated. Disabled access

to the ground floor only (6 rooms)" (http://www.lawrencehousemuseum.org.uk/). Below is an ad for a RAMM exhibition that has taken place in the Lawrence House Museum.

RAMM Touring Exhibition: Global Gardeners Special Event

"A special day organised by the Friends of Lawrence House to accompany the Global Gardeners display at Lawrence House Museum. The event includes two talks relating to the Victorian plant hunters, a plant sale, buffet lunch and a visit to the Museum. 10 am to 4.30 pm. Tickets £10 for the day including lunch, £6 without lunch. Advance bookings only. Lawrence House Museum, 9 Castle Street, Launceston Cornwall PL15 8BA" (http://www.wherecanwego.com/event/260016-ramm-touring-exhibition-global-gardeners-special-event/events.aspx).

• Exeter Cathedral:

RAMM also uses the venue of the Exeter Cathedral for its activities. Below are ads for two events of RAMM that have taken place in Exeter Cathedral.

RAMM talk on Exeter Cathedral

"This is a Past Event and has been Archived. Peter Dare, former Master Mason of Exeter Cathedral, will share his knowledge of the restorations that Exeter Cathedral has undergone over the centuries and how, during his time working there, restorations began to have a greater emphasis on conservation rather than replacement. 1pm, £4.50 (£3) Tickets: Available in person and by phone from Exeter Visitor Information and Tickets, Dix's Field, Princesshay, EX1 1GF. Open Monday to Saturday from 9am to 5pm (10am to 4pm on bank holidays)"(http://www.wherecanwego.com/event/439661-ramm-talk-on-exeter-cathedral/events.aspx).

RAMM Family Activities at Exeter Cathedral: Natural Form

"This is a Past Event and has been Archived. See how plants and trees have been incorporated in the design of the Cathedral. Make your own patterns and sculpture. All children under 8 must be accompanied by an adult. If an activity is very busy, there may be a short wait. Some activities are messy so do wear clothes that can get dirty! 10.30 am to 12.30 pm and 1.30 to 3.30 pm, free. Chapter House, Exeter Cathedral Devon EX1 1HS"

• Exeter Guildhall:

RAMM has extended its presence to the Exeter Guildhall too. Here's an ad having referred to an exhibition presented in the Guildhall.

RAMM Exhibition at the Exeter Guildhall: A History of the World in 10 Objects

"This year Neil Mac Gregor, Director of the British Museum, is presenting a series on BBC Radio 4 based on 100 objects from the British Museum's collections and how they tell us a history of the world. This exhibition takes a Devon perspective looking at 10 objects from RAMM's fine collections that each have a compelling global story to tell. Telling a history through the items that humans have made is one of the most important things that museums do. Of course it can only be 'a' not 'the' history. Thanks to constant research and to new scientific techniques, what we know about museum objects is increasing and the stories they can tell continue to grow. For more information about A History of the World in 100 objects visit www.bbc.co.uk/ahistoryoftheworld. See the local perspective and hear BBC Radio Devon podcasts about local objects via the Your Area button on the website" (http://www.rammuseum.org.uk/exhibitions/ramm-exhibition-at-exeter-guildhall-a-history-of-the-world-in-10-objects).

APPENDIX 2: THE INTERVIEW GUIDE

First of all, thank you very much for your time. This interview is part of my dissertation project, which is about the management and marketing of contemporary museums. Thank you very much for the information you have provided so far. It has been very useful.

1. Can you tell me your individual story with RAMM?
    a. When did you start working here?
    b. What is your work description?
        i. The department you're working in?
        ii. The projects you're working for?
        iii. Etc.

MUSEUM

2. In general if you can describe a contemporary museum, how would you describe it? What would be the important features of a contempporary museum?
3. What do you think about RAMM as a museum?
4. Can you briefly describe the redevelopment process in RAMM? What is the difference between old and new RAMM?
5. Can you tell us about the re-branding process as well?
    a. As a brand, how can you describe RAMM and its identity? What do you want to achieve at the end of the project as a brand and how?
    b. What is the role of the 'I AM' branding team? Can you elaborate on its contributions?
6. Can you define the RAMM consumer at the individual level? At the community level? What do you want to provide RAMM consumers?
7. What do you want to provide society? Local? Global levels?

PROJECTS

8. What type of new projects have started within this redevelopment process? Can you describe these projects in detail?
    a. Can you describe the consumer of this project?
    b. If community, Exeter or global community?

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How do you describe these communities?

How do you access consumers? How do you communicate the project to consumers?

9. Can you tell us the changes at the architectural level? How do you find these changes? What is the importance of this redevelopment process?

10. Can you tell us the changes at the Internet site? How did the role of Internet change with this redevelopment process?

11. Can you describe us the organizational level changes? What are the roles of 'I AM' team and other consultancy companies? What are the consultancy companies and experts that RAMM has hired for the redevelopment process?

12. Can you describe the actors which are involved in this redevelopment process? What are their roles? Does the University of Exeter have any special role for RAMM?

APPENDIX 3 BACKGROUND INFORMATION OF STAFF MEMBERS INTERVIEWED IN THE PILOT AND CORE RESEARCH

a) PILOT RESEARCH INTERVIEWS

#	NAME	DUTY	Background	How long in the current position?	Work description
1	Anthony Eccles	Curator of ethnography-world cultures	Degree in ethnography. Worked in the field archaeology, became an assistant curator in the ethnology section of the World Museum Liverpool.	Since 2005	Responsible for the ethnography collection, looks after a collection of objects. Part of his time involves researching and documenting material, contributing to the development of temporary exhibitions and promoting the collections. Deals with the public w.r.t. queries and different talks, different displays and exhibitions, doing research, supervising people, supervising volunteers. Trying to create new galleries in the refurbishment
2	Penny Hammond	Audience development officer	Degree in Heritage Studies	Since 1999	Working in the marketing department
3	Rick Lawrence	Digital Media Officer	BA Hons History Postgraduate Certificate Heritage Management. Worked for the Department for Work and Pensions from 1994 to 2008.	Since 2007	Manages contractors and works with colleagues to get RAMM's new website and collections data online. Develops a digital culture in RAMM to support their work and reach their public through the Internet.

4	Ruth Randall	Marketing manager for Leisure and Museums	Did some editorial stuff. Publicity and marketing side of publishing and theatre. Hard book writing and publishing, writing publicity stuff, did the press job for RAMM. Worked both for the city council and for the museum	Since 1994	Museum duty: Programming within a team, putting a project together to deliver it. Doing the marketing and branding work of the museum. City Council duty: Not as organised as the museum, fewer people, planning not done in the team way.
5	Susan Eddisford	Community Museums Officer	She was the Education Officer at Tiverton Museum for 11 years and the Museum Development Officer for Teignbridge museums for 7 years.	Since 2009	She advises and supports museums – mainly small and volunteer run museums – in all matters; collections care, accessibility, fundraising, accreditation and keeping abreast of the latest legislation. She deals with the museums east, west and south of Devon.
6	Ann Amosford	Costume and textile conservator	Education in conservation. She started her career in tapestry conservation at the Textile Conservation Centre in Hampton Court Palace then worked in private practice before moving to the V&A Museum. After many years working there, she and her family escaped to the country and RAMM.	Since 2004	She cares for the costume and textiles in RAMM's Collection by packing them for storage, preparing items for loan to other museums and conserving and mounting items for display.
7	David Bolton	Curator of natural history		Since 1976	Curate the natural history collections, interpret collections

8	Julian Parsons	Collections and interpretations officer (manage all curators and documentation staff)	Had an archaeology education, was curator of archaeology	Since 2004	Manages all the curators and documentation staff, done object selection, case layout for the refurbishment, written object labels, working on the website project-putting the collections online
9	Naome Glanville	Museum development officer	Human resources	Since 2004	Working on community projects like moving here and living here, working with the permanent curations
10	Rachel Aackerman	Volunteer coordinator	Comes from an environmental background, used to do outdoors, conservation etc. for ecology	Since 2008	Coordinates volunteers, casual staff, work experience students. Helps staff find suitable volunteers for any roles they've got, looks after the day to day things, the expenses, paperwork etc.
11	Roger Taylor	Geologist	PhD in Geology from London University, used to work for the British Geological Survey	Since 1999	He is a geologist working part time on the museum's collection of rock minerals and fossils. He also helps to identify archaeological stone tools and analyse archaeological pottery both for the RAMM and the Royal Cornish Museum in Truro. He is a member of the South West Museums implement petrology committee.
12	Neil Heasman	Teacher		Since 2006	

#	NAME	DUTY	Background	How long in the current position?	Work description
13	Amal Khreisheh				

b) CORE RESEARCH INTERVIEWS

#	NAME	DUTY	Background	How long in the current position?	Work description
1	Alan Caig	Head of Leisure and Museums	Modern languages, a degree in Russian, then drama and theatre arts; worked for local councils and cultural departments	Since 2010	Working at the City Council
2	Alison Hopper Bishop	Conservator	Trained as a conservator at London University, did an internship	Since 1990	Looks after the collections, treats objects that are in a deteriorated condition, works on them for display, does restoration or preservation work, trying to keep things in a stable stage
3	Claire Bailey	Museum administration officer	Has a fine arts degree, did teacher training	Since 2005	Helps Camilla, works on the budget, works on Renaissance in the regions, deals with day to day administration, invoices, orders, photographic requests, e-mails
4	Ian Wills	Designer	Education: BA Hons (Graphic Design). Worked in a marketing design agency before RAMM.	Since 2007	Responsible for the brand and using it appropriately. Makes the visual side of the brand. Deals with posters, leaflets, advocacy documents. Does exhibition design.

5	John Madin	Curator of applied art	Graduated from the Chelsea School of Arts-Had a sculpture degree; did an art history M.A. at University of Essex, a year's professional training for museums at Uni. of Manchester His previous museum jobs were at Bath as Keeper of Art and Birmingham as Assistant Keeper of Applied Art	Since 1990	Selecting art for the museum's space, researching the work of new artists and suggesting new purchases, organising art exhibitions, and writing about art or artists in art catalogues, brochures, art magazines or art books.
6	Kate Osborn	Access officer	Had an archaeology education and an MA in museum studies; worked in museums for 20 years as a museum curator	Since 2002	Working with early years (children up to five), school children and children visiting with their families and sometimes young people on projects like family fun days and games at St. Nicholas Priory
7	Kevin Jones	Exhibition officer	Trained as an artist. Hanging exhibitions, carpentry	Since 1988	Organizing exhibitions, logistics, insurance, sometimes meeting artists and talking about their work and about how we're going to hang it and how we're going to install it, all the problems that that brought to the museum
8	Naome Glanville	Museum development officer	Human resources	Since 2004	Working on community projects like moving here and living here, working with the permanent curations
9	Nina Beric	Project coordinator for the actual development	Bristol University, Social Policy and Philosophy. Worked for local	Since 2006	Act as a central communicator on the Project, all of the consultants

			government, worked with the audit commission. Worked for the prison service		go through her so they give one consistent message back to the design team, she disseminates a lot of information that comes from the consultants back into the museum and Exeter city council
10	Phillippa Wood	Museum education officer	University degree in history, literature and social science, trained to be a museum educator, worked for Devon Play for 14 years, has a PGC teaching Certificate, written 2 short booklets	Since 2006	She organises and plans all the family fun days and liaises with other organisations to develop family and early years events. She's working with young children for their education.
11	Rachel Aackerman	Volunteer coordinator	Comes from an environmental background, used to do outdoors, conservation etc. for ecology	Since 2008	Coordinates volunteers, casual staff, work experience students. Helps staff find suitable volunteers for any roles they've got, looks after the day to day things, the expenses, paperwork etc.
12	Rick Lawrence	Digital Media Officer	BA Hons History; Postgraduate Certificate Heritage Management Worked for the Department for Work and Pensions from 1994 to 2008.	Since 2007	Manages contractors and works with colleagues to get RAMM's new website and collections data online. Develops a digital culture in RAMM to support their work and reach their public through the Internet.
13	Robert Mackenzie	Marketing Assistant	Marketing, in commercial sector	Since 2005	Publicizing the activities and

			and non-governmental organizations oversees		events of RAMM
14	Roger Taylor	Geologist	PhD in Geology from London University, used to work for the British Geological Survey	Since 1999	He is a geologist working part time on the museum's collection of rock minerals and fossils. He also helps to identify archaeological stone tools and analyse archaeological pottery both for the RAMM and the Royal Cornish Museum in Truro. He is a member of the South West Museums implement petrology committee.
15	Ruth Gidley	Curator of the Moving Here Project	English and American literature education at Sussex University, has been a journalist, lived in central America for a while, did Masters on Latin American Studies, lived in Latin America as a journalist working on humanitarian issues, travelling a lot, meeting community groups and aid agencies	Since 2010	The Moving Here project invites all kinds of people who've moved to Exeter from near and far to come behind the scenes at the museum and see objects up close. They record people's responses and display them on the museum's online catalogue.
16	Ruth Randall	Marketing manager for Leisure and Museums	Did some editorial stuff. Publicity and marketing side of publishing and theatre. Hard book writing and publishing, writing publicity stuff, did the press job for RAMM. Worked both for the city council and for the museum	Since 1994	Museum duty: Programming within a team, putting a project together to deliver it. Doing the marketing and branding work of the museum. City Council duty: Not as organised as the museum, fewer

					people, planning not done in the team way.
17	Samantha Perry	Administration assistant	No university degree. Did business administration in college. She's been doing admin. work for 15 years. Worked 6 years for a local estate agents	Since 2004	Works in the admin. team with Camilla. She helps look after all of the paperwork that is needed to keep the Museum running.
18	Susan Eddisford	Community Museums Officer	She was the Education Officer at Tiverton Museum for 11 years and the Museum Development Officer for Teignbridge museums for 7 years.		She advises and supports museums – mainly small and volunteer run museums – in all matters; collections care, accessibility, fundraising, accreditation and keeping abreast of the latest legislation. She deals with the museums east, west and south of Devon.
19	Camilla Hampshire	Museums manager	Used to be an assistant curator at Plymouth	Since 2001	Looks after the strategic fraction of the museum and the operational elements. Looks outside at the landscape and tries to anticipate where there are opportunities for the museum, where she needs to place the museum. But she also looks internally and to the connection between the two.
20	David Bolton	Curator of natural history		Since 1976	Curate the natural history collections, interpret collections
21	Jacqui Channon	Out and about	No university degree, worked in	Since 2006	She oversees the development of

		coordinator	heritage sector, worked for the National Trust for 10 years doing communications and marketing, worked in PR communications and outreach work		off-site exhibitions that will outreach to audiences across the region whilst RAMM is closed for development.
22	Julian Parsons	Collections and interpretations officer (manage all curators and documentation staff)	Had an archaeology education, was curator of archaeology	Since 2004	Manages all the curators and documentation staff, done object selection, case layout for the refurbishment, written object labels, working on the website project-putting the collections online
23	Kay Holgate	Documentation officer	B.A. in classics and classical archaeology, M.A. in museum studies, has done curatorial work	Since 1996	She has been leading a team compiling object inventories and increasing the knowledge of the Museum's collections. This involves recording objects at an individual level and focuses on earlier collections which are often listed in groups. By combining her curatorial experience and IT skills she took up the challenge of documenting the collections electronically for the first time in the history of the Museum.
24	Mark Griffin	Visitor services	No university degree Did 10 years in the Royal Navy. Hasn't got any official museum qualification at all but	Since 2003	Managing all the front of house operations, liaising with all the departments and the strategic management of the operation,

			experience. Was a tour guide on HMS Warrior 1860 in the dockyard Portsmouth for 6 months; then got a job as an administrator/duty manager for the Marie Rose Trust. Then became the business services manager there. Got a lot of experience in front of house operations and volunteering and organising towards the public, handing out objects, introduced some sessions fort he public		all the facility side of things, event bookings, the coordination with other departments
25	Penny Hammond	Audience development officer	Degree in Heritage Studies	Since 1999	Working in the marketing department
26	Thomas Cadbury	Curator of Antiquities	Has an archaeology degree, worked in museums and did digging, gradually more museum work less digging. Did and M.A. in museum studies Helped set up a new archaeology museum for Lincolnshire, it's called The Collection.	Since 2005	He manages RAMM's Antiquities collections. These are large and varied and include local archaeology and history, the archaeology of Mediterranean and Western Asian civilisations and coins and medals.

APPENDIX 4 INITIAL CODING OF DATA ACQUIRED

DOMAIN OF CHANGE IN THE ROYAL ALBERT MEMORIAL MUSEUM

Reopening date: 2011
There are physical challenges

1. **Structural Level**
   a. **Architectural/spatial: Building materials and technology**
   Interactive spaces
   Extended space
   Some very good spaces and galleries
   Continually changing situation of RAMM
   New outlook of the museum
   Redesigning space
   Content of galleries starting from the first floor:
   History of Exeter on the ground floor-Geological formation of Exeter (Devon and Exeter Formation Gallery
   Devon and Exeter Early Gallery
   Devon and Exeter Late Gallery
   How the museum relates to the rest of the world
   A section related to the Victorian collectors of RAMM
   Most of the new interior space is going to be displays based space (a lot of it in the past was offices, laboratories and so on)
   Change in space occupation-it's about what the public are deemed to need
   Lack of interest for animals in museums, shift of meaning of natural history in museums
   The courtyard, the core part of the museum is at the center of the development
   b. **Internet: Technology**
   RAMM is ahead of other museums in online issues
   Continually changing situation of RAMM
   RAMM online- a marketing practice
   Immaterial museum
   Virtual museum: Events marketing practice
   Online database
   Members of the public comment about objects in photos
   Forming an idea database about online objects
   Tagging objects
   People write comments to online objects
   Interactivity
   c. **Accessibility issues**
   Continually changing situation of RAMM
   Touring exhibitions
   Museum-community relations
   Museum-community relation by events-a marketing practice
   Audiences linking with each other
   Introducing new audiences/consumers (new type of consumers)
   Introducing all sorts of consumers
   Accessibility to a wider audience

Reaching hard-to-reach audiences
Going to audiences
Globalization
Deciding on school offerings
Importance of 'access' for museums
Received funding for accessibility
England seems to be behind other countries in accessibility
Accessibility to the disabled
Availability, accessibility

2. **Museum Level**

Continually changing situation of RAMM
RAMM's a listed building
Immaterial museum
Different ways of service delivery

    a. **New Projects**

        Touring exhibitions-transition period practice
        Living Here Project
            A Project not fully bounded with museum management
            Constructing a RAMM community
        Moving Here Project-opportunity for more education
        Talks at the Priory
        Archiving stories
        Taking things out
            Good and bad sides of taking things out
        Time capsule-collecting thoughts
        Systematization process-systematization of galleries
        Recording museum changes as we go along

    b. **Role of actors**

        Setting the context for collectors

    c. **Meaning of 'museum'**

        Education
        Immersing people into the atmosphere
        Entertainment, enjoyment and excitement
        Space that people find their own place in –feelings of belonging to the museum
        Quite contemplation
        Feeling at home
        Museum's a place that's meaningful to everybody on many levels
        A high status holding house for the benefit of the working classes
        Museum is about exploring the world
        Inspiration
        Enlightenment
        Collection of things that are rare or typical ways of life, things to do with life.
            And it's a way of finding out about our past, to know really where we are today
        Collection of objects

It's about stories around people (who have brought the artifacts and other ones)

It's somewhere I like going, a happy place

    i. Museum as facilitator

    The social role of museum: providing the truth to multiple realities

    Getting people to think differently

    Education in the museum; education and learning place, where everything is available

    Experience marketing in the museum

    Collections belonging to the public

    ii. Museum as consumers

    Reversal of the producer-consumer relationship

    Consumers as producers

A group of material objects which have been preserved, set aside, collected, in order to be able to present them as an interpretation of past times, past events

Shift in meaning of museum

d. Refurbishment outcomes:

Talks match with setting: Creating an atmosphere

Transition is a phase as well

Storytelling about museum objects

Outreach work-went better with the closure

The refurbishment is a waiting game

Diversification of focus

        History is the core focus

        Including science side of things

        Crossing the boundaries

        Geography and science will come in more

        More focus on personal learning and skills

        It will be much more skill based

Shift of focus from archeology towards arts

Difficulties of being closed

Focusing on the collection as a whole, balancing across collections

Being a mixture of different collections, linking subjects together

Tactile museum

Collections being viewed altogether

e. Keeping the balance between newness and RAMM's essence

Original structure and modern additions that have been made to it

Focusing on locality

Authenticity

Modernity

Modern-authentic contrast

Keeping the original structure of the building

Crossover from the original 19th century building to the 21st century building

f. Identity of RAMM-extending the identity of RAMM to the communities out of Exeter:

Identity of Exeter-communal, historic, geographic

Sense of place (feeling)

The river is a geographical locus defining new identity

g. **Promotion practice**

h. **Old RAMM:**

Victorian, traditional collector searching for exotics

Old RAMM-colonial

Victorian colonial discourse

i. **New RAMM**

Reconstructing the old/objects

Tactile museum-hands on

j. **Objects telling stories**

3. **Organizational/management level**

Organizational actors in shaping RAMM: National Trust

RAMM is a local authority museum

Role change

Job description change

Uncertainty (ambiguity)

Continually changing situation of RAMM

Role of actors

Transition period products

Meeting deadlines, we're trying to be one step ahead of the way

Continuous redesigning

Refurbishment taking longer

Longer waiting time

Capacity problem of volunteer run museums

Monetary constraints-things have changed from the original concept to what being realized we're going to be able to afford

DOMAIN OF CHANGE IN THE CONSUMER

Reversal of the producer-consumer relationship

Consumers as producers

Co-production of knowledge

Storytelling

Collecting people's ideas

Change in the consumer type and activity

Change in the consumer: multiple communities

Hierarchies within the consumer community

Change in the consumer identity-being part of Exeter locality

Co-construction of promotion

Networking

Customer loyalty

Storytelling

Unpredictability of stories

Filtering process of the curator

Consumers' adding to the expertise

Co-creation of knowledge
Idea collection
Consumers provide geological and archeological findings
Memories of the old museum-old museum stories

DOMAIN OF CHANGE IN OTHER MUSEUMS
Museums
    National museums
    Local authority museums
        Town council funded museums
    Museums with no funding
        Charitable trusts
No standardization of format possible
Local industries represented in local museums
Accreditation (to national standards) makes museums more professional
Standards are being improved
Awareness rise in consumer expectations
Small museums in local areas represent community identity
It's a constantly changing environment at the moment
Volunteer run museums lack skills for going worldwide
Some museums have 'oral history projects'
RAMM can help other museums in the transition to the Internet
Online museums have to be meaningful to online users
Listed buildings, limitations of and changes to listed buildings
Museums are becoming more visitor-friendly and family-friendly
Museums are becoming more tactile
Small museums are more authentic
Museums in general keep a certain amount of integrity
There's a danger of too much modernity
Differences between museums versus heritage centers
Heritage centers only provide information
There's no such thing as a 21st century museum
Marketing is key
Volunteer run museums don't always realize what they need to run a successful museum
Museums as charitable organizations
There's a competitive market for museums
There's a need for recognition for smaller museums by tourist organizations
Shift of meaning of natural history in museums
Not being able to obtain large, exotic mammals

APPENDIX 5: RAMM PHOTOS

Photos taken at an Exhibition at Exeter's Guildhall called 'Henrietta Revealed-The conservation of a portrait of Henrietta Anne, Exeter's Princess' held on 17-30 October 2009:

Figure a   Figure b   Figure c

Figure d   Figure e   Figure f
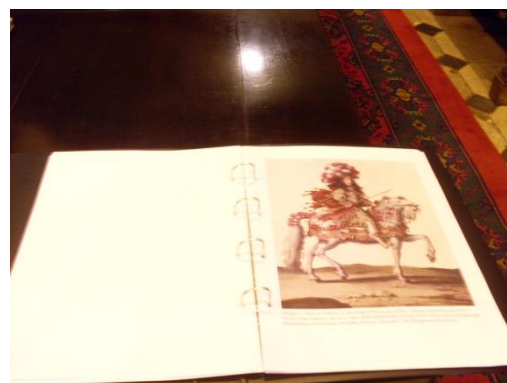

Figure g   Figure h   Figure i   Figure j

Figure k
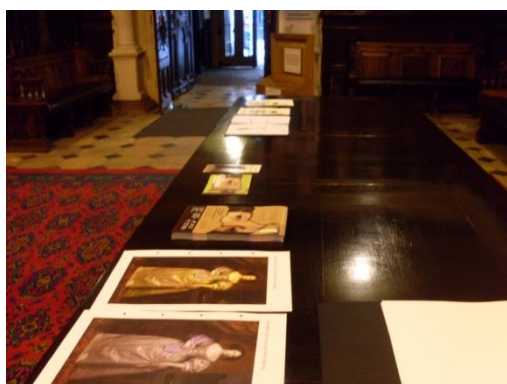

Figure l

Figure m

Activity Boxes in RAMM in the Library:

Figure n

Figure o

Gerald the Giraffe, before and during the refurbishment:

Figure p

Figure q

RAMM's redevelopment in pictures:

Figure r

Figure s

St. Nicholas Priory and the Games Children Play:

Figure t   Figure u

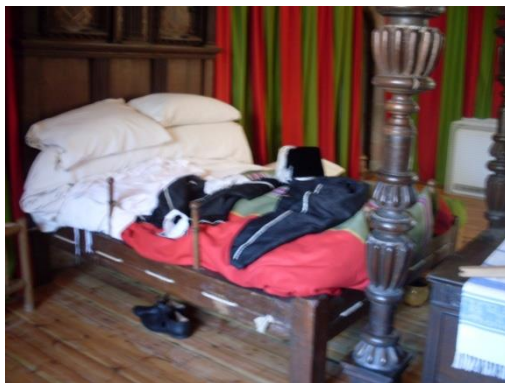Figure v   Figure w

Figure x   Figure y

Figure z

Figure ab

Figure ac

Figure ad

APPENDIX 6: REQUIREMENTS FOR ACCREDITATION

1.1 Acceptable constitution for the governing body

1.2 Proper management arrangements

1.3 Satisfactory arrangements for the ownership of the collections

1.4 Secure arrangements for occupancy of premises

1.5 Sound financial basis

1.6 Forward plan, including statement of purpose, key aims, specific objectives and spending plan

1.7 Emergency planning

1.8 Staff appropriate in numbers and experience to fulfill the museum's responsibilities

1.9 Staff employment and management procedures

1.10 Access to professional advice

1.11 Professional input to policy development and decision making

1.12 Compliance with relevant legal, safety and planning regulations
(http://www.mla.gov.uk/what/raising_standards/accreditation/~/media/Files/pdf/2008/Accreditation_Standard)

APPENDIX 7: RIBA (ROYAL INSTITUTE OF BRITISH ARCHITECTS) STAGES

A Appraisal. Identification of client's requirements and of possible constraints on development. Preparation of studies to enable the client to decide whether to proceed and to select the probable procurement method.

B Strategic briefing. Preparation of strategic brief confirming key requirements and constraints. Identification of procedures, organisational structure and range of consultants and others to be engaged for the project.

C Outline proposals. Commence development of strategic brief into full project brief. Preparation of outline proposals and estimate of cost. Review of procurement route.

D Detailed proposals. Complete development of the project brief and preparation of detailed proposals. Application for full development control approval.

E Final proposals. Preparation of final proposals for the project sufficient for coordination of all components and elements of the project.

F Production information.

F1 Preparation of production information in sufficient detail to enable a tender or tenders to be obtained.

F2 Preparation of further production information required under the building contract.

G Tender documentation. Preparation and collation of tender documentation in sufficient detail to enable a tender or tenders to be obtained for the construction of the project.

H Tender action. Identification and evaluation of potential contractors and/or specialists for the construction of the project. Obtaining and appraising tenders and submission of recommendations to the client.

J Mobilisation. Letting the building contract, appointing the contractor. Issuing of production information to the contractor. Arranging site handover to the contractor.

K Construction to practical completion. Administration of the building contract up to and including practical completion. Provision to the contractor of further information as and when reasonably required.

L After practical completion. Administration of the building contract after practical completion. Making final inspections and settling the final account.

(http://www.visionaryarchitects.com/docs/ribaplan.html)

APPENDIX 8: GENERIC LEARNING OUTCOMES

Figure 1 Generic Learning Outcomes

The details about the content of the boxes in the above figure are given below:

Knowledge and Understanding

- Knowing what or about something
- Learning facts or information
- Making sense of something
- Deepening understanding
- How museums, libraries and archives operate
- Making links and relationships between things

Skills

- Knowing how to do something
- Being able to do new things
- Intellectual skills
- Information management skills
- Social skills

- Communication skills

- Physical skills

Attitudes and Values

- Feelings

- Perceptions

- Opinions about ourselves (eg. self-esteem)

- Opinions or attitudes towards other people

- Increased capacity for tolerance

- Empathy

- Increased motivation

- Attitudes towards an organisation (eg. a museum, archive or library)

- Positive and negative attitudes in relation to an experience

Enjoyment, inspiration, creativity

- Having fun,

- being surprised

- Innovative thoughts,

- Creativity

- Exploration, experimentation and making.

- Being inspired

Activity, behaviour, progression

- What people do

- What people intend to do

- What people have done

- Reported or observed actions

- A change in the way that people manage their lives

(Source:

http://www.inspiringlearningforall.gov.uk/toolstemplates/genericlearning/index.html; date:

12 January 2011)

Museums can use these outcomes to measure to what extent they have actually become a learning organization. They can consider visitors' comments about the museum and check if they have actually achieved some of these generic learning outcomes. Here are some examples of such comments:

Table 1 Visitors' Comments about the Museum and Their Evaluation in Terms of Generic Learning Outcomes

Thank you… This lady was my great-great grandmother and we have been seeking verification of the father of my great grandfather for the last few years

Knowledge and understanding – increased knowledge about family history

I learnt about the camps for Jews and how they were treated.
Knowledge and understanding – increased understanding about how people were treated during the Holocaust

Today I've been introduced to Publisher and designed my first posters ever!
Skills – knowing how to use a computer

I couldn't even work an Applemac to start with and now I've taught myself… I think I got that through research with the museum.
Skills – knowing how to do something - confidence gained through museums

[My school visit to Holocaust exhibition] opened my eyes to the real world and made me realise just how awful things were. It made me feel strongly about prejudice in the world
Attitudes and values – changed attitude towards society

The book made me feel glad that I have a stable family but sad that many people go through what Carmen went through and ashamed that I tend not to think about people with eating disorders
Attitudes and values – more aware about something in relation to their own life

I find history a wonderful subject. I really enjoy this museum. I hope you find more history to show people
Enjoyment, inspiration, creativity – enjoyment from learning about history

The photographs and slides made everything come alive for us after our initial research about the Victorians from books.
Enjoyment, Inspiration, Creativity - felt inspired as the subject was presented in new ways.

[I am using the library to help] me to get a job and learn how to search the Internet. Am using the Internet for jobs which I can't do at home. I can print letters of application here, whereas I have to do it by hand at home
Action, behaviour, progression – using IT skills and the library to get a job

Thank you for your interesting and enlightening presentation… We all enjoyed it immensely and came away thinking we must get back to dig deeper and find out more about our heritage and the homes we live in
Action, behaviour, progression – enjoyment leads to the intention to act (research)
(http://www.inspiringlearningforall.gov.uk/export/sites/inspiringlearning/resources/repository/Have_a_go_at_coding.doc)

As we can see, the comments of visitors are evaluated according to which category they fall under. If the comments fall under any of the categories (knowledge and understanding, skills etc.) ascribed above, the museum is considered to be successful in becoming a learning organization.

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