

Special exhibitions and national museums in Taiwan: an investigation

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ABSTRACT

One hundred years ago, the museum was founded in Taiwan by the Japanese government. This “new” cultural institution did not exist in the past, so the distance between the museum and the public was to be expected. On the other hand, the expositions broadly took place around Taiwan, and although most of them were mainly for commercial purposes, these exhibitions have become a form of social memory for most of the Taiwanese people and to allow for experiencing art and world wonders (Lu Shao-Li 2005). In the 1990’s, holding special exhibitions in Taiwan’s national museums was a vital strategy to increase the visit rate and international exchange. Because these special exhibitions were widely accepted by the general public, the special exhibition culture in Taiwan was formed. This special exhibition culture creates the special visitor community which views special exhibitions as their major leisure activities. In order to attract large amounts of special exhibition visitors, the museum undertakes certain special exhibitions that might not match the purpose of the establishment. This situation has been questioned by Taiwanese scholars and cultural critics.

It is my intention to investigate special exhibitions in Taiwan's national museums to find how they influence the museum and how the museum has been changed. The National Museum of History in Taiwan is my case study and also the major target of discussion, because this particular museum has been famous for being a special exhibition venue and, also, this old museum once was the most important museum for international exchange in Taiwan. The special exhibition has been an important medium to convey art and cultural concepts to the Taiwanese public; therefore, by exploring special exhibitions and the relationship with museums, I attempt to discover this tendency for future museum strategies.

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I started this degree with some initial thoughts but this journey has turned towards another direction. This direction has lead to interesting thoughts on Taiwanese museology, but for which I am very glad. This study was conducted not only to fulfill requirements for obtaining the degree, but to also challenge my own ethics in my current position as a museum curator. Many thanks go to the School of Museum Studies at the University of Leicester and the tutors and staff who were my mentors and helped shape and guide me as I developed my own concepts of museology. I would also like to thank Taiwan's Ministry of Education for providing the scholarship for my PhD study here. The National Museum of History in Taipei is my inspiration for this thesis. Without my experience working in this unique museum, I might not have found this most interesting riddle among the national museums in Taiwan. My family is always an important power that supports and encourages me to finish this degree; their expectations are an enormous but welcome and driving source of pressure. Luckily, I have the best supervisor, Richard Sandell, who always sees the good in me and believes in me. What he has given me is not only knowledge but also guidance to be a better person. These are my life-long influences. My gratitude is difficult to express in words; therefore, I can only offer some very simple but most sincere words, Xie Xie (Thank you very much).

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Introduction

Exhibiting is one of the functions of the museum. Indeed, the opportunity to see exhibitions might be the stimulus for many visitors to come to the museum. Without exhibitions, the museum might lose one of its primary ways to attract audiences. However, when the visitors are coming solely for the loaned exhibitions, particularly those from foreign countries, the situation begins to raise questions that merit further investigation. In such cases, it might be argued that the museum is not focusing on its own collection but is acting more like a venue in which to hold special exhibitions as its main strategy to attract visitors and ensure annual targets for self-generated income are achieved.

In Taiwan, ‘special exhibitions’ have become a significant part of the culture and practices of national museums. The presentation of exhibitions, many featuring loaned objects from overseas which sometimes bear little relation to the museum’s core collections, has become widely used as a strategy to attract audiences. Despite the prevalence of this practice, relatively little is known about the motivations of special exhibition visitors and how they perceive and value exhibition venues. What opportunities and challenges are trends in exhibition visitation posing to National Museums in Taiwan and how might they navigate these?

This thesis interrogates and problematizes the phenomenon of what is widely known in Taiwan as ‘the special exhibition’ but, in this context, what is meant by ‘special’? According to Michael Belcher, “Clearly the word ‘special’ implies consideration and purposefulness and something out of the ordinary” (1991:51). In Taiwan, these kinds of exhibitions are often connected with an international issue or focus on particular subjects which might be deemed special by virtue of their curiosity value and scarcity; elements that could very well attract very large amounts of people. Furthermore, Belcher continues by highlighting, “those most special of special exhibitions which have been dubbed ‘blockbusters’” (1991:51). For example, Tutankhamun exhibitions are seen as classic examples of blockbuster exhibitions. Since the 1960s, special exhibitions on this subject has traveled around the world: from *Tutankhamun Treasure* (1961-1967) in the USA, Canada and Japan to *The Treasure of Tutankhamun* (1972 -1981) in the UK, USSR, and USA and, more recently, *Tutankhamun and the Golden Age of the Pharaohs* (2004 - 2011) in North

America and Australia. Although the object list might differ between each exhibition or an exhibition may change a few objects for certain venues, the subject of Tutankhamun catches the publics' attention and frequently generates visitors in the millions. This model is also suggestive of huge business benefits, holding the potential to generate significant income for those involved in organizing, staging and touring. Thus, it is not surprising to see replica exhibitions, such as *Discovery of King Tut*. This exhibition was very special and difficult, according to the former Metropolitan Museum director Thomas Hoving. He mentions in his book, *Dance with Mummy* (2012), that he was forced to undertake a Tutankhamun exhibition because government officials in higher positions threatened to cut the annual aid to the museum and other possible support in the future if he refused to do so (2012: 386). Another blockbuster level special exhibition is the Eighth Wonder of the World – the Chinese Terracotta Warriors - which, similar to the Tutankhamun exhibitions, was invited to visit many places around the world, often gaining local attention.

Blockbuster exhibitions are often based on unique, famous, and rare collections which represent an aspect of cultural heritage or feature renowned masterpieces. For these reasons, selecting venues to host these exhibitions is a strictly controlled and carefully managed process. National museums or galleries are often considered to be the best places to hold these special exhibitions because they house professional researchers, have high standards of security, and have, or can obtain national warrants. For these reasons it is clear to see why a strong relationship between large national museums and the phenomenon of the special exhibition has developed over time.

Blockbuster exhibitions or special exhibitions can also often convey diplomatic functions, for example, the *Treasure of Tutankhamun* exhibition that travelled around the USA, for which Richard Milhous Nixon, the President at the time, was the key promoter. As Hoving (2012: 385) has argued, the original intention for this exhibition was to improve relations between the United States and Egypt. The exhibition of Chinese Terracotta Warriors can be understood as a more contemporary example.

If the same subject of an exhibition appears often within the same city (or even the same museum) two or three times within ten years, this might be taken to suggest the local publics' appetite for or love of this subject. If, however, the actual collections being exhibited are similar, this might suggest something else. As rarity becomes commonplace, the blockbuster effect fades to just being special or even a “temporary

loan,” the attributing reasons are revealed and become of interest.

Moreover, the museum collection often defines the museum, and holding exhibitions is potentially a way to strengthen the museum and its collection. In this respect, exhibitions of loaned material have sometimes been used by museums to enhance or recontextualise their existing permanent displays, offering visitors new ways of seeing familiar collections. However, in other instances, special exhibitions comprising material or addressing themes that, it would seem, bear little or no relation to the museum’s mission or collections are sometimes staged. In such cases – where it is difficult to see a connection between the museum’s identity and *raison d’être* and the theme of the special exhibition – further questions are raised about the staging of such exhibitions. It might therefore be argued that special exhibitions must be very special indeed if they are to entice institutions to rationalize fitting them into their mission and function. So, in Taiwan for example, a special historical exhibition could be exhibited in the national science museum; meanwhile a special exhibition on dinosaurs could be seen in the national memorial hall and the Disney and pop-up books special exhibitions could be shown in the national historical museum. In each case, there may not necessarily be a clear link between the theme of the special exhibition and the mission of the hosting institution, but this has not prevented such exhibitions from being staged. How the national museum in Taiwan has been transformed is a point of interest and provides the context for this research.

With the passage of time, special exhibitions, which originated out of museums’ own international exchange initiatives and their desire to transform their public image, have become an integral part of museums’ regular management model, as a means of encouraging members of the public to visit museums. However, with this strategy, museum visitors – or more precisely, the special exhibition visitors that now account for the largest single share of all museum visitors in Taiwan – have gradually started to dictate this approach adopted by museums. Whether in terms of the themes chosen for exhibitions or the content selected for exhibitions, visitors’ preferences have become a major focus of attention for museums. For example, in Taipei the works by Monet from the Musée Marmottan Monet that were shown at the National Palace Museum in 1993 were exhibited again at the Taipei Fine Arts Museum in 2010, and yet again at the National Museum of History in 2013. There have thus been three exhibitions with the same theme within twenty years, at different public museums all

in Taipei City. The fact that the same exhibition theme keeps cropping up amongst different host institutions can safely be assumed to indicate that this is a special exhibition “product” that business enterprises believe will repay investment. From the museums’ perspective, on the other hand, I want to argue that careful consideration is needed as to just what meaning this sort of exhibition has and what implications flow from the decision to host such exhibitions.

The National Museum of History (NMH) began to adopt a special exhibition strategy that involved close collaboration with the media back in 1996, beginning with *the Golden Age of Impressionism – Masterpieces of the Musée d’Orsay*. Today, holding special exhibitions has become an integral, ongoing element in the NMH’s marketing and managing strategy. Special exhibition visitors constitute the most important group of visitors for the NMH; a year in which a large-scale special exhibition is held will always see a dramatic spike in visitor numbers. Special exhibitions have thus become one of the key methods by which the Museum seeks to attract the attention of potential visitors.

NMH started as an exhibition center. Although historical and some fine art pieces were added to the collection later, the exhibition function remains strongly present. In early Taiwan, NMH played the necessary role of facilitating international cultural exchanges and thus since its opening, this national museum has, from time to time, operated as an art gallery to make up for the lack of art institutions in Taiwan. NMH functioned as a social educational institution in history and fine arts. Meanwhile, it has long been a public venue in which to see famous “special exhibitions.” From the history of the NMH, it is shown that special exhibitions seem to be represented differently from time to time (NMH, 2002).

For the special exhibition visitor, the special exhibition is the main reason to visit the museum and therefore, it might be suggested, it is not necessary that it is located in the NMH. The visitor is more concerned about the content or subject of the exhibition or the state of the venue, either of which could affect the visitor’s decision-making. Factors include if the museum provides a comfortable viewing environment or if the value of the content exceeds costs incurred by the visitor. Although the special exhibition visitors come for the special exhibition, they nevertheless impact the museum management. If the museum’s objective does not match the content of the special exhibitions or if the respective natures of the exhibition and overall museum

are too different, visitor research from the special exhibition *Dreams Come True – the Art of Disney's Classic Fairy Tale* suggests these contradictions do not trouble them too much. For the museum, the visitor is the major concern. By paying particular attention to the needs of the visitor, the museum may neglect its permanent collections in order to solicit the funding and help from outside investors and sponsors to maintain regular operations. As a solution, special exhibitions may seem like a viable strategy, but this also raises questions about the museum's own collections and whether or not the museum is fulfilling its obligations and mission.

Museums in different societies and operating in different cultural contexts use different methods and practices tailored to their purposes in order to pursue their missions. In Taiwan, where the Chinese culture was rooted and which was colonized for fifty years by the Japanese seventy years ago, cultural institutions have held their own peculiarities from the time of their establishment. For the pluralistic Taiwanese society, integrating museums into the people's lives required a different approach, for which the special exhibition seemed to be an appropriate entry point. Later, how to strengthen the museum's role became a key priority; museums, it could be argued, should not only be an exhibition venue or only do administrative work for such exhibitions. The museum will need to consider new strategies in addition to the issues regarding defining the museum's purpose based on the Taiwanese public's demands. Research about museum visitors shows general visitation habits of Taiwanese; future development of Taiwanese museums lies in redefining the museums' mission and identifying signals in the daily lives of the people in Taiwan who will determine the success or failure of the museums.

In order to better understand this context, I selected the NMH as a primary site for investigation and used a blend of historical research and a study of the perceptions, needs and views of visitors to one of the special exhibitions hosted by the museum. This approach enabled me to explore the connection and interaction between the museum, special exhibitions, and the Taiwanese public. How and why have 'special exhibitions' become such a significant part of the culture of national museums in Taiwan? What are the motivations of special exhibition visitors and how do they perceive and value exhibition venues? What opportunities and challenges are trends in exhibition visitation posing to National Museums in Taiwan and how might they navigate these?

In order to answer these questions, the thesis is divided into five chapters. The first chapter attempts to explain the background to the Taiwan special exhibition and explores the problems that have begun to arise between the museum and special exhibition. Because the NMH and the practice of staging special exhibitions are strongly connected, the second chapter will discuss this connection throughout the museum's history. Meanwhile, visitor reports, comments, and complaints will be used to analyze the museum's public relations strategy. The third chapter turns attention towards visitors to special exhibitions. Although the special exhibition visitors visit the museum, it is argued here that they might not be seen as true museum visitors but rather as a distinctive group – different from regular museum visitors. Therefore, the survey for the NMH special exhibition *Dreams Come True: The Art of Disney's Classic Fairy Tales* identifies the demographic and other social characteristics of special exhibition visitors. Chapter Four considers the special visitor's favored special exhibition venues in the cultural and creative district. These new special exhibition venues are competitors of the museum because they share special exhibition visitors as well as special exhibition sponsors and coordinators. I shall argue that the emergence of these new venues for special exhibitions might usefully prompt a reconsideration by the National Museum of History of its special exhibition strategies and might serve to stimulate the exploration of alternative ways to raise funding and attract museum visitors. The final chapter covers what the national museum has learned from these special exhibitions. Here, I shall argue, it is important to connect the experience with special exhibitions into the museum management strategy and to also begin to develop a new relationship between the museum and its publics that is rooted in the specific culture of Taiwan.

The national museum in Taiwan has its own issues to connect with society and culture. It is the same as other cultures or countries around the world. How this research attempts to resolve these problems is by focusing on this particular present situation in Taiwan. A museum should relate strongly to its people, especially a museum with national status. Therefore, in this research, it is my intention to observe how special exhibitions influence the National Museum of History and attempt to suggest possible solutions to deal with the dilemmas that this phenomenon presents.

Chapter 1 Special exhibition cultures in Taiwan

Prior to the museum being introduced into Taiwan, exhibitions were held together with expositions. According to the archives of Taiwanese history, during the Japanese period, such a commercial mode of fun and pleasure combined with the leisure exhibition activities, became a significant format for Taiwan to learn the culture of the outside world. It is interesting to find the similarity between these, and the special exhibitions of today. Special exhibitions provide many of the different themes of the expositions, and commercial and promotional activities are highly used in both of them. This chapter is primarily to explore the resources and consequent development of the exhibition culture in Taiwan, as well as the special exhibition upon which media and the museum currently cooperate, so as to contextualise and describe the issues caused by the Taiwanese history and their relationship to the current museum situation. Therefore, this chapter is divided into three parts. Firstly, we will discuss how Taiwanese public finds the difference between the museum and special exhibition. Secondly, we will consider the influences of exhibitions on the museum. Thirdly, in conclusion, we will ask why exhibition culture was introduced into Taiwan during the Japanese Colonial Period. The historical archives and scholar's comments are used to explore exhibition culture under Japanese colonization. Later, this chapter will look at how the Kuomintang Government used the museum to advance the renewed movement of Chinese culture, and how special exhibitions changed the museum's development through the combination of exhibition and media. By exploring these three parts, we may find the beginning of Taiwanese exhibition culture and how it connects with the special exhibition.

1-1 Definition of Special Exhibitions

In Taiwan, the meaning of the term “special exhibition” is simultaneously perfectly clear and rather vague. The last few years have seen a fashion for this new form of leisure activity in Taiwan. Originally just one form of museum exhibition among many, the special exhibition subsequently became a business strategy that museums used to attract more visitors, and today it has evolved into a form of leisure activity for the general public.

The term “special exhibition” has the connotation of being a temporary exhibition, touring exhibition, or very large-scale exhibition. In her thesis on the subject, Wang Ya-ling defines the special exhibition as follows:

There are no set criteria for this category of exhibition. The exhibits are usually classic works; in many cases, the exhibition tours different parts of the world, displaying items that are on loan from a particular institution or institutions. The exhibition is normally supported by corporate sponsorship, and accompanied by an extensive media marketing campaign to attract more visitors, along with the sale of reproductions. (Wang Ya-ling, 2002: 12).

Michael Belcher stresses the aspect of a special exhibition that relates to the inclusion of items that would not normally be on display, and which are felt to be particularly rewarding:

...which tends to offer a once in a life time opportunity to see grouping of object which are brought together, possibly from all over the world... For a large number of visitors the reasons for this are probably twofold. The first is the genuine desire to see works which interest them. The second is more complex, and comes about as a result of the mixture of advertising and social pressure.” (1991:52)

Shearer West viewed the special exhibition as being a phenomenon that is mainly seen in large cities, in which extensive reportage and publicity is used to attract a large number of visitors. The aim is to make money, but the activity is interpreted as having educational and entertainment functions; PR, media hype and consumerism play an important part in such exhibitions (1995: 93). Taiwanese cultural observer Lien Li-li has noted that many of the special exhibitions that are held in Taiwan involve private-sector organizations (particularly Taiwan’s two main newspaper groups) arranging for the exhibition of works from overseas, generally either from Europe and North America or from China, and that Taiwan’s involvement in the exhibitions is very limited, being more or less confined to venue planning, arranging exhibition guides and providing security, etc. (Lien Li-li, 2013: 128). On the basis of the above, it can

be said that special exhibitions are often associated with “special” exhibits, with financial considerations, with large numbers of visitors, and with large-scale promotional or media campaigns. These relationships reflect the huge cost of putting on a special exhibition. Nevertheless, given their ability to attract large numbers of visitors (whether because of extensive promotion in the media or because of the unique appeal of the exhibits), the results achieved by special exhibitions often make them museums’ most popular “cultural products”. From the point of view of museums, which often suffer long-term funding shortages while at the same time seeking to get more people to visit and use the museum, special exhibitions represent an operational strategy that can produce real results. While it might seem that the museum would gain from such a win-win situation, the result turns out to be not as ideal as the museum could wish for. The lenders, whose might be the museum, foundation or the collector, usually know their collection very well and their view often dominates the exhibition. The sponsors, whose might be the curating companies, media or international enterprises, invest the special exhibition with their own desires. Cooperation between the lender, sponsor and museum is complex, and the museum very often has to make more compromises to hold the special exhibition.

In the early days, collaboration between museums and the media in relation to special exhibitions mainly involved cooperation on exhibition promotion. In 1990, on the one hundredth anniversary of Van Gogh’s death, the Dutch government organized a whole year’s worth of commemorative activities. To support the Dutch-led global “Van Gogh fever,” Dutch airline KLM launched a global “Art Journey” activity. Just prior to this, in 1989, the Taipei Fine Arts Museum had contacted KLM and the Van Gogh Museum in Amsterdam to arrange for KLM to invite journalists from Taiwan’s *China Times* to undertake interviews in relation to one of the Van Gogh exhibitions¹. Although the exhibition relied mainly on photographs by Paul Huff to introduce Van Gogh’s work, a number of other Van Gogh related activities were organized, including lectures, films, performances, etc., to explore Van Gogh’s artistic career. The extensive reporting in the media did indeed help to make the promotion of this exhibition more effective.

Prior to the holding of the Monet exhibition at the National Palace Museum in 1993, there had been a number of exhibitions at museums and art galleries in Taiwan

¹ This exhibition was called *the Step of Van Gogh: the photographs by Paul Huff* in 1990 and s cooperated with the Van Gogh 1990 Foundation as a part of Van Gogh Art Education series.

that were similar to special exhibitions. However, these exhibitions generally did not incorporate any “mass consumption” element, and the exhibitions were normally organized by collaboration between different museums, with the media playing only a limited role. After the Monet exhibition at the National Palace Museum, the special exhibition started to separate from the museum, for example, having a different entrance from the museum main entrance or selling its own special exhibition tickets, opening a special exhibition gift shop. All of these features makes the special exhibition alien to the museum's own collections or characteristics. A special exhibition is considered to be a kind of cultural product that has a commercial aspect; a special exhibition strongly involves the displaying of items that are on loan, and the exhibitions usually relate to people or objects with which the general public is familiar. A special exhibition also makes use of corporate sponsorship, and involves large-scale promotional and marketing activities, with the aim of attracting as many visitors as possible and gaining maximum commercial benefit. While special exhibitions originate from museums, the potential commercial benefits of being able to attract large numbers of visitors encouraged private-sector enterprises to begin to invest in the holding of special exhibitions. Today, special exhibitions no longer belong solely to museums; members of the media who had been working in collaboration with museums have started their own private art agency firms, serving as intermediaries for the arranging of exhibitions that involve museums and private collections all over the world, and bringing exhibitions of different types to Taiwan from different parts of the world.

There has also been a shift in the themes addressed by special exhibitions. Whereas, as noted by Kuo Jui-k'un (2000), in the past the themes of special exhibitions generally fell into one of three broad categories – French or other European masterpieces, mysteries of the ancient world, or great artists or collectors – there has since been an expansion in the scope of the themes covered, to include cultural products that have more of an entertainment or mass culture aspect, including animation, pop art, exhibitions making use of 3D technology, etc.

Recent special exhibitions in Taipei evidence this tendency:

- (1) Exhibitions that are related to broader government policies: for example, since 2011, the Taipei World Design Expo has shown the government's

ambition to execute its Cultural and Creative Policy. This policy was launched in 2000, and became the major national cultural and economic development in recent years. This also leads to Taipei being named as World Design Capital for 2016.

- (2) Popular or novel themes: mostly, these exhibitions are combined with popular culture themes, such as Osamu Tezuka (Figure 1-1), From up on Poppy Hill, Along the River during the Ching-Ming Festival, Dinosaurs (Figure 1-2), 3D magic world, etc. Animation and illustration are two major subjects. Interaction with visitors is usually the key point for these exhibitions.
- (3) Masterpieces or famous people: Most of these exhibitions are held in public museums, for example, Monet, Picasso, Kangxi and Louis XIV (Figure 1-3), etc. Because these exhibition's costs are high, they are developed and hosted in cooperation with private companies in order to gain funding.



Figure 1-1 Osamu Tezuka in the National Gallery, Taichung

Figure 1-2 Dinosaurs exhibition in National Chiang Kai-Shek Memorial Hall

Figure 1-3 Kangxi and Lousie XIV in the National Palace Museum, Taipei

All these different kinds of special exhibitions also suggest that a special exhibition is no longer just a museum exhibition. Some of these exhibitions, the themes of which may relate to art, history, or popular culture, have taken on commercial, marketing, educational and even political significance. Packaged as a cultural product, they attract a particular group of consumers. As the name suggests, the “special exhibition community” comprises people who visit museums to see special exhibitions; for them, visiting a special exhibition is just one more social or leisure activity, like going to see a movie, reading, or going to a karaoke parlor.

In 2014, the most popular special exhibition was “One Piece”, which is based on

a long-running Japanese comic. This exhibition attracted more than 3,000,000 visits, more than any special exhibition in the national museums². Given the importance of special exhibitions to museums today, the special exhibition community has become an important group of museum visitors, a group that cannot be ignored if a museum is seeking to increase the number of visitors received. Since the special exhibition has become more and more popular in Taiwan, a unique “special exhibition culture” has taken shape, and this process has in turn been accompanied by the gradual emergence of a “special exhibition community.” This special exhibition community is remarkably heterogeneous in terms of the ethnic groups to which its members belong, their level of education, their social class and their economic circumstances. What they have in common is that visiting a special exhibition is one of the main options they consider when deciding which leisure activities to take part in.

Why do special exhibitions have such strong appeal to this group of people? What unique characteristics do special exhibitions possess? Every museum exhibition is different, so you could say that every exhibition is a “special exhibition.” However, as the content of special exhibitions, and the marketing methods used to promote them, has become formalized, a gradual process of “specialization” has taken place. Not only have we seen the emergence of specialist exhibition planning companies, the range of themes addressed by special exhibitions has become more diversified; they now cover everything from animation to design, from famous entertainers to great artists, and from exhibitions of everyday household goods to exhibitions of masterpieces from the collections of the world’s leading museums. Whereas originally a specialist exhibition was an exhibition relating to a particular artistic or historical theme, organized through collaboration between museums, media companies and exhibition planning firms, today, any topic can be the focus of a special exhibition.

With tickets for special exhibitions usually costing around the same as a movie ticket, special exhibitions have become an important leisure activity option for the general public, and it is these ordinary members of the public who are now the main source of visitors for museums’ special exhibitions. The people who visit special exhibitions might be not interested in the museum itself, only in the special exhibition;

2 Around the same time, the visit rate of *Dracula – the History and Art of Vampire in the National Museum of History* was 50,000. *The Enigma of M.C. Escher: the prints from the Israel Museum, Jerusalem* in the National Palace Museum in Taipei was about 1,200,000 visits.

this has led to a transformation of museums' operating strategies. Alternatively, given the immense appeal that special exhibitions have for the general public, do museums need to accept the necessity of integrating their operations with special exhibitions, recognizing that special exhibitions are now more than just "exhibitions," and have in fact become an important source of cultural and artistic nourishment for the public? If Taiwan's special exhibition culture has become an important element in museums' operating strategies, then does the whole concept of the National Museum need to adjust?

1-2 Potential Problems with the Special Exhibitions at National Museums

In the summer of 2003, the Kyoto National Museum in Japan held a special exhibition entitled "The Art of *Star Wars*." The content of the exhibition included costumes and art from Parts 4, 5 and 6 of the *Star Wars* series of movies, directed by George Lucas. The following year, a similar exhibition covering Parts 1 and 2 of the series was held at the Kyoto National Museum, and an exhibition covering Part 3 was held as a touring exhibition, at venues that included the Meguro Museum of Art in Tokyo. These exhibitions were much appreciated by the large number of *Star Wars* fans in Japan. However, in his book *The Potential of the Art Museum*, Professor Osamu Nakagawa commented that, when displaying movie characters in a museum that normally displays historic artifacts, it seems odd to have, for example, Luke Skywalker – who is so full of life and action in the movies – imprisoned within a glass case. Nakagawa suggests that, if a museum is going to host an exhibition of this kind, some effort should at least be made to bring across the appeal of the items being exhibited, and there should be a sense that the curator of the exhibition is animated by some particular vision (Nakagawa, 2010: 53).

Special exhibitions are supposedly the way to attract more visitors to museums. So far this strategy seems successful, inviting a new audience who will consume the museums goods and services. Therefore, the museum is forced a face a new era where the museum is no longer operated only according to the specialization of museum professionals in a specific collection, but also mounded by a broader idea—the people. While the people take an important role in the museum's future, how the

museum connects the collection and the public should also be redefined.

The interaction, mediation and exchange between people and objects and museums are one of the key reasons for the existence of museums. A special exhibition expands the scope of the museum's activity beyond its own collection items, creating a more complex network of relationships between collectors, the creators of items held in the museum's collections, the museum itself, the visitors to special exhibitions, the items featured in special exhibitions, and the curators of these exhibitions; there is also the educational aspect, involving educators, outreach activities, and the public's desire to learn. As noted by Eilean Hooper-Greenhill(2001), the relationship between museums and the wider society in which they exist is no longer a uni-directional relationship in which the museum is the "transmitter," using exhibitions, outreach activities etc. as the medium for transmitting knowledge to the "receiver" (the general public). Instead, there has been a gradual shift towards an interactive model, in which there is two-way communication between museum and visitors. It is no longer just the museum influencing people; people are also influencing the museum.

The most obvious example of people influencing the museum is the greater emphasis on "entertaining" museum visitors. Museums have begun using exhibitions based around themes from popular culture to attract visitors; it is significant that even Kyoto National Museum, which has traditionally focused on showcasing Kyoto's rich cultural history, should be inclined to host an exhibition on something as commonplace as *Star Wars*. Even Thomas Hoving, the former Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, accepted the importance of *Making the Mummies Dance* (1994). He mentioned in the book that if making mummies dance could bring the visitors into the museum, he would do it. The ways in which people can influence the museum and its development include not only museum director's decisions regarding the museum's operational strategy, the way in which museum staff members interpret the exhibits, and donors' expectations, but also the needs which ordinary members of the public expect the museum to meet.

From the perspective of the National Museum of History, the current Vice-Director Kao Yu-Chen claims that visitors to the Museum's special exhibitions constitute a large percentage of the total number of visitors that the Museum receives every year, and these visitors are also among the most influential, not only because

they are the majority of the museum visitors but also their interests will attract private companies to invest in museum exhibitions. This is important for museums, which are facing financial difficulties nowadays (2009, 179 – 187).

The large number of visitors to special exhibitions constitutes statistical evidence that museums are meeting the needs of ordinary people; at the same time, special exhibitions have also brought the concept of consumption into exhibition planning. Special exhibitions have a dual nature – their commercial side, and the large number of visitors they attract. One might say that people and consumption are the key reasons why special exhibitions are held, however, education and the cultivation of aesthetic sensibility are also essential.

A considerable amount of research has been done on the problems related to holding of special exhibitions at museums. Regarding the issues arising from collaboration between museums and media, Chen Yen-sheng's study "Collaborative Marketing by Museums and the Media – The 'Super Special Exhibition' Model and its Benefits" notes that,

"the excessive emphasis on achieving growth in the number of visitor, on media exposure and on the economic benefits, has led to a serious problem with the over-commercialization and dumbing-down of museum exhibitions, with museums failing to give full play to their special capabilities" (Chen, 2011: 130).

It does appear that museums' educational functions have suffered; the decline in the quality of the museum-going experience when a special exhibition is involved has led to a situation where elementary school students feel that "all you see in a museum is other people's legs."³ This situation reflects the contradiction that museums are now faced with: the desire to attract large numbers of visitors to special exhibitions, while knowing that the large number of visitors will detract from the museum-going experience.

The impact of special exhibitions on museums is not simply one of commercialization or exhibition quality; special exhibitions have also led to a more fundamental change in the essential nature of the museum. These issues can be

3 An article on page 25 of the June 6, 1997 edition of the *China Times* reported that, when asked by their teacher to draw a picture of what they had seen on a school trip to a special exhibition, an elementary school student had produced a picture that showed a "forest" of human legs. When reprimanded by the teacher, the student protested that that really was all they had seen at the exhibition.

examined from a number of different perspectives:

1-2-1 The Transformation of Museums into “Exhibition Halls”

Museums mean different things to different people. For the government, museums are seen as having educational, social and political benefits. Private-sector business enterprises may see museums as offering a way to burnish the firm’s image or boost its profits. For museum visitors, the reasons for going to a museum are of course even more varied. The more popular a museum exhibition is – such as an exhibition of impressionist paintings or some other large-scale touring exhibition that can attract a great deal of public interest – the more money and visitors it can bring in (Alexander, 1999). As a result, a focus on special exhibitions seems to have become one of the defining characteristics of national museums in Taiwan today. Exhibitions are the most direct form of contact between museums and the public, while also being the aspect of the museum’s operations that receive the most attention. Ideally, a museum’s exhibitions should combine the functions of research, educational outreach and entertainment. However, the blockbuster exhibitions that the public demands usually do not involve the museum’s permanent exhibitions. Moreover, a blockbuster exhibition is very expensive to hold, and also very risky (Harney, 1992). When it starts to seem as though special exhibitions are replacing the museum, then this is bound to raise serious questions. In particular, when it appears that the themes of the special exhibitions are unrelated to the museum’s core identity, then it may seem as though the museum has denigrated into merely being a venue for the holding of special exhibitions.

The question of whether national museums are degenerating into “exhibition halls” is closely related to the exhibition themes and the objects displayed in the exhibitions; it also relates to how the museum seeks to guide the planning of the exhibition, and whether it strives to integrate its social education function with the exhibition. If the theme of a special exhibition is dramatically at variance with the core functions of a national museum, then this raises the question of just what purpose the museum is meant to serve. One example here is the Yohei Taneda “Petit Louvre” exhibition (figure 1.4), which was first held in Taiwan at the Pier 2 art center in Kaohsiung, and was subsequently also held at the National Museum of History, Taipei;

exactly the same exhibition was held at an arts center that basically functions as an exhibition hall, and at a National Museum, with both facilities effectively serving just as venues for the special exhibition in question. This raises the question of whether National Museums should strive to differentiate themselves from ordinary exhibition halls in terms of the special exhibitions they hold. It would seem that a balance needs to be struck here between the maintaining the special status of the National Museum and still being willing to host exhibitions that feature innovative, new or “fun” content.



Figure1-4 Yohei Taneda “Petit Louvre” in National Museum of History, Taipei

1-2-2 Exhibition Themes – Reduplication, and a Focus on “Exciting” Themes that are Not Related to the Museum’s Own Collections

As can be seen from the examples given above, the themes of special exhibitions may include art in the traditional sense, and also aspects of popular culture such as movies or animation. The choice of theme often derives from major international touring exhibitions. For example, the “Dreams Come True – the Art of Disney’s Classic Fairly Tale” exhibition was first unveiled at the New Orleans Museum of Art, where it received very favorable public comment. It was then taken to the Australian Centre for the Moving Image, and then began its Asian tour in South Korea, before finally arriving at the National Museum of History in Taiwan. “Dreams Come True” is an example of a special exhibition that has a clear and popular theme, which has been designed from the start as an international touring exhibition, and where most of the items displayed derive from museums’ own collections. There has also been a trend towards exhibitions of museum collection items specifically planned for exhibition in Taiwan. For example, a 2011 exhibition of works by Picasso involved enormous expense (for planning, insurance, and bringing French exhibition curators over to Taiwan, etc.), expense that ordinary museums would not have been able to afford. Overseas institutions are generally very protective about their collection items, so

Taiwanese involvement in such exhibitions tends to be limited. As more and more special exhibitions of this kind are held, the role of the museum in Taiwan is being transformed. Whereas in the past Taiwanese museums focused on promoting international exchange and building up their own collections, they have gradually morphed into institutions that simply rent out space for other organizations to hold exhibitions in.

Besides the transformation in the role played by Taiwan's museums and art galleries, another significant development is the nature of the type of special exhibition that is being held in Taiwan today. Most of them, I would argue, are very unimaginative and restricted in scope, with the same themes cropping up again and again. For example, there have been two Picasso exhibitions in Taiwan within the space of ten years that both featured the same types of paintings. There have been two exhibitions featuring treasures from the Famen Temple⁴ in China; there have been two Monet exhibitions. This frequent duplication of exhibition themes and exhibition items highlights the difficulty that Taiwanese museums experience in securing loans from overseas museums; even when Taiwanese museums do have the opportunity to hold an exhibition featuring items loans from foreign museums, the financial cost is usually very high. The emergence of special exhibitions with popular culture themes can be seen as a response to this situation; replicas of popular culture artifacts have replaced works of art, while static exhibits have been supplemented by dynamic, interactive installations. This transformation in the themes and display methods of special exhibitions is a distinctive phenomenon deriving from the nature of demand for special exhibitions in Taiwan. The situation now is that anything can be exhibited, and anything can be the theme for an exhibition. Furthermore, the possible venues for special exhibitions are no longer limited to museums and art galleries; a special exhibition can now be held at a "cultural and creative park," in a department store, in a sports stadium, etc. Anything that the public might be expected to like can become a special exhibition.

Whereas in the past, special exhibitions in Taiwanese museums were usually temporary affairs only held during the school holidays, they now go on all year round. Given the popularity that special exhibitions and expositions enjoy among the general public, it is only to be expected that museums and galleries would want to participate.

4 Famen Temple was an underground palace for Royal Buddhist worship during the Tang Dynasty (618 – 907AD). It has been seen as one of the important archaeological findings from the Tang Dynasty.

However, bearing in mind that the fundamental purpose of an exhibition for a museum should be to provide a venue for learning or reflection, and that the underlying motivation for the museum's involvement in exhibitions is to make available the exhibitions and information necessary for learning to take place (Dean, 2006:13), it appears that, while opportunities for learning may still be seen in the special exhibitions that are held in Taiwan's museums today, the very large numbers of visitors that these exhibitions attract make the ideal of encouraging "reflection" difficult to realize. Exhibitions which are essentially incompatible with the nature of the museum, visitors drawn to the exhibition by the power of advertising, exhibitions that rehash the same popular themes over and over again – these are some of the key reasons why special exhibitions and museums may not belong together.

1-2-3 Space and Facilities

In the late twentieth century, the museum became a "schizophrenic" amalgam (Schwarzer, 1999). On the one hand, the museum was expected to maintain its exalted cultural status. At the same time, however, it had to cater for visitors with widely varying educational and cultural backgrounds. The key factor in meeting these diverse needs was the museum's "hardware" infrastructure and facilities. For this reason, over the last few years many museums have embarked on renovation programs, with a substantial increase in the overall quantity and quality of their facilities for serving the public. Newly-established museums have hired leading designers to create museum buildings that will function as local landmarks and help to attract visitors, and museum buildings have themselves become an important element in the museums' display activities. These changes have opened up new possibilities for museums. From the public's point of view, going to view an exhibition is no longer the only reason for visiting a museum; museum restaurants, cafés and stores have become an important part of overall museum operations.

For the museum of the twenty-first century, all of the different elements that make up the museum can help it to stand out. By and large, a museum's distinctive features will tend to reflect the preferences of the general public, for whom the museum's exhibitions, services and facilities are the objects of their interest. Museum marketing research makes it possible to gain a better understanding of the public,

which in turn leads to museums developing new functions. In this way, the publics' interests have become an important tool in the formulation of museum strategy. The key issues in this regard are how to reconcile the trend towards commercialization and entertainment with museums' longstanding orientation towards their own collections, and shortage of space for the holding of special exhibitions.

The vast majority of museums and art galleries in Taiwan simply do not have the resources to imitate Japanese museums – such as the National Art Center in Tokyo, designed by leading architect Kurokawa Kisho, or Suntory Museum of Art, designed by Kenko Kuma – which are able to combine large venues for special exhibitions with other leisure facilities, such as restaurants and large-scale gift shops, etc. Furthermore, few Taiwanese museums have convenient city-center locations. While some of Taiwan's newer exhibition venues, such as the Huashan 1914 Creative Park(Figure 1-5), 44 South Village(Figure 1-6), Songshan Cultural and Creative Park(Figure 1-7), and Taipei Expo Park, have succeeded in integrating exhibitions spaces with other leisure facilities, international museums and art galleries tend to be reluctant to loan works for exhibition at venues that are not affiliated with an established museum, and which are really just engaged in renting out exhibition space. What this means in practice is that there are some types of special exhibition that museums can provide but which other facilities cannot. On the other hand, museums in Taiwan often suffer from old, dilapidated facilities that are not readily amenable to restoration or expansion. Special exhibitions with different themes may require dramatically different display environments, whether in terms of temperature and humidity control, security, venue size, or the perceived prestige of the venue. All of these factors can influence the success or failure of a special exhibition. Some Taiwanese museums and art galleries which do in fact have the space needed for holding large special exhibitions are reluctant to do because they are used to dealing with a smaller museum-going public and feel that they are unable to provide the services needed to cope with a “mass-market” museum-going public.



Figure 1-5 The Huashan 1914 Creative Park



Figure 1-6 The 44 South Village



Figure 1-7 Songshan Cultural and Creative Park

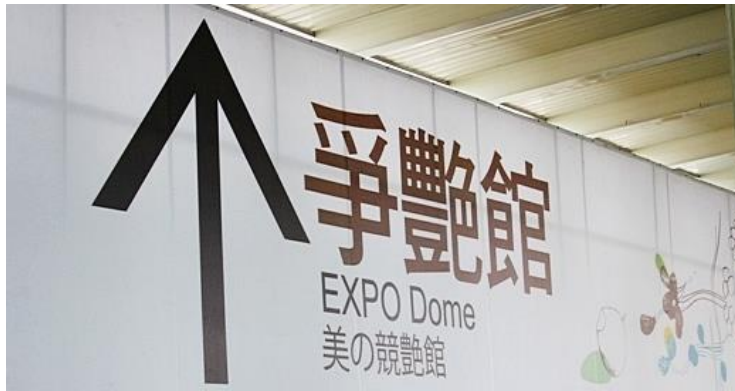


Figure 1-8 Taipei Expo Park

1-2-4 Systemic Issues

It is probably fair to say that the biggest single news story in the cultural and arts sector in Taiwan in 2010 was the controversy over the special exhibitions at Taipei Fine Arts Museum. This related mainly to two exhibitions – a Gauguin exhibition and a later Monet exhibition – with the initial accusations of funds going missing gradually escalating into a fully-fledged political scandal. The problem started when

Universal Exhibition Co., Ltd.⁵ (which has since gone out of business) was unable to recoup its costs on the Gauguin exhibition, despite the 180,000 visitors the exhibition attracted, which in turn led to Crown Van Lines, the firm responsible for transporting the works of art in question, to refuse to perform the exhibition dismantling and return shipment operations; this was followed by an even bigger shortfall in relation to the subsequent Monet exhibition. Arrangements had originally been made for the holding of exhibitions of works from the Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium and the National Galleries of Scotland, but the scandal over the Gauguin and Monet exhibitions caused these museums to lose confidence in the Taipei Fine Arts Museum, and the plans had to be cancelled (Wang, 2011), with the Taipei Fine Arts Museum suffering serious damage to its reputation. Besides the damage to the Taipei Fine Arts Museum's reputation, and the ongoing lawsuits, this incident also led to the resignation of the Commissioner of Taipei City Government's Department of Cultural Affairs, and of the Director of the Taipei Fine Arts Museum. Leaving aside the complexities of the monetary and political aspects of this case, it is clear that the concept of relying on special exhibitions as a "cash cow" for museums

⁵ <http://www.new7.com.tw/NewsView.aspx?i=TXT201204251629577V7> (2015/06/03)

needs to be rethought. Close examination is required, not just of the criteria used when museums are deciding which firms or organizations to collaborate with on exhibition planning, but also of the model used for collaboration between the public and private sector, the role and responsibilities of the museum or gallery in such cases, and what the publics' real needs are with respect to special exhibitions.



Figure1- 9 The Gauguin exhibition in Taipei Fine Arts Museum

Figure 1-10 The Monet Garden exhibition in Taipei Fine Arts Museum

Within the framework of government administration, conventional administrative methods have been applied to culture and the arts. The questions of whether the holding of special exhibitions can be treated as a form of “government purchasing” (using the same methods and procedures that would be used by a government agency when contracting out printing work or construction work, or hiring specialist human talent from the private sector), whether such “purchasing” is properly regulated, and to what extent museums should be responsible for the planning of their own special exhibitions, relate fundamentally to the reasons why museums and galleries are holding special exhibitions in the first place. Regardless of whether the exhibition is organized solely by the museum itself, or in collaboration with other organizations, if the purpose of a special exhibition is in conformity with the museum’s overall vision, if the theme will appeal to the public, if the exhibition can help to compensate for gaps in the museum’s collections, and if the exhibition can help to promote collaboration and exchange between the museum and overseas museums or collectors, thereby helping the museum to fulfill its purpose more effectively, then there is nothing wrong with holding a special exhibition. On the other hand, if the museum is basically just making available exhibition space for a special exhibition that is completely unrelated to the museum’s activities and mission, then what meaning does that special exhibition really have for the museum? It is hard to avoid the conclusion that, when the thinking behind the *Government Procurement Act* is applied to the

holding of exhibitions, although museums, art galleries and the general public in Taiwan may find it difficult to accept, the retaining of overseas exhibition planners (including leading international museums and art galleries) to provide “total solution” exhibition planning as a form of “cultural product” for sale in Taiwan, basically amounts to a form of “procurement” for Taiwan’s public museums and art galleries. However, the current legal framework for government purchasing in Taiwan imposes a single, uniform model. Few government officials in Taiwan are going to be willing to risk losing their job in order to experiment with a different, more effective model, and as a result the purchasing model stipulated by the *Government Procurement Act* is applied to all monetary transactions relating to culture and the arts, with review committees, a requirement to accept the lowest bid, and a lack of clarity as to the circumstances in which selective tendering is permitted. This situation is the biggest single obstacle hampering Taiwan’s public museums from organizing special exhibitions on their own.

1-2-5 Joint Exhibitions

Funding has always been a problem when it comes to holding exhibitions. The cost of organizing an exhibition is extremely high, what with royalty payments, insurance, transportation, exhibition venue preparation, exhibition installation and dismantling, promotional and training expenses, etc., not to mention the cost of advertising. For Taiwan’s museums and art galleries, which have for many years now labored under inadequate funding, the successful holding of a large-scale exhibition requires sponsorship. Museums need to work closely with the organizations that they collaborate with when planning joint exhibitions, in order to build consensus; collaboration must be based on mutual benefit if it is provide a foundation for long-term, sustainable benefits. It has to be borne in mind, however, that no-one does anything for nothing. When non-profit museums and corporate sponsors skilled at making money are both involved in the planning of special exhibitions (the “best-selling” cultural product), who is going to be profiting most from the arrangement? There appears to have been little serious study of this question; instead, over the years, the various parties have just gone on doing their best to get what they want out of these collaborative ventures. The problem is that a special exhibition does not

necessarily have to be organized by a museum or art gallery. After having collaborated with museums on the holding of special exhibitions for years, the media and the specialist exhibition planning firms have gradually developed their own model for holding exhibitions, and are now capable of hiring a venue and arranging an exhibition on their own, without any participation from Taiwanese museums. Viewing this situation in a positive light, one might say that museums have succeeded in leveraging their expertise in exhibition planning to help special exhibitions become an important cultural trend. However, on deeper reflection, one has to consider, given the new environment in which exhibition sponsors are capable of organizing an exhibition on their own, whether museums still exert any real influence, or whether they should now be considered merely as one provider of exhibition space among many. Have museums and art galleries degenerated into “shop-floors” for the vending of cultural products?

Reflecting the practical considerations noted above, the special exhibition has become the key element in the relationship between museums and their sponsors. The private-sector organizations that collaborate with museums on the holding of exhibitions have their own financial pressures to contend with, and are in any case commercial enterprises. As a result,

“the treating of cultural activities as a product has led to the commercialization of culture. This can take many different forms, some of them explicit, others less so, but the common factor is that cultural symbols become a screen for commercial operations” (Lee, 1997).

As they take on commercial character, what were originally simply museum exhibitions have been transformed into cultural products. There is nothing wrong with the “user pays” principle; just because something is “culture” or is being organized by a “public museum or art gallery,” that doesn’t necessarily imply that it should all be funded out of the taxpayer’s purse; exhibitions cost a lot of money to put on, and of course this money has to come from somewhere. However, if culture comes to be seen as just one more product among many, and the whole emphasis is on “selling tickets,” or if museums focus on organizing lower-cost exhibitions instead of considering the individual museum’s unique characteristics (which are non-replicable), so as to earn

monopoly rents (Harvey, 2001), it can be argued that the museum's uniqueness or special character is potentially being exploited in order to gain economic benefits from marketing their exhibition "products" to the general public. In other words, leveraging the special nature of the museum to strengthen or normalize the artistic, cultural and educational aspects of the special exhibition, while concealing the commercial aspects – then it might be argued, the most likely result of this kind of commercialization of the special exhibition will be a steady erosion of the museum's cultural authority. The excessive variation in exhibition themes and the duplication of special exhibition content might cause the public to gradually lose faith in the museum's professionalism, causing the museum to deteriorate into simply a place for displaying culture and art, whose academic and professional credentials are viewed with great skepticism.

Having started out by using special exhibitions as means of increasing the number of visitors they receive, and later finding that they were themselves being influenced by special exhibitions and special exhibition visitor, Taiwan's national museums are now undergoing the biggest transformation they have had to face in two decades. What do people in Taiwan feel that a museum should be for? Over the relatively short, 120-year history of the Taiwanese museum sector, a general idea of the purpose of museums has emerged; however, the engagement of the museum sector with ordinary people has largely been confined to the provision of leisure, entertainment and consumption "services" through special exhibitions and related activities. The people who come to see special exhibitions are, by and large, just ordinary people who view the experience as simply a day out. Taiwan's national museums have sought to exploit this group of citizens to achieve growth and development, but have at the same time found them being influenced and affected by this segment of the population. It may well be that, for many people in Taiwan, national museums are simply places where special exhibitions are held. Nevertheless, the fact that these people are using museums at all is a step in the right direction. Now that this first step has been taken, it is up to the museums to see how they can build on this nascent relationship with special exhibition visitors to develop a museum-focused special exhibition culture. To achieve this end, museums should be working to gain a clearer understanding of the people who come to see their special exhibitions. After

all, national museums belong to everyone, and the decision as to how museums ought to be used should be based on consensus among the general public. Through this process of consensus-building, Taiwan can hope to gradually develop its own model for museum-sector development, a model that is Taiwan-centric and reflects the needs of Taiwan's inhabitants.

In order to understand the Taiwanese inhabitants, it is worth looking through Taiwanese exhibition history, which is longer than that of museum exhibition. The resources of the exhibition history can be traced to the Japanese Colonized Period. The year of 1895 was hugely transformative for Taiwan. In the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, the Qing Dynasty was defeated and obliged to cede Taiwan to Japan (Taiwan is located on the fringe of the Chinese domain). All of a sudden, the ruler of Taiwan changed, at the country was no longer an islet noticed by neither Chinese history (in comparison with Chinese massive territory), nor a relay point for foreigners⁶ to passing by, but a chip exchanged by two leading powers, China and Japan in East Asia, and the international stage. The three-million strong population⁷ in Taiwan, could only rebel against powerful Japanese military by themselves. In terms of Japan, victory represented proof that the Meiji Restoration had successfully learnt from modernization. Hence, Japan utilized its mighty modernizing "Western Education" to reconstruct Taiwan, which thoroughly exercised the exposition and museum, particularly the exhibition, to combine novel culture with commerce and create an entertaining leisure atmosphere to attract the Taiwanese, so as to have the public know what the world was like, and to directly connect Taiwan with the world by exposition. Thus, the museum established thereafter was a specific performance of the Occidentalizing social education promoted by the Japanese; either expositions or the museum, in the Taiwanese' eyes, were no more than the new experience of exhibition, or the onset of the establishment of Taiwanese exhibiting culture.

1-3 Exhibition Culture Start

⁶ The Dutch, Spaniards, and Portuguese have ever appeared in Taiwan.

⁷ The Taiwanese population was one hundred thousand when Holland occupied Taiwan, one hundred and fifty thousand in the Ming Dynasty (occupied by Zheng Chen-gon), one million in the Qing Dynasty (reigned by Emperor Kansi and Yonchen, one point 3 million in the Qing Dynasty (reigned by Emperor Chien Long), two million in the Qing Dynasty (reigned by Emperor Xian Fon), three million in the Qing Dynasty (reigned by Emperor Kwang Xu), six million in 1945, and ten million in 1958.

Both the museum and the exposition in Taiwan were founded by the Japanese government. Therefore, the resource of the Japanese museum and exposition is important to see as the reason for this founding. “Expositions were the way to exhibit cultural and historical objects before the introduction of museums by Japan...these objects needed storage for protection so museums were bound to appear” (Lee Shang Ying 2005:6). The Japanese Ministry of Education started Tokyo exposition in 1872 to found the National Museum (Fujitani Akira 2007:52-68). The objects in the exposition are the major collection of the National Tokyo museum now. Both words , the word “museum”(博物館) and exhibition(博覽會) are understood here according to the translation of Fukurawa Yukichi’s *Seiyo Jijo* (Western Matters, 1866). Their definitions in the book are that a “museum” is to collect objects, antiques, and treasures from around the world and exhibit them to the public and that, on the other hand, an “exposition” is a learning environment for improving the self (Yoshimi Toshiya 2010). In addition to preservation and research, Museums should promote their collections and displays to the public. This is different from the exposition which does not own any collection and is based on a loan collection. Similar to Japan, until the end of the nineteenth century, exhibitions were very rare in Taiwan. The market was the place to gather people and display objects. After the Japanese government, commodities appraisals and commodities exhibitions venues took place locally. Agricultural products were the major display objects in the early Taiwanese exhibitions. These temporary exhibitions were basically advertisements for Japanese commodities. They were business activities. (Lu Shao Li, 2005). This kind of small-scale commercial exhibition became the first Taipei Commodities Exhibitions. Thus, Taiwan Daily News (台灣日日新報) commented that this exhibition failed because Japanese products took the major role, and Taiwanese products were neglected. Later, though the first national museum, Taiwan Viceroy Museum, was established, this type of special exhibition was still popular around Taiwan. Although business was the aim for this kind of exhibition, there were some modern developments in the operation of the exhibition, such as in 1908, when the electric light was first used in the night for the Taipei commodities exhibition or in 1916 at the Taiwan Industrial Mutual-Progress Exposition, where the lift was the most popular and beneficial entertainment object. As to the art, the first art exhibition also took place in 1916 at the Taiwan

Industrial Mutual-Progress Exposition. In the Japanese colonial era, exhibitions started in Taiwan, and since then, the commercial and entertainment aspects within the exhibition have attracted the Taiwanese public. The 1916 Taiwan Industrial Mutual-Progress Exposition could be seen as a good example of this point.

1-3-1 The 1916 Taiwan Industrial Mutual-Progress Exposition

In 1916, the population of Taipei was 158,176 (Yeh Su-ke, 1993: 297); the Taipei Yuansan Zoo was formally inaugurated, and construction of the Viceroy Museum, another Taiwanese landmark, had just been completed. Inside its Baroque building (simulating the typical western museum construction), it amassed the understanding of Japan in Taiwan, mainly focusing upon geography, botany, mineralogy, natural science, and anthropology. The content can be deemed as something collected by the ruler to meet the requirements of colonized politics and economy. In 1916, Japan had reigned over Taiwan for two decades; there were still many rebellions⁸, the Taiwanese' livelihood was gradually becoming stable. The 5th Taiwanese Viceroy, Sakuma Samata, enforced the "Five-year Policy for Governing Minorities" onto Taiwanese aboriginals, fixing attention on the value of the rich forestry and mining industry deposited in mountains of Taiwan. In addition, following with the progressive ambition of the South-forward Policy, Japan enhanced its construction in Taiwan to make it an outpost, nevertheless, and stimulating the development of the Taiwanese economy. Under such a rapidly developing economic system, the society gradually increased its artistic and leisure requirements. The "Taiwan Industrial Mutual-Progress Exposition" developed in this overall situation.

⁸ Prior to 1916, the Taiwanese fighting against the Japanese included the incidents of Lin Qi Pu (1912), Liu Jia(1913), and Chiao Ba Nian (1915).



Figure 1-11 The exposition venue (1916) - now the National Museum of History

The exposition representing the “20th anniversary of Japanese governing Taiwan” was no other than an unprecedentedly large-scale exhibition, which could be regarded as the first exposition with considerable scale in Taiwan. It was based on the mode of the Japanese exhibition, as its preparation procedure was jointly conducted by governmental bodies and the private sector. It could be seen as a “Mutual-progress Exhibition”, and is a blueprint of the 40th anniversary Taiwan Exposition which, in 1936, was the largest exhibition in Taiwanese history. Except for political factors, the purpose of the “Taiwan Industrial Mutual-Progress Exposition” to attract Japanese funding to Taiwan and the “Enlightenment of nationals’ intellect” (Lu Shao Li, 2005: 217). In addition to the commercial opportunity for industries, education was also one of the key points of this exposition. Different from the past commercial mutual-progress fairs, many illustration cards and statistics charts were added and designed exclusively for various exhibition halls in Japan, China, and the Southeast Sea (the old name for the Malay Archipelago and Indonesia), emphasizing the exhibition of novelties as one of the significant manners to enlighten nationals’ intellect. Advertising propaganda of the exposition was even expanded overseas, inviting Japanese companies to invest in Taiwan, demonstrating the achievement of Japan ruling Taiwan over 20 years, and introducing Taiwan to the international stage. The exposition could be principally divided into two exhibited chambers; one was the chamber of the Taiwanese Viceroy, and the other was that of the Forestry Research Institute.

There were no less than 26,443 exhibits exhibited in the exposition; a total 11 categories included Education, Fine Art and Craft, Agriculture, Forestry, Aquatic

Products, Food, the Mining Industry, Industry, Machinery, Transportation, and Aborigines. Apart from these categories, the exposition also displayed commodities originating from Japan, Korea, Manchu, India, Malaysia, Indonesia, and the South China Region. Over the duration of the 36-day exhibition, no less than 809,830 people visited the two chambers: the number of the Taiwanese was two times that of the Japanese. The magnificent edifice of the Taiwan Viceroy Office in the first chamber effectively attracted people to queue up for the boarding elevator up to the tower, which was the favorite part of the exposition. It is impossible to know that true motivations of visitors to this exhibition, but it has been argued that the opportunity to ascend the tower proved more popular than the viewing of the exhibition itself (Lu Shao Li, 2005: 223). Regardless of the past or the present, clues of the Taiwanese peoples' habits and preferences were visible in the exhibitions held in the Japanese ruling period; it is apparent that the Taiwanese were interested in the amusing, novel, and rare objects.

The exposition undeniably brought the Taiwanese an interesting exhibition experience. Several traits in this exposition, today, can be deemed as a prototype of the combination which integrated the museum exhibition with industries. For instance, the art and literature exhibition appears in the exposition (the first fine art exhibition in Taiwan⁹); it can still be regarded as a seed of the art and literature exhibition. The interesting thing is, it can be found that the chamber (such as the bakery or tea house) adjacent to the shopping area and music hall in the exhibition venue is quite similar to the present museums' coffee shops, stores, or exhibitions, because the combination of the exhibition, souvenir, coffee, pastry and music is conducted in an integral space.

9 The most important fine art exhibition (exhibited in Taiwan) in the Japanese ruling period would be formally displayed 11 years later (1927). The “Tai Yong Art Exhibition” created by the Taiwanese was started in 1936.

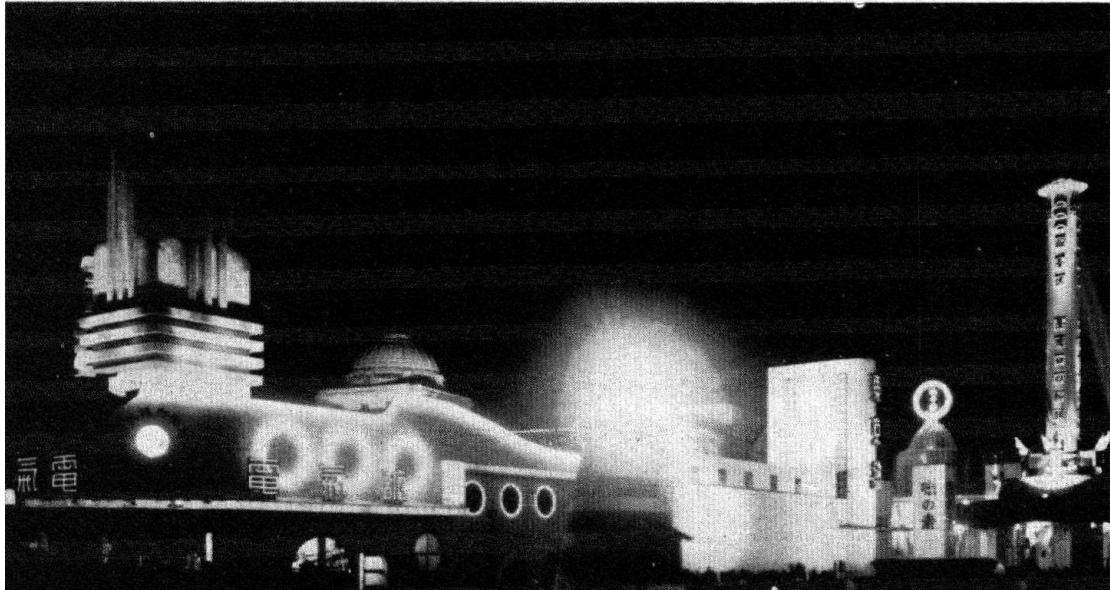


Figure1-12 The electric light has been used in this exposition

Many techniques which are not strange to the modern exhibition appeared in the said exposition, such as illuminating decoration, a shopping area, illustration, marketing, and media. The conception that audiences could randomly buy relevant souvenirs in the exposition is akin to the function displayed in modern exhibition stores. Thus, the mode of combining the exhibition we are familiar to at the present time with commerce is ubiquitous in the “Taiwan Industrial Mutual-Progress Exposition” held in 1916.

Provided that this exposition was the first art and literature exhibition for the Taiwanese, we may boldly infer that the Taiwanese’ integral impression grew in a showplace made up of industry, commerce, culture, fine arts, and education. We use the word “growing” because the basic mode of the exhibition has been repeatedly used and formed an initial type of Taiwan’s exhibiting culture, regardless of the exposition held at the 20th, 30th, or even the 40th anniversary of Japanese government in Taiwan (collectively referred to as the “Taiwan Exposition”). In the 20 years after 1916, there were 153 exhibiting activities and four mutual-progress expositions held in Taiwan. The exhibition combined with commercial behaviors in an identical space was deeply imprinted on the social community impression as early as the exposition held in the early 20th century. In comparison with the boisterous “Taiwan Industrial Mutual-Progress Exposition” held in 1916, the museum of the Taiwan Viceroy’s Office was apparently much quieter.



Figure 1-13 The Viceroy Office Museum of the Product Bureau



Figure 1-14 Sotokufu (Now it is the office of the President)

The museum conception originated in the West, but the establishment of Taiwan Museum is closely linked with Japan. The purpose of the Japanese to build a museum can be seen in the report produced by the Iwakura Investigation Group¹⁰ in 1871 (the era of Meiji Restoration). Under the principle of the Restoration to learn from the West, the Japanese foreign minister Iwakura led 50 officers and 58 students (studying abroad) to visit Europe and America, among them, Okura Kihachiro¹¹, the founder of Okura Consortium, who saw the “Epitome of the splendid European culture” when visiting the international exposition held in Vienna, and perceived the weakness of Japan’s national power and the immaturity of Japanese civilization (not only Okura had such a sentiment). From the conclusion made by the Investigation Group, we may learn that the other members were also obtaining similar conclusions like Okura in terms of exhibiting civilization. They assumed that European and American nations valued their history and loved their traditions, and they expressed in their reports that “The western museum has never appeared in the East, and these museums are a technique to enlighten nationals’ intellects” (Tianxia Compilation, 2001: 278). The Japanese government has had its reasons for establishing the museum since the very beginning - to enlighten nationals’ intellects - hence, the establishment of the Taiwan museum, it is believed, also included such a purpose. Nevertheless, one focal point cannot be ignored: the Japanese economic intentions. Regardless of the

10 Departed from Yokohama (Japan) on Dec. 23, 1871; a large-scale farewell meeting was held then. The person himself who was dispatched to survey the foreign country was the policy-making person and would respond in reforming government administration in the future.

11 In August, 1917, he established Okura Shukokan, which was indeed a forerunner of private art museums in Japan.

first educational museum¹² built in Tainan, or the largest Taiwan Viceroy Museum in the Japanese ruling period, their establishing purposes were often having a close relation with the economic development or educations (Chen Chi Nan 2009:68 – 75).

For example, the forerunner of the Viceroy Museum was the commodity exhibition hall, affiliate to Product Bureau of the Civil Department, Taiwan Viceroy Office, established in 1899 (the 32nd year of Japanese Meiji Era). In 1908, the Taiwan Viceroy Office announced its intention to establish “The museum affiliate to Product Bureau of the Civil Department, Taiwan Viceroy Office¹³” that gave the original commodity exhibition hall the appellation of “Museum”. The baroque building of the museum used to be a hall in memory of Viceroy Kodama Gentarō and Civil Administrator Gotō Shimpei for their “Merit of governing Taiwan” in 1906, the construction fund of which was raised by a donation activity of “One Person, One ringgit” launched by the Viceroy's Office. Upon completion in 1915, this building was donated to the Viceroy's Office and designated to an exclusive use under the name of the “Museum affiliate to Product Bureau of the Civil Department, Taiwan Viceroy Office”, thereafter; the name was changed to the Viceroy Museum. Viewing from the origin of the Viceroy Museum's history, it seemed not so obvious in terms of the connection with the sector of “Enlightening nationals' intellects” that Japan had learned from the West; instead, it had more correlations with the “Commodities” and the “Industries” in respect of Japan--- how to exploit the resource of Taiwan, and how to comprehend the geographic and cultural ecology and use it. After the Viceroy Museum¹⁴ was formally established in 1915, the classification of its exhibits was divided into 10 categories respectively as the geological, mineral, animal, plant, human race, history, agriculture, forestry, aquatic product, mining industry, and the trading handicrafts, which were not too much different from the classification used in the exposition of the “Japan ruling Taiwan” exposition. Perhaps, in developments of the western museum, what we have seen is a tradition that the monarchs, aristocrats,

12 Educationist, 徳島 せいいち, who occupied an important status in the Japanese education museum, has made a definition of the educational museum as follows, the educational museum is not the center to display antiques but the center of scientific data, or an activity center to educate people. He also proposed four major functions to the said museum respectively as : produce various education tools and instruments; inspire people to study and create desires; cultivate people to have a learning fashion; and arouse government and society to value the education. Quoted from <http://w2.nioerar.edu.tw/basis1/693/947.htm> (2011/02/10)

13 The museum location then was set at the former lottery bureau building behind the presidential palace today.

14 Thereafter, it was renamed as the Taiwan Provincial Museum when the National Government moved to Taiwan in 1945, which is the National Taiwan Museum today.

explorers, and researchers collect exhibits and transfer them to the national museum; but the history of the Viceroy Museum directly reflects the requirements Japan demanded of its colony of Taiwan, i.e. Japan's economically and politically intense aims become the starting points for establishing the Taiwan museum.

Therefore, the museum in the Japanese ruling period can be regarded as a research institute of Japanese economic requirements in Taiwan, and a database for studying the ethnic groups of Taiwan. As Chen Jian-san assumed in the *Quarterly Journal Published by the Taiwan Museum*, "the principle of the Viceroy Museum shall be reviewed...all museums in entire Japan are laying stress on collection and display...tainted with a thick colony color". (1947 : 5) Even though, during the Colonial Era, Shiraki Tokuichi mentioned in *Essays of Thirty Year National Taiwan Museum Anniversary*, "the establishment of the Taiwanese museum ... is based on natural science and history of Taiwan... and the exhibitions aim to display these Taiwanese various rare, special information to the public...and these models were quite attractive to visitors. ... many valuable specimens were available for scholars to research and view" (1939:35).

1-3-3 The Taiwanese Public

How might the Taiwanese look at a museum full of economic, political, and significant purposes for scholars and researchers? We estimated that, on the very day of inauguration, the people who entered the Viceroy Museum (located at the former Lottery Building numbered 858 Japanese and 1005 Taiwanese; on the 25th day/1649 Japanese and 2249 Taiwanese. The 26th day was closed, and the 27th day was the festival of Taiwan Shrine, so the museum swarmed with lots of visitors and no admittance was issued from 2 P.M.: this day had a total of 10,472 visitors---1,565 Japanese, 8,903 Taiwanese, and 4 foreigners. On the 28th day, total 20,000 visitors entered the museum, so the relevant visiting time was also restricted (Mori Ushinosuke, 1925). "Maybe it is due to being newly open; people are teeming with curiosity to highly value it" (Chen Chi-nan, 2009: 91). However, seven years later, or from 1933 to 1941, visitors entering the Viceroy Museum (all known as the Kodama & Goto Memorial Hall) in 1935 rapidly increased because of the "40th Anniversary of Japan Governing Taiwan"; the number of visitors is specified as follows:

Table 1-1 Visitor figures of the Viceroy Museum from 1933 to 1941

Year	Total	Japanese	Taiwanese	Average
1933	169,078	80,126	88,952	491
1934	252,142	112,599	139,583	730
1935	1,254,979	633,511	621,468	3648
1936	184,264	92,467	91,449	535
1937	280,357	126,182	153,347	829
1938	172,792	77,821	93,906	511
1939	154,136	---	---	465
1940	147,566	---	---	442
1941	178,460	---	---	523

Opposite to museum visitors, a large amount of visitors are usually seen at an exposition. Not only in Taiwan but also around the world: for example, the Great Exhibition in 1851, Japanese First National Industrial Exhibition in 1877, and Taiwan Exposition in 1935 are good examples.

Table 1-2 Comparison of three expositions

Exhibition Name	The Great Exhibition	First National Industrial Exhibition	Taiwan Exposition: 40th Anniversary of Governance
Date	1851/5/1 – 10/11	1877/8/21 – 11/30	1935/10/10 – 11/28
Days	141	102	50
Visitors	6,039,195	450,000	2,738,895
Location	London Crystal Palace	Tokyo Ueno	Taipei Main Exposition Area
Exhibitors	13937 Great Britain : 7381 Foreign : 6556	16000 Exhibitors	40 Exhibition Halls
Ticket Price	Male: 3 Pounds		Regular: 20NTD

	Female: 2Pounds		Soldiers and Children: 10NTD
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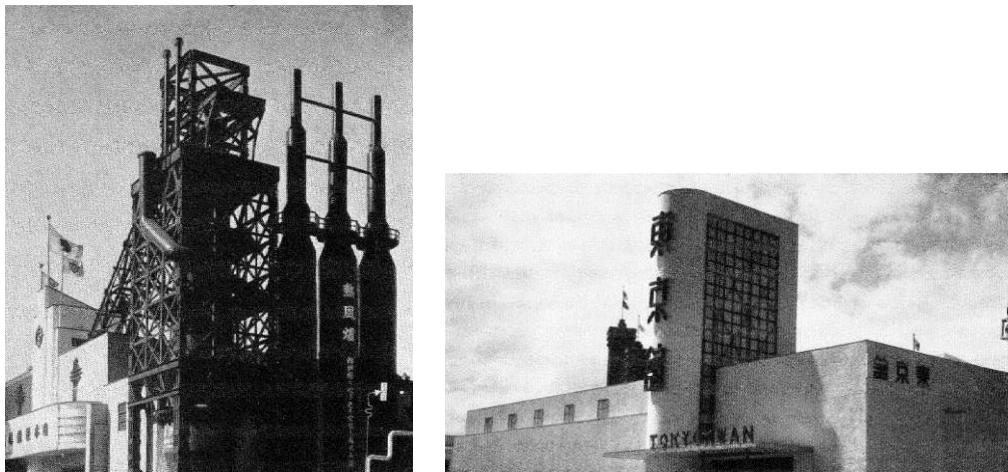


Figure 1-15 The Iron Pavilion (left) and Tokyo Pavilion(right) the exposition, 1935

Regardless of the subject and object of the exhibits, political intentions, the scale and building facilities, expositions resemble modern special exhibitions. Advertisements, various themes, souvenir stores, and etc. are often visible in the exposition. In addition, the motivation of visitors might be similar to Zhong Shao Hua, who visited the Taiwanese Exposition in 1935: “Touring this (Jinan) pavilion is exhilarating. The displays of other pavilions were also surprising and shocking. Each displayed item was practical and useful. Everything is urgently needed in Taiwan” (Zhong Shao Hua 1991). Cheng Jia Hui also pointed out in *Taiwan's First Fair* (2004) that “in the colonial celebration arranged by the Japanese, Taiwanese exposition visitors were not in agreement with Japanese political stance. However, the exposition gave an opportunity for the Taiwanese people to learn and expand their horizons” (2004:189). As we shall see from the analysis of visitor motivation in Chapter 3, contemporary visitors often see learning and expanding horizons as the main motivation of visitors. Since the beginning of The Great Exhibition, the main difference between the exposition and the market is that “there are no price tags. The displayed items are solely for exhibition and implicit educational purposes” (Lu Shao Li 2005:54-55). Various activities and commercial operations to satisfy visitors, and entertainment, were other ways to interact with visitors in expositions. These might be the reasons why expositions attract more visitors than museums.



Figure 1-16 The inside view of the South Pavilion, displayed the South Asia Culture, this area were occupied by the Japanese during the time



Figure 1-17 the Shopping area in the exposition, 1935



Figure 1-18 the Tobacco booth in the exposition, 1935

Special exhibitions are similar to expositions in marketing strategies. Special exhibitions are more attractive to visitors in terms of subjects, displays, creativity, and timing. Although museums have been open to the public since the Japanese Colonial Era, the museum visitors belonged to certain class. “New parks of Kodama Gotou Memorial Museum were the hangout place of the Japanese, not the Taiwanese. Kodama Gotou Memorial Museum’s symbol of civilization is strongly highlighted” (Lee Shang Ying 2005). Other than Japanese, most visitors were foreign tourists. In 1925, the *Tourist Travel Guide* designed by the Department of Railways suggested Taipei Jiantan Temple, Sotokufu, museum, library, Botanical Garden, Exhibition

Center, Academia Sinica, and agricultural markets as the must-go tourist spots in Taipei (Yeh Long Yang 2003). A museum presents a holistic concept, which includes the collection, exhibition, the building and national symbol. Nowadays, under the trend of special exhibitions, this holistic concept of the museum has changed. From the survey conducted by the National Museum of History in 2010, 67 per cent of visitors visited the museum for special exhibitions, 16 per cent of visitors for leisure purposes, 9 per cent of visitors were passers-by, and 2 per cent were travelers. The surveys show the motives of most visitors is clear: that is, to see the special exhibition. If the museums in Taiwan do not recognize this threat and utilize their advantages, they will soon be underestimated in their function and value. Then the museum for the public might just be another exhibition center.

The same result can be found also in Chen Youn's research. In her "Survey and Analysis of the Visitors to the Monet Exhibition at the National Palace Museum", it shows that the visitors to the exhibition comprised both a "mass audience" and a "specialist audience." The mass audience mainly comprised young people educated to junior college level or above, with women outnumbering men by two to one. These visitors had been stimulated to visit the National Palace Museum to see the Monet exhibition by the promotional campaign in the newspapers, and most of them only went to see the exhibition once; these were often people who were not regular visitors to the National Palace Museum. The specialist audience was mostly older people, generally with more knowledge of the arts, and more demanding in terms of what they expected from an exhibition. Many of the members of this group visited the Monet exhibition twice, or even more; a considerable percentage of them were regular visitors to the National Palace Museum (Chen Yuan, 1993: 42). The vast majority of the visitors to the Monet exhibition were "art tourists" who had been influenced to visit the exhibition by the reportage in the media, not regular museum-goers. Only 6.8 per cent of the visitors to the Monet exhibition reported visiting the National Palace Museum regularly; the overwhelming majority of visitors were people for whom the special exhibition was their sole reason for visiting the Museum, and who would normally have gone there rarely, if ever (Chen Yuan, 1993: 39). While the Monet exhibition was on, the National Palace Museum received 230,000 more visitors than it did during the same period (February – April) the previous year. This exhibition sparked off a new "mass movement" of people visiting the National Palace Museum,

and brought about the integration of the special exhibition into museum operation; ever since, the special exhibition has been an important operational strategy for museums in Taiwan.

Probably because of the special exhibition's ability to attract large numbers of visitors, special exhibitions suddenly became one of the main strategies used by museums to boost visitor numbers. This process, which had started with the National Palace Museum's Monet exhibition in 1993, was continued in 1997 with the collaboration between Taiwan's National Museum of History and the Musée d'Orsay in Paris on the holding of the "Golden Age of Impressionism" exhibition¹⁵, which was subsequently also hosted by the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts. Over a period of six months, more than one million people visited this exhibition in Taipei or Kaohsiung. According to the Annual Report of the National Museum of History (2002) in 2001, the "Terracotta Warriors" exhibition at the National Museum of History attracted over one million visitors in the space of three months. The tendency for people to only visit museums when a special exhibition was being held made museums increasingly dependent on special exhibitions as a means of boosting visitor numbers. Whereas a special exhibition had originally been merely an exhibition of a special kind, it had now taken on the connotation of a "blockbuster" exhibition. While not every special exhibition succeeded in attracting large numbers of visitors, there was still an increasingly pronounced trend for people to visit museums in order to see special exhibitions, and the number of special exhibitions being held grew steadily larger.

Unlike the Japanese colonial time, the expositions seemed to be more quiet: in the early days, museums were the social places for the leisure class, and they were a small niche market. This research institute was distant from the Taiwanese public until the end of the Japanese colonial era to the early period of the Republic of China government¹⁶. Due to Taiwan being under Japanese rule for fifty years (1895 - 1945AD), in the ROC government, the museum started to have a new mission to renovate Chinese culture: therefore, the museum was continued as a social education institution.

15 The "Golden Age of Impressionism" exhibition featured 60 masterpieces of French painting from the late nineteenth century.

16 1912, Sun Yat-sen overthrew the Qing government, the establishment of the Republic of China, but also entered a long period of war, whether a civil war or war against Japan. Japan was defeated in 1945, and Taiwan was returned to China. The Republic of China after the wars had been unable to battle with the Communist's Liberation Army. Therefore, it settled back in Taiwan and the current situation arose: the Republic of China in Taiwan and the People's Republic of China in China's.

Due to an order of martial law, any kind of public activities were strictly under control. Therefore, the rate of the exhibition became less and the museum had been taking the important role for this purpose. After 1987AD, martial law ended, and the public activities became more and more. Under the emphasis of the New Museology on the importance of combining museums with society, special exhibitions became one important strategy for opening to the public. In 1993, the “Monet and Impressionist Painting Special Exhibition” by the National Palace Museum in Taipei attracted more than 310,000 visitors in two months¹⁷. The number of visitors was thrice as much as the previous exhibitions. Since then, government institutions and private organizations have started to cooperate and organize more special exhibitions. This exhibition, which has generally been seen as the first special exhibition to be held by a Taiwanese national museum, possessed several of the key characteristics that have come to be associated with Taiwan’s special exhibitions: collaboration with the Taiwanese major newspaper companies; exhibiting items transported to Taiwan from overseas, adoption of a thematic approach based on well-known subjects for Taiwanese society; and the use of a ticketing system distinct from the museum’s usual ticket sales. The main reason for the holding of this exhibition by the National Palace Museum was the desire to break free from the image of the National Palace Museum as being purely a ‘Chinese culture’ museum; arranging for the loan of impressionist paintings from the Musée Marmottan Monet in France helped to demonstrate both the determination of the National Palace Museum to remake itself, and the internationalization of the Museum’s operations (Chen Yuan, 1993: 35).

One obstacle to the achievement of this objective was the high cost of holding an international exhibition; the cost of insuring the 66 impressionist paintings loaned for the exhibition came to 80 million pounds. This explains why four different bodies were involved in organizing the exhibition – the National Palace Museum, the Musée Marmottan Monet, the Dimension Endowment of Art, and the *China Times* – with another five organizations (Cathay Pacific, Shung Ye, Prince Housing & Development Corp., President Corporation, and French company Lancome) providing sponsorship.

17 This exhibition is organized under the cooperation of National Palace Museum, Dimension Endowment of Art, and China Times. The 66 Impressionist works were borrowed from Musée Marmottan. The exhibition was the first Impressionist exhibition in Taiwan. From February 20, 1993 to April 25, the exhibition attracted 312,372 visitors.

A number of Taiwanese government agencies also provided funding support or other assistance; they included the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Council for Cultural Affairs (now the Ministry of Culture), the Ministry of Education, the Government Information Office, etc. Whether from the point of view of manpower, funding or political/diplomatic relationships, the exhibition required collaboration between the government and the private sector in order to be implemented successfully. For this special exhibition, the National Palace Museum overhauled its lighting system, security systems, temperature and humidity controls, interior layout, etc., to bring them up to the standard necessary for hosting an international exhibition. The exhibition was also supported by extensive coverage in the media, as well as by the holding of a “Monet Arts Festival,” at which performing arts troupes were invited to perform at the National Palace Museum, generating a veritable “Monet-mania.”



Figure 1-19 The former president, Lee Teng-Hui visited the Monet exhibition in National Palace Museum, Taipei.

The Monet exhibition set the basic pattern for future special exhibitions in Taiwan: the government and the private sector collaborating to cover the high cost of putting on the exhibition; support from the media in the form of extensive reporting on the exhibition; the organizing of related artistic and cultural activities to accompany the exhibition, to stimulate interest among the general public. Over the ensuing two decades, special exhibitions have established themselves as an important leisure activity that forms part of the modern lifestyle in Taiwan. In addition to using special exhibitions as the main strategy to attract visitors to museums and art galleries,

cultural and creative parks, memorial halls, libraries, and even department stores have also adopted similar operational models. This phenomenon reflects the impact of special exhibition visitors in Taiwan, and it should not be underestimated. Under the influence of the special exhibition trend led by national museums, special exhibition visitors were mainly interested in special exhibitions so it was difficult to treat them as regular museum visitors. Therefore, in order to attract visitors, museums started to organizing special exhibitions. It might not be expected that, while the museum has been attracting the special exhibition visitors, the special exhibition visitor has also been affecting the museum's management. The best example can be seen in the National Museum of History.

Chapter 2

An Institution Famous for Special Exhibitions – The National Museum of History, Taipei

In 2000, the Qin Terracotta Warriors exhibition at the National Museum of History (NMH) attracted millions of people in 90 days. This represents the point at which NMH officially entered the era of special exhibitions. The Qin Terracotta Warriors exhibition is not the first international exhibition at the NMH, nor the first special exhibition. In 1955, the government of the Republic of China established the first museum for cultural educational functions and diplomatic missions. Since the 1960s, the international exchange exhibition policy is one of the long-term missions of the museum. It becomes the main museum strategy. In this chapter, it is discussed how the national museum became one of the most famous special exhibition venues. The visitor research reports, annual reports and visitors' comments will be analyzed to explore this subject.

The National Museum of History, Taipei (NMH) began to adopt a special exhibition strategy that involved close collaboration with the media back in 1996, with the holding of the *The Golden Age of Impressionism – Masterpieces of the Musée d'Orsay* exhibition. Today, the holding of special exhibitions has become an integral, ongoing element in the NMH's marketing and managing strategy. Special exhibition visitors constitute the most important group of visitors for the NMH; a year in which a large-scale special exhibition is held will always see a dramatic rise in visitor numbers (Figure 2.1). Special exhibitions have thus become one of the key methods by which the Museum seeks to attract the attention of potential visitors.

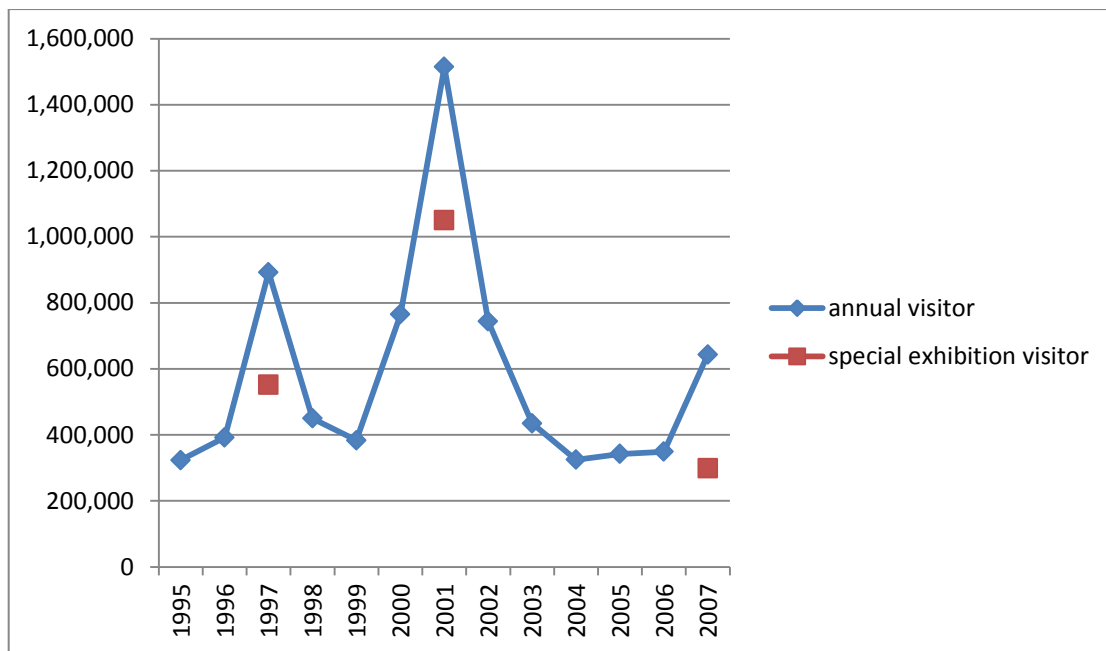


Figure 2-1: Numbers of Visits to the National Museum of History 1995-2007 (Data from NMH Annual Reports)

Whereas in the past the NMH's exhibitions were generally related to either art or history, the range of themes addressed has now become far more diversified, including the art of Disney's animated films, pop-up books, and a *Petit Louvre* exhibition which involved reducing famous art works from the Louvre to miniature versions. In the past, the NMH normally held only one special exhibition a year; now, there are special exhibitions going on all year round. In the past, the strategic purpose behind the holding of special exhibitions was partly to promote international exchange with overseas museums, but more importantly to encourage the general public to make more use of museums.

While the museum visit rate has been higher because of the special exhibition strategy, the intention to bring the public to the museum seems less convincing. Due to the structure of the NMH building, the special exhibition entrance is different from the Museum's main entrance. Thus, one particular benefit for special exhibition holders is they can enter the museum's regular exhibition for free. Figure 2.2 shows that even though it is free to enter the museum for other exhibitions, quite a lot of the special exhibition visitors do not seem keen to see other exhibitions in the museum. If the special exhibition is the part of museum's marketing strategy to attract the public to visit and promote the museum, the result suggests differently; that the museum is

more like the special exhibition venue rather than the museum itself. The special exhibition visitor seems only interested in attending the special exhibition and the other parts of the museum remain unvisited.

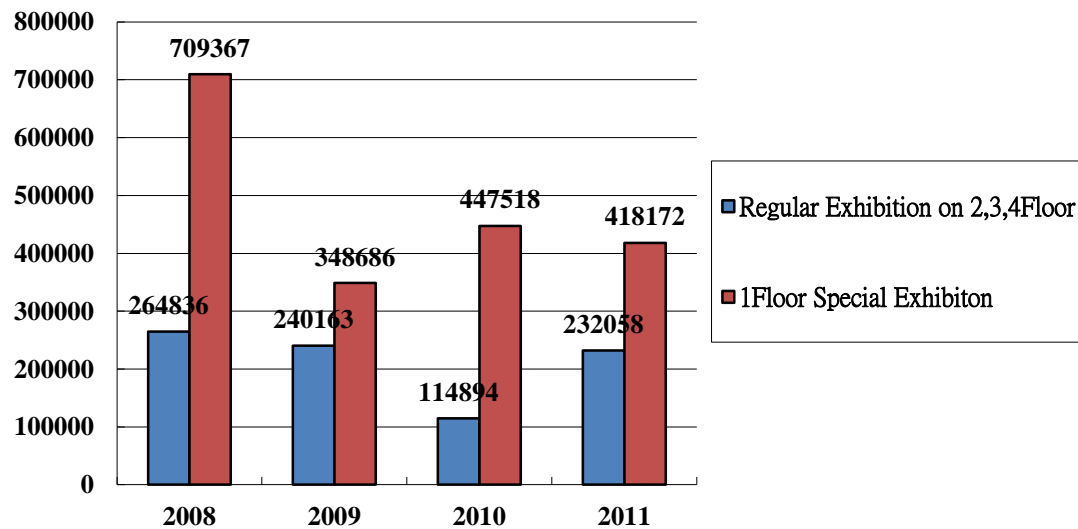


Figure 2-2: The visits of regular exhibitions and special exhibition in NMH (data provided by NMH)

However, not every special exhibition is capable of attracting the usual special exhibition visitor, and the fact that a special exhibition is similar to other exhibitions that have been held before does not guarantee that it will be able to attract the same people to come and see it. Examination of the visitor numbers for the special exhibitions that have been held at the NMH over the period 1999 – 2012 throws some light on this situation (see Figure 2.3):

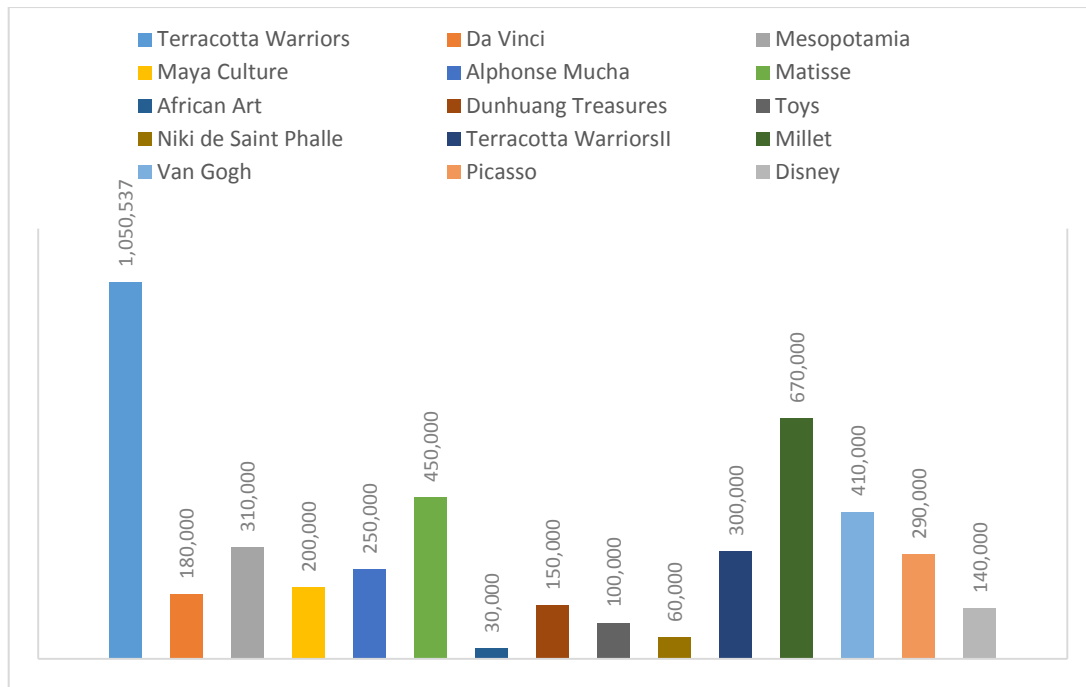


Figure 2.3: Numbers of visitors to special exhibitions held at the NMH (data provided by NMH)

As can be seen from the figure shown above, the number of people visiting a special exhibition at the NMH has varied considerably depending on the nature of the exhibition. The special exhibition held at the NMH during this period covered a wide range of different themes, from the work of Impressionist painters, through the Terracotta Warriors of Qin Dynasty China and the relics of ancient Mesopotamian civilization, to the art of Alphonse Mucha. However, it is significant that the number of visitors varied significantly even between exhibitions of the same type. For example, Matisse and Niki de Saint Phalle are both artists, and yet the Matisse exhibition attracted far more visitors; similarly, the number of visitors to the two exhibitions of Terracotta Warriors held at the NMH in 2000 and 2007 was dramatically different. The theme of a special exhibition is thus not necessarily the main factor influencing why members of the public choose to visit that exhibition. Given the difficulty in predicting whether a given exhibition will be popular with the general public, there is a risk that holding special exhibitions on too wide a range of different themes may dilute a museum's unique character and thematic focus. At the same time, even if a museum does try to ensure that all of its special exhibitions relate to its thematic focus, there is no guarantee that different exhibitions with similar themes will prove equally attractive to visitors.

While museums continue to make use of special exhibitions as a major element in their operational strategy, the trend towards diversification of exhibition content and towards more inter-disciplinary exhibitions has been questioned among academics and experts. The biggest single challenge for the NMH today is to strike the right balance in the relationship between the museum itself, special exhibitions, and special exhibition visitors. In order to find the right direction, it is important to review the origins of the National Museum of History.

2-1 The Origins of the National Museum of History, Taipei

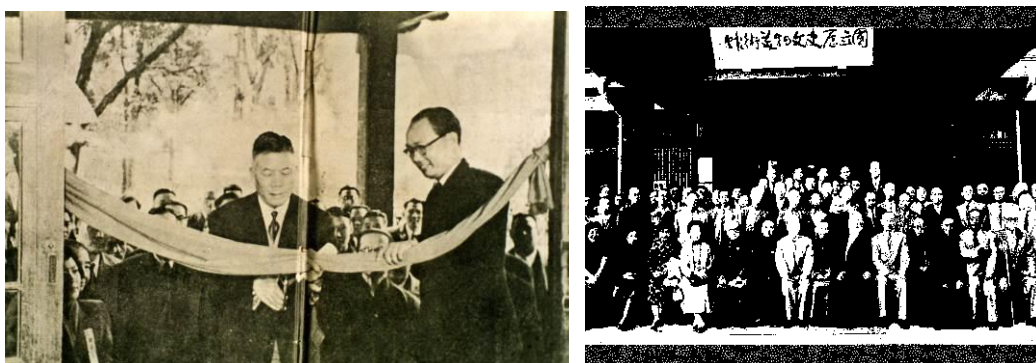


Figure 2-4 The opening ceremony of National Museum of Historical Artifact and Fine Art (previous National Museum of History)

The development of museums and art galleries in Taiwan has followed a significantly different path from that of China or the U.K., for example. Although the basic concept of the “museum” derives from the West, in Taiwan’s case the establishment of the first museums was closely linked to Japan. Whereas in China the first museums were founded by missionaries, and in Europe the first museums were created by wealthy collectors or members of the aristocracy, in Taiwan the establishment of the first museums came about because, at the time, Taiwan was ruled by the Japanese government. Examination of the origins of Taiwan’s museums therefore needs to be based on an awareness of the how the concept of museums developed in Japan. This could be seen as the first step for the Taiwanese public to experience either the exhibition culture or the museum. Since then, the development of the museum or the exhibition culture finds a similarity to that of the Japanese public.

While the National Taiwan Museum may be the first “national” museum to have been established in Taiwan, the National Museum of History (NMH) was the first national museum to be established following the withdrawal of the Chinese Nationalist government to Taiwan at the end of the Chinese Civil War in 1949. Wang Yu-Ch’ing, a former Director of the NMH, recalls that the establishment of the Museum was first proposed by the then Minister of Education Chang Chi-yun:

he wanted to have the treasures from the Forbidden City in Peking, which at that time were being kept in storage in Wufeng, exhibited to the public in Taipei, to help strengthen historical and cultural education, and to facilitate the selection of items that could be loaned out for overseas exhibitions in concert with the R.O.C.’s diplomatic efforts(NMH 2002). However, the National Palace Museum management committee would not agree to the scheme, so he decided to establish a new museum himself.¹⁸

Another former NMH Director, Ho Hao-Tien, recalls that, when he went to visit the proposed site for the new museum in 1955,

the sight that presented itself to my eyes was a wooden building constructed by the Japanese in ‘Chinese’ style fifty years before, which was being used to house 54 Post Office workers and their families; what with the open drains, washing lines everywhere, and loads of chickens and ducks allowed to run about at will, it was an absolute pig-sty! How could this possibly be the site for a museum?¹⁹

This “pig-sty” had been an industrial exhibition hall during the era of Japanese rule. After Taiwan was handed back to China in 1945, the building’s proximity to the Botanical Gardens led to it being assigned to the Forestry Research Institute, who in turn leased it to the Post Office for use as employee housing. The new museum, which had been the brainchild of a single government official, and which was built in the space of 100 days with a budget of just NT\$50,000, was officially opened on March

18 Wang Yu-Ching, 'Forty Years of the National Museum of History,' in *Collected Papers in Celebration of the Fortieth Anniversary of the Founding of the National Museum of History*, National Museum of History, (Taipei, NMH,1995), pp. 25 – 32.

19 'The National Museum of History Belongs to Everyone – An Interview with Museum Director Ho Hao-Tien,' *Lion Art*, 120 (1982:35)

12, 1956; in 1957, President Chiang Kai-shek renamed the museum (which had originally been called the “National Museum of Historical Artifacts and Fine Arts”) the National Museum of History (Figure 2-4/2-5/2-6). When the new museum was first opened, it was lampooned in the media as being a “museum of vacuum (NMH 2002:8)”, because up until June 1956, the museum had little in the way of actual exhibits; the objects on display consisted largely of plant specimens, models, and photographs, along with some contemporary reproductions of older works. The plan was for the museum to cover “every aspect of Chinese history,” with twenty exhibition rooms housing a wide range of content, including sacrificial vessels, musical instruments, artifacts relating to Chinese opera, transportation equipment, scholars’ writing utensils, furniture, displays relating to past and present capital cities of China, famous buildings, traditional clothing, textiles, tools, printing techniques, street entertainers, portraits, religious artifacts, displays relating to the Dunhuang murals, traditional painting and calligraphy and so on. In 1956, the Ministry of Education transferred a collection of artifacts that had originally belonged to Honan Provincial Museum, and cultural artifacts (that had been stolen from China) recovered from the Japanese, to the new museum. The museum now had proper collections of its own, and it began to reorganize its exhibition rooms, replacing many of the replicas, models and photographs with genuine historic artifacts. From 1958 onwards, the National Museum of History received funding support from the Association of Asian Studies in the USA. Three large exhibition halls were created within the Museum building – for ancient artifacts, fine arts and handicrafts respectively – and over the period 1959 – 1961 most of the replicas and reproductions were replaced by real artifacts. As there were very few suitable venues for art exhibitions in Taiwan at that time, and as the National Museum of History was centrally located in Taipei city center, there were increasingly frequent requests from contemporary artists to hold art shows in the Museum, and the range of exhibitions held by the Museum gradually expanded to include contemporary art exhibitions. In 1961, a new National Gallery was formally established within the Museum building, which became the most prestigious venue in Taiwan for fine arts exhibitions.



Figure 2-5 The Commercial Venue in the Japanese Colony (Now the National Museum of History is in the same location)

Figure 2-6 1956 National Museum of Historical Artifact and Fine Art (previous National Museum of History)

The National Museum of History began to play an important role in the development of the fine arts in Taiwan. Besides providing a venue for art exhibitions, for many years the Museum was also involved with international art exhibitions such as Brazil's Sao Paulo Art Biennial and the Biennale de la Jeunesse exhibition in Paris. At the time, these two exhibitions constituted the most important opportunity for young Taiwanese artists to gain direct exposure to the wider international art world. Although screening entries for international art exhibitions was somewhat divorced from the goals for which the National Museum of History was originally founded, given that the Museum's status as being directly administered by the Ministry of Education gave it a role to play in the implementation of government policy, and given the lack of any other, specialist, modern art museum in Taiwan at the time, the National Museum of History naturally ended up taking on extra tasks of this nature that were at least tangentially related to its mission. The National Museum of History thus developed a unique identity; besides being a museum, it also effectively functions as Taiwan's National Gallery.

From the 1970s onwards, with the R.O.C.'s withdrawal from the United Nations and the establishment of new, specialist modern art museums in Taiwan, the National Museum of History ceased to be involved with the screening of entries for major international art exhibitions. However, the importance of the Museum's National Gallery to the development of the arts in Taiwan remains just as significant as ever, and the Museum continues to invite leading contemporary artists to exhibit at the

Museum. In recent years, the Museum has also become involved in another “special” activity – the holding of special exhibitions.

2-2 Special Exhibitions at the National Museum of History

When viewed in terms of international exchange and the uniqueness of the items exhibited, it is clear that, right from when it was first established, the National Museum of History was entrusted with a “cultural diplomacy” mission, which often involved hosting exhibitions of modern art from other countries. One example was the special exhibition of famous French paintings that was held in May 1956. This exhibition included works representative of the major European styles of the nineteenth century, including realist, impressionist, fauvist and cubist paintings. This exhibition attracted large numbers of visitors, and the works were also shown in other parts of Taiwan, including Tainan, Kaohsiung, Taichung and Hualien. This first “special exhibition” of Western Art was repeated in 1963.



Figure 2-7 The Exhibition of Moon Rocks, 1970

Figure 2-8 The Crowd for the Moon Rocks, 1970

If the number of visitors is taken as an indicator of the importance of a special exhibition, then the Exhibition of Moon Rocks²⁰ (Figure 2-7) that was held at the National Museum of History in 1970, and which attracted a total of around 350,000 visitors (Figure 2-8) , must be considered a great success. In 1984, the National

20 When the first American astronauts landed on the Moon in 1968, they collected samples of rocks from the Moon’s surface to take back to Earth. When U.S. Vice President Spiro Agnew visited Taiwan in 1969, he brought with him a gift of moon rocks, which the Ministry of Foreign Affairs subsequently transferred to the National Museum of History to be exhibited there. The exhibition also featured displays relating to the role of the Moon in traditional Chinese literature, and to the development of space travel technology.

Museum of History collaborated with the University of Pennsylvania on an Exhibition of Ancient Egypt and its Antiquities.²¹ This exhibition was shown not only in Taipei, but also in Tainan, Taichung, and Kaohsiung, and attracted considerable interest. It was followed in 1987 by a similar exhibition on the Maya civilization, which proved equally popular. In terms of the number of people that came to see them, these exhibitions could all be classed as special exhibitions. As to why the National Museum of History did not continue with this strategy, holding exhibitions the theme of which was determined by the Museum's own focus, and without charging high admission fees, the main reason is that, in the past, the limited number of museums and art galleries in Taiwan meant that funding support from the government tended to be concentrated on a limited number of national museums; the government was thus able to provide meaningful assistance with the holding of large-scale exhibitions. As the number of museums and art galleries in Taiwan increased, the amount of subsidy that the government was able to provide to any one institution fell. At the same time, with the increased competition between museums to meet visitor needs and provide a superior museum environment, the range of services that museums needed to provide grew steadily broader, and their personnel costs rose ever higher. This created a situation where, in order to be able to hold special exhibitions, museums desperately needed outside assistance, and it was this that led to the growing involvement of the media in museum operation.

The first collaboration between the National Museum of History and the media was not in fact related to funding. It began with an exhibition of Picasso's ceramics in 1981 which included 168 works from the collection of the Hakone Open-Air Museum in Japan. The exhibition planning was undertaken by Japanese newspaper company Sankei Shimbun Co., Ltd.; Ch'in Hsiao-Yi, the former Director of the National Palace Museum, played an important part in bringing the exhibition about. The high cost of insuring the exhibits – US\$10 million – became a major focus of attention in the media. The President of Sankei Shimbun Co., Ltd. made a special trip to Taiwan to attend the opening ceremony for the exhibition. This exhibition marked the beginning of the development of a stronger collaborative relationship between the National

21 This exhibition, which was held at the National Museum of History between 7 September and 21 October, 1984, included a total of 181 exhibits, covering five broad themes: the gods and religion of ancient Egypt, and ancient Egyptian lifestyles, funerary practices, culture, and art. Guidance for the holding of the exhibition was provided by an Egyptologist from the University of Pennsylvania, Dr. O'Connor.

Museum of History and the media. Extensive media involvement in museum exhibition planning was something that began in Japan at an earlier date than in Taiwan; as with the Japanese model of museum establishment, it had considerable influence on how the Taiwanese museum sector has developed. Subsequently, when the National Palace Museum collaborated with Russia's Hermitage Museum on an exhibition on the Hsi-Hsia culture ("Vanished Kingdom of the Silk Road") that was held over the period from 14 August to 20 September, 1994, the Min-sheng Pao newspaper (which at that time was Taiwan's leading leisure and entertainment oriented newspaper) was involved in the preparations for the exhibition. Besides providing NT\$1.5 million in sponsorship, the Min-sheng Pao also published a series of articles in its Culture section relating to the exhibition, providing information about the cultural, aesthetic and technological background to individual Hsi-Hsia artifacts. As the frequency with which special exhibitions are held at the National Museum of History has increased, the collaborative relationship between the Museum and the media has become steadily closer. Whereas in the past media involvement was limited to simple sponsorship or reportage, now the media have their own activity teams with exhibition planning capabilities that work together with the National Museum of History on the planning of exhibitions, and are constantly arranging for the Museum to host exhibitions that have little or nothing to do with the Museum's original focus. The holding of exhibitions on pop-up books and the art of Disney animation, and the replica Michelangelo exhibition that relied largely on reproductions, have led to questioning of the Museum's positioning in many quarters²². As a national museum, and one of Taiwan's most historic museums, the National Museum of History needs to think carefully how its extensive involvement with this kind of special exhibition will appear in the eyes of the general public.

2-3 Discussion of Documents: Reports of Visitors to the National Museum of History

A blog named "Comments about the special exhibitions in National Museum of

22 The most frequent question is similar to Lien Li-li's in the article, 'When Sun-chin-dai meets Disney'. She questions the Disney exhibition, which is full of the public culture and entertainment, suggesting it infringed the mission of National Museum of History. The content of this special exhibition is not for the 'national' 'history' museum.

History from Millet to Legends of the Silk Road Exhibition” has harshly criticised the National Museum of History. The content of the blog is the following:

If I ask anyone for the reason to go to the National Museum of History, I believe most people would say “special exhibition”.

If a survey is conducted for this question, special exhibition is definitely on the top of the list of responses. Therefore, should the name “National Museum of History” be changed to “Center of Special Exhibition”? The purpose and mission of the museum have already been lost, and museum staff has failed to research, interpret, service, and educate.

From the recent special exhibitions such as “Millet Exhibition” and “Legend of Silk Road”, what do people see? I believe most people would say noise, lack of order, unprofessional docents, poor curating ability and services.

The purpose of display is to educate, and the purpose of an exhibition is to communicate. Although the large amount of visitors brought a fortune to the museum, the National Museum of History has failed to achieve its educational purpose. I believe many museum staff would be ashamed if they review and find out their exhibitions lack curating ability and services. After all, museums are non-profit organizations.

How to guide visitors to appreciate and understand art, sublime intelligence, attitude and vision is the most important purpose of educational institutions.

*The quality of exhibitions organized by the National Museum of History is intolerable, and they should stop fooling the general public.*²³



Figure 2-9 The crowd for the Millet exhibition

23 From <http://blog.xuite.net/miccjp/bottle/23202727>. Visiting Date: 2011/08/16

This may be the blogger's unique thoughts, but it may also be empathized with. Are special exhibitions in contrast with the definition of national museums? What are the expectations of special exhibition visitors? How can national museums accomplish their expectations? The visitor reports from 2005 to the Picasso exhibition from National Museum of History might help to understand the visitors' perspectives and improve museums.

The reports are based on three exhibitions: *Millet and his Time: Masterpieces from the Musée d'Orsay* (Millet Exhibition) in 2008, *Legends of Heroes: the Heritage of the Three Kingdoms Era* (Three Kingdoms Exhibition) in 2010, and *Van Gogh: The Flaming Soul* (Van Gogh Exhibition) in 2010. Public opinions gained from the museum complaint sheet and the website is also good ways of understanding the visitors. Therefore, these opinions are also included into this analysis to understand the museum visitor's thoughts. Although some visitors might be overly expressive in words, they are still valuable. Through the reports and public opinion, it might be found that special exhibition visitors present some characteristics.

Firstly, people who are not regular museum visitors²⁴ are the majority in the special exhibition and their main purpose is to learn. Non-regular visitors' percentage in the Millet exhibition visitor survey is 67 percent, in the Three Kingdoms exhibition, 63 percent, and in the Van Gogh exhibition, 58 percent. From these numbers, it suggests that visiting museums might become a leisure option for the general public. According to Hood's report (1983), these non-regular museum visitors have three features: they like contact with others, enjoy being actively involved, and seek a comfortable environment. These visitors are usually accompanied by friends or family members; 40 percent of visitors in the Van Gogh exhibition were accompanied by friends, 34 percent were accompanied by family members, and only 10 percent were alone. These results also coincide with McManus' research (1987) which points out those most non-regular museum visitors are rarely alone. Visiting museums is an activity that involves interactions with others. However, most visitors visit museums for educational purposes: 45 percent of the Millet exhibition visitors and 40 percent of the Van Gogh exhibition visitors are willing to learn. These results are in accordance with the purpose and mission of museums.

24 These are visitors who have only been to a museum once or twice within a year.

Secondly, visitors expect to satisfy their curiosity, but their memories of the exhibition are related to the visiting experience. Davis (2005) pointed out that the research reports from 1994 to 2004 indicate that although lifestyle, age, and educational background are the way to classify visitors, people with an inquisitive mind are the real participants in museums. Visitors want to see what they want (McIntyre 2007). This situation can be seen on the complaint sheet; people who were not able to see *Star at Night over the Rhone* or *Café Terrace at Night* would declare a decreased satisfaction in the Van Gogh exhibitions. One visitor even requested a ticket refund. This might indicate that famous paintings in an exhibition are a way to satisfy curiosity and an important driving force to attract the special exhibition visitors. The investigation of special exhibitions discovered that the subjects of special exhibitions have been the main driving force to attract visitors. Therefore, during planning, subjects are thoroughly considered. However, from the interviews conducted by the National Museum of History, results have shown that most visitors rarely have much memory of the exhibition contents²⁵.

The Exhibition of Pan Yu Liang²⁶quality and quantity were fine so the ticket was not too overpriced. If I did not like it, I would not pay a penny to go.

(Interviewee 001)

First Terracotta Warrior exhibition, I remember it was really crowded, so if the crowd could be controlled the quality of exhibition would have been great. The way the exhibition was displayed was interesting and the marketing was fine. There were duplicates of Terracotta Warriors in the plaza for kids to take pictures with.

(Interviewee 013)

From the above interviews, it is not difficult to see that most experiences are based on personal feelings, understanding of exhibitions, and interactions²⁷ (Doering 1999, 53-55). For some people, the content of the exhibition might just fade away.

25 The following three comments are from the visitor research at the Millet exhibition (2007).

26 Pan Yu Liang was a famous Chinese female painter at the end of the nineteenth century. Her legend has been made into a TV drama and a film. This exhibition was her first solo exhibition in Taiwan, and the collection comes from the Anhui Museum, China.

27 Doering believes visitor experience can be divided into four types. 1. Personal feelings that include feeling for beauty and affection. 2. Perceptual feelings such as the feeling of receiving knowledge. 3. Feelings of sympathy. 4. Social experience with friends and family.

Thirdly, the evaluations of national museums are expected to be at “national” level. The National Museum of History is limited in space and many visitors have expressed this concern. The orders of the crowd and museums services are also related to the concern. In 193 complaint sheets, one eighth of the visitors suggested the crowd needs to be controlled. One sixth of the visitors suggested improvement of the museum staffs' attitude. The standard of evaluation is based on expectations associated with a “national” level, publicly funded institution.

I hope the staff on the third floor can improve their attitude. Do not discriminate against people with different age and profession. It is a “national” museum, which means the museum and staff represent the quality and level of our country. Hopefully you guys will improve.

Mr. Chen. Bancio²⁸, Taipei 2005/04/05

On 1 May, I visited your museum and was disappointed. Some people were too loud but were not reminded by the museum's staff. Other than providing exhibitions, the museum should educate visitors on museum manners.

Miss Huang. 2005/05/02

The word “national” in national museums is a representation of the country. Therefore, national museums should present themselves on a national scale. Services, staff attitude, display, facilities and so on are expected to be professional and to adhere to expectations of “national” level standards by the museum visitors.

Fourthly, some visitor suggestions conflict with each other, so the museum is challenged. Everyone has his or her demand and perspective. Satisfying different demands and opinions is an important lesson for national museums. After visiting the “Van Gogh Exhibition” with students, the principal of Wanli Junior High School mentioned in her article, *Van Gogh Exhibition with Student*:

In my headphone, I heard the tour guide said, “Only 50 percent of you are paying attention and the other half are not. This arrangement by the school is not right. If you are not interested, then do not come.” I wanted to argue, “Does interest

28 All reports and the interviews were conducted in Chinese, so all the name were originally shown in Chinese. In this thesis, all the names used in the reports or surveys are transliterated into English, not the interviewee's real English names.

precede education? If art is an education, should we ask if the kids are interested first?" Most kids are not interested in arts because most of them have not seen any exhibition, musicals, and museums. Can I say if they are not interested, they do not have to learn? ²⁹

Students are the majority of museum visitors. However, during special exhibitions, students and children have caused many major complaints. Even in 193 complaint sheets, 12 of them directly request that the special exhibitions need to have an age restriction.

I visited the "Millet Exhibition" on a weekday. I was disappointed because it was crowded and there were a lot of kids running around. School groups should be separated from regular visitors to avoid inconvenience.

Miss Tsao 2008/07/27

After visiting the "Millet Exhibition", I want to suggest the museum to restrict the young kids so other visitors would not be disturbed.

Miss Lee. Taipei City

From the visitor's comments, making the museum open for everyone seems to be debatable, but to restrict the right of visiting museums is definitely not the solution. As an informal educational institution, museums cannot force visitors to study and learn. Nowadays, feedback from the public is getting increasingly important for the museum. From all these different and various comments, how to solve all these different opinions and meet the diverse (sometimes contradictory) needs of visitors is the major challenge for all the national museums.

Last but not least, the way to attract the special exhibition visitor is through promotion and the presence of masterpieces. Although the crowded special exhibition in the NMH left a bad impression for most special exhibition visitors, most visitors would still recommend the friends and family to visit the museum. In the investigation of the Millet exhibition, 217 of 387 interviewees had bad impressions of the

²⁹ <http://sites.google.com/site/wljhsprc/words/conгдаixueshengkanfanguzhantanqi> Visiting Date: 2011/08/18

exhibition, but 80 percent³⁰ of them would still recommend people to go to the exhibition. The same conclusion was found in the Van Gogh exhibition as 80 percent³¹ of the interviewees would recommend the exhibition. It is an interesting situation that the special exhibition gains a good and bad reputation at the same time. The special exhibition visitors are attracted by the masterpieces, although the crowded situation caused complaints and uncomfortable situations, somehow, this could be understood. Therefore, the visitors might see this as the bad organization of the exhibition layout due to the unprofessional museum staff. The special exhibition seems to be a good exhibition, the museum, on the other hand, provides a bad service.

Attractive exhibition subjects and satisfactory services are what the Taiwanese basically expects from national museums. If national museums cannot achieve these criteria, they might fail to live up the expectations associated with their “national” title. It should be seriously considered that the definition of the “national” seems no longer a governmental institution or symbol of the nation, it is more related to the public expectation or use of the museum.

To sum up the visitor surveys and visitor complaint letters, it shows that the attractive exhibition subjects and the good service of the museum is always the key for the satisfaction. However, the survey results present differently:

The museum is like a market. There is no quality whatsoever.

Mr. Wang 2008/08/25

*The museum shop is like the supermarket. The shop assistants disappointed me.
If the shops were outside of the museum, it would be better.*

Mr. Luo 2010/01/07

Crowd issues should be the major concerns of the National Museum of History. Limited space and huge crowds decrease the quality of the visit, and then visitors blame these as being the results of lack of expertise. Furthermore, investment from cooperating organizations caused by limited government budget is perceived by some

30 16% would definitely recommend and 64% would recommend.

31 21.5% would definitely recommend and 63% would recommend.

as problematic. As one visitor commented:

In modern Taiwanese society, the dilemma of museums is that cultural value is based on economic value. Therefore, museums are strongly dependent on media and have forgotten their social responsibilities and have become like “World Trade Center” (Jian Yi Jing 2009/1/22).

It is unavoidable that special exhibitions are a type of investment for cooperating organizations so income demands are reasonable. It could be understandable why the cooperating organizations would over-sell tickets to ensure profit. However, it should not be an obstacle in providing good exhibitions to society. Since national museums are not just venues for display but also places to serve the people, their expertise and service quality should be emphasized and improved to match the “national” level.

Most special exhibition visitors visit special exhibitions because they are “famous”, “understandable”, and “unique”. The museum seems to have lost its role in front of the special exhibition visitor. What the visitors are mainly interested in is the special exhibitions, not the museum. While the special exhibition takes the more important role, special exhibitions affect museums’ management more seriously. The museums or their directors see the visitor rate and the public attention as the way to estimate the museum achievement; ironically, while the visiting experience is poor, “one-time” museum experience will occur, which is the phenomenon the museums worry about.

Visitor surveys reflect the visitor perspective on museums. Most visitors are special exhibition visitors and attracted by special exhibitions. It shows the museum service, experience, and themes are what visitors care about. To achieve “national” standards, museums need to understand the visitor concerns. From the special exhibition visitors, it turns out the facility and museum experience will be the major concern. The crowd affected the quality of the museum experience but at the same time, they can still be attracted by the famous artefacts or curiosity. Exhibition is really the motive for them: however, this presents difficulties around the best ways to serve these huge crowds which might not often happen in the museum. Meanwhile, the national museum also needs to strive for the standards which the public expects of

national level institutions.

2-4 Changes in the National Museum of History Based on Public and Societal Expectations

According to Eilean Hooper-Greenhill (2001), the museum - as a transmitter - transmits through media such as exhibitions and activities to visitors. The mutual interaction between museum and visitors would have impact on both sides. However, the museum's major group of visitors – the special exhibition visitor – comes to the museum with a very strong motive. This motive is based on special exhibitions. Visiting special exhibitions has been the popular culture and leisure activity for the Taiwanese society. National museums started this trend and have come to have no choice but to combine them with the museum management or even rely on them.

The exhibition is one of the important functions in the museum; exhibition is the direct way for the museum to interact with its visitors. However, exhibitions in the museum are expected to combine the museum's collection, research, education, and entertainment, but when museums are replaced by special exhibitions, which usually is a package loaned by other museums, culture institutions or commercial companies, this turns museums into exhibition venues. Whether museums will become venues is dependent upon the themes, subjects, and objects of displays. If the themes of special exhibitions are not in accordance with the nature and function of museums, then confusion might arise. For example, does *Imperial Treasures – Relics of Famen Temple Underground Palace and the Flourishing Tang* at the National Science and Technology Museum highlight the connection between arts and science? According to the objects and the forms of display which are emphasized in Tang culture and Buddhism, the collection and the museum are difficult to connect. The purpose of the exhibition is questionable since the exhibition toured from the National Museum of History. That the National Science and Technology museum and the National Museum of History can share the exactly same exhibition is interesting. Moreover, *The Stunning Pop-up Books* was also exhibited at two different places: the National Museum of History and Taichung Cultural & Creative Industries Park. Museums might not expect that using special exhibitions to attract visitors might lead to this situation. Now, museums might be venues for special exhibitions, but visiting the

normal galleries of museums is the first step for the visitors to understand museums. The next step should be to combine with special exhibition visitors and develop the museum's own special exhibition in order to achieve the museum's mission. However, the second step seems difficult to achieve in the museum due to the fact that the museum has been aimed towards the visitor orientation, as a result relying on the loan special exhibitions.

2-4-1 The Museum's Mission

A museum's mission can be thought of as guiding and directing the building and maintenance of the relationship between the museum's exhibition items, the transmission of meaning through those exhibition items, and the museum's visitors. Viewed in terms of the way that exhibition items are interpreted, a change in the museum's mission can be thought of as constituting a shift away from specialization towards a more generalist approach (Alexander, 1999:30-32). The Western museologists' views presented above can be illustrated with the following example. At the National Museum of History, the Museum's neolithic colored earthenware and Tang Dynasty tri-colored ceramics constitute some of the most important items in the Museum's collections. Reflecting this fact, in the past the Museum has held a large number of ceramics exhibitions, starting in the 1960s and 1970s. Although earthenware of largely historical significance could be seen as constituting a completely different field from modern ceramic art, with its emphasis on individual expression, the difference was not readily apparent to museum-goers in Taiwan during that era, which had had little exposure to modern ceramic art. The exhibition of the ceramic art of Wu Rhang-nung that was held in 1967, and the joint exhibition of modern ceramic art that was held in 1973,

can be seen as early exploratory ventures on the part of the National Museum of History in relation to the presentation of modern ceramic art, suggesting that the authorities had recognized the transformation taking place in the field of ceramics (Chien, 2011: 43).

This attempt by the National Museum of History to move beyond the circumscribed field of antiquities and historical artifacts in an attempt to introduce the

concept of modern ceramic art into Taiwan provided the stimulus for the holding of the Exhibition of Works by Contemporary Chinese and Japanese Ceramists in 1981.³² This exhibition provoked heated discussion in the media because of the pronounced disparity in quality between the works of the Taiwanese ceramists and of the Japanese ceramists; at the same time, it served to stimulate greater awareness of modern ceramic art among the general public in Taiwan.

The period from 1981 through to 1992 saw a renaissance in the ceramic arts in Taiwan. With no dedicated organization to support and guide the growth in the ceramic arts, the National Museum of History emerged as the biggest single promoter of ceramic art; the ‘seal of approval’ provided by the National Museum of History ensured that ceramics came to be seen as a fully-fledged member of the fine arts (Chien, 2011: 49).

Ceramics were no longer just something that you saw in a museum; they had become ceramic *art*, an art form that more and more people were learning about and becoming involved with. Through its exhibitions, the National Museum of History provided the general public with exposure to contemporary ceramic art based on completely different principles to those that underpinned ancient ceramics. Exhibitions represented the most direct and effective method of stimulating this interest on the part of the general public; the reporting of these exhibitions in the media contributed to the gradual emergence of a thriving contemporary ceramic art scene in Taiwan. One can see reflected here the fundamental mission of the museum, which is to collect artifacts and interpret their meaning to the general public, using exhibitions to educate the public, and encouraging the public to support their museums (Kotler, 1998: 29). David Dean has pointed out the inherent importance of exhibitions to the museum, noting that the motivation behind exhibitions is to make available artifacts and information for learning; the viewing of these items by the public constitutes a realization of the museum’s role, while at the same time strengthening the public’s trust in the museum as an organization dedicated to preserving the ‘records’ of society (Dean, 2006: 14).

32 The Exhibition, which was organized jointly by the Taipei office of the Japan Interchange Foundation and the National Museum of History, was held over the period January 13 – 22, 1981. The large number of visitors that the Exhibition received led to it being extended until January 28.

Preserving collection items and ensuring that they are made available for use by the public is of course an important responsibility for every museum. However, there is a danger that, if a museum becomes too focused on this aspect of its mission, ignoring the needs of contemporary society, the museum may find itself increasingly isolated, increasingly dependent on government funding, excessively orientated towards the needs of researchers (at the expense of other stakeholders), and generally out of touch. If a museum is unable to break away from this kind of subjectivism, if it fails to communicate with and build linkages with the general public, if it does not understand what society's current needs are, if it uses the importance of its own collections as an excuse for becoming inward-looking and exclusionary, and if it seeks to keep the outside world at a distance, afraid of "dumbing down" that could weaken the museum's perceived authority and status, then it is highly questionable whether a museum of this kind can truly be said to be fulfilling its mission and meeting the publics' needs.

Over the years, special exhibitions have proved to be extremely popular with museum-goers. In its essential aspects, a special exhibition also involves using exhibition items to transmit meaning to the public, with an emphasis on the educational function of display, seeking to stimulate support and enthusiasm for museums among the general public. The commercialization of special exhibitions and the influence of the media have both positive and negative effects, but the basic strategy of providing the public with special exhibitions should associate with the museum's fundamental mission. Organizing special exhibitions that appeal to the publics' interests can be thought of as a concrete step towards building linkages with society. A museum should be more than just its collections; there are also the museum buildings themselves, the museum staff, the accumulated research results, and the publics' memories of interacting with museum. All of these aspects represent an integral part of the museum.

2-4-2 How Museums Can Coexist Successfully with the Special Exhibition

From the past activities of the National Museum of History referred to above, it is clear that, despite the "History" in the Museum's title, the National Museum of History has often stood at the cutting edge of the present; it is a museum with multiple

identities and multiple functions, and the results of the Museum's interaction with its visitors and with the era in which it exists have been multifaceted. The complex and varied nature of the Museum's responses has created a wealth of possibilities. It may be that, while constantly experimenting with these different possibilities, the emphasis on interpreting the museum's mission in light of the publics' needs has led to a failure to give due weight to the idea that such experimentation still needs to be based around the museum's own collections, and that the museum should be wholeheartedly committed to transmitting its message through its own "products," while at the same time seeking to meet the needs of museum-goers. This is no easy task, and one which requires careful management to ensure that the individual elements combine to form a coherent whole (McLean, 1997: 119). It needs to be borne in mind that, besides the museum's collections, the museum's own history, buildings and staff also form part of the museum. In the case of the National Museum of History, right from the start, the Museum's development has been influenced by the times in which it had its existence, adding a special, synergistic character to the Museum. Having been built on the site of an exhibition hall that was established during the era of Japanese rule in Taiwan, and having itself started out as basically an exhibition facility, the National Museum of History subsequently developed into a fully-fledged museum with impressive collections, which came to play an important role in Taiwan's cultural diplomacy, and which today serves as a venue for the special exhibitions for which the general public has such high demand. This history – the Museum's own history – has been one of the key factors making the National Museum of History what it is today. The Museum itself embodies the history of Taiwan's museum sector in microcosm, showing how museums develop in response to the publics' needs.

Recently, the National Museum of History has attracted criticism because of its special exhibitions. The important question here is really that of *how* the balance should be struck between special exhibitions and a museum's own collections. Should a museum adopt the approach used by the National Palace Museum, where special exhibitions are housed in a dedicated building separate from the Museum's main building? Should it do as the Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall and the Sun Yat-Sen Memorial Hall have done, leased out space for other organizations to hold special exhibitions? Or should it follow the strategy adopted by National Taiwan Museum, which has been steadily adding new "sub-museums," turning itself into a national

museum group, and being able to secure increased government funding as a result? Museums depend on funding to survive. Given the current museum operating environment, the revenue that museums can obtain from the holding a special exhibitions has become increasingly important. The problems facing the National Museum of History – which will celebrate its 60th anniversary in 2015 – are not limited to the deterioration of the Museum buildings or the steady decline in the amount of funding available. A more important issue is how the Museum can satisfy the needs of the general public in a society that is constantly changing; how can the Museum avoid becoming an unvisited repository or the kind of museum where the mosquitoes outnumber the visitors? The holding of special exhibitions has become one of the defining characteristics of the National Museum of History. Leaving aside the question of how these exhibitions have been received, the challenge for the Museum is surely to find a way of building on and developing this characteristic, while integrating it more closely with the Museum's core activities to create a unified whole.

The “special exhibition culture” that has emerged as a result of collaboration between museums and the media has undoubtedly had a major impact on both the image of museums and the commercialization of culture and the arts. On the other hand, when viewed from the perspective of the general public, the growth of “special exhibition culture” has brought people who would previously never even have thought of visiting an exhibition into museums, and has created a new category of “special exhibition enthusiasts” for whom visiting special exhibitions is an important part of their leisure and entertainment activities, to the extent that they make a conscious effort to find out about upcoming exhibitions. It may well be that special exhibitions have had a serious negative impact on museums and art galleries. Nevertheless, the change in museums' operating strategies has given the general public in Taiwan a new option when it comes to deciding what to do with their leisure time, which is unquestionably a positive result. Society is changing, and museums are faced with a new environment. Special exhibitions can no longer just be a means of attracting more visitors to museums; museum marketing activities can no longer be allowed to depend on collaboration from the media and from the organizations with which museums cooperate on the holding of special exhibitions. Museums in Taiwan need to go back to the reasons why they started holding special exhibitions in the first place:

contributing to international exchange and stimulating interest in culture and the arts among the general public. They need to consider how they can remedy the defects that have affected special exhibitions in the past, while working towards the building of museums that meet the needs of all citizens, and which give due weight to both the museum's own collections and special exhibitions. This will require striking a balance between the museum's own interests and the needs of the general public; museums will need to rethink their special exhibition strategies in order to create a win-win situation.

Because the exhibition is the principal general communication between the museum and the public, it supposes to contain the combination of education and entertainment, contextualize between the object and display and enjoyment of all museum users. A popular exhibition might not contain all of these expectations but mainly focus on visitors' attention and attract them must come to visit. More visitors usually mean the museum achieves the government requirement and more publicity increase the sponsor or donators' interests which suggest the financial supports. Therefore, special exhibitions reach both requirements. On the other hand, the museum's permanent gallery is difficult to achieve these aims, while the "permanent" might not cause the public motive immediately. Thus, it is important that the museum collection needs to be redisplayed and reinterpreted more regularly in order to connect with the public interest and generate more repeat visits. This will be rather difficult due to the significant costs of renovating galleries and redisplaying collections.

Not many museums own the super star museum qualities, according to Bruno Frey (1998:113);

- (1) Great prominence among tourists and world fame among the general population
- (2) A large number of visitors; superstar museums are a "must" for tourists.
- (3) A collection of generally known painters and individual paintings
- (4) An exceptional architecture
- (5) A large role of commercialization, including a substantial impact on the local economy

These qualities are unique enough to attract visitors and some of the special exhibitions are based on these superstar museum brands to travel around the worlds. The museum visit rates or the financial supports should be not the major problems for them. Even though, "a superstar museum is simply forced to shift to a visitor

orientation. In contrast, pure reservation, conservation, and art historic research become less central” (1998:120).

Unlike the National Palace Museum in Taipei, the National Museum of History does not contain super star museum qualities. The NMH is not only suffering from the tension between the museum collection and special exhibitions, but also the same situation as the NPM, the visitor orientation. The visitor number and the museum facility are usually the keys for the special exhibition organizer to consider the NMH as the investment venue for the special exhibition. Therefore, it is necessary to understand what the public demand is, why the public needs the museum, and what the museum presents to them. Further research into museum visitors - their perceptions, needs and expectations as well as their experiences of the institution - seems to be a way forward to explore how these dilemmas and tensions might be resolved. By exploring the museum visitor research, it might be possible to better see the museum from the perspective of the public, either the museum visitor or non-museum visitor, and find out differences between the museum visitor and the special exhibition visitor. The next chapter presents and discusses this research, considering the implications for our investigation of the impact of special exhibitions on the direction of the museum.

Chapter 3

Understanding the special exhibition visitor in Taiwan

The special exhibition visitor has taken an important part in the museum visit rate at the National Museum of History, which means that the museum has seen the special exhibition as a major strategy for attracting the public. From the visit rate in the museum's annual report, this strategy seems working well in that that the special exhibition visit rate is usually higher than that of the museum's ordinary exhibition or the permanent collection. How these special exhibition visitors are different from the ordinary museum visitors will be discussed in this chapter. From the visitor survey of the special exhibition, *Dreams Come True: the Art of Disney's Classic Fairy Tales* held at National Museum of History in 2011, qualitative research explores the daily life of these special exhibition visitors in order to understand the differences between them and the ordinary museum visitor. These findings also include how these special exhibition visitors thinking about the museum and also the motives and expectations for visiting the special exhibition. This visitor survey suggests that although the special exhibitions are considered as the best way to attract the public into the museum, special exhibition visitors tend to be those who normally are not museum visitor, who come only due to the strong motivation of the special exhibition. It shows that the special exhibition is the major reason for a visit, and that the museum, on the other hand, seems to be the exhibition venue. The special exhibition visitor might be a museum visitor but without the special exhibition, they might not visit the museum for years.

The definition of visitor is based on the public, from the visit rate (Hood 1983) to the intimacy between the museum and the visitor, such as the donor, sponsor or the general public (Lui Wanjen, 2008), moreover, from the geography location to the social and cultural class also the way to define the museum visitor (Chen Suiyen 2005). The special exhibition visitor survey is another interesting approach to understand this huge and motivated group. By understanding this group, it might be possible to find the way for the museum to bring these people into the museum field.

According to *Cultural Consumption Research* (2006), undertaken by the Association of Taiwan Cultural Environmental Reform, 78per cent of the population

in Taiwan did not visit a museum in 2006. Within the 22per cent of the population that did visit, 73per cent attended only once or twice. In 2007, the *Taiwan Cultural & Creative Annual Report* (2008: 69) revealed that the average rate of museum visiting in Taiwan is 0.7 visit per year (2008: 69). In the same year, the Auditing Department³³ pointed out that the average attendance rate for art or cultural activities is 5.27visit per year. Therefore, it means that in the choices that Taiwanese people make about their cultural or art activities, only a relatively small proportion of them would go to the museum or gallery. These statistics indicate that visiting museums is not a very popular leisure activity in Taiwan and it is surprising that the special exhibition strategy, which began at the end of the last century, has still not had an efficient effect on the publics' museum visiting.

These statistics show that that museums do not appear popular in Taiwan although, in contrast, the each special exhibition visit rate in comparison with the museum exhibition visit rate suggests that the public seems to be more enthusiastic about attending special exhibitions. The special exhibitions usually attract people to visit but the general survey results show that the number does not mean that the museum attendance rate shares the same impact. Firstly, as Kawashima (1998) explores, when comparing the national population of the UK and the DCMS's museum visitor figures at the same time, there was some doubt about the official visitor figures, and that confusion may have arisen because of an ambiguous divide between the meaning of visitors and visits. Numbers may have a magic power in judging the results of policy or projects, but there is a problem in that the results may be affected by resources, or the methodology adopted to obtain them. Davies also supports this finding by pointing out that unless the result 'is based on the ticketed admission, other methods such as manual count, mechanical or electronic count, estimate or sample count are all open to accusations of inaccuracy' (2005: 79). Secondly, although maybe the special exhibition is popular in Taiwan, this is not equal to museum visiting being a major leisure activity.

Apart from the number of visits, the classification of the visitors' background is often also represented by a number or a percentage. Their age, income, and level of education are divided into different segments and classified by numbers. Although

33 Quoted from the *National Conditions Report* no 132, the Auditing office,13, July, 2009. in <http://www.stat.gov.tw/public/Data/971316131771pdf> (cited date : 02/03/2010)

there are several ways to classify the segments of the visitors, visitor research tends to focus upon their social and economic background (Kawashima 1998). According to MORI research conducted over five years (1999 – 2004), it appears that the higher the individual's social class, household income and education, the more likely they are to visit museum and art galleries (MORI 2004: 22). Similar results have appeared several times in different visitor research reports (Davies 2005; McIntyre 2007).

In Taiwan, the *Public Culture Consumer Research Report* (ACERT 2006:128) directly points out that profession, income and education are not really relevant to visiting museums. The middle class is the major structure in Taiwanese society. An undergraduate degree is the basic educational requirement. The postgraduate study rate is increasing rapidly³⁴. If people from higher social classes, household incomes and levels of education, are more likely to visit museum and art galleries, this assumption seems not to hold in the current Taiwanese museum situation. Therefore, quantitative research about museum visitor types seems less helpful in answering the situation in Taiwan. Unlike the situation in many western visitor studies, in Taiwan, there would appear to be too many similarities between the visitors' and non-visitors' characteristics.

What the Taiwanese museums need to find out what the public demand for the museum. In my view, it seems that most people know the purpose of the museum, and the low attendance, this might be explained by the fact that museums still retain a public impression that they are research institutions, rather than having purpose for the public. Functional definitions are more object-based: to collect, research, conserve and exhibit objects (Weil 1990) which for most of public might feel irrelevant (Lin 2006). Purposive definitions, on the other hand, are increasing and strongly relate to the museum visitors expectations, aims or motives. Listening to and learning from visitors and non-visitors is a necessary route to achieving this purposive definition. Whilst quantitative surveys might show the visitors' characteristics, they do little to reveal the motivation for visiting and tell us relatively little about the experience of the museum, in short, their purposive definition. Therefore, observation and qualitative research are usually employed and attempt to find out the answers.

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Quoted from the Statistics office, the Department of Education, 2009.
http://www.edu.tw/STATICSICS/content.aspx?sit_content_an=8869 (cited dated : 02/03/2010)

3-1 Ways to Listen to the Voices of the Visitor

Visitor research always is considered as the way to understand the visitor, and therefore to construct a museum's future mission and strategies. Last but not least, it is also a way to evaluate the museum, its exhibitions and programs. Prentice (1996) affirms that in evaluating the success of museum and exhibitions the emphasis should be on the experience of visitors, rather than on the goal of the museum staff. Meanwhile, the success of the museum in this area is important, because museum and art galleries are increasingly dependent on the number of visitors they attract, either directly (through visit entrance fees) or indirectly (through diverse public use), which ensures continued public funding (Bennett 1994). The special exhibitions are considered to be the major attraction for the public in Taiwan and gain the impressive visitor numbers. This ceaseless blockbuster competition increases the visitor numbers remarkably, thus, while the visitor comes for the special exhibition, visiting museum becomes a special occasion. The museum becomes more like a venue rather than a museum; in short, the visitor goes for the experience of the special exhibition. Therefore, it is worthwhile to discuss what are the museum experience and their motives to visit museum, and how they are different from the experience of the special exhibition.

3-1-1 Museum experience

According to Kenneth Hudson's 1975 book, *A Social History of Museums*, it was not until 1897 the first museum visitor research was carried out. At the time, it showed the personal experience of the museum, for example to find out the feelings of museum visitors, and whether they were interested or bored. However, these viewpoints about museums observed personal museum experiences and feelings. To know the museum experience means to gain the most direct reaction from the visitors; in order to know the museum experience, observation and qualitative research have often been practiced.

(1) Observation of visitor behaviors

Between 1928 and the late 1940s, these observation studies tended to be based on behavioral psychology. 'Visitors may "wander aimlessly but not blindly", so the

best way to understand a museum visitor is “talking about him and thinking about him, deliberate observation of his behaviour (Robinson 1928:7).’ In his report, *The Behaviour of the Museum Visitor* (1928), Robinson attempts to understand visitors by diagnosing their behaviour in museums, and raises several interesting findings. For example, he suggests that education as a prerequisite to visiting museums should be changed, because everyone is different and not all visitors can achieve that prerequisite. In this report, he also defines ‘museum fatigue’ as being caused by the number of paintings or information in the galleries. Therefore, the museum visitor wears a different expression from the beginning to the end of the visit, that is, from being interested to feeling bored.

Visitor research between the 1920s and 1940s focused on museum visitors’ behaviour, and attempted to determine a visiting pattern in order to suggest a better solution to improve the museum experience (Hooper-Greenhill 1995). Some of these suggestions have been commonly used today, for example, isolating important paintings in order to attract public attention (Robinson 1928). Observing visitors is a way to improve the museum experience from the visitor’s perspective and to understand the visitor’s expectations of the museum. However, observing visitors’ behaviour within the museum produces little information as to why and how they exhibit this behaviour or interest. Therefore, qualitative research, such as interviews, focus groups, or comment cards are more appropriate methods to reveal the in-depth opinions of visitors (Trevelyan 1991, Mclean 1997).

Qualitative Research (Qualitative Field Research)The social methodologist Sheila Babbie (2004) identified qualitative research as research which contains field observations, data collecting, grounded theory and focus groups and so on, and which could be seen as a ‘very old and very new (methodology) in social science (2004:282). ’ This methodology has been used by social science researchers, anthropologists or reporters through direct studies into social phenomenon. In order to attract more museum visitors and overcome the educational, cultural or social barriers between the museum and the visitor, qualitative research seems to be the best methodology for gaining more authentic answers.

Who is the museum visitor? What kind of experience are they looking for? Doering (1999) suggests museums view visitors as going through a sequential

progress from 'stranger' to 'guest' to 'client' but, at the same time, these three roles might also coexist. Visitors as strangers applies in museums that still remain collection based venues, therefore, museum visitors become strangers who might not recognise these collections at all. This could be considered as the first step to becoming a museum visitor. The most common type of museum now is the one that views visitors as guests. Here, the museum wants to provide goodness or value to the visitor: in other words, educational activities. These guests are assumed to look for this purpose. As museum marketing increases in prominence and power, the visitor is viewed increasingly like a client. They become the museum's target. In fact, the museum expects to understand and meet their needs and expectations in order to attract their constant visits.

Museum visitors are diverse in their interests and intentions. Different individuals are looking for different experiences in museums. Later, Doering (1999) classifies these experiences into four types of experience – object experience, cognitive experience, introspective experience and social experience. As to object experience, it is more about personal general experience in relation to the objects. Cognitive experiences are more like enriching knowledge. The introspective experience is more closely related to personal feelings like recalling memories or feeling a sense of belonging or connection. Social experiences mean spending time with friends, family and other people. These four different types of experiences refer to the ways in which the visitor's personal feeling or knowledge interacts with the exhibition and its collections.

Falk and Dierking (2002) expand further discussion of these experiences through three different contexts – the personal context, the social context and the physical context. The personal context refers to individual experience and knowledge, including personal interest, motives or other initiations. The social context means the interactions with other people in the museum. Nowadays, this interaction with other people, who might be friends, family or the museum staff, becomes a very strong motivation for museum visiting (Hood 1983; McIntyre 2007). The physical context is related to the museum surroundings, such as the building, facilities or atmosphere. It is very much about what the visitor feels about the museum.

While the importance of the museum experience is known, on the other hand, in Taiwan, the reality is that the special exhibition might not offer such good conditions

due to the massive crowds they attract. This seems not to deter people. Although it is important to understand the visitor's experience to improve visitor service and facilities, the good museum experience does not necessarily promise the visitor future attendance. The motivation of museum visiting seems to be taking a more important role in visitor studies in the Taiwanese context.

3-1-2 Motivations of museum visiting

Curiosity seems to be as the major motivation of museum visiting. Otherwise, if we examine visitors' use of museum and art gallery space in the UK, it can be found the construction of class identities through the museum visiting in the late Victorian period (Hill 2005). This turns out although the museum open to the public, the museum visitors contain the more similar features rather. In other words, the museum attracts more visitors in similar cultural and social classes and condenses certain identities. Although Davies assured that the museum or galleries was considered to provide 'something for everyone' was 'greatest strengths both now and for the future' (1994:13) and this has not changed (Davies 2005).

In the UK, it has been found that, 'the free entry schemes have largely increased frequency of visiting from existing visitors rather than facilitating visits from non-traditional audiences' (McIntyre 2007: 23). This is because museum visitors believe the organization can meet their needs. On the other hand, many non-visitors choose not to attend museums because – regardless of whether or not there is a financial charge – they might think that their specific needs would not be met by museums. Accordingly, McIntyre attempts to create the audience pyramid (2007:33). This audience pyramid consists of five different groups (Figure 3-1) divided according to their disposition towards the idea of museum visiting. Firstly, 'rejecters', who are convinced that the museum is not for them. This group of people is actively hostile to the notion of engaging with museums and galleries. Secondly, 'resistors' are sceptical that a visit to a museum or gallery could meet their own needs. The third group of people is 'open to persuasion', although they are not necessarily convinced that visiting a museum or gallery will meet their needs and as such will require active persuasion that a visit will do so. The next group is 'intenders' who already want to attend but are waiting for the opportunity. The last, but not the least, are the

‘attenders’, who believe the museums and galleries can meet their needs. This group usually takes a great portion of the museum visit numbers.

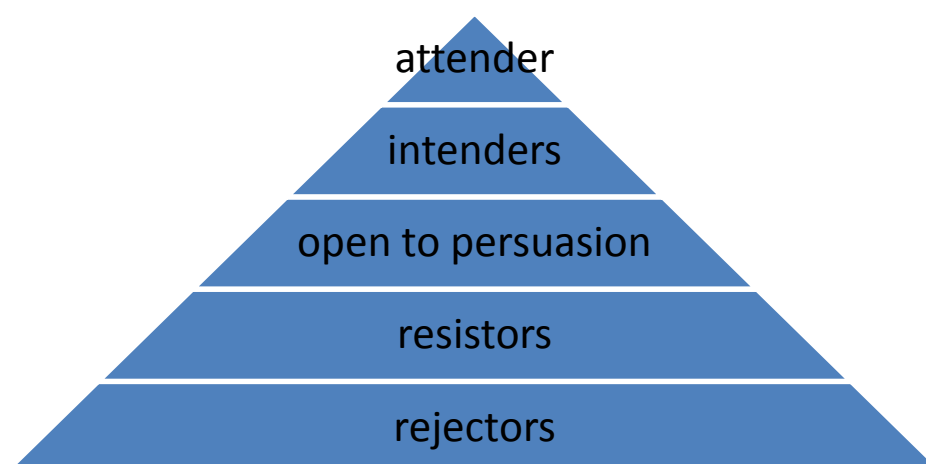


Figure 3-1: McIntyre's Audience Pyramid (2007)

What are the needs expressed by museum visitors? Typically, visitor responses regarding the need to visit the museum can be grouped in three categories: social-recreation, educational and reverential need. Recreational and social considerations rank high among reasons for visiting museums (Falk & Dierking 2002:14). This finding is also proved by Marilyn Hood's field research in Toledo. Her early report, *Staying Away - Why people choose not to visit museums* (1983), offers more detailed analysis of decision-making in museum visiting, and describes six major criteria. These six major criteria have been chosen differently, even oppositely, by three groups – frequent visitors, occasional visitors and nonparticipants. For the frequent visitors, the values of visiting museum are to have an opportunity to learn, to have a challenge of new experiences and doing something worthwhile. This group is more likely to visit the museum alone. The occasional visitor pattern is rather different from frequent visitors and more closely aligned with that of the non-participant. Therefore, being with people (or social interaction) and feeling comfortable are their major concerns. However, the non-participant has the opposite choice in comparison with the frequent visitor. They favour being with people (or social interaction), participating actively and feeling comfortable (at ease in one's surroundings). These more social and recreational motivations have been valued by 86per cent (which includes 40per cent of occasional visitor and 48per cent of non-participants) Toledo metropolitan residents.

Museums might satisfy the public needs of the education, recreation, socialization but they are not the only place to provide these demands. Whilst the majority of visitor research takes the form of the in-museum survey, this leaves the occasional visitor or non-participant largely under-explored. It would not be too difficult for most museum administrators or staff also come from a similar background to their visitors. Therefore, it is worthwhile to look at other two groups which rarely visit the museum or just refuse to go, particularly from those non-visitors who share the similar educational, cultural or social background as the museum's frequent visitors. This is also more similar with the Taiwanese public; thus, non-visitor research could be a more proper way to reach an understanding of the Taiwanese situation.

3-2 Museum non-visitor survey

Museum visitor research tends to be combined with visitors' perspectives within the museum boundary in terms of observation in the galleries, their satisfaction with the exhibition or facilities, their learning experience or economic cultural or social background. Little is known about potential visitors *outside* the museum walls, such as the kind of subjects which interest them, their lifestyles and leisure time, the key factors which influence their decision to visit the museum. About these, there are only few non-visitors surveys demonstrated (Trevelyan 1991). People have their own reasons for not visiting museums. Lack of interest and limited spare time are the two major reasons not commonly cited (Touche Ross 1989; MORI 2005; Lin 2006). Although museums attempt to combine recreation and education in order to satisfy public demands, the low attendance rate in Taiwanese museums seems to suggest that either the public is not interested in these two fields or the museum is not successfully integrating these two fields. According to the Auditing Office in Taiwan, the public consumption survey shows the percentage of those consuming the recreation and education services has increased from 14per cent in the 1980's to 19per cent in 2004. It shows the demands of the public in these two fields is rising: however, the museum which attempts to combine these two fields is not their first choice.

While the majority of the public are occasional or non-museum visitors in Taiwan, in UK, the non-museum visitors are classified into certain categories. In

Developing New Audiences for the Heritage (PLB 2001) the authors show that the following groups were identified as missing visitors for museums and galleries: pre-school children, teenagers, young adults, young professionals, families with babies or small children, older people, disabled, rural dwellers, C2DE socio-economic groups, unemployed, socially disadvantaged and people lacking basic skills. The report, *Audience Knowledge Digest* (McIntyre 2007) also points out young adults (aged 15-24) with children have the lowest average visit frequency. Adults aged 55-64 visit most often. In Taiwan, the non-visitors might share similarities with UK classifications and the museum visits are strongly based on the special exhibition (NMH 2010, 2011, 2012). The museum visit seems directly affected by personal choice. In order to understand the personal choices, it is worth exploring what stops them from museum visiting.

3-2-1 Barriers to stop museum visiting

The DCMS (2000:10-11) confirms this by identifying the four barriers most likely to deter people from visiting museums. Firstly, an institutional barrier is created by museums and their staff that discourage usage by certain people or sections of the community, for example, through inconvenient museum opening hours, unclear directions or bad customer service. Secondly, personal and social barriers are the possible causes of social exclusion experienced by individuals, or as a result of cultural or community circumstances, such as people who are alone or people on low incomes. Thirdly, perceptions that museum are 'not for us' exist in both community and individual terms. This group of people usually is not easy to reach for the museum or gallery because their residential location is far away from the museum or their educational background is not related to the subjects of the museum or gallery. Finally, the museum environment could become a barrier: some museums are difficult to attend due to their location or the museum building.

As to these four barriers, it is known that the social and cultural barriers are the most difficult to remove (Moore 1997). It could be debated that in the 21st century, class is still the major issue for the museum non-visitors who are considered excluded from the museum. Or it is rather their personal preference, decision or innate disposition to think the museum is not for them. The perceived risk of attending an art event against other forms of entertainment for non-visitors is very high. 60 per cent of

non-visitor in London stated that they did not like going to see things that they did not know much about (McIntyre 2007). Those people who do not think they will understand what they are seeing are more likely to believe they will find the trip boring. Some people believe that museum and galleries require specialized knowledge, for example, the knowledge of history, art or culture (Trevelyan 1991) .

Maybe what the museum needs to do is not just attempt to attract those non visitors but let the public understand what the museum is; to show the museum has changed and is different than it was in the past. Although for the museum it is still significant to break through its own barrier, the museum walls, to connect with contemporary society by accepting the updated social concept, technology or media. The reason for not visiting might be overcome through these methods of cooperation or integration.

3-2-2 Reasons for not visiting

The main reason for visiting a museum or art gallery is subject matter of interest to the individual (Mori 2005). Thus, the reason why people do not visit museums is, namely, lack of interest and time (Touche Ross 1989; MORI 2005; Lin 2006). However, in Taiwan, ‘the lack of interest of non-visitors was, ironically, caused by the strong image of museums as institutions of education and learning, an image which museum professionals work hard to create (Lin 2006:313).’ Visitors do not always strive towards the attainment of educational goals as educators would have wished. (Hooper-Greenhill 2005). They have an agenda of their own. The museum visitor seems to be perceived more and more as a pleasure seeker, consuming images, ideas, experiences, and restlessly requiring to be entertained (Macdonald and Silverstone, 1999). Ironically, the strongest museum feature, education, becomes the most and least attractive reason to attend for some people.

If it is possible to balance the education and entertainment, what kind of museum would be made? The worst possible outcome would be that this combination of education and entertainment results in a loss of frequent visitors, whilst still not attracting or appealing to those groups that have traditionally stayed away. For the museum, it is a difficult task to interest the non-visitors, especially when a non-visitor has little contact with the museum. Except from the interest, time is another important issue for the public.

‘Two important considerations in leisure-time decision-making are investment of time and money, ... Time is a major museum “cost”... Another consideration is convenience’ (Falk & Dierking 2002:13). To visit the museum, the ticket fee is usually affordable, some even cost nothing. Time is the major issue. According to McIntyre (2007), in UK, free time is particularly squeezed for full-time workers and those with dependent children. They have significantly less free time. Furthermore, ‘travel time is of key importance on day trips. Attractions can view residents living within one hour's drive’ (2007:10). Although time affects the leisure decision, time could be seen as the factor most out of the museum's control. Therefore, for the sakes of the public convenience and time saving, it is the time for museums expanding the services or the exhibitions outside their walls.

Apart from the lack of interest and limited spare time (as the two major reasons for not visiting museums), there are also various other reasons for the non-visitor not to visit, such as lack of awareness, age and health, relevance, uncertainty about what to expect and so on (Davies 1994; Sandell 1998). The museum might be able to address some of these reasons but it is impossible for it to address all of them.

Although the visitor categories reflect different results in Taiwan, it seems that there are more similarities with the non-visitor research. Museum visitors are far from captive, so it is vital that museums understand what attracts them. The visitor study is supposed to help museums to achieve this goal. Therefore, it contains different methods. From observations of visitor's behavior and reactions to the social science methodology, quantitative or qualitative field research, no single research method can cover all of the museum's needs to understand the museum visitor. ‘It is better to do a limited survey well, than to attempt something more elaborate and fail to complete the project (Conybeare 1991:4)’. Although there is always a goal for each piece of visitor research, for example, the purpose of visiting, the evaluation of the exhibition or the museum service, it is non-visitors who seem to be neglected. The non-visitor has many similar characteristics to the occasional visitor. They make up most of the public (Hood 1989). If the museum is open for the public, the non-visitor survey is the key to really achieve their aim of understanding their audience. The visitor survey should not be restrained within the museum walls; the survey question should be expanded into the public daily life. This kind of visitor survey could be developed

further and this would help the museum's functional and purposive definitions really meet.

3-3 A Survey of the special exhibition: *Dreams Come True: The Art of Disney's Classic Fairy Tales* at the National Museum of History

3-3-1 Research Aim

In Taiwan, museums serve as an important social educational institution, but at the same time, they have not been highly used by the public since the first Taiwanese Museum was founded in the Japanese Colonial Era. From 1993, special exhibitions have been part of many museums' regular scheme to attract the general public by loaning famous antiques, masterpiece or well-known art works. As a result, where museum visitors used to be a small niche market, special exhibitions now bring in crowds and have grown into a distinct option amongst a range of leisure activities in Taiwanese society. While special exhibition visitors have become the majority of visitors to Taiwanese museums, strictly speaking, these visitors go to museums for the special exhibitions, not for the museums. In other words, this group of people will attend wherever the special exhibitions take place.

Due to this reason, it is interesting to try and better understand the special exhibition visitor. In order to know special exhibition visitors, their lifestyle, exhibition experience, and thoughts on museums, the exhibition *Dreams Come True: The Art of Disney's Classic Fairy Tales*, exhibited at the National Museum of History from late 2011 to early 2012, was selected for this research. The National Museum of History was chosen for this survey due to a previous chapter which mentioned that, since the cooperation of *The Golden Age of Impressionism: Masterpieces of Musee d'Orsay*, special exhibitions have become a feature of the National Museum of History. Therefore, this museum is significant for discussing special exhibitions.

The Disney exhibition was selected because it encompasses characteristics of special exhibitions, such as cooperation with a private corporation, a well-known exhibition subject, popular themes, and a collection loaned from abroad. By surveying the Disney exhibition, it is my intention to understand the difference between the special exhibition visitor and the general museum visitor. When the museum puts more focus on the special exhibition, the special exhibition visitor sees the museum in

a different way. For the special exhibition visitor, the museum might not be different from any other cultural venue. The museum's role, function, and mission are being challenged. This research attempts to explore the special exhibition visitor by interviewing them and comparing their responses with existing visitor studies. By doing this, I would like to claim that the special exhibition visitor needs to be seen in different light from the museum visitor. For a special exhibition visitor, the exhibition might be just another cultural product; the museum is the space for this cultural product. Therefore, for Taiwanese museums, on the one hand it is important to know the special exhibition visitor in order to improve the special exhibition and marketing schemes, or to find out what they envision. On the other hand, it is also the time for the Taiwanese museums to seriously examine the function and mission for the general public and diversify the definition of the museum for the future.

3-3-2 Research Methodology

Still, in the first half of twentieth century, there are gaps in the studies on museum visitors (Loomis 1987; Hein 1998). According to Hooper-Greenhill (2005), the best known of these early studies is focused on the observation of visitor behaviors in the museums. During the 1980s and 1990s, some of the visitor studies in a quantitative form were from a larger scale of policy-related studies and carried out on an international basis (Davies 1994; Schuster 1995; Hooper-Greenhill 1995). These quantitative studies present basic demographic information and provide an essential view of the social uses of the museum. Although the results might show the visitor's characteristics, nothing reveals the purposes of the museum audience's visit. For this, qualitative methods were employed later and a few but very influential non-visitor surveys were carried out (Trevelyan 1991). Today's visitor studies help attract larger, more diverse visitors by exploring the positive and negative perceptions of museums among visitors, thereby enabling museum staff to work on strengths and to correct weaknesses (Ames 1993). Qualitative research has taken a more important role; for instance, focus groups, interviews, and comment cards have become more common methods in the museum's visitor studies.

In Taiwan, although the special exhibition has been an important leisure activity, special exhibition visitors are not highly surveyed. Several dissertations explore the

cooperative relation between media companies and the national museum through the special exhibition (Won 2006; Lin 2008, Chen 2011). Although special exhibition visitors are mentioned, the museum service and exhibition experience are the greater focus in these pieces of work. Other popular subjects concern the commercialization of the special exhibition and how the museum is affected (Lee 2008; Zhuang 2012). The special exhibition visitor survey is mixed with the regular museum service survey. Therefore, the quantitative research method is taken to understand the domestic figures and satisfaction rate. In order to understand the special exhibition visitor, this study has taken a semi-qualitative method which, combined with the questionnaire and interview, takes random samples from a specific period at a random time.

(1) Survey Time and Sample Selection

The survey was conducted from 29 February 2012 to 13 March 2012 at the exit of the special exhibition shop. The shop is usually the final stop for the special exhibition visitor due to its unavoidable location on the way out of the exhibition. Samples were selected randomly; interviewees must be visitors who have seen more than three special exhibitions in the past year. After the visitor filled out a simple questionnaire about their domestic situation and personal interests, an in-depth semi-open-ended interview followed.

The requirement for the interview was that the interviewed visitor must have visited special exhibitions more than three times within a year. The reason for this is that, according to the Public Cultural Consumption Report by the Association of Culture Environment Reform (2006), 21.2 per cent of the population visited a museum in 2006. In 2007, the annual report of Taiwanese Cultural and Creative Industry describes the average museum visit of a Taiwanese citizen as 0.7 times per year; thus, visitors who visit special exhibitions more than three times a year can be a representative figure for the sample selection.

The method for sampling is illustrated in Figure 4.1 below:

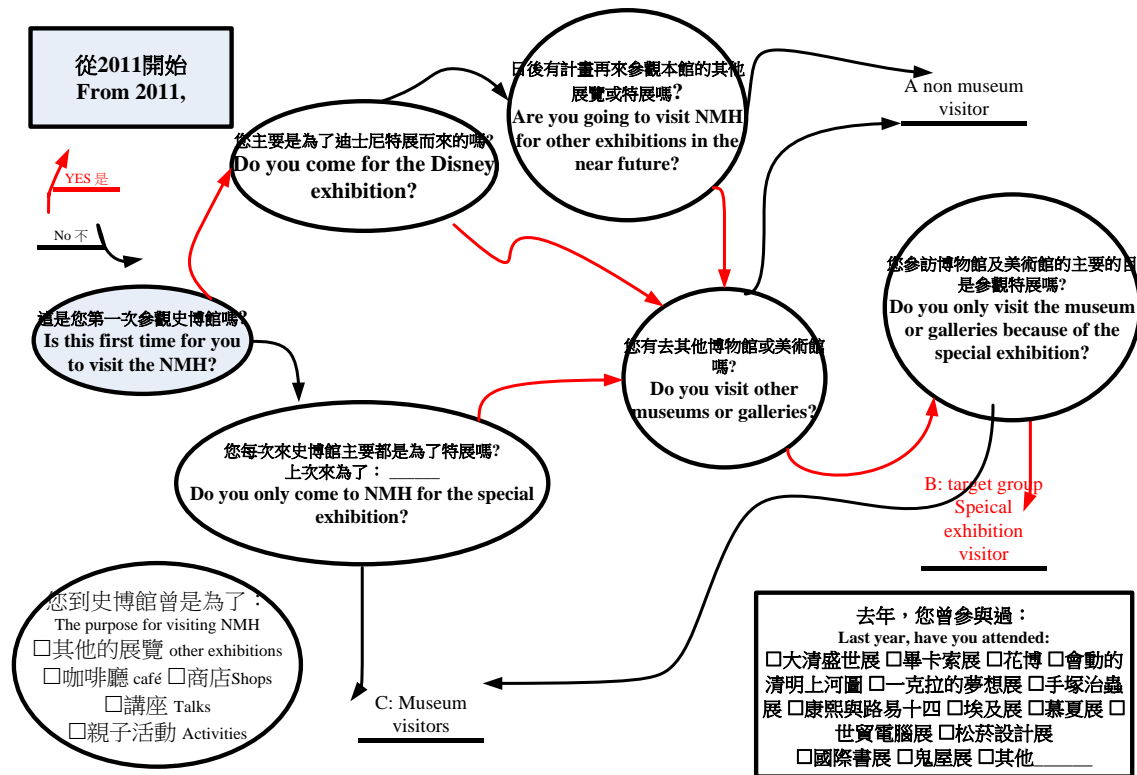


Figure 3-1 : The questionnaire to select the Group B interviewees

The visitors who belong in group B are the research target, because they meet the requirement of having visited three or more special exhibitions in the previous year. They will be asked if it is possible to have a further interview with them. Group A and Group C stop at this stage. Selected candidates completed a personal daily lifestyle survey, and recorded interviews were conducted after the visitors were informed of the aim of the research and had signed consent forms.

(2) Research Questions

There are two parts to the questionnaire. The first part is about the daily routine; questions are about the daily use of media including the internet, newspapers, or magazines. The second part is to understand special exhibition visitors' personal habits, such as lifestyle, past special exhibition experience, and personal thoughts on museums. Similarities are searched for in these special exhibition visitors in order to deeply discover this group.

The First Part

Personal information

Name:

Occupation

What is your major in the University?

Have you joined any club?

Hobbies:

Internet: Yes/ No

How long do you stay on the internet per week?

Frequent use website:

TV: Yes/ no

How many hours do you watch TV every week?

Programs:

Newspapers and Magazine: Yes / No

Which One:

Residential area

Do you often go out with friends?

Do you come to the special exhibition with friends or family?

Do you discuss the special exhibition with your accomplice?

How long will you stay in the special exhibition?

What do you usually do after the special exhibition?

How do you describe yourself?

The Second Part

About the life style:

Can you describe your daily life?

How do you decide to spend your leisure time?

What concerns you most when you spend your leisure time?

Where do you get the leisure information?

What is your favorite leisure activity? Why?

Past experience:

Which exhibition impresses you most? And why?

What is the worst one in your mind? Why?

How much are you willing to pay for the special exhibition? And do you usually shop in the souvenir shop?

What kind of service do you think “must” have in the special exhibition?

What kind of the special exhibition will be in your “no” list?

What kind of exhibition will attract you most?

About the museum:

Are you concerned if the special exhibition is held in the museum or not? Why?

Where is your favorite cultural and art venue? Why? How often do you visit?

What do you expect from the museum service?

How do you think about the NMH?

Do you know any of NMH’s collection? What part?

The first part is completed by writing down the answers. The second part is in the form of an interview and the whole procedure is recorded. During the completion of the questionnaire and interview, interviewees are free to write down or mention anything without being interrupted or guided.

(3) interview procedure

The survey was conducted by semi-constructed interview. After selecting the participants by randomly asking a few questions through the questionnaire, the participants were interviewed for about 20- 30 minutes.

The procedure was as follows:

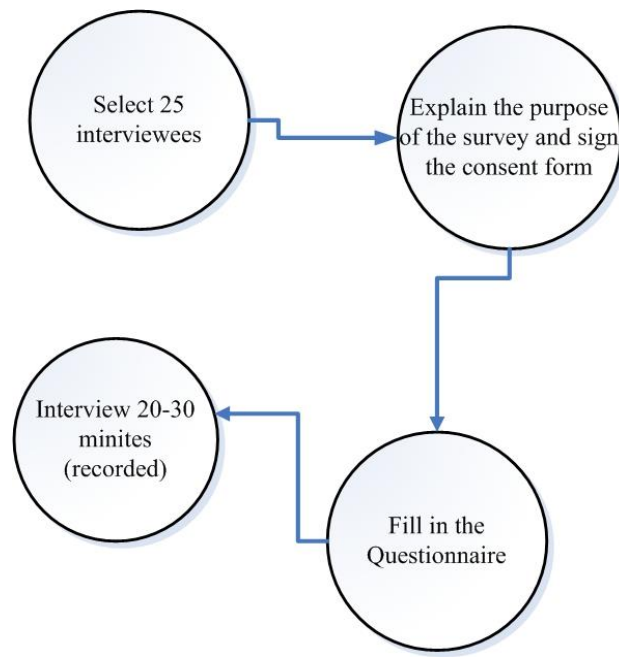


Figure 3-3 The interview procedure

3-3-3 Research Findings

(1) Daily Lifestyle :

Diversity of educational background, such as finance, management, technology, dentistry, economics, music, business management, law, management science, industrial engineering and management, marketing, new media arts, international trade, music, advertising, business administration, statistics, and business math, were found in the 25 selected candidates. These candidates were not restricted to art-related majors; therefore, people do not necessarily visit exhibitions that are related to their majors or occupations. Besides, visitors included students, office ladies, part-time workers, illustrators, or housewives. They came from different backgrounds and experiences, but they all shared an interest in the special exhibition.

As to their leisure activities or hobbies, there were no obvious differences in the interests and methods of leisure of the general public. Interests and methods of leisure of these candidates included traveling, sports, visiting exhibitions, TV, reading, music, shopping, dancing, singing, and photography. There were no artistic techniques included, such as drawing or other special interests.

The interviewees also had different lifestyles; some of them were full-time workers. Some of them were students with part-time jobs. In their spare time, they

might watch TV, read, use the internet, exercise, or hang out with friends in the remaining time.

The sources of exhibition information were usually arts websites: museum websites, well-known blogs, and Facebook were the common sources of information. News media, advertisements, and brochures were also important sources of information. “Friend invitations” are a force that cannot be ignored. Some of the interviewees mentioned that exhibitions recommended by friends are a must-see; therefore, reputation is an important method of promotion for special exhibitions. The internet, friends, and advertisements are the three major sources of special exhibition information. Facebook was the most-visited website, followed by Yahoo Kimo. In news media, magazines have a higher readership than newspapers, and Commonwealth Magazine and Business Weekly were often mentioned. The internet has become an important media of modern life; interviewees spend more time online than in front of a television, which shows that the importance of the internet is increasing.

(2) Past Exhibition Experience

The past experience of interviewees was mostly of special exhibitions, such as Picasso, Qingming Riverside, and Egypt. The 2011 Taipei Floral Expo, an important exhibition on the 100th anniversary of the country, was also mentioned as an important exhibition in the interviews. In addition, temporary exhibitions and regular exhibitions of the museums were not mentioned during the interviews, which might suggest those exhibitions are not impressive in the interviewees' opinions.

Interviewees thought the price ceiling of a ticket is NT\$300 (less than 6 pounds), but the more expensive special exhibition tickets will not discourage them from visiting. Some people have expressed that a buy-one-get-one-free pre-sale offer is a good and attractive way to solve the issue. However, most people expressed that they “care about the content, not the pricing.” The worthiness of the ticket rates is dependent on the content of the exhibition. \$300 was the threshold of most people, but only if the exhibition was “worth it.” “Worthiness,” as pointed out by many people, depends on the “genuineness,” but replicas were not totally rejected. To queue for the exhibition might be expected and the exhibition objects and contents are the keys to the visit.

Most people expressed that buying souvenirs is not necessary, because the ticket itself is a good souvenir. Some interviewees declared that they are collecting these special exhibition tickets. If souvenirs were purchased, most people would choose exhibition-related products, such as guidebooks, folders, and postcards. “Affordable,” “simple,” “practical,” and “objects that are printed with relevant exhibition images or logo” were what people would most commonly seek to buy.

Most interviewees have said that they usually do not comment on the quality of exhibitions. They usually consider whether the exhibitions comply with their interests. The definition of interest is varied. Some people would visit if there were big exhibitions; some people would visit exhibitions that are not often on display and related to their life; some people would go to exhibitions on their favorite artists; some people were interested in history and cultural exhibitions; some people were interested in the method of curation, such as incorporating modern technology into exhibitions; and some people would visit if the exhibitions were related to their own learning experience. Therefore, “interest” does not necessarily mean exhibitions of “famous painters” or “foreign museums” but curation method, display method, life experience, animation, history, and culture. Even though interest is what attracts people to special exhibitions, rarity, reputation, “familiarity,” “classics,” “related to life” and “recommendation” might also cause motivation.

The influences of weather and distance on the decision to visit exhibitions are viewed differently. Some people cared about weather, some people cared about distance, and some people cared about the weather and whether the exhibitions were indoors. However, people who had already bought pre-sale tickets and people who were very interested in the exhibitions would still go to exhibitions, no matter what.

As to poor exhibition experiences, crowds were usually the reason for any bad exhibition experiences of visitors. Uncontrolled numbers of visitors, a space which was too crowded, noise of children, and inability to appreciate paintings contribute to the bad experiences of visitors. Although crowds were expected, they still affected the mood of the visitor, and the fault might be placed on poor design of queue circulation. Therefore, some people have expressed that control of the number of visitors is a must-have element in special exhibitions. Some people said that they sometimes take a day off from work to visit special exhibitions in order to avoid crowds. Interviewees did not point out bad exhibition experiences due to exhibition quality or content.

Most people mentioned that the panels and contents of the exhibition should be understandable. Also, the entrance direction should be clear, therefore, clear signs are necessary. Many special exhibition visitors pointed out that having tour guides is a essential service. All types of guiding are acceptable, but the price of an audio guide, ranging from NT\$100 to NT\$150 (two to three pounds), is too expensive for students if the ticket price of \$200 (around four pounds) is added. The cleanliness of audio guide equipment, such as ear phones, is also dubious for some people. Atmosphere and method of display are what people pay attention to, according to interviewees. “Interaction” is a “good” special exhibition experience. There are not just traditional arts, there is modern technology. Genuineness is not the point because it is hard to distinguish. Interaction is more important. If there is interaction, it will be memorable. The flow of exhibits is also important. The interviewees suggest that there should be something more three-dimensional, for example, the Millet exhibition was too flat. In terms of the question about what the meaning of a special exhibition is to special exhibition visitors, each answer is different; viewpoints can be divided into the following tablet,

Tablet 3-2 The interviewee’s viewpoints about the special exhibition

Aims for visiting	The KEY words used in the interview	Mentioned by Interviewee (24 in total)
Learning	-to learn -knowledge -to remind - to understanding	15
Enriching life	-Curiosity -not regular -hard to see -to widen or expand vision - special	11
Leisure	For Fun Activities	3

(by author, the whole interview contents are in the Appendices V)

From interviewee's thoughts on special exhibitions, one can see that “learning” is the major reason why people went to the exhibition, although to enrich the life is another important motive. Exhibitions as a medium of learning are important for visitors. No matter how much can be learned from exhibitions, most special exhibition visitors expect special exhibitions to satisfy their desire for learning, expanding their knowledge, or improving their memory about the exhibition subjects. For these special exhibition interviewees, the special exhibition shows a clue to discovering the link between the personal experience and choices of what to learn. The purpose for learning is very personal but to find a way to enrich the life or widen the vision of a visitor could be easier. Rarity, curiosity, and something unusual are the key points that a special exhibition visitor is often looking for. Although fun seems not the major reason to visit the special exhibition, the education was only mentioned once during the interviews. This might be the sign that either a serious academic surrounding or a theme park atmosphere is not the interviewer’s expectation for the special exhibition.

(3) Relationship with Museums

As for the location of special exhibitions, only one interviewee expressed that it is important in the museum because, if the venue is at a specific artistic, cultural place, it would be bigger and more comfortable. Most people felt the special exhibition could be any place as long as the location is convenient for transportation and has attractive exhibition content. Therefore, small coffee shops or shopping malls are OK. However, some themes, like Van Gogh, for example, are too special, and it would be strange for them to be displayed in shopping malls. Exhibitions should correspond with the venues; the Disney exhibition at the National Museum of History, for example, seemed unsuitable. The ancient Shu civilization exhibition at Shing Kong Mitsukoshi (the famous department store) was also not academic; if it had been displayed at National Museum of History, it would have been more attractive. Therefore, although special exhibitions are not limited to museums, museums are expected to have in-depth, comprehensive exhibitions.

The themes of exhibitions are what special exhibition visitors’ focus on, but if the themes can comply with museums' objectives, the exhibition and the venue could bring out the best in each other. Therefore, the location of exhibitions seems less important; according to the interviews, it seems that museums are only viewed as

venues for exhibitions for special exhibition visitors.

Other than the traditional artistic and cultural spaces, such as museums and concert halls, Huashan (Figure 4-1), a newer combined artistic and cultural compound, is the most mentioned. The most important thing is that, in addition to green lawns and convenient transportation, Huashan, located in the core of Taipei City, has, “places to eat and drink, and the exhibitions are more flexible, unlike standard venues.” And, “it has a lot of activities, and you can look at other activities.” Another important similar venue is Songshan Cultural and Creative Park. These two parks have become popular special exhibition venues.

Due to the fact that the National Museum of History frequently hosts special exhibitions, many special exhibition visitors have been to the National Museum of History more than once. When asked about the focus of the museum’s collections, only five out of twenty-five interviewees mentioned they have an impression of the Tri-Colour Pottery of Tang Dynasty, and only one could remember the seals and bronzes of the museum collection. Nine interviewees said that they have visited the museum before, but they cannot remember what they saw.

It was also very interesting to find out during the survey period that the most special exhibition visitors were photographing with the Disney images displayed on the museum county yard and left the museum without looking at the rest of it, despite the fact that some of them knew that with the special exhibition ticket, it was free to see other exhibitions in the museum. This observation might confirm that the special exhibition visitors have strong motivations, and know what they come for, and might not be attracted by other free exhibitions. Given this observation and survey result, it is difficult to argue that special museum visitors are museum visitors.

The definition of museum visitors is often classified by their social, economic, educational, and personal background, and number of visits, experience, and motivation (Falk 1992). Each classification has its own characteristics and purpose. However, the long-developed leisure trend of special exhibition culture is now key in Taiwan. That special exhibitions attract more visitors has become an indisputable fact. Most special exhibition visitors are interested in different special exhibitions, and see special exhibitions has serving multi-functional purposes – learning socializing, leisure. Some people visit with friends and family, and some are used to visiting alone. It is hard to define a special exhibition visitor because the special exhibition

population ranges from kindergarten children to the working class. The museums may serve the public, which includes the government, influential organizations, shareholders, sponsors, or museums visitors (Mclean 1997), but museum visitors are the majority of museum users. Special exhibition visitors also make up a large portion of museum visitors. Therefore, the relationship of special exhibition visitors and museums can be summarized in the following:

- (1) Most museum visitors are special exhibition visitors.
 - Special exhibition visitors are not regular.
 - Special exhibition visitors are visitors with clear objectives and are not usually attracted by other exhibitions even in the same building.
 - Special exhibition visitors are museum visitors and not museums visitors at the same time.

Although people who come from different social classes might not visit museums, they have more opportunity to notice these events by consuming this information through the media. Taiwanese museums rarely have the four museum barriers pointed out by British researchers (DCMS 2000:10-11). Special exhibition visitors are a museum-visitor-like group that falls between museum visitors and non-museum visitors. First of all, they have the same willingness for learning and leisure and are curious for new experiences brought about by new things. From the special exhibition crowd, you can see that special exhibition visitors do not fully insist on “being alone in a comfortable environment” and choose not to visit. Regardless, special exhibition visitors are, as pointed out in Morris Hargreaves McIntyre’s report (2007:26-29):

Museum visitors visit museums with a purpose, which means they do not visit unplanned, but the purpose of special exhibition visitors is very simple: special exhibition visitors leave right after visitor special exhibition visit other exhibitions or activities in the museums.

3-3-4 The Cultural and Artistic Demand Phenomenon of Special Exhibition Visitors

Looking at the growing phenomenon of the special exhibition, special exhibitions appear to be regarded as a “cultural product” like movies, the performing arts, or books. This product has combined the culture and art of museums, the reputation of popular culture, and the entertainment practices of expos with mass marketing and promotion to become a cultural, artistic force that attracts the public for only 3 to 6 pounds per ticket. The new cultural trend has revealed the cultural and artistic demands of Taiwanese people and the cultural driving force can be viewed as a desire for group experiences or collective production consumption. While it should be exciting for the museum community that the special exhibition has become a public demand, Walter Benjamin’s (1973) point of view should not be ignored. He pointed out that when mass cultural goods become a consumer entertainment which manipulates the minds of people and intoxicates them with sensory satisfaction so that they follow the trend, the ability to reflect on society and life is degraded. Therefore, special exhibitions are now more commercialized, enforced, and standardized so that, in the illusion of cultural institution, the museums are reduced to the producers of entertainment merchandise to control and regulate cultural needs of consumers and deprive them of personal creativity, make individuals conform, kill the autonomy and imagination of artistic appreciation, and disintegrate freedom of artistic appreciation, as pointed out by Frankfurt School scholars in the last century. The formerly well-intended museum special exhibition strategy to promote culture and arts and appreciation training has led to another issue. When special exhibitions are “commercialized,” they ruin the charm of art and culture and become the culprit of restraining creativity and appreciation.

To sum up the interviewers’ comments, it is found that as the special exhibition themes become more and more diverse in Taiwan, exhibition visitors view special exhibitions as, “a media to let beginners understand, people in an intermediate level to comprehend, and people in an advanced level to integrate into” and “*a place to go; a place to understand new things*” and finally, to “absorb knowledge,” It is the “essence of masters; a place for pilgrimage; it can expand vision.” “It can satisfy my curiosity and resolve the doubts in my mind” and “widen life” because special exhibitions “can let us see things that are hard to see,” “expand vision,” and “understand through special exhibitions,” so special exhibitions have a “special

significance. It can create a resonance among people.” After the Frankfurt School strongly questioned the commercialization of special exhibition, special exhibition “consumers” visit special exhibitions “to understand them in depth. Special exhibitions attract me because of the new things, knowledge, or experience I learn and my interest.” Special exhibitions hosted by cultural and artistic organizations should be responsible and obligated to fulfill the demands of visitors. However, most special exhibition visitors do not care whether special exhibitions will ruin the charm of culture and art and deprive them of personal creativity. After all, interest, novelty, and rarity are what attract them. The mission of sharing culture and art, preventing culture of becoming a commodity, and stimulating creativity and imagination of the people are the responsibilities of museums. Yet, what impressions have museums left on the people?

The high homogeneity of special exhibitions, such as the frequent Impressionism, Terracotta Warriors, and Egypt exhibitions in Taiwan, makes people wonder if museums are influenced by “popular culture,” and if the role of museums has become that of technical producers, hired by businessmen under the financial support of the media. Exhibition visitors are passive consumers who only choose whether to buy or not to buy...therefore, it has become the synonym of standard culture, repetitive culture, and shallow culture (Lu 2002:47-49). Museums have also intentionally or unintentionally made special exhibition a popular cultural pastime and become “venues for exhibitions” rather than holding their formerly active role. When museums are considered as “venues” by visitors, the expertise of museums is being challenged.

The survey conducted on special exhibition visitors has shown that special exhibition visitors care about the themes of exhibitions, so whether the exhibitions are held in museums is not very important. Therefore, special exhibitions are not exclusive to museums, and convenient locations and interesting themes are what is important. However, museums still have advantages. People expect “museums to be more professional than other venues, and the facility and planning of lines of motions should be more professional.” The visitors pointed out by Sue Runyard (2000) expect high quality service from museums. The meaning of high quality service may mean the care of museum collections, strategies for allowing visitors to understand the collections, implementation of customer care strategy, better access, training of visitor

services, periodic inspections of visitor services, and demands for safe facilities. If museums cannot take these points into consideration and rather let special exhibition visitors have no perception of the connection between museums and exhibitions, then it should be no surprise that special exhibition visitors do not see the importance of the museums handling special exhibitions.

“The mission of museums is to collect items and convey the meaning of these items to the visitors; educate visitors via exhibitions; and stimulate support for museums (Kotler, 1998:29).” If the role of museums changes from being subjective to objective as the mission of museums becomes a cooperative role, the development of special exhibitions is not a good influence on museums, even if special exhibitions can attract visitors. The mission of museums should be combined with the needs of the public. But what does the public need that could be provided by museums? Special exhibitions of museums, according to Fiona Mclean, are controversial because,

... of the mission of museums under consideration of the public needs. The consideration should focus on collection. Museums should continuously convey the message through their entire cultural products, not just partial products. At the same time, museums should meet the needs of visitors. This is not a simple task. It needs to be carefully managed at each part to form a whole (1997:119).

In any case, the determination could be an ideal, but if museums want to meet the needs of the public while the functions of museums are being exploited, museums should focus more on combining special exhibitions with the direction and mission of museums, not just on special exhibition visitors. Special exhibitions at museums are not just special exhibitions, and special exhibition visitors should not only have the concept of special exhibitions when they visit the museums to learn.

Visitors should be able to infer and verify the belief and mission of museums through the services provided by them. The belief should be concrete, clear, and measurable, and it should reflect the value of museums and the consensus of the museum staffs” (Yui-tan Chang 2003:218-219).

Conveying the direction and collection of museums through special exhibitions

should be the connection between the development of both the special exhibition and the museum in the future.

While museums in Taiwan attempt to balance the collection and special exhibition, other new exhibition venues are practicing the special exhibition strategy in more efficient and successful directions. These new venues are leading the Taiwanese special exhibition culture into another stage and challenging the special exhibition culture in the museum.

Chapter 4

Emerging Trends in Special Exhibitions: New Directions for Development

While visiting exhibitions becomes a leisure activity for the Taiwanese public, the demand on the exhibition venue increases. The cultural and creative parks take an important role in this issue. Because of this, the exhibitions seem divided into two categories; the exhibitions for the museum, and the exhibitions for the cultural and creative parks. The major difference is that the museums organize the exhibitions, whilst the cultural and creative parks benefit from renting themselves out as an exhibition venue. The special exhibitions attract huge numbers to visit these new exhibition venues, and also produce huge profits from their commercial activities. Although these cultural and creative parks are competition for the museum in terms of attracting the public, the special exhibition in Taiwan is very diverse, with many different kinds of special exhibition themes, such as art, history, comics, illustration, design, technology and so on. This tendency could be the chance for Taiwan to develop its exhibition culture. Meanwhile, this account of the emergence of new spaces raises the question of the future of special exhibitions in the museum: can the museum create a more clear direction for defining and curating its own special exhibitions? These are going to be the topic of discussion in this chapter.



Figure 4-1 Huashan 1914 Creative Park

Figure 4-2 Songshan Cultural and Creative Park

As special exhibitions increasingly become an alternative form of leisure and entertainment for the general public, so too is the demand for diversified special exhibitions continuously expanding. In Taiwan, these demands are being answered by establishing many new venues for special exhibitions. These “new” venues, strictly speaking, are not new at all; they are renovated or functionally redefined. In Taipei City, for example, new venues can be divided into two main categories. The first type consists of national social educational venues that offer special exhibition space for rent, including national memorials such as Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall (Figure 4-3) and Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall (Figure 4-4). The commemorative nature of such venues is toned down as space for regular exhibitions is reduced and more halls are let out for commercial special exhibitions. Meanwhile, large scale museums like the Science Education Center, in which newly completed exhibition areas provide ample additional space, rent out extra space for commercial special exhibitions. These national social educational venues use special exhibitions as a way to relieve financial pressures by attracting large numbers of visitors and generating free press, which in turn enhances the publicity and use of the venue among the general public. While the themes of special exhibitions may not necessarily correspond to the original missions of such venues, the advantages can include attracting commercial special exhibition organizers and creating win-win situations for both the private sector and government.



Figure 4-3 Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall

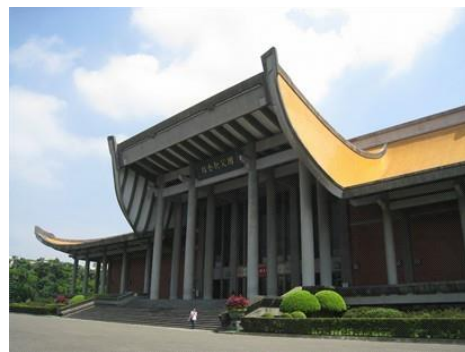


Figure 4-4 Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall

The second type of special exhibition space comprises cultural and creative industry parks, which are a new kind of art and cultural venue in Taiwan that have developed in recent years. Many of these culture parks are refurbished from pre-existing spaces that were previously left underutilized. Examples include the Forty-four South Village, located in a high-end commercial area in Taipei's Xinyi District, the Bopiliao

Historic Block in Wanhua District, an area traditionally associated with crime issues, as well as the increasingly popular Huashan 1914 Creative Park and Songshan Cultural and Creative Park. All of these areas possess certain features in common: they are centrally located with convenient transportation, utilize refurbished pre-existing buildings, replace the original function of the expropriated space, and are predominantly based on renting out space due to the bare-bones nature of the remaining infrastructure. These cultural spaces can host exhibitions that benefit the public as well as purely commercial ventures; in both cases, the premises are mostly contracted out by the government and managed by the private sector. In order to remain in operation, management teams must often meet specific financial conditions and criteria set by the government, thus prompting different management strategies to be adopted. A major feature of these cultural venues, therefore, is their considerable commercial potential. The trend toward increased commercialization is especially evident in the larger culture parks, such as the Huashan and Songshan venues.

4-1 Huashan 1914 Creative Park

The grounds of the Huashan Creative Park were previously owned by the Japanese Yoshi Brewing Company, which was founded in 1914. After the Japanese-controlled government's monopoly system was enacted in 1922, the brewery was renamed the “Taiwan Governor-General’s Monopoly Bureau, Taipei Wine Factory”, and then was subsequently again renamed the “Taiwan Province Monopoly Bureau, Taipei Wine Factory” in 1946 after the R.O.C. regained control over Taiwan. Over the history of its operation, which spanned nearly a century, the brewery produced rice wines, red rice wines, medicinal wines, an array of fruit wines, Shaoxing wine, as well as other fermented and redistilled wines, thus retaining abundant and diverse assets from the wine production industry. The grounds of Huashan cover a total of 7.21 hectares and contain an array of well-preserved buildings spanning the eras of Japanese rule and the current R.O.C. government. Amid soaring land prices and Taiwan's economic advancement, water pollution generated as a byproduct from the wine-making process required the brewery to be relocated in accordance with the 1987 Taipei City Urban Regeneration Project. Thereafter, the original grounds of Huashan remained deserted until 1997, when the Golden Bough Theatre was accused of trespassing on government property after

entering the grounds and giving performances there. The arts community quickly took notice and made a strong case for transforming the factory grounds into a permanent arts center. To enact the developmental policies of the country's cultural and creative industry, the Council for Cultural Affairs (now known as the Ministry of Culture) promoted the grounds as a focal point for the cultural and creative industry in Taiwan with the hope that it would enable the industry to generate more value. Instead of direct government participation and subsidies, the Council arranged three public-private partnerships³⁵: the Operate-Transfer ("OT") project for the Huashan Cinema; the Rehabilitate-Operate-Transfer Project for Huashan 1914 Creative Park ("Huashan ROT") aimed at boosting the cultural and creative industry;³⁶ and the Build-Operate-Transfer (BOT) project for the Cultural and Creative Industry Flagship Center. The Huashan ROT was designed to rejuvenate and refurbish the Park's historical monuments, buildings, underutilized spaces, and existing facilities to advance the development of the cultural and creative industry through cross-disciplinary integration, and thereby make Huashan a new paradigm in Taiwan's age of the creative economy. After holding an open tender, Taiwan Cultural-Creative Development Co., Ltd. was given priority to negotiate a contract, and officially signed a contract with the CCA on 6 November 2007,³⁷ thereby claiming the rehabilitation and operating rights to Huashan Park for a period of 15 years along with priority to extend the contract for another ten years thereafter. After undergoing a ten-

35 The *Act for Promotion of Private Participation in Infrastructure Projects* ("the Act") is the legal basis of the Rent-Operate-Transfer (ROT) model. In the case of the ROT for the Huashan 1914 Creative Park, the Council for Cultural Affairs estimated that investors would have to invest more than one hundred million NTD into the project to carry out space renovation and construct buildings and other infrastructure, and subsequently estimated that investors would need not be able to achieve a return on their investment until the ninth year of operation. As a result, a period of fifteen years was budgeted for the term of the ROT contract (during which time the government is to receive total payments amounting to approximately NT\$250 million). In addition, the government will be able to enforce the *Regulations for Favorable Rentals Regarding Public Land Lease and Surfacies in Infrastructure Projects*, under which it will rent approximately 3.5 ha of land and collect an annual rental payment of roughly NT\$15 million. The government has also set the fixed royalty at NT\$1 million, with the adjustable royalty to be modified based on the contractor's net profit (information concerning the adjustable royalty rate remains confidential as required by the Ministry of Culture).

36 Although ROT is an abbreviation for "Rent-Operate-Transfer," the term has also taken on the additional meaning of "Rehabilitate-Operate-Transfer." The full meaning of the term "ROT" involves the government entrusting to, or leasing out, existing facilities to private organizations to build, renovate, and operate. Upon expiry of the operating contract, the operating rights are returned to the government. In the case of Huashan 1914 Creative Park, the government used the ROT model in the previous year to solicit private participation and investment for pre-existing buildings and space; this project was called the "Solicitation for Private Participation and Investment in the Huashan 1914 Creative Park ROT Project."

37 Taiwan Cultural-Creative Development Co., Ltd.—a group comprising Yuan-Liou Publishing Co., Ltd., the Ambassador Hotel, and The Observer Design Group—was officially founded after being awarded the ROT tender for the Huashan 1914 Creative Park. One could say that the Taiwan Culture Development Alliance was established exclusively to carry out the Huashan ROT project.

year preparation stage of transformation and hosting mostly short-term events, Huashan was officially designated the flagship site for promoting the cultural and creative industry in Taiwan, and thus commenced the first year of the Huashan Creative Park.

With the exception of the Cinema in the OT project, most of the factory rooms have been transformed into exhibition venues, shops selling cultural and creative products, pubs, or restaurants. While located in central Taipei City, the Park also preserves lush greenery and the old brewery facilities, making this open space a new location for the cultural and leisure activities of Taipei residents.

Huashan possesses several advantages which enabled it to become a significant venue for holding special exhibitions, including an array of wide open spaces and greenery, convenient location and transportation, leisurely atmosphere, and unique, old-fashioned architecture. The Park serves a diversity of functions, including dining, music, exhibitions, movies, shopping, touring historical spots, and taking walks in the park, all of which are activities that relate to the daily needs of the public. As described by Mr. Jung-Wen Wang, manager of Huashan and Chairman of the leading publisher Yuan-Liou, “I see Huashan as a ‘creation’, and I anticipate it becoming ‘a large volume, a school, a stage, and a scenic spot’” (Chao-Tung Wen 2012:89).

Having faced heavy financial burdens since the beginning, with operation costs and renovation investments to balance, generating a profit has become a crucial consideration for the park's owners. From a commercial standpoint, the Park's advantages include its location, architecture, and extensive space; the only question that remains is how to best go about attracting visitors. With the gradual increase of special exhibitions on the park's grounds in recent years, visiting crowds attracted by the exhibitions have also improved the development of other industries in the Park. According to Chao-Yi Wang's *Cultural Participation, Consumption and Opportunities: A Case Study on the Collaboration between Huashan 1914 Creative Park and Songshan Cultural and Creative Park* (2013), the public's greatest motivation for visiting Huashan is to take part in art and cultural activities, and ticket purchases to art-related events are the primary source of consumer revenue. With tickets generating commercial activity at many of the park's venues, and with shops and eateries already present inside the park, the public has gradually shifted its impression of Huashan; at present, many believe that the ratio of commercial and cultural activities within the park has become unbalanced

and feel that Huashan has become commercialized.

Huashan's purpose as a cultural center has been undermined by a disproportionate level of commercialization brought about by increasingly large numbers of visitors, and the transition is clearly visible from the distribution of commercial activities in the park. In addition to running shops, Huashan's management also rents out extra factory rooms as special exhibition venues, allowing a diverse range of special exhibitions to become a popular feature of Huashan. But was this the government's intention in establishing cultural and creative parks? According to the government's initial specifications as stipulated in its call for private sector applicants to participate in the investment of the Huashan ROT and the BOT project for the Cultural and Creative Industry Flagship Center in 2009, the majority of Huashan's affiliated facilities "should be of a cultural and recreational nature; offer social education; provide food service; and offer retail outlets and other facilities for public benefit. However, the floor area of such affiliated facilities must not exceed 30 percent of the total floor area as stated in the proposal of the private sector applicant." In other words, the government required that venues rented for commercial purposes may not exceed thirty percent of the total floor area. The remaining seventy percent of the buildings must be allotted for the development and management centers of cultural and creative brands, creative or post-production studios, service centers for networking of investors with cultural and creative industries, gathering spaces for creative exchanges and performances (performance and marketing centers), digital art galleries, and other facilities for cultural and creative training and experiences. The Park management has managed to tactfully comply with the government's mandates and earn large amounts of rent from special exhibitions—approximately NTD\$ 20,000 to 80,000 (400- 1600 pounds) —per day. This revenue stream has become a major source of income for the Park. Like fine art and other museums, cultural and creative parks are using special exhibitions to attract large numbers of visitors and solve financial problems, and this has become an emerging management strategy. With their diverse themes, special exhibitions still fall under the objective of cultural and creative development while meeting government requirements in addition to generating rental payments that provide the management with financial support. This once again proves the feasibility of utilizing special exhibitions as a method for supporting cultural institutions.

Strategies for running cultural and creative sites may seem profit-oriented, but this does not hamper participation by modern consumers. On the contrary, the incorporation of special exhibitions, open layouts, numerous cafés, shops, and diverse cultural and artistic activities have all contributed to the competitiveness of the site, making it the most important center for leisure activities in Taipei City. Yet the diverse exhibition themes and commercialized management may not be closely connected to cultural creativity; in the eyes of the general public, the historical value of Huashan and its originally intended role as determined by the government are neither especially familiar nor significant as a primary basis for cultural and creative policies (Ying-Jia Huang 2012: 144–145). The large number of special exhibitions and the commercialized environment result in the neglect of the Park’s original cultural and creative objectives and facilities, while promotion of the historic site itself, through the availability of basic tour guides for example, remains lacking (Chao-Yi Wang 2013). The unique features of the Park and its purpose of establishment are clearly disregarded, and the Park has become a location for special exhibitions. As is the case with museums, the strategy of facilitating development of site individuality and government policy via special exhibitions seems unsuccessful. While Huashan faces a crisis of over-commercialization, Songshan Cultural and Creative Park seems to have fared better under similar conditions.

4-2 Songshan Cultural and Creative Park

The Songshan Cultural and Creative Park was also restored from existing underutilized property. The Park used to be a tobacco factory, founded in 1937 by the Japanese government in the light of Taiwan’s copious export of tobacco plants. After the war, the factory was renamed the Taiwanese Provincial Tobacco and Alcohol Monopoly Bureau Songshan Plant in 1945. In 1987, the factory achieved a record number of 2,000 employees, its annual production exceeding 21 billion. The factory was relocated in 1998, and the old factory premises were redesigned as the Songshan Cultural and Creative Park in 2010. With the preceding experience of Huashan, Songshan has maintained a clear self-positioning from the start of its establishment process, and has launched its opening with the 2011 Taipei World Design Expo. In 2012, the Songshan Cultural and Creative Park was positioned as the “Creative Hub of Taipei”, with the objective to nurture creative talents and energy. The Park is not designed with a

commercial focus, but rather, its mission is to kindle creativity and innovation and to be in sync with the interdisciplinary developmental trend observed in today's industries. The Songshan Cultural and Creative Park is not just a platform for showcasing creativity and innovation. It strives to be a hub for inspiring and nurturing the spirits of creativity, and with the four key strategies of "Creative Lab", "Creative Co-Op", "Creative School", and "Creative Showcase", the objective is for the Park to achieve the goal of becoming Taipei's creative hub.³⁸ Since the design and opening of the Songshan Cultural and Creative Park, both aspects have been strengthened. In addition to establishing the first design museum in Taiwan, the Park also hosts the Taiwan Office of renowned German award Red Dot and a branch of the leading Taiwanese bookstore Eslite that highlights creative designs. While renting out the venue for commercial special exhibitions invariably remains its major source of income, Songshan also maintains a clearly defined focus on design. The majority of shops in the Park pertain to cultural and creative products that focus on design, and design exhibitions are consistently held at the park, imbuing the site with a more distinctive style.

From observations on the exhibitions in the Huashan and Songshan creative parks during the second half of 2012, hosting exhibitions of various themes motivates public contact with cultural art sites, while also enabling the people to gain a better understanding of arts and culture. But depending on their exhibits, different special exhibitions require different venues. For example, "museum" exhibits are not suitable for venues in cultural and creative parks, while themes of public entertainment are less compatible with museum halls. As a result, special exhibitions in museums and those in cultural and creative parks have become differentiated in terms of their exhibits, themes, and purposes. Park exhibitions comprise themes focused on design, photography, arts and crafts, cartoons, commodities, and so on. These exhibits may include charged exhibitions, free exhibitions for advertisement and marketing, individual exhibitions of creative works, and even exhibitions of works by recent art school graduates. These sorts of exhibitions are not normally accepted in fine art museums and other mainstream museums, but are well-suited to being showcased at creative and culture parks. That being said, due to the nature of rented venues, such sites may not have the liberty to organize exhibitions with a certain level of quality or focus on the promotion of artistic education as museums are known to do. The different objectives of each exhibition

38 Quote from <http://www.songshanculturalpark.org/en/index.html> (20/01/2014)

organizer also lead to a lack of consistency among exhibitions in the Park. On the other hand, this can also be seen as a positive example of diversity. The incorporation of cultural arts events, green space recreation, and cultural consumption provides visitors with the opportunity for “creative learning” and “stress relief” (Ying-Hua Ma 2013:110–111) without the “solemnity” of museums (Chao-Yi Wang 2013). Thus for organizers of special exhibitions, cultural and creative parks are low-cost venues with adequate tolerance for a variety of different themes. Exhibitions on popular themes attract greater numbers of a more general audience, which in turn increases the number of special exhibitions in cultural and creative parks and intensifies competition that fine art and other museums must overcome.

4-3 The Relationship between Cultural and Creative Parks and Traditional Museums

The original aim of establishing cultural and creative parks was to forge closer ties between the general public and the arts, culture, and industry, and for the parks to become sources of inspiration and storehouses of culture and creative ideas for the public. In the *Cultural and Creative Parks Final Report*, the parks are defined as a platform for developing “cultural creativity” and an “economic vehicle for industry.” The economy is the focus; the goal is to facilitate business with arts, and to elevate life's aesthetics by consuming, thus commercial behavior is one acceptable activity in the parks. The primary features of such sites include popularization, consumer activities, as well as leisure and entertainment. Their close relation with the people's life is perhaps why the parks have attracted much public participation since opening. After long-term efforts, the special exhibition culture originally unique to museums have become accepted and widely participated in by the public. The combination of cultural arts and commerce has made special exhibitions the major clients for cultural and creative parks in managing their “venue rental” businesses. As a result of the high degree of development of—or more precisely, a high public demand for—cultural arts activities, traditional public spaces such as museums and memorial halls are no longer sufficient to accommodate all special exhibitions. Cultural and creative spaces thus become a new alternative; without the bureaucratic procedures of museums and the public sector, or the idealistic insistence of social educational halls, such “resurrected” old buildings are widely popular with

exhibition organizers, who can decide everything for themselves after simply paying a rental fee to use the venue.

Having long worked with museums and art museums, special exhibition companies in Taiwan, such as Media Sphere Communications, United Daily News Group, and Kuang Hong Arts, all have the ability to organize exhibitions single-handedly or in cooperation with exhibition companies abroad. With simple rental spaces, popular locations for leisure, and a variety of choices for consumers, cultural and creative parks possess advantages that national social educational institutions are often unable to provide. In Taiwan's modern society, art and culture can no longer be divided into "high" and "low" culture, "elitist" and "popular" culture, or "traditional" and "modern" culture (Min-Chih Yang 2000). Now that the general public favors cross-disciplinary integration and new and exciting experiences, the traditional can also be the modern, and the local also the international. With creativity being the key determiner, any kind of exhibitions is possible. As popular culture becomes the deciding factor in cultural industrial developments, and by being free from the constraints of museum standards, a rich diversity has been developed in today's special exhibitions.

As is the case in fine art and other museums, special exhibitions are an important tool which can motivate the general public to visit these parks. The large amounts of visitors attracted by special exhibitions are also vital to commercial development. "Venue rent is a major source of income, [...] but for the ultimate goal of introducing cultural and creative industries, and to facilitate the promotion of arts and cultural activities, achievement of such a goal seems unlikely with venue rent alone" (Chao-Tung Wen 2012:92). Apart from this aspect, the historical buildings in the parks are a symbol of the city's memory. It is therefore a vital mission of cultural and creative parks to preserve their historical heritage in order to bridge the past and present and preserve social and historical awareness while balancing the mission of the parks' functional transformation. Cultural and creative parks and museums alike must now solve the critical question of how to achieve their original purpose while simultaneously resolving management and financial issues.

Cultural and creative parks utilize an open layout design and present an atmosphere that differs from museums in order to create a "more relaxed" ambience (Chao-Yi Wang 2013). Unlike museums, an open layout offers an environment without strict supervision,

which poses a challenge for exhibiting displays from local or foreign museums; no traditional museum would allow its collections to be exhibited at a rented open-space venue. As a result, special exhibitions began to develop in a different direction. Exhibition themes became popularized, market-oriented, and entertainment-oriented; most exhibits consist of replicas or currently popular products like chocolate, candy, or teddy bears, and co-organizers comprise commercial institutes or private foundations. Moreover, this has led to a diverse range of exhibition titles, ranging from “Hello Kitty” and “Rody” to the “Museum of Broken Relationships” (Figure 4-5) and the “Museum of Bad Art” (Figure 4-6). A clear distinction began to form between special exhibitions in cultural and creative parks and those in museums. It appears that the time has arrived for museums to return to their original purpose, such as promoting exhibits and forming partnerships with international museums, research, education, exhibitions, collections, and continuing to uphold their educational function in society. Special exhibitions are opportunities for museums to engage in international cultural networking, but in the long run, their advantage is also evident in attracting visiting crowds and generating income and resolving financial problems in management, while increasing the utilization of venues, thereby earning public acknowledgement of the museum’s value.

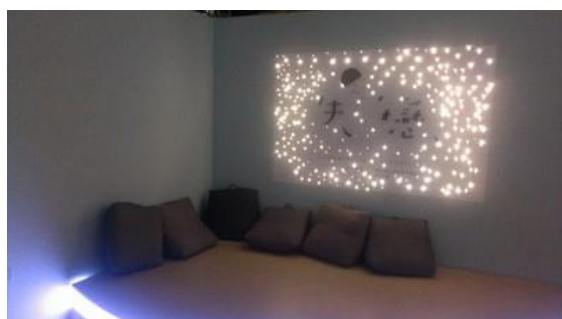


Figure 4-5 Exhibition, the Museum of Broken Relationship

Figure 4-6 Exhibition, the Museum of Bad Art

Special exhibitions in cultural and creative parks differ from those in museums in that parks do not participate directly in the organization or co-organization stage, but rather play the role of a “landlord”. By setting venue policies and prices and managing exhibition rooms on park grounds, the parks provide room for various types of cultural arts activities, and offer a place for people to discover a diverse array of leisure activities. Leisure is an important factor in the public’s choice of park premises (Chao-Yi Wang 2013; Ying-Hua Ma 2013). In *Leisure, The Basics of Culture* (2003), Josef Pieper states

that leisure is not a break from work, but rather is another form of work that is spiritually meaningful, like a holiday celebration, during which we feel fondness and gratefulness for our existence. The diversity of cultural and art events in the parks, the festive activities resembling those in exhibitions, as well as the merriment in seeing novel things, all remind us of exhibitions during the era of Japanese rule, which was the origin of exhibitions in Taiwan. Fixed park grounds, diverse exhibitions, and performances—in addition to shops, diners, and wide public participation—attracted visits by the public in those days. The phenomenon of cultural and creative parks has re-established the link between the popularity of past expositions and the Taiwanese public. The variety of special exhibitions and events is also a major factor that attracts visitors to the parks. Promotions of these exhibitions help introduce the parks themselves to the public, thereby attracting even more visitors and investment from business organizations. This mixed form of management happens to coincide with the pattern of hosting special exhibitions in museums.

Special exhibitions started out as joint efforts between museums and the mass media. Yet over time, media companies have also acquired the ability to organize exhibitions on their own while already possessing powerful media and financial resources. In light of the high-costs associated with researching and organizing exhibitions at museums, including rental fees, press companies developed a new pattern for managing special exhibitions. The mass media now plays an important role in the special exhibition industry. As Ronald V. Bettig and Jeanne Lynn Hall point out in *Big Media Big Money - Cultural Texts and Political Economics* (2013), in the 21st century, media owners share the same interests, and thus can more easily achieve consensus on certain standards and policies. Their apparent competition gives room for the participation of independent media. Their strategy of “minimizing risk and maximizing profit” will ultimately affect most of the products created and sold in mass media market, thus influencing the content of news and information we read, view, and listen to (2013:33). Hence, the relationship between museums and the media changed gradually from that of cooperation to competition.

Media companies and other major investors of commercial special exhibitions are also mediums for the exhibitions, and are highly interested in market-oriented exhibitions that can attract crowds. When art and literary exhibitions in museums attract

fewer visitors than popular culture exhibitions on novel themes held in cultural and creative parks, the choice is obvious for investors³⁹. From the commercial viewpoint of exhibition organizers, it is inevitable that special exhibitions at museums be reduced. While there are more restrictions for holding special exhibitions at museums, there are also free resources available: the international renown of the museum, staff support, partial financial support, inexpensive venue rent, benefits of public-sector influence, etc. All of these factors give museums an edge in the special exhibitions market. Recently, exhibition organizers have also introduced low-cost exhibitions into the museum system. This trend is seen in examples like the “Line Friends⁴⁰” exhibition (Figure 4-6) at the National Taiwan Science Education Center, and the replica Vermeer exhibition at National Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall. With limited annual budgets, supporting special exhibitions at museums is no longer the only choice for investors like media or exhibition-organizer companies. Investors sometimes organize exhibitions consisting mainly of replicas into museums, and promote them as “educational exhibitions.” One example is the Michelangelo exhibition, which was co-sponsored by the National Museum of History and Media Sphere Communications. The Michelangelo exhibition was predominantly composed of reproductions; however, judging from the number of visitors—the Michelangelo exhibition attracted 190,000 visits, even more than a Miro exhibition featuring only originals—it appears that exhibition-goers do not place as much emphasis on whether the objects they see are authentic or replicas as one might expect. The prestige of an artist is defined by the public’s knowledge of him or her, and what matters to museums is how to introduce art and culture to the public—whether the artist is Michelangelo or Miro, every artist is important and unique in their own way. But from the standpoint of investors, prior instances of loss or profit serve as vital benchmarks for determining future investments and selecting exhibition content.

39 Three special exhibitions were organized by the United Daily News Company between December, 2014 and March, 2015. These were *Disney 90 Anniversary* at Songshan Cultural and Creative Park, *Le petit Prince* at Huashan 1914 Creative Park and *Spirited Away in Wu Dong – A millennium of Taoist Artifacts* at the National Museum of History. The last one had the lowest number of visits.

40 Line is the mobile phone social network APP, which is popular in Taiwan. The stick figures were exhibited as the “Line Friends” in this exhibition.



Figure 4-7 The Special Exhibition, Line Friends Exhibition in the at the National Taiwan Science Education Center

As Anita Elberse describes with her example of the Real Madrid football club in *Blockbusters: Hit-Making, Risk-Taking, and the Big Business of Entertainment*: a new star player might attract global fans that alienate the existing fans and a star player's brand might come to overshadow the club's brand, leading to a loss of control over the original customer base, so bets on individual talent are inherently risky (2014: 109). The glamour of special exhibitions is similar to that of star players; it may attract new customers to the venue at which the exhibition is held. Hence, this reveals which artist—Michelangelo or Miro—is a “superstar” among the Taiwanese public. As emphasized in *The Effortless Experience: Conquering the New Battleground for Customer Loyalty*, companies have ironically missed the very thing customers *are actually looking for*—a closer-in, more attainable, replicable, and affordable goal that's been sitting right in front of them all this time: *the effortless experience* (Dixon 2014: 21). For exhibition-organizer companies, a flow of visitors means a flow of money; therefore, what matters most is what consumers really want. The responsibility to educate the public entrusted to museums, as well as experiences that must be procured through learning, or knowledge that must be acquired from understanding the spirit and value of culture and arts, are not the primary concerns of these organizers.

In the end, museums are not cultural and creative parks. For their special exhibitions to remain competitive, museums must improve their special exhibition strategies, methods, and content. If museums in Taiwan fail to consider how to differentiate themselves from rented venues and do not adjust the format of their special exhibitions—including by expanding co-sponsorships and playing to their individual strengths—then the culture of special exhibitions in museums as we know it may soon face serious obstacles.

Chapter 5

Learning from the special exhibition

The National Museum of History, Taipei has adopted the strategy of the special exhibition to be their major attraction to the Taiwanese public since 1996. The visit rate shows that the Museum seems successfully attracts more the visits and survive from the increasingly tight budget, now, competitors of a wide variety of cultural institutions are emerging, most of them also practicing the special exhibition strategy. This chapter considers the implications of my findings for how the museum could possibly learn from the operation of the special exhibition, which include the marketing scheme and how to combine consumptions within the special exhibition. Then this leads to a discussion of the value of demassification⁴¹ (which means to diversify or decentralize the public and take account of the needs of the specific individual that, I argue, the museum should consider as the future strategy towards its audiences. I will begin by considering how consumption could affect the way the public⁴² choose the cultural activities and products and how the marketing takes the important role. Last not least, I discuss how the museum should consider as visitor into different group and face the demassification era.

5-1 Consumption Connects People and Museums

Consumption could be seen as the foundation of the museum. Why is this the case? Firstly, as regards museum collections, the objects held in museums are often the result of consumption in the past. For example, during the reign of the Qianlong Emperor (1736 – 1796AD) in China's Qing Dynasty, the Suzhou Textile Bureau supplied the Qing court with high-quality silk cloth worth 65,000 tales of silver every year, for use in making apparel for the court (Lai, 2003). Today, these court clothes

⁴¹ Demassification means that society can be divided into different segments of visitors. Each group might overlap due to an individual's interests. In 1986, the Hakuhodo's Lifestyle Research Center suggested the mass no longer could be seen as the main trend: on the other hand, the society of demassification was launched. Since then, other sociologists have supported this tendency, such as Harking or Seth Goding.

⁴² Here, the affection is considered as the two-way; either the consumption is affected by the public choices or the public choice are affected by the consumption. This means the choice of the special exhibition to curate is strongly related with public preference. On the other hand, the public could only choose the special exhibition from what the cultural institutions provide.

have become priceless treasures much sought after by the world's leading museums and collectors. Over a century ago, the sociologist Thorstein Veblen was already suggesting that consumption could have a positive impact on the development of culture, with the leisured classes undertaking "wasteful" consumption in search of taste, knowledge and aesthetic beauty (Veblen, 1899) to help maintain their social status. Through this ongoing process of conspicuous consumption, the leisured bourgeoisie developed the ability to differentiate between refined and commonplace artifacts, becoming the arbiters of high culture. Grant McCracken put forward the theory that the political environment can affect economic consumption, based on a study of the court of Elizabeth I in England. To centralize power in her own person, Elizabeth insisted that England's nobles reside at the court in London rather than in the provinces; this led to intense competition amongst the nobility to display the highest degree of taste and fashionableness (McCracken, 1988:12). Viewed from this perspective, consumption is not simply a matter of personal desire; it is a cultural phenomenon. Every aspect of consumption – from product design, manufacturing and distribution through to the actual consumption behavior and the objects of consumption themselves – has cultural significance. Hill (2005) noted that, by the 18th century, the nobility and gentry in England were beginning to establish museums as a means of demonstrating their good taste, as part of the competition to display the highest possible level of refinement. Gradually, museums became synonymous with elegance and gentility. However, efforts to "educate" the laboring classes (who were seen as lacking in good taste) to adopt aristocratic standards proved generally unsuccessful; the working class held to their own cultural model, which developed to incorporate football culture, pub culture, etc (Currid, 2008).

Up until the end of the eighteenth century, museums were still the preserve of the leisured classes. Through their conspicuous consumption, the leisured classes were able to "buy" evidence of their good taste (Brooks, 2001), while drawing a sharp distinction between their way of life and that of the working classes. The museum emerged as the apogee of the rivalry in taste amongst the gentry, with the museum's collections being the fruits of their conspicuous consumption. Today, the special exhibition has become the main focus of public cultural consumption in relation to the museum. When considering the relationship between consumer culture and the museum, it becomes clear that monetary transactions are just a means to an end; the

focus needs to be placed on the cultural meaning that derives from this consumption.

The attribution of cultural meaning to consumption is commonplace in modern brand-based marketing. The purchase of a Chanel jacket costing several thousand U.S. dollars can be justified by the holding in Chanel's Taipei flagship store of an exhibition of classic Chanel jackets from the past (organized by Chanel's company museum), explaining the design philosophy of Chanel's designers, the tailoring techniques used to make the jackets, the exquisite craftsmanship involved and so on, while the "mythology" of Coco Chanel herself is used to reinforce the sense of cultural value. The attribution of cultural significance in this way has become one of the most important marketing tools in use today. A product is not just a product; it is a symbol of taste or a collectible work of art.

This concept was also seen in the holding at the Taipei Fine Arts Museum of an exhibition showcasing the career of clothing designer Vivienne Westwood⁴³, where, after learning about the design career of this "godmother" of the British fashion industry, visitors could then go to one of Vivienne Westwood's Taipei stores and purchase one of the jackets designed by the "Queen of Punk," thereby demonstrating one's good taste and building a sense of identification with the designer. While the Chanel exhibition was organized as a marketing exercise by a corporate museum, and the Westwood exhibition was a special exhibition curated by the Victoria and Albert Museum, both exhibitions displayed a similar emphasis on brand philosophy and on the artistic quality of the objects displayed. With the cultural trends towards marketization, consumerism and popularization, consumers use purchased objects to build up a world in which they will be understood and recognized, thereby helping them to maintain their social relations with other members of the community (Douglas & Isherwood, 1976). This cultural need is not something that museums (operating as non-profit organizations) can ignore simply by trying to erect barriers based on concepts of art or education. In point of fact, the most important transformation that museums can make is to recognize the influence that consumer culture exerts over the museum, whether in terms of the origins of the items held in the museum's collections or in terms of the general publics' demand for art and culture, so as to be able to provide the "total consumption" that society requires today

⁴³ The "Vivienne Westwood" exhibition was held at the Taipei Fine Arts Museum over the period September 1 to October 19, 2005, as a retrospective of Westwood's work over the past thirty years; the same exhibition had previously been held at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.

(Corrigan, 2010:12); museums need to recognize that consumers' demand for the new and the different is never satisfied (Campbell, 1983). The diversified nature of the special exhibition conforms neatly to this requirement, making special exhibitions an obvious target for consumption by novelty-seeking consumers.

As noted in McCracken (1986), culture can be transmitted within commercial products; acting through advertising and the fashion system⁴⁴, culture gives cultural significance to objects which are then transferred to individual consumers through purchasing. However, as to whether there is really any meaningful transfer of *culture* in this process, one needs to consider Bourdieu's emphasis on the expression of basic social differentiation (Bourdieu, 1984: 226). Does the process of cultural transfer display what Daniel Miller describes as a Kantian rejection of instant gratification in favor of artistic cultivation, and the development of an aesthetic sensibility based on abstract thought, or does it display an anti-Kantian popular culture with an emphasis on instant gratification and direct pleasure from sensory experience. Given that every individual has his or her own unique experience and understanding of culture and art, the way in which the transfer of culture operates produces different effects on different people. The question for the museum in regard to its involvement in the process of cultural transfer is how it can position itself as an intermediary that plays a key role in the relationship between individual and artifact, influencing today's consumption-oriented modern public and leveraging museum culture to foster greater understanding of culture and the arts and a sense that visitors have got "more than their money's worth" when visiting the museum, so that the overall impact of consumption on the museum can be a positive one.

Special exhibitions can be seen as the museum-related cultural product that inspires the greatest level of consumption from the general public. Museums can introduce cultural products that the public are familiar with as a means of communication, while members of the public can use the experience of "consuming" a special exhibition as a means of gaining closer proximity to "culture." At the same time, the revenue earned through the holding of special exhibitions increases the funds available to the museum for its own "consumption." However, this model has provoked criticism from a considerable number of experts. For example, Li-li Lian's article "The Sanxingdui Treasures versus Disney" (2013) emphasizes the need for

⁴⁴ McCracken uses the term "fashion system" to refer to that, following interpretation of cultural meaning by experts, this meaning is then transferred into consumer products.

special exhibitions to be appropriate to the mission of the museum hosting them, and the need to recognize that not all special exhibitions are of equal value; the holding of some types of special exhibition can have a serious negative impact on the museums concerned. Then there is the question as to whether consumption and popularization can really detract from a museum's authority, or whether the concept of museum authority is itself inappropriate.

When a museum adopts popular culture and consumption as key elements of its operational strategy for the purposes of cultural transmission, the two factors were also responsible for education, and entertainment. There does appear to be a considerable degree of inappropriateness in the relationship between the museum and the special exhibition. While museums are still faced with problems of inadequate funding, their status as protectors of the sacred status of art and culture is gradually being eroded, with a shift towards excessive popularization and market-orientedness. At the same time, however, the popularity of special exhibitions shows how much demand for culture continues to exist among the general public. Therefore, the museum marketing strategies assure the museum receives the public decisions. These strategies turn out to become the museum's mission, the case of the special exhibition presents this situation very well. This result leads to the new styles of museum appearing in the 21st century.

5-2 Importance of Marketing

If the visitor has been the museum's major concern since the end of the 20th century, then marketing is not just a tool to understand the visitors but also the way to set up the museum's mission. Let's not forget that the museum mission was still focused on the collection in the early part of that century. As for the visitors' concerns, they are still progressing. The concept of a different mission for a different museum should be established (Kotler 1998).

This progress can also be seen in the change of the museum marketing by reviewing the definitions of the museum marketing since the 1980's as following,

Marketing is a management process which can confirm the mission of a museum or gallery and is them responsible for the efficient identification, anticipation and

satisfaction of the needs of its users.
(Lewis 1988:147)

... the process by which one can build a relationship between the museum and the public.

(Mclean 1997: i)

Marketing can be defined simply as the management process whereby an organization meets its own objectives by satisfying the needs of its markets.

(Morris 2001:38)

It is interesting to observe that marketing has changed from a tool for confirming missions to the public, to something that helps to build the relationship with the public, then, to become a means for satisfying the public. This shows that marketing urges the museum from self-concern to outsiders' satisfaction. "Museums must make a fundamental shift away from being inwardly oriented organizations, production oriented in marketing terms, to become organizations more responsive to external forces and audiences, and more flexible in terms of attracting corporate and individual support." (Addison 1993:2)

This reflects what Eilean Hooper-Greenhill defined as the post-museum (2001). The post-modern museum presents a new communication model. The two sides of this communication model are the museum team and the visitor. The museum team includes curators, educators, marketing member and display designer. This team attempts to balance the gap between the collection and visitors. On the other side, museum visitors are no longer passive learners. Now, most of them visit museums with certain purposes and expectations. In this communication model, two sides assemble together and connect through exhibitions, services and museum setting. This is the major difference between the modern and post-modern museum. The modern museum used direct determined methods to convey the museum's mission by the curators through the collection to the visitors. This communication model has operated since the 18th century to the mid of the 20th century. Nowadays, more museums focus on the visitors' needs. It cannot be denied that museum marketing has played a major part in influencing this change.

Museum marketing has caused a revolution in museum management styles. This could not be anticipated when museum marketing was first introduced in the 1980s. If museum marketing can subvert the traditional museum in such a short time, this might show that the change of the museum is not just in their ways of communicating with public but also a new museum style which the public requires.

The reason for museum marketing starts from financial difficulties in the museum, the museum needing to generate income by itself and also understand the publics' needs. However, the result has been a conflict between the curatorial and marketing concerns. Although nowadays, it is more acceptable that museums need marketing, and most museum staff reluctantly agree to cooperate with it.

The way to solve this dilemma has been raised and the new management has been put in place in new museums. Hugh Bradford's (1991) marketing research findings, which he uncovered by interviewing the curators of Scottish museums, suggests there are three principal orientations within a successful museum's activities. They were the management of the museum itself, its reputation and its relationship with its patron.

Management of the museum was the basis for a good reputation for the museum. This in turn enhanced the relationship with the museum and its patrons. Once this relationship was established, the funding could be secured, which in turn enabled the curator to do even more within the museum, which in turn improved the museum's reputation (1991: 48).

All these three aspects are involved in the establishment of successes. Under this model, maybe it is the time to consider marketing operation differently within these three aspects. Management of the museum includes objectives, exhibition programmes, staff, and collections. Management of the relationship with the patrons deals with trustees, sponsors, local authorities and grant awarding bodies. Management of the museum's reputation focuses on visitors, local communities, media and tourist boards. Museum marketing can be involved in these three management process to understand and create museum strategies for each.

Marketing is always considering as a management process in the museum. However, this causes the museum to enlarge the marketing group in order to serve the public. It might look like the public needs catch more attention than the collection in

the eyes of the museum management. This has always been a tricky question: how could the museum take care of the collection, and at the same time, enhance provision of the visitors needs on equal terms. It is rather difficult to manage all these three aspects equitably.

In Taiwan and Japan, there are two styles of museum management which attempt to separate the marketing and the traditional museum functions. They are considered more about the visitor, but meanwhile, attempt to keep the museum's traditional mission. One is performed by National Museum of Marine Biology and Aquarium in Taiwan. Since this museum opened in 2000, it has separated the marketing and research section. Its research section is supported by the government and mainly focuses on caring for the "collection". As to the marketing section, it mainly focuses on visitor service and is operated by a private company. This company, the Sea View Worlds Co. LTD, is screened by the government and under contract for the duty and yearly feedback fund although it is allowed to commercialize the Museum. Since the Museum opened, it has been one of the most popular museums in Taiwan. Now, the Museum intends to expand its scale in order to contain more visitors.

Another example is the National Art Center Tokyo. This art center (in Japanese, this means a "gallery") focuses on its building, the service and the popular exhibition in order to attract the public. The marvelous building by famous Japanese architect, Kisho Kuokawa; various fashionable and trendy cafés and restaurants; the museum shop that includes the Japanese designers' products, are the major attractions. Its mission is mentioned on the official website (<http://www.nact.jp/english/outline.html>), and says that the National Art Center, Tokyo is a unique and innovative art exhibition facility: instead of maintaining a permanent collection, it makes the most of a total of 14,000 square meters of exhibition space, one of the largest in Japan, and focuses on serving as a venue for various art exhibitions. The Center also promotes outreach activities through its educational programs, and the Art Library serves to collect and disseminate information related to art. Located in Tokyo, an international city that attracts people, products, and information from all over Japan as well as the rest of the world, the Center will provide people with opportunities to experience diverse values and contribute to bringing forth a new culture based on the idea of mutual understanding and symbiotic relationships.

Marketing is a professional subject, the same as museology. For the museum, its

authority as the collection keeper and translator has been so for ages. The curators focus on research for these aims. Gradually, this role has been changed and more extra duties have been placed on them, such as pandering to the public. Maybe it is the time to consider that the museum should concentrate on its collection and traditional functions, and let the marketing company or team make sure the public are interested in and utilize these services. This does not just mean the marketing is a tool to communicate between the public and the museum. It is rather that the marketing is an agency to promote and sell the museum product and let the museum staff concentrate on producing high quality core products to satisfy the different segments of the public. Whether museum marketing means a museum needs to do it by itself or cooperate with these marketing professional companies will be another solution and lead the museum to a different horizon. By attempting to separate the curatorial and marketing within museum management, maybe museum marketing theories can be seen in totally different light.

When the special exhibition is taking place in the museum, usually, the marketing is operated by the cooperated media company or some other PR company, however, the special exhibition marketing is not the museum marketing; the public might notice the special exhibition but learn little about the museum. How best to use the special exhibition marketing team to include the museum into the marketing scheme, and how to operate the museum's own marketing? This question could be more developed in the future.

5-3 Demassification in the special exhibition

Ever since the British Museum opened its doors to the general public in 1759⁴⁵, the question of whether museums should be accessible to all is no longer an issue of concern. These veritable boxes of curiosities and treasures that were previously in possession of only aristocrats and intellectuals are now on exhibit to all who wish to enter. However, as the Taiwanese saying goes, it takes only one kind of grain to feed a

⁴⁵ At the time, open access was provided on a conditional basis, for example the requirement of advanced appointments and restrictions against freedom of movement within exhibition venues. Visitors had to be accompanied by guides, and there were also limitations as to how many visitors could request appointments each day. Nevertheless, as the first private collection to be publicly acquired and made accessible to the general public, the British museum transformed from privately-owned "treasure chest of curiosities" into public property that could be accessed and utilized by all interested citizens.

hundred different kinds of people, all of whom are part of the public masses. The possibility of whether museums may ever truly satisfy the diverse needs of these people is a question to which museums themselves, which were originally designed specifically to be accessible to all, have been seeking a definitive answer. To be in service to the public or, from another perspective—to control and manipulate the needs of the general public, is no simple feat, which is why museums are employing a great variety of exhibition approaches to attain this objective. The first of these approaches is exhibition diversification, such as the simultaneous installation of variously themed exhibitions within a single venue, including displays on design, cultural artifacts, contemporary art, and popular culture. This method of diversification also gradually led to an increase in the number of available exhibition venues such as cultural creative parks, private galleries, and formerly unused spaces that have been re-purposed to accommodate arts and performances. Although this increase in venue number reflects the growing popularity of exhibition culture in Taiwan, it also signifies the redistribution of visitor numbers regarding currently available venues. The ways in which exhibits are presented to their viewers as well as how collaborative models are chosen and operated have therefore become the key to attracting potential visitors and audiences. Many new collaborative exhibition models have emerged, such as exhibits that are curated by museum administrators with or without the assistance of experts in the field, design expositions within art parks that feature commercialized cultural creative products, contemporary art expos held at private galleries that aim to attract prospective buyers, and art education exhibits that are jointly held by foundations and educational institutions. In addition, museum exhibitions also bring together people from all walks of life and engender exchanges between museums and collectors or patrons, or collaborative opportunities between museums and special exhibit marketing teams. All of these developments and transitions not only represent the diverse developments that museums make for the sake of the general public, but also the masses that museums have catered to since the inauguration of open access in the 18th century until today. This phenomenon is more than a matter of providing access but moreover a reflection of how museums attempt at making contact with the general public through a diverse number of methods and perspectives. In the past, museums awaited their visitors; today, they actively reach out to prospective audiences.

The masses are not a group of homogeneous entities, and the diversification that museums conduct on behalf of these “masses” reflects another phenomenon, which is that the “masses” is only a term that very loosely categorizes a diverse number of “types.” Each person, each type, represents an entirely distinct group of people. Although museums were originally established in view of the masses, as time progressed it became inevitable that museums had to adapt to reflect the diversity that exists in modern society and the masses of today. Nowadays, when museums attempt to ingratiate each and every person, they often become nugatory and mundane (Harkin 2014; Godin 2013), therefore in recent years much more emphasis has been placed on highlighting the individualities of existing museums or creating distinctive traits. The necessity of finding a niche in the market and attracting potential visitors has been an important development in museum studies (Kotler 1998; Mclean 1997). Nevertheless, the premise on which museums may successfully attract the attention of the “masses” by building upon its specialties and traits lies in a profound understanding of the complexity of society itself. This complexity, simply put, is the sum of the diversification that results from individual differentiation.

The concept of diversification was suggested by Japanese advertising company Hakuhodo’s Lifestyle Research Center in as early as 1986, and it is centered upon the idea that society’s “masses” no longer passively awaited the dissemination of information by the media. As people increasingly became better educated and had access to higher technology and more resources, they began to become more confident in their own opinions and choices and to be better able to seek and select from various mediums of information. Diversification, therefore, is already an ongoing phenomenon. However, when diversification exists in conjunction with the phenomenon of the “cultural omnivore”⁴⁶ that is present in modern society, singular, specific preferences no longer satisfy the needs of this cultural omnivore. Individuals who exhibit a preference for history may also enjoy archaeology, art, or design; those who have a preference for high art may also find popular animations and film highly acceptable; and those who regard special exhibits as a form of leisure and

⁴⁶ In “The Minority isn’t really small,” Harkin formulated the concept of the “cultural omnivore,” which specifically refers to the phenomenon that preferences in cultural consumption in England are no longer definitely associated with differences in social class. Individuals who wish to emphasize the scope of their personal taste have a wider range of choices. Opera lovers may show a preference for popular music in order to express a personal taste that is diversified and more open-minded. This is the phenomenon of the “cultural omnivore,” an alternative method of “exhibiting cultural superiority.” (2013: 84-86)

entertainment often also have the propensity to acquire knowledge. The phenomenon of the culture omnivore in the age of diversification makes societies more complex, therefore the “masses” that museums cater to are not only highly “diversified” but are moreover “diversified omnivores.”

In this age of diversified omnivores, museums have become a form of diversion that people “choose” to engage in so as to delineate their personal individualities. This means that whether paying a visit to a museum helps to attain this personal objective and satisfy one’s interests or not are important criteria when considering which venues to visit (Mori 2004; McIntyre 2007). For highly individual modern visitors, museums that hold special exhibits on specific themes that send a clear, unified “message” are much more likely to be “chosen” than museums that are multi-functional and diverse in subject matter. In addition, museums may be overlooking the fact that “what the customers really desire is an objective that is distinct, easily attainable, replicable, and affordable (Dixon 2014:21).” Museums that offer a diverse amount of information in large volumes are therefore less desirable than special exhibits with simple themes that are easily understood and mastered. A comparison of the visitor volume between the main and special exhibits at the National Museum of History exemplifies this trend. As can be seen below (Table 5-1), the total sum of visitors for all main exhibits is significantly lower than that for the special exhibits each year.

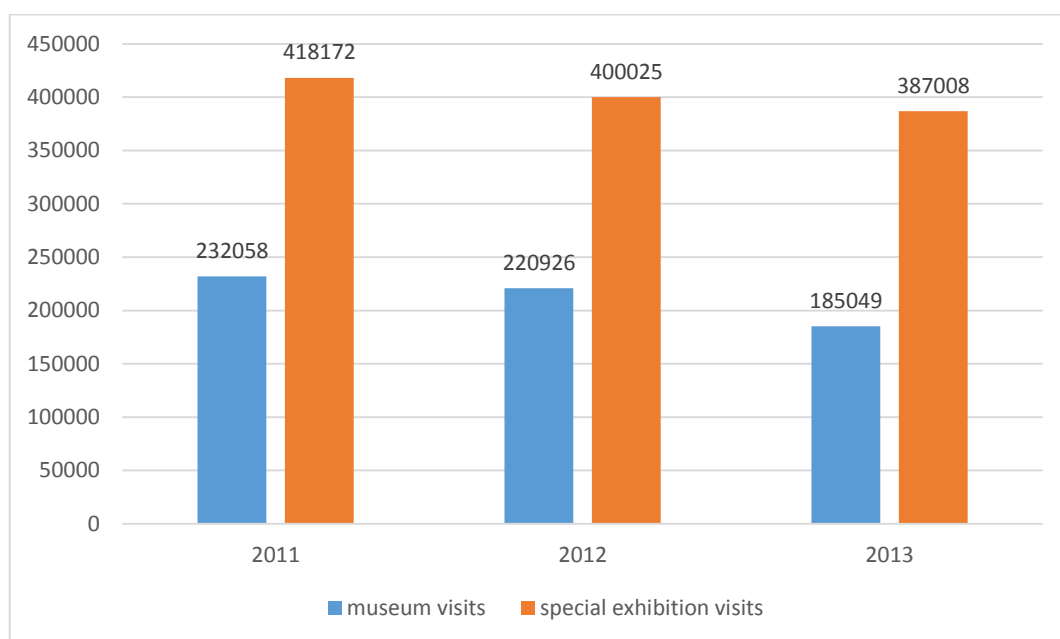


Table5-1: *the Museum visits and the special exhibition visits in the national museum of History during 2011-201*

As the table above shows, annual visitor numbers for special exhibits greatly exceed that of all the main exhibits held within the museum. The two to three limited duration special exhibits each year typically attract large volumes of visitors, whereas the numerous temporary displays or main exhibits rarely demonstrate this kind of public appeal. In addition, this phenomenon is a result of visitors who go to museums for one single objective, and this objective is to participate in the special exhibits. Although many more exhibits are held at the same venue simultaneously that include visual entertainment at a much lower cost or even free of charge, attending these exhibits does not create a sense of peer identification and is therefore rarely considered worth the time and trouble. Audiences know exactly what they want, which is why museums should stop second guessing public preference. As marketing guru Seth Godin declared in *We Are All Weird* (2012), mass marketing has come to an end, “the public” is no longer an accessible population, and the era of mass marketing objectives has been rendered obsolete. Therefore,

If you continue to insist in being everything to everybody, you will fail. The only alternative is to become of the utmost importance to a select few, but how is this to be attained? To realize this objective, you must disappoint some of the ordinary, but to tell the truth, these people will be just fine without you in their lives. (2012: 93)

If museums disseminated their messages with clarity and simplicity to populations who are in need of this information and who clearly know what they want, this type of marketing would be extremely effective. Effectiveness, however, cannot be guaranteed, since this very same population is also a conglomerate of diversified “omnivores.”

Audiences who visit museums exclusively for the special exhibits make up the majority of annual visitors to these museums, but not every exhibit has the potential to attract hundreds of thousands of visitors. Even exhibits with similar themes may not attract the same group of people over and over again. Again, if we look at the National Museum of History, the first ever “Terracotta Warriors and Horses of Qin Shi Huang” exhibit held in Taiwan was limited to just one exhibition venue in Taipei and marketed

as an exhibit with the largest ever amount of terracotta figures in history. It successfully attracted over a million visits, but behind this apparent success is the degradation of exhibition quality and visitor comfort. This exhibit, however, is an “exceptional case” in Taiwanese museum history. Special exhibits with hundreds of thousands of visitors are mass events that are only temporary,

...under certain conditions, and only under these conditions, will congregated people develop specific new characteristics; these new traits do not completely conform to the traits of the individuals within these congregations. Instead, the perspectives and opinions of these individuals become assimilated until individual consciousness is replaced by social psychology. Without a doubt, these social psychologies are only temporary, but they are unmistakably clear and definitive. (Le Bon, 2011: 51)

Judging from the number of visitors for various special exhibits, all exhibit marketing may be held in collaboration with the media and yet demonstrate very different outcomes. From the varying numbers of visitors for each exhibit, it can be seen that displays of cultural artifacts, modern artworks or regions attract varying visitor volumes. Although both the Mesopotamia exhibit and the terracotta exhibit concern ancient culture, there is a substantial gap between the respective numbers of visitors. This may be in part due to cultural differences between the East and the West, but even exhibits with the same theme, such as those on terracotta warriors, may draw different amounts of visitors. Many other factors, including different periods of the year and exhibition contents also have to be taken into account when analyzing these disparities. Notwithstanding, the audiences that museums face today are not homogeneous, and there is no guarantee that specific types of displays will hold the same level of attraction to the same population. Impressionist art, ancient culture, or even dinosaurs and mammoths no longer warrant throngs of visitors; it is instead the more unique exhibits such as “Museum of Broken Relationships,” “Crayon Shin-chan,” and “LINE” that attract tens of thousands of visitors due to their novelty and relevance to ongoing cultural trends. It is undeniable that special exhibits speak to specific audiences, and media promotions only serve to increase the number of avid exhibit goers.

Perhaps this is the bandwagon effect, and there is evidence that this market condition is intensifying... We share and have access to so much information that we begin losing our individuality. We even begin to seek out others who think the same way as we do (Silver 2013: 408)

As with the previously mentioned cultural omnivores, in this age of diversification, what museums must address are individuals who have a diverse range of interests and are seeking to express their individuality in different ways. The key to creating synergy and conglomeration is by effectively providing relevant information to these individuals. This may sometimes successfully result in creating bandwagon effects, but ultimately the choice of participation lies in the individual.

Most national museums and art galleries in Taiwan are government institutions that are open to the public. Apart from their original purposes of education, the changing times have instigated an increasing number of additional visitor services. However, tightening budgets and an increasing number of “competitors” within the cultural sphere have forced administrations to compete for profit with privately-owned institutions. In order to avoid unnecessary venue vacancies and to increase both revenue and visitor numbers, special exhibitions have become one of the most important marketing strategies employed by a diverse number of museums and galleries. Museums have specific traditional meanings and purposes in terms of essence and function. They are not places of entertainment, therefore if museums are excessively packaged as entertaining or commercial, this conflicts with popular conceptualizations of what museums are. Therefore it is imperative that museums attempting to package arts and culture in alignment with popular entertainment be aware of this potential discrepancy. After all, only the simplest concepts can be accepted by the masses, because these concepts have already undergone massive adaptation to be easily understandable and embraced by the general public. “For concepts to be understood by the masses and for them to exert influence over society, the noblest and most majestic qualities have to be completely eliminated. (Le Bon 2011: 83)”

Without the essential elements of arts and culture, museums will be unable to

explain why their missions have not been accomplished, therefore special exhibitions should not only be a means of increasing visitor numbers and revenue. In this age of diversification and heterogeneity, special exhibitions must address the two following critical elements:

I. The accumulation of social cultural capital

The spectator's interest in watching repetitive dramatic episodes, what sparks their attention, is the knowledge that they are better informed of the circumstances than the characters within the drama. In other words, it is a sense of superiority that is engendered by vision. This sustains their excitement and sense of satisfaction. (Yu Qiuyu 2006: 109)

Pierre Bourdieu's definition of "cultural capital" is the key to our understanding of the level of perception people have of arts and culture. The more profound their understanding is, the higher their level of excitement and satisfaction. Nevertheless, in terms of acquiring knowledge of arts and culture, Bourdieu differentiates between individuals of various social classes and level of education. The working class adopts a more practical and functional approach towards aesthetics, and are therefore unable to accept the possibility of art for art's sake, which is why they often forego the opportunity to acquire knowledge pertaining to these types of cultural capital. However, since the "popular taste" embraced by the working classes does not have a basis in the accumulation of cultural capital, it is necessarily influenced and dictated by legitimate culture (Bourdieu 1984). In his book titled *Popular Cultural Theory*, Lu Yang further explicates the outcomes of a popular culture that is dictated by legitimate culture,

The ruling class may have participated in the production of popular culture... once popular culture becomes a consumer product, it is naturally regulated by market disciplines. At this stage, the masses will no longer rely on intellectuals for standards of amusement with which to appreciate and enjoy their cultural products. (2002: 68)

This explains how cultural capital, from the perspective of popular culture,

undergoes redefinition and expansion of meaning. At different times in history, cultural capital engenders and transforms meaning, therefore continuous learning is necessary in order to accumulate these transformations. The ability to accumulate knowledge in cultural capital enables the deciphering of specific symbolic codes, which in turn give meaning to cultural and works of art. Therefore, the main purpose of museums and art galleries lies in their capacity to transmit cultural codes so that members of society can decipher and analyze these cultural assets.

For Bourdieu, the accumulation of knowledge in cultural capital is attained through education and social class, but a different perspective has been proposed by Dr. Jia-you Hsu, research fellow at Academia Sinica, in a study he conducted titled “A Quantified Study of the Artistic Taste and Aesthetic Distance of the Taiwanese Public.” He states that, Taiwanese people typically prefer realistic, vibrantly colored art works that are highly decorative, complementary of their surroundings, and can be quickly and easily comprehended without prior knowledge of cultural symbols and interpretative skills. Differences in level of education and social class therefore do not result in drastically varying artistic interpretations. (2011: 126)

This is where Hsu’s perspective differs from Bourdieu, who proposed that realist art is preferred by the working class and the undereducated. At the same time, however, in Taiwan it is indeed the better educated individuals who are most receptive of modern art, which is why Hsu concluded that the fundamental reasons for aesthetic distance “lies in education, not social class.” (Hsu 2011: 126) This study demonstrates that the reason why special exhibits regard modern art as taboo. On the one hand, the abstract symbols within modern art require a certain amount of cultural assets to comprehend, and on the other the importance of modern art is just as misunderstood as children’s painting styles often are and require sufficient time to analyze and explicate. The knowledge base that is imperative for this type of artistic appreciation must be based on education, but the temporal and spatial limitations of exhibitions are hindrances to this kind of profound understanding.

Viewing an exhibition is similar to reading a book; an indecipherable book written in Tangut script that has not been meticulously translated cannot be fully comprehended. A Tangut culture exhibition displayed within a venue of 1000 square meter can only provide limited information, therefore if individuals did not previously possess the cultural assets that help to decipher these symbols, the entire visit will

amount to little more than a passing glance. The act of choosing an exhibition to attend is in itself a decision that is based on the cultural assets that a person already possesses. The consumption of related cultural symbols, whether in the form of monetary consumption or the dedication of time, becomes one of the most direct forms of surrender. In consideration of the trajectory along which Taiwan's commercial exhibitions are developing, the phenomenon is just as McCracken described it when he suggested that culture is transferable between consumer products. (1988) Culture imbues objects with meaning through marketing and the system of fashion⁴⁷, which is then transmitted to individual consumers through purchases and other forms of consumption. This is the accumulation of cultural assets, and as the overall scope of cultural assets in society grows richer and more profound, cultural phenomena will demonstrate a higher level of diversity. "Education" is key to the attainment of this objective, and the museum, as an integral part of social education, must place additional emphasis on the educational values of special exhibits in comparison with other exhibition venues. It is essential that museums fully understand how to incorporate continuous education into exhibition design, so that society as a whole accumulates more cultural capital, audiences are better able to decipher cultural and artistic codes, and the museum becomes a social sphere within which these cultural practices are sustainably engaged in. In view of this objective, museums must consider how audiences may be enabled to decipher cultural symbols within the time span of just an hour; audiences must not pass by the exhibits as if "monetary consumption" was the only souvenir they could bring away. Visual memory must become deeply embedded within their consciousness, not just as images in their cameras or cellular phones. An exhibition visit must be a committed experience that provokes individual thought, not merely a check-in on social media that simply describes the act of "Saw an exhibition at the Museum of History today." These objectives are all important missions that museums have been entrusted to execute, as well as special traits that museums can leverage to highlight their difference from other exhibition venues and performance centers.

II. Strengthening of museum characteristics to structure specific diversified communities

⁴⁷ The system of fashion that G. McCracken refers to here is the process in which the meaning of culture is explicated through cultural expertise and transmitted onto consumer goods.

In *The Warhol Economy: How Fashion, Art, and Music Drive New York City*, (2008) Currid proposed the theory that art and culture is critical to economic growth, and that it is essentially a social function. Therefore a city that is built around art and culture must pro-actively support and nurture locations at which art and culture emerge. The higher the density of art and culture within the city, the more effective this model is, therefore government policies should be centered upon encouraging and sustaining the concentration and conglomeration of creative events. Policy makers must understand that art and culture is empowered by community, and that these events do not always occur at enclosed, designated spaces. They are propelled by a fluid, interdisciplinary power that includes inspiration and creativity from a diverse range of fields and mediums emerging from non-conventional locations. (2008: 216-221). The power of art and culture is therefore a key element for building communities in modern societies. Museums essentially encompass these two key elements, and the key to enhancing critical massing through increasing social function, social relevance and cultural creativity lies in the effective use of their respective traits and characteristics. It would be a great loss in terms of uniqueness and distinction if the individual traits that these museums may fully utilize did not originate from the artistic and cultural qualities they already possess.

In recent years, general audiences seem to have a higher preference for imported special exhibits, and museums that have accumulated experience in special exhibits as well as other extended applications could perhaps borrow the idea of “twisting the familiar” from last century’s bestselling book on life trend predictions, *The Popcorn Report*. In this book, the author proposes that,

“when familiar things mutate or are twisted to accommodate other forms of use, and when familiar, suitable things are transformed and applied onto new things, the result is not a generation of creative effects but moreover assurances against new things being not easily accepted. Its main concept lies in the fundamental act of “twisting the familiar” by taking advantage of consumer reliance on familiarity and past preference.” (1992: 176)

This is what Godin referred to when he spoke of “a new culture that is engendered on the basis of an older culture, and an alternative aspect of culture that

adds onto and enlivens a previously existing cultural foundation.” (2012: 62) The special exhibit phenomenon in terms of museum operation and marketing is an extended development of existing foundations. These foundations are more than just collections and museum history; they are moreover the memory of how museums have interacted with the general public in the past, and how museum buildings have become an integral part of people’s lifestyles. These elements can all be considered as part of a museum’s existing culture, and these existing traits will continue to accumulate and develop by emulating the “special exhibit model” and making themselves more clearly accessible and identifiable by the general public. This will help to build individuality and distinction, to attract the attention of diverse communities, and create a conglomerate of the diversified masses.

Museum traits must evolve into styles in order to gain public identification, because “style identity enhances consumer trust in product quality and induces consumers to think that the very act of consumption is a process of ‘completing one’s self identity’” (2005: 70). This marketing strategy that is applicable to luxury brands has many similarities with those normally employed by museums. Firstly, both emphasize intriguing heritage and qualities of distinction, or even legendary tales about the creation of their respective brand names. Fashion houses like Chanel, Hermes, and Cartier all accentuate the extraordinary creation of their brands and products, and these compelling histories are additionally enhanced by the marketing of specific traits like art, culture, taste, style, and even collection value. These traits, such as well-told brand histories, designer aura, and celebrity collaboration culminate in successful brand marketing, so that each luxury brand comes to represent a specific style. Consumers exhibit their personal style through the act of purchase and brand identification, thereby imbuing each individual brand with unique artistic and cultural value. These complementary qualities can be utilized in special exhibit planning and marketing, for example the “Royal Style—Qing Dynasty to Western Court Jewelry” exhibit held at Taipei’s National Palace Museum in 2002 at which numerous pieces of Cartier high jewelry were placed on public view. In this special exhibit, the National Palace Museums’ Qing dynasty court jewelry collection was juxtaposed with western court jewelry by means of a specially designed exhibition flow that accentuated the distinctive differences between the East and the West. The ways in which the two hemispheres work with and style jewelry created strong visual contrast as sparkling

diamonds are placed in comparison with intricately sculpted jadeite pieces, and western gemstone mounting techniques are juxtaposed against Chinese precious metal craftsmanship. The decorative artistic styles of the two different cultures demonstrated distinctive contrast, and the differences in periodic styles that were engendered by the cultural exchanges between East and West was also made apparent in this exhibition, creating an immensely interesting and intriguing juxtaposition. In this special exhibit, the collections at National Palace Museum were displayed along with jewelry pieces created by Cartier to demonstrate to audiences the differences in royal styles between East and West, and is moreover a model of success in terms of collaborative exhibits involving existing museum collections and exhibit items supplied by outside sources.

Following the effective integration of existing museum collections and complementary special exhibits, the next step is to actualize what Shun Sasaki proposed in his book titled *The Era of Exhibition Planning*, which is to create tangible connections between “all kinds of different ‘cliques’” (2012: 128). These “cliques” open the door to even more possibilities in the age of exhibition planning, and provide opportunities for “connections”⁴⁸ between different types of exhibit planning strategies and methods. Special exhibit culture engenders connections between different communities, and as the trend of the cultural omnivore continues to evolve and develop, these communities form into distinctive groups of special exhibit audiences. The formation of this kind of joint community is however predicated on mutual consensus, which in turn requires identification. Therefore, if museums are identified with by their respective communities, and if they continue to enhance their areas of expertise and distinctive traits, special exhibits will help to create even more opportunities for connection in a diverse number of ways. Aside from exploring and excavating new potential communities and audiences, museums will be able to establish their individual diversified communities. On the contrary, in the event a museum’s special exhibits fail to invoke a sense of identification that is shared between diversified communities, the lack of a sense of identification will quickly accumulate and evolve into disintegration, and ultimately lead to the museum’s failure to establish its own diversified community.

Museums may appear to be accessible to the general public, whereas in fact, the

⁴⁸ What Sasaki refers to as “connection” is the way in which consumption is redirected from consumption of actual products to venues or behaviors. Consumption is no longer the representation of a symbol; it is a gesture of support demonstrated through action. An exhibition visit is a form of active support and the support of an idea. This is the concept of connection.

public is no more than the total sum of diversified communities. There are therefore two approaches in the effective treatment of a diversified society, one of which is to enhance and strengthen a museum's existing traits so that these messages appeal to the same communities that had previously displayed a preference for these traits. As a result, the museum will eventually become part of this community, just as the museums and galleries of the nineteenth century became spaces that catered to particular groups of people. (Bourdieu 1984; Hill 2005) As a matter of fact, since museums enhance their distinctive traits to appeal to interested audiences, thereby accumulating brand characteristics and solidifying their original visitor pools, as long as museums continue to plan their exhibits in accordance with the preferences of its main audience, these communities will not disintegrate. Therefore, museums that employ this strategy must enhance their level of expertise and supply their audiences with opportunities with continuous education and corresponding leisure activities. A prime example of museums in this category is the Santori Museum of Art in Midtown Tokyo, Japan. This art museum has no permanent exhibitions and operates as a private museum that continues to support and nurture Japanese art by means of special exhibits. This tactic allows the museum to fully express its objectives and initiatives through continuously refreshed displays of its collections. It also works in collaboration with other collectors in exhibition planning, and has quickly become one of Japan's most important museums for local traditional art. Its distinctive exhibition themes and regularly displayed seasonal special exhibits clearly express its individual traits and appeal to certain communities with this type of cultural requirement. However, this tactic also excludes individuals and communities that are disinterested in the field. The second type of museums aim at serving the entirety of the general public, and are therefore extremely concerned with how to relay pertinent messages to a diverse range of communities within a diversified society. These museums utilize mutually comprehensible cultural symbols as their language of communication and to appeal to a large variety of potential audiences, therefore multiplicity and diversity becomes one of the most critical qualities that museums must possess and utilize in order to attain this objective. However, excessive diversity often leads to loss of distinctive traits, and over-reliance on special exhibits can lead to undesirable levels of commercialization and consumerism. Museums that verge too far in this direction are in danger of becoming exposition venues that market the

cultural product of special exhibits and are likely to be judged by the general public as disqualified in terms of social education and social function. If special exhibits diverge from a museum's specialty, or if they are in conflict with the museum's objectives, missions, and distinctive qualities, they will remain disparate with the true focus and unique traits of the museum. It is also unclear whether these types of special exhibits contribute toward integrating and solidifying the diversified audience communities of the museum. Both types of museum operational strategies involve providing access to large numbers of omnivorous, modern, diversified communities. The choice of which strategy to adopt does not lie in museum curators, directors, associated government officials or even special exhibit collaborators. The key to employing the most effective strategy lies in the profound understanding of a museum's intrinsic qualities, its collections, exhibition spaces, history, and personnel. It also lies in the museum's relationship and interaction with its surrounding neighborhood environment, its areas of research and expertise, its budget, funding sources, available resources, even its political stance or international status. All these elements are key factors in a museum's consideration of how to achieve a sustainable relationship with a diversified society.

From the special exhibition, there is a lot to learn. The charm of the special exhibition attracts the public; from the visit rate, it seems even more popular and efficient than the museum. The exhibition is an important function for connecting the public and the museum, if the museum can find the public demand from the special exhibition and understand the public through the special exhibition. The museum can approach the public more than in the past. From the needs of the consumption among the public, the importance to connect the public with the market scheme and the last not the least, to find the demassification in the special exhibition. What the special exhibition shows is also the way from the museum to find the new strategy in the future to approach the non-museum visitors. Only if the museum starts to go outside the museum wall, museum can merge into the public daily life and function more deeply.

Conclusion

The special exhibition is seen as something for which the general public has a need; research on museum visitors (Mori, 2005; McIntyre, 2006) has shown that visitors often have a specific purpose for going to a specific museum. A key factor that determines whether or not a special exhibition is successful could be the extent to which the organizers have been able to identify the publics' interests and preferences. Given the museum's role as an institution for social education, however, there are questions of, firstly, whether the museum should base its decisions on the publics' preferences, and secondly, whether the museum's collections are appropriate for holding the types of special exhibition that would appeal to the general public. The combination of the publics' preferences with the museum or art gallery's original purpose is a difficult balancing act.

Popularized, consumer-focused culture has become an inevitable trend. "Market value" has infiltrated museum operations. Museums have become a commodity that has to compete with theme parks, shopping malls, exhibition centers, and entertainment venues. In Chang Yu-Teng's *Observation of Museum Trends (2003)*, it is pointed out that the "Disney-fication" of museums has two aspects:

First, museums offer artificial history, science, culture and simulated environments to visitors...for example, the Canadian Museum of Civilization. Second, the change of the nature and structure of museums, museums are visitor-oriented...mercantilism in modern museums...reflects the impact of corporation with business sponsors (2003:163-165).

An exhibition is a direct medium of communication between the museum and the public. Special exhibitions seem to be the most efficient form of this communication. Special exhibitions have developed their own individualized qualities. Connecting with special exhibitions is now independent from the museum. The special exhibition has become the cultural product which is chosen according to the needs of the people.

For special exhibition visitors, if there is no difference between museums and other venues, this shows that the museum might have failed in identifying its own unique features. Special exhibitions have explored not only community awareness of museums but also the public demand for special exhibitions. Although special

exhibitions are not necessarily held by museums, special exhibitions organized by museums are characterized as more unique and presented with more expertise. As Mclean (1997) points out, museums are established to serve the public and they also need to convey the mission of museums to visitors through “their” collections. Kotler (1998) believes that the mission of museums is to collect, interpret, and educate visitors through displays and inspire people to support museums.

Special exhibitions are supposed to have a good impact on museums. Loaned exhibitions can be complementary and increase interactions with other museums. Museums develop a special exhibition with the concept of “benefiting from other’s strengths,” so museum-specific special exhibitions would complete any deficiency in the museum. However, in Taiwan, some national museums seem to lose their purpose under the influence of popular demands and have become artificial, commercial, and re-purposed as entertaining exhibition centers. The challenge for these museums is to find a way to integrate and coordinate the museum collection with various special exhibitions.

Special exhibitions have strongly influenced the National Museum of History, Taiwan. It is interesting to discover the relationship between the museum's reasons for establishment and how the different methods the museum presents itself and its exhibitions over time. It is very difficult to judge if the special exhibition has had positive or negative effects on the national museum because the museum has sacrificed focus on its own collection while satisfying public demand and gaining financial support.

When building its mission, a museum considers all of the following aspects: the collection, public, service, research, education, entertainment value, and so on. How could a school become like Disneyland, and how could a teacher act as customer service? Both collection-oriented and visitor-oriented missions are important for the museum. With a limited budget and museum space and only a few museum staff on hand to operate, it is not just a question of how to balance conflicting missions; it is also the question of which of these missions could best fulfill general societal and public demand. We would like to believe the museum products (or service) could achieve what Fiona McLean insists;

The product should only be augmented if it supports the mission of the museum

in terms of the needs of its public. This should remain the driving force behind any decision on the collection. ... If the museum is not to be perceived as disparate but holistic, it needs to ensure that it is communicating the same message through all of its products, a message that reinforces its mission while at the same time meeting the needs of its user. This is not easy task and requires careful management of each of the parts if it is truly to form a whole (1997: 119).

However, the question remains whether Mclean's argument is practically possible or whether it represents an unachievable utopia. The reality might tell the truth.

From the increasing number of special exhibitions in Taiwan, we might assume that the Taiwanese public are interested in special exhibitions. While this does not definitely mean the exhibition culture should be based on the publics' decisions, it is difficult to avoid this tendency. Learning from the special exhibition is what the cultural institutions in Taiwan are doing right now. All the cultural and creative districts that combine the special exhibition and visitor services, such as cafés, shops, or lecture spaces are popular nowadays. The subjects and contents of special exhibitions in the cultural and creative districts tend to be artificial, commercial, and oriented around entertainment and popular cultures. For special exhibition visitors with strong intentions and interest, these kinds of cultural spaces match their needs.

Museums might not be the favored special exhibition spaces in comparison with cultural districts in Taiwan, due to a lack of visitor services, such as less popular cultural exhibitions, café or shopping areas. For exhibitions by cooperating companies, to rent an exposition venue is a much easier decision than dealing with the museum regulations and staff. This might be a good opportunity for the museum to discover a new solution for the next decade. A new way to operate special exhibitions or some other fresh, original and better strategies based on the Taiwanese public need to be put into practice now. They should be derived from the current societal situation and previous special exhibition experiences. The following tendencies could be considered:

- (1) Facing the age of demassification

Marketing guru Seth Godin, author of *We Are All Weird* (2012), declares that mass marketing has come to an end; "the public" is no longer an accessible population

as the era of mass marketing objectives has passed. Thus, as Godin argues;

if you insist on being everything for everyone, you will fail. The only alternative is to appeal to a minority of people, to become extremely important to them. To achieve this goal, you must disappoint some of the majority people; to be honest, even without you these people are alive and well (2012: 93).

Toshinao Sasaki also proposed in his book *Curation* (2012): that the time of "the formation of various small circles" has arrived (2012: 128).

Demassification, proposed as early as 1986 by Hokuho, Institute of Life and Living, refers to a phenomenon where "masses" of the population in society are no longer equally reliant upon or subjected to the mass media that disseminate information. People are increasingly attaining higher education and societies are progressing under these respective conditions. Science and technology are constantly increasing in sophistication, allowing people to independently develop their own ideas or opinions through finding and selecting information. The status and multiculturalism of this focus are, by now, common themes in many different types of special exhibitions, the conditions of which have produced specific results.

(2) The Blockbuster Strategy

As Anita Elberse in *Blockbusters: Hit-making, Risk-Taking and the Big Business of Entertainment* (2014) points out, the blockbuster strategy is the way to win. Huge amounts of money are invested in blockbusters which are expected to cover other events or activities, for which expenses are substantially reduced in order to support the blockbusters. This strategy has proven to be the best in order to maintain continued success over a long period of time, because most consumers prefer blockbusters rather than other entertainment products. The special exhibition strategy in the museum might be the right direction according to the Elberse's findings. However, perhaps the blockbuster strategy should be based on the museum – its collection, any international relationships, or research findings in order to reinforce the museum's image with the public. Therefore,

when a museum rents traveling exhibitions, they should be chosen for relevance...with one or two paragraphs explaining the relevance of the show

with the mission of the museum. If possible, artifacts from the museum's own collection should be woven throughout the exhibition" (Wallace 2006:14).

Focusing the subject of the special exhibition on the museum mission would be the best way to connect the museum and the public.

(3) Taste producer and gatekeeper

The famous Japanese cultural theorist, Matsuura Yataro, once mentioned that his cultivation of taste is based on the museum and heritage (Matsuura 2014). The museum's contents, the research, education, exhibition, and collection function, offers the best opportunity to cultivate taste. Cultural economist Elizabeth Currid, observed that the specialist is the taste producer and gatekeeper who tells us what we should seek to obtain or have and what taste is (2008: 22). Although the special exhibition visitors tend to see exhibitions as leisure activities, learning is also an important motive. The museum is one of the best places to increase one's knowledge and improve one's taste. The museum should strengthen this function, maybe not by using the term "education," but rather by considering mixing learning activities into the exhibitions and enforcing the impression that the museum is the tastemaker and gatekeeper.

By considering the current situation of Taiwan regarding public demand, the museum exhibitions, permanent collection, or facilities integrated into the public daily life should be the most vital museum mission. Connecting with the public through what they are familiar with should be the first thing the museum learns from the special exhibition experience. Organizing museum exhibitions using special exhibition methods would be the second takeaway, and the third should be that commercialization might not be evil as far as the public is concerned; moreover, it is the easiest way to approach culture and art, even though, "the danger exists that if museums are squeezed too tightly, all the revenue-generating effort of their best people will not suffice to preserve core functions" (Alexander, 1999: 405).

The purpose for this study has been to explore special exhibitions and their influences at the National Museum of History in Taipei. Therefore, it has traced the emergence of a culture of staging and visiting special exhibitions in national museums in Taiwan in order to explain how the special exhibition has developed roots in Taiwanese society. A visitor survey was conducted in order to gain an insight into

visitors' motivations and expectations. From the special exhibition visitor's motivations and expectations, reasons why the new special exhibition venues in Taiwan have been developing in recent years can be gathered. By examining the emergence of new spaces for the staging of special exhibitions, the need for various special exhibitions and visitor facilities in Taiwanese society is implied. This project has also found that various exhibition subjects can be divided into different segments of visitors; this shows that the concept of the special exhibition for all needs to change in order to reach this demassified market, a market constructed by different groups of people.

From the recent special exhibition subjects in Taiwan, such as *Face of Leonardo: Images of a Genius*⁴⁹, *A Retrospective of Miffy*⁵⁰ or *Dinosaur's Adventures on the Earth*⁵¹, it is clear that replica, illustration, comic or novelty subjects remain popular in the special exhibition market. Due to the fact that it is not necessary to hold this kind of special exhibition in the national museum, the cultural and creative park is increasing its importance as the ideal special exhibition venue. The museum has to face a new decade in which the international loan exhibition might be difficult to attract, due to the market drivers and costs. Therefore the museum needs curate its own special exhibition, the one which only the museum could create, relying on either its collection or professional skills. In short, the future of special exhibitions in museums potentially lies in distinguishing their role from that of other venues. Therefore, a larger scale analysis of visitors to special exhibitions across a variety of venues will be necessary in order to understand the different segments of the special exhibition market to help either the museum or the cultural and creative park in their future development.

In this research, we have developed an understanding about how Taiwanese society has shaped a museum paradigm that had never before existed in their culture. During the course of this research, redefining the definition of a "museum" in Taiwan has been suggested in order to conform it to Taiwanese society. This shows how the museum functions for its own social demands, in order to realize the museum's

⁴⁹ The replica exhibition of Leonardo's masterpieces was held from 27 June to 20, September, 2015, in Huashan 1914 Creative Park

⁵⁰ The illustration exhibition of Miffy was held from 19 June to 13 September, 2015, in Huashan 1914 Creative Park

⁵¹ This exhibition shows all kinds of dinosaurs from the Cretaceous Period. The main promotional point is that the dinosaurs can move. The exhibition dates were 13 June to 6 September, 2015 in Chiang Kai-Shek Memorial Hall. This Memorial hall has been holding a dinosaur exhibition since 2009.

mission for Taiwanese society. For the Taiwanese public, the special exhibition appears earlier in history than the museum. Therefore, the special exhibition is an appropriate way to start visiting cultural institutions for most people and, for this era of demassification, it is also the time to divide the special exhibition into different stages in order to encourage more of the public into the cultural institution. Learning from the special exhibition experience, the national museum in Taiwan has been transforming itself. That the museum is a part of the people's daily life is to be expected. How to combine and integrate the special exhibition strategy into the museum mission is constantly a challenge for every museum and scholar in Taiwan.

The appendices

I : The special exhibition visitors of national museums from 2010 to 2011:

Location	Exhibition Name	Exhibition Date	Visitors
National Palace Museum	Celebration by Marc Chagall	2011/2/26– 2011/5/29	197,885
	Treasures from the British Museum: The Body Beautiful in Ancient Greece	2010/10/15-2010/5/16	169,178
	Tibet – Treasures from the Roof of the World	2010/7/1 – 2010/5/16	160,359
	Gold and Glory: the Wonders of Khitan from the Inner Mongolia Museum Collection	2010/2/6 – 2010/5/16	57,667
National Chang Kai-Shek Memorial Hall	Osamu Tezuka's World Exhibition	2011/07/09~2011/10/06	197,308
	Quest For Immortality	2011/06/12~2011/09/23	600,653
	Barbizon Print	2011/02/26~2011/05/01	19,973
	Mr. Andersen's magic speaking hat	2010/07/10~2010/10/03	101,607
	Da Vinci-The Genius	2011/12/10~2012/03/14	209,806
	Playing with Dinosaurs	2009/12/12~2010/04/05	454,905
National Museum of History	Dreams Come True: The Art of Disney's Classic Fairy Tales	2011/12/10~2012/03/14	143,777
	Picasso Masterpieces from the Musée National Picasso – Paris	2011/06/18~2011/09/18	297,480
	The Golden Age of the Qing : Treasures from the ShenYang Palace Museum	2011/01/29~2011/05/01	104,962
	Imperial Treasures——Relics of Famen Temple Underground Palace and the Flourishing Tang	2010/10/29~2011/01/09	20,683
	Legends of Heroes: the Heritage of the Three Kingdoms Era	2010/06/05~2010/09/05	99,256
	Van Gogh: The Flaming Soul	2009/12/11~2010/03/28	413,491
Taipei Fine Arts	Monet Garden	2011/03/05 - 2011/06/05	n/a

Museum	Elsewhere: Gauguin	2010/11/27- 2011/2/20	172415
	Monet to Picasso: Masterpieces from the. Philadelphia Museum of Art	2010/6/26 –2010/9/26	210230
	Jean-Paul Gaultier/Régine Chopinot	2010/5/29– 2010/8/15	96940

II: The Special Exhibitions in Huashan 1914 Creative Park and Shongshan Cultural and Creative Park

Huashan 1914 Creative Park		Shongshan Cultural and Creative Park	
Exhibition Name	Date	Exhibition Name	Date
賽爾號特展-戰神聯盟 動員令 Purcell Special Exhibition - Ares Alliance mobilization	2012-06-22 ~ 2012-09-30	積木夢工廠 Blocks DreamWorks	2012-07-14 ~2012-10-14
故宮親子數位藝術展 National Palace Museum Family Digital Art Exhibition	2012-07-17 ~ 2012-09-16	好 young 創意特展 Young Artists Creative Exhibition	2012-09-21 ~2012-11-28
昆蟲生態教育博覽會 暨螢火蟲特展 Insect Ecology Education Expo Firefly Exhibition	2012-07-13 ~ 2012-08-05	《雲端冒險》2012 數位表演藝術節 "Cloud Adventure" Digital Performing Arts Festival 2012	2012-09-26 ~2012-11-04
普通。美 Ordinary Beauty	2012-07-19 ~ 201-08-15	2012 台北設計城市 展 2012 Taipei Urban Design Exhibition	2012-10-05 ~2012-10-28
文化記憶・典藏創新- 與記憶共感互動典藏 展 Cultural memory, Collections Innovation - The memory with a sense of interaction with the Collection Exhibition	2012-08-31 - 2012-09-16	原來台灣 - 台灣原 住民有機生活美學 The original Taiwan - Taiwan aborigines organic life aesthetics	2012-10-05 ~2012-10-24
無限創造 DNA 演唱 會幕後之王主腦公開 展 Infinite creations DNA concerto carried out by the mastermind behind the king	2012-08-04 ~ 2012-10-28	砌與器建築家創意設 計展 Puzzles - Innovative Architectural Design Exhibition	2012-10-19 ~2012-12-23
新式幸福風--時尚酷 品美學 Happy new style - fashion Moet product aesthetics	2012-09-17 ~ 2012-10-18	種田陽平的電影世界 Taneda Yohei's movie world	2012-10-27 ~ 2013-02-17
雕刻記憶 -楊北辰個 展 Carving Memory	2012-09-25 ~ 2012-11-05	膚色的時光 Colorful Moments	2012-11-01 ~ 2012-11-25

Yang Beichen Solo Exhibition			
豐和日麗-愛情與土地的對話。田定豐個人攝影展 Feng and Daily Beauty – The Land of Love and Dialogue. Tian Dingfeng Solo Photography Exhibition	2012-11-08 ~ 2012-11-13	2012 原創基地節 2012 Original Base Section	2012-11-16 ~2012-12-02
TICCIH Congress 2012	2012-11-04 ~ 2012-11-18	哆啦 A 夢誕生前 100 年特展 100 years before the birth of Doraemon	2013-04-16 ~2013-06-16
無菸生活設計大賞 Smoke-free Living Design Awards	2012-11-14 ~ 2012-11-18	金點設計新生活運動主題展 Gold Dot Design Exhibition of the New Life Movement	2013-04-16 ~2013-06-16
Found MUJI TAIWAN EXBITION	2012-12-1 ~ 2012-12-9	第 2 屆松山文創學園祭 Second Matsuyama Creative Garden Festival	2013-05-03 ~2013-06-17
2012 台北攝影節－影像新視界 2012 Taipei Photography Festival - Video Horizons	2012-12-07 ~ 2013-01-01	日本形不形 – 村田智明設計展 Japanese Form, No form – Chiaki Murata Design Exhibition	2013-05-14 ~2013-07-28
ICON X ICON 電影 X 名椅 X 愛看展 ICON X ICON Movie X Director Chair X Film Lover's Exhibition	2012-12-28 ~ 2013-01-27	重返古羅馬 Return to Roma	2013-06-12 ~2013-08-27
糖果夢公園 Candy Wonderland	2012-12-22 ~ 2013-03-10		
坐-椅子&工藝展 Chair and Craft Exhibition	2013-01-09 ~ 2013-01-13		
瞬間的永恆—普立茲新聞攝影獎 70 年大展 Moment of Eternity – Pulitzer Prize 70 Years of Journalism Exhibition	2013-1-18~2013-4-17		
法式工業古董傢俱展	2013-02-17 ~		

French Antique Furniture Industry	2013-02-27		
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III: Commercial Sections in Huashan 1914:

Store Name	Function
1914 Connection	Retailer
Ally Cat Gallery and Pizza	Restaurant
Easyoga (Huashan Concept Store)	Retailer
libLAB (Bookstore)	Retailer, Venue for Rent, Restaurant
Déjà Vu	Restaurant
CD Piazza	Retailer
Ayoi Aboriginal Gift Shop	Retailer
Lao Tsung Teahouse	Retailer
Al Cicchetto Osteria	Restaurant
Wind Music	Retailer, Venue for Rent
Legacy Taipei	Venue for Rent
Digital National Palace Museum	Exhibition Venue
Chingye Shinleyuan	Restaurant
A Little Tea House	Restaurant
Trio Café	Restaurant
Taipei Brick House	Venue for Rent
Lamofirefly	Restaurant
VVG Thinking	Restaurant
Shochu Yakitori	Restaurant
Xiaoquexing Milk Tea Cooperative Xiaoquexing Hongcha Niunai Hezuoshe	Restaurant

III: The international loan and special exhibition in National Museum of History (1956 – 2014)

Ps: *=special exhibition cooperated with media companies

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| 1. | 法國名畫特展、名畫展
French Famous Paintings Exhibition | 1956、1963 |
| 2. | 鑄在玻璃器上的亞洲藝術展覽
Asian Glass Art Exhibition | 1956.9.27~10.3 |
| 3. | 美國版畫展
American Prints Exhibition | 1957.1.10~1.23 |
| 4. | 巴西聖保羅五屆兩年季國際藝展入選作品展
Art works of Sao Paolo Fifth Biennale | 1959.3.25~1959.4.5 |
| 5. | 美國政府贈送玻璃藝術特展
Glass Art Exhibition - the U.S. government presents | 1959.4.24~5.5 |
| 6. | 世界名畫特展（三次）
World Famous Paintings Exhibition | 1959、1960、1972 |
| 7. | 波斯古畫特展
Persian paintings | 1960.1.1~1.15 |
| 8. | 日本木刻畫複製品
Japanese woodcut reproductions | 1960.9.21~10.9 |
| 9. | 日本古代彩色版畫特展
Special Exhibition of ancient Japanese color prints | 1960.9.22~10.8 |
| 10. | 韓國現代美展（二）
Korean Modern Art | 1960、1976 |
| 11. | 芝加哥藝展
Art in Chicago Exhibition | 1961.6~ |
| 12. | 西雅圖畫展
Art in Seattle Exhibition | 1962.2.20 |
| 13. | 菲律賓美術展覽
Philippine Art Exhibition | 1962.3.28~4.8 |
| 14. | 中華民國國際攝影展：
1~7、9~14、16~20、22~26、30 屆
Chinese International Photography Exhibition | 1963~1969、
1971~1976、
1978~1982、
1984~1988、1992 |
| 15. | 蒙娜麗莎畫像特展
Mona Lisa Special Exhibition | 1963.4.27~5.12 |
| 16. | 阿根廷女畫家 Margarita Vidal 油畫展
Argentine painter Margarita Vidal Oil Painting Exhibition | 1963.5.5~ |
| 17. | 美國第九屆陶瓷展
U.S. Ninth Ceramics Exhibition | 1963.9.8~10.11 |
| 18. | 日本水彩畫欣賞展覽
Japanese watercolor appreciation exhibition | 1963.9.21~10.27 |
| 19. | 中日水彩交換展（首屆、9~21 屆）
Japanese Watercolor Exchange Exhibition | 1963、1973~1985 |

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| 20. | 美國現代油畫展
American Modern Oil Painting Exhibition | 1963.10.4~10.20 |
| 21. | 全球華僑華裔美展
Worldwide Overseas Chinese Art Exhibition | 1963.10.21~11.1 |
| 22. | 世界水彩畫特展
World watercolor exhibition | 1963.12.2~12.16 |
| 23. | 中日美術交換展日本作品展（三次）
Sino-Japanese Exchange (Third Exhibition) | 1965、1971、1973 |
| 24. | 第十屆國際陶瓷藝術展
Tenth International Ceramic Art Exhibition | 1965.10.29~12.13 |
| 25. | 剛果穆保堯畫展
Congo Mopaya Painting Exhibition | 1965.12.4~12.19 |
| 26. | 日本「草繪」特展
Japan's "Sketch" Exhibition | 1966.9.13~ |
| 27. | 世界兒童畫展：1、7~11、13、15、16、18 屆
World Children's Art Exhibition | 1966~1987 |
| 28. | 日本現代版畫展
Modern Japanese Prints | 1966.11.19~11.30 |
| 29. | 亞洲攝影展
Asian Photography Exhibition | 1966.11.24~11.30 |
| 30. | 日本繪畫展
Japanese Painting | 1967.3.18~3.20 |
| 31. | 達文西畫展
Leonardo Da Vinci | 1967.5.14~6.3 |
| 32. | 中日書法展（二次）
Chinese and Japanese calligraphy (Second exhibition) | 1967、1973 |
| 33. | 義大利銅章展覽
Italian Bronze Exhibition | 1967.12.6~ |
| 34. | 中日書法聯合展（四次）
Joint Sino-Japanese Calligraphy (Fourth Exhibition) | 1968、1971、1973、1975 |
| 35. | 德國華德哥羅菲斯建築藝展
German Architecture exhibition | 1968.1.7 |
| 36. | 「越南日」慶典展
"Vietnam Day" celebration exhibition | 1968.2.20~2.22 |
| 37. | 越南日展覽
Vietnam Day Exhibition | 1969.6.20~6.26 |
| 38. | 中美聯合畫展
Sino-US joint exhibition | 1971.7.3~7.12 |
| 39. | 中日兒童繪畫展
Sino-Japanese Children's Painting Exhibition | 1971.7.13~7.16 |
| 40. | 德國芭蕾舞圖片展
German Ballet Photography Exhibition | 1971.7.17~7.24 |
| 41. | 美國藝術家諾奇畫展
American Artist Nong Exhibition | 1971.8.15~8.21 |
| 42. | 美國攝影藝術展 | 1971.8.28~9.2 |

43.	American Photography 第一屆亞洲兒童繪畫展 First Children of Asia Painting Exhibition	1971.7.31~8.7
44.	中印友誼週圖片展 Sino-Indian Friendship Week exhibition	1971.10.28~11.1
45.	日本浮世繪藝術源流及插花藝術綜合展 Japanese Ukiyo-e Comprehensive Exhibition	1971.12.15~12.24
46.	日本上杉謙信鑄像展 Uesugi Kenshin Sculpture Exhibition	1972.1.23~1.31
47.	亞太民族藝術品展覽預展 Pacific Islander Art Exhibition Preview	1973.1.19~1.21
48.	紐約西貝滋版畫聯展 New York Shibathu Printmaking Exhibition	1973.6.18~7.24
49.	中國攝影藝術赴中南美展覽預展 Preview of Chinese Photography to the Central and South American	1973.7.25~7.31
50.	國際造型藝術展（二次） International Plastic Arts (Second Exhibition)	1972、1985
51.	韓國版畫家李恆星作品展 Korean Printmaker Lee Byeul's Exhibition	1973.9.26~10.4
52.	川端康成文藝生涯展 Novelist Kawabata's Literary Career	1973.10.20~11.3
53.	新加坡人民生活藝術攝影展覽 Singaporean Life Photography Exhibition	1973.10.24~10.28
54.	國際絹印藝術特展 International Serigraphy Exhibition	1974.3.14~3.23
55.	中韓書法展覽（三次） Sino-Korean Calligraphy (3 rd Exhibition)	1974、1976、1980
56.	韓國朴鍵緒畫展 Korean Tsu Jen Tsu's Painting Exhibition	1974.6.17~6.24
57.	韓國葵生書會書法展 Korean Calligraphy Exhibition	1974.7.1~7.5
58.	美國精製世界名畫展 American Masterpieces Replica Exhibition	1974.7.20~8.19
59.	伊藤由里子書法展 Yuriko Ito Calligraphy Exhibition	1974.7.27~8.9
60.	日本名家書法展 Famous Japanese calligraphy Exhibition	1974.10.8~10.11
61.	鈴木慶次畫展 Keiji Suzuki Exhibition	1974.10.13~10.22
62.	加拿大畫家管海倫畫展 Canadian Artist, Helen Kaun art exhibition	1974.10.16~10.24
63.	印尼畫家賽尼畫展 Indonesian artist Hussein Exhibition	1974.10.23~10.30
64.	法國戴固教授中國書法藝術畫創作展覽 French Professor Dego's Chinese Calligraphy Exhibition	1974.11.10~12.16

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| 65. | 日本福島積美畫展
Fukushima Art Exhibition | 1975.3.5~3.8 |
| 66. | 國際名人攝影展
International Celebrity Photography Exhibition | 1975.5.9~5.12 |
| 67. | 菲華郵協會東南亞巡展
Philippian and Chinese Stamps tour Exhibition | 1975.5.20~6.1 |
| 68. | 香港現代水墨畫展
Hong Kong Modern Ink Painting Exhibition | 1975.7.2~7.15 |
| 69. | 韓國洪鍾鳴油畫展
Korea Hong Jeongming Oil Painting Exhibition | 1975.8.24~8.30 |
| 70. | 中西名家畫展
Midwestern Artists Exhibition | 1975.9.6~11.4 |
| 71. | 美國畫家凱歌畫展
American Painter Kaigo Exhibition | 1975.12.24~12.31 |
| 72. | 中日現代畫展
Sino-Japanese Modern Art Exhibition | 1976.2.14~3.5 |
| 73. | 美國維吉尼亞州藝術訪問團作品展覽
Virginian (USA) Delegation Art Exhibition | 1976.6.19~6.30 |
| 74. | 奧地利「赫曼•海樂」畫展
Austria "Herman • Sea Music" exhibition | 1976.7.3~7.22 |
| 75. | 甘比亞畫家席塞版畫展
Gambia painter Shishon Prints Exhibition | 1976.8.31~9.13 |
| 76. | 歐洲名家版畫特展（四次）
European Printmaking Masters (Fourth Exhibition) | 1976~1979 |
| 77. | 中日書法聯展（四次）
Chinese and Japanese calligraphy (Fourth exhibition) | 1976、1977、1978、1992 |
| 78. | 美國建國二百年史料展
The founding of the United States Bicentennial Historical Exhibition | 1976.12.23~1977.1.8 |
| 79. | 香港「一畫會」作品展（二次）
Hong Kong's "One Art" Exhibition (Second Exhibition) | 1977、1980 |
| 80. | 香港中國書道協會作品展（三次）
Hong Kong Chinese Calligraphy Association (three times) | 1977、1979、1980 |
| 81. | 韓國金奉龍漆藝特展
Korean King Fonlong's Art Exhibition | 1977.3.15~3.21 |
| 82. | 日本主辦世界兒童畫巡迴展覽（七次）
the World Children's Painting Exhibition Tour Hosted by Japan (seven times) | 1977、1980~1985 |
| 83. | 日本插花藝術展（二次）
Japanese floral art (two times) | 1977、1978 |
| 84. | 韓國現代畫展
Korean Modern Art | 1977.9.12~9.21 |
| 85. | 香港潭寧攝影藝術展 | 1977.9.18~9.23 |

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| 86. | Hong Kong Tan Ling photography Exhibition
中日書法聯展、中日兒童書法展
Chinese and Japanese calligraphy exhibition,
Chinese and Japanese calligraphy exhibition of
children | 1977.9.21~9.23 |
| 87. | 墨西哥畫家艾斯柏札畫展
Mexican Artist Escobar Exhibition | 1977.11.12~11.21 |
| 88. | 德國風光攝影展
German landscape photography | 1977.11.15~11.25 |
| 89. | 中日美術展覽
Sino-Japanese art exhibition | 1978.1.13~1.20 |
| 90. | 中日青年書法展
Sino-Japanese Youth Calligraphy Exhibition | 1978.3.1~3.8 |
| 91. | 旅港國樂家李銳祖竹製樂器展
the Bamboo Instruments Exhibition by Chinese
Musician Lee Rei-Tsu | 1978.3.15~3.21 |
| 92. | 加拿大畫家東尼•安立版畫展
Canadian Tony Anri Prints Exhibition | 1978.4.29~5.9 |
| 93. | 印尼華僑凌雲超書法展
Indonesian Lin Chao Calligraphy Exhibition | 1978.5.10~5.13 |
| 94. | 美國馬納德博士畫展
American Dr Manard's Painting Exhibition | 1978.6.4~6.30 |
| 95. | 美國珍藏中國貿易瓷精品展
American Collection of Exported Chinese
Porcelain | 1978.7.15~8.4 |
| 96. | 日本畫家荒木實水墨畫展（三次）
Japanese Painter Minorumizu Ink Painting
Exhibition (three times) | 1978、1980、1998 |
| 97. | 日本畫家北岡文雄畫展
Japanese artist Fumio Kitaoka | 1978.9.7~9.15 |
| 98. | 世界名建築攝影藝術展
World Famous Architecture Photography | 1978.9.16~9.25 |
| 99. | 旅法畫家常玉遺作展
San Yu Memorial Exhibition | 1978.9.17~9.22 |
| 100. | 韓國現代書畫展（四次）
Modern Korean Calligraphy and Painting (Four
times) | 1978、1979、1983、
1985 |
| 101. | 中日書法聯誼展（二次）
Sino-Japanese Friendship Calligraphy (Twice) | 1979、1982 |
| 102. | 韓國寫真作家協會攝影展
Photojournalism Association of Korea
Photography Exhibition | 1979.4.6~4.11 |
| 103. | 韓國葵堂書會作品展
Korean Kuen Calligraphy Club Exhibition | 1979.5.12~5.16 |
| 104. | 中美新聞攝影展
US News Photography Exhibition | 1979.5.13~5.25 |
| 105. | 新加坡現代畫會作品展 | 1979.5.15~5.31 |

106.	Singapore Modern Art Society Exhibition 北日本書藝院作品展（二次） Northern Japanese Arts and Calligraphy Academy Exhibition (Twice)	1979、1981
107.	韓國慶北書畫協會作品展 Exhibition of Painting and Calligraphy Association, North Gyeongsang, Korea	1979、1980
108.	日本亞細亞美術交友會贈畫特展 Japanese Asian Art Club Exhibition	1979.8.21~9.15
109.	韓國金膺顯書法展 Korean Calligrapher King Yin Exhibition	1979.9.23~9.29
110.	日本坂口雅風書法展 Japanese calligrapher Sakaguchi Masakaze Exhibition	1979.10.9~10.11
111.	日本國際書道文化協會作品展（三次） International Japanese Cultural Calligraphy Association Exhibition	1979、1981、1982
112.	全日本教育書道訪華團作品展（二次） the Art Exhibition of the Japanese Educational Calligraphy Delegation (Twice)	1979、1980
113.	中國世紀美術協會、韓國新世紀美術協會作 品聯展 the Join Exhibition of the Chinese Century Art Association and Korean New Century Association	1979.12.15~12.24
114.	韓國李昌浩石硯雕刻展 Korean Lee Chanhao Ink Stone Curving Exhibition	1979.12.16~12.25
115.	法國藝術家史東麥視覺藝術作品展 Art Works of French Visual Artist Daumier	1980.3.21~3.24
116.	奧國名音樂家舒伯特史料展 Document exhibition of Austrian Composer Schubert	1980.5.9~5.15
117.	日本第 10~15 屆世界兒童畫巡展 Japan's 10th and 15th World Children's Paintings Tour	1980~1985
118.	法國藝術金章特展 Award-Winning French Art Exhibition	1980.8.9~8.22
119.	日本日華書道文化交流協會訪華作品展（二 次） Japan Association of Sino-Japanese Calligraphy and Cultural Exchange Visit (twice)	1980、1985
120.	新加坡畫家陳文希畫展 Singaporean Chen Wenshin Art Exhibition	1980.10.18~10.24
121.	法國國立龐畢度藝術文化中心攝影展 Photographical Exhibition from French National Pompidou Cultural Centre	1980.11.8~11.14

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| 122. | 智利大學藝術學院教授作品展
Exhibition by University of Chile School of Art | 1980.11.15~11.20 |
| 123. | 馬來西亞畫家鍾正山畫展
Malaysian Artist Chung Jen-San Exhibition | 1980.12.20~12.29 |
| 124. | 中日現代陶藝家作品展
Chinese -Japanese exhibition of modern potters | 1981.1.13~1.28 |
| 125. | 全日本書道代表第七次訪華作品展
Seventh Japanese Calligraphy Representative Exhibition | 1981.2.10~2.12 |
| 126. | 日本石橋犀水博士書法展
Japanese Calligraphy by Dr. Ishibashi Saimizu | 1981.2.18~2.20 |
| 127. | 畢卡索陶藝展
Picasso's Ceramics | 1981.2.21~3.22 |
| 128. | 日本書道協會作品展（三次）
the Calligraphic Exhibitions by Japanese Calligraphy Association (three times) | 1981、1983、1985 |
| 129. | 韓國李錫雨民俗畫展
Korean Folk Artist Lee Shi-Yu | 1981.5.16~5.22 |
| 130. | 新加坡畫家鍾四賓畫展
Singaporean Artist Chung Sih-bin | 1981.6.6~6.12 |
| 131. | 韓國郭桂晶手工藝品展
Korean Artist Gou Gen-Jen | 1981.6.20~6.29 |
| 132. | 日本書人會書畫篆刻展
Japanese calligraphy and seal art exhibition | 1981.8.10~8.16 |
| 133. | 法國印象派大師雷諾瓦油畫展
French Impressionist Master Renoir Oil Painting Exhibition | 1981.8.15~9.12 |
| 134. | 韓國婦女書法展（二次）
Korean Women's Calligraphy (twice) | 1981、1984 |
| 135. | 沙烏地阿拉伯文物展
Saudi Arabian Relics | 1981.8.22~8.28 |
| 136. | 亞洲當代青年美術巡展
Contemporary Asian Youth Art Tour | 1981.9.2~9.18 |
| 137. | 哥斯大黎加甘伯羅納羅水彩畫展
Costa Rica watercolor Exhibition | 1981.10.9~10.13 |
| 138. | 美國伊利諾州立大學美術設計寄售作品展
Illinois State University Art and Design Consignment Exhibition | 1981.10.19~10.28 |
| 139. | 韓國金東龍漆藝作品展
Korean King Tong-lung Lacquer Exhibition | 1982.3.15~3.22 |
| 140. | 國際花友會插花藝術展
International Floral Art Exhibition | 1982.3.27~3.29 |
| 141. | 韓國文想林插花展
Korean Wen San-Lin Floral Art Exhibition | 1982.4.5~4.8 |
| 142. | 中韓日水彩畫聯展
Chinese, Korean, and Japanese Watercolor Exhibition | 1982.5.12~5.18 |

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| 143. | 美國阿莎教授版畫展
American Professor Agatha Print Exhibition | 1982.5.16~5.22 |
| 144. | 香港梅花書畫展
Hong Kong Plum Flower Ink Paintings | 1982.6.5~6.11 |
| 145. | 國際水墨畫聯展
International Ink Painting | 1982.7.13~7.22 |
| 146. | 韓國王朝時代衣裳展
Korean Dynastic Clothes Exhibition | 1982.7.23~7.30 |
| 147. | 日本教育書寫書道連盟訪華作品展（二次）
Japanese Calligraphic Educational Association
Visit Exhibition (twice) | 1982、1985 |
| 148. | 日本社團法人日本書藝院訪華作品展
the Art Works from Japanese Calligraphic
Association | 1982.10.26~10.30 |
| 149. | 全日本書道連合會訪華作品展
Nippon Keidanren's Calligraphy Exhibition | 1982.11.8~11.11 |
| 150. | 韓國金相峯師生書法展
South Korean Professor Kim Sang Bong
Calligraphy Exhibition | 1982.12.9~12.11 |
| 151. | 韓國女流畫會作品展
Korean Contemporary Women Painters | 1983.1.7~1.11 |
| 152. | 韓國現代空間會雕刻展
Korean Modern Sculpture Workshop | 1983.1.21~1.30 |
| 153. | 國際插花藝術展
International Floral Art Exhibition | 1983.3.26~3.31 |
| 154. | 中國標準草書日本分會作品展
Chinese Cursive Standard (Japanese Branch)
Exhibition | 1983.4.27~4.29 |
| 155. | 日本中正書道院作品展
Japan's CKS Calligraphy School Exhibition | 1983.8.3~8.6 |
| 156. | 全日本教育書道連盟第十六次代表訪華作品
展
The entire Japanese Calligraphy Education
League visits to China on behalf of the Sixteenth
Exhibition | 1983.8.23~8.27 |
| 157. | 新加坡畫家劉抗畫展
Singapore artist Liu Kang Exhibition | 1983.11.12~11.18 |
| 158. | 韓國洪正寶金屬藝術器展
Korean Hong Jenboa Material Art Exhibition | 1983.11.14~11.19 |
| 159. | 北日本書藝院、基隆市書研會作品聯展
Northern Japan Book Arts Academy, Keelung
book study | 1983.11.17~11.23 |
| 160. | 新加坡南洋美術科學院、馬來西亞藝術學
院、中國文化大學美術系教授作品聯展
Nanyang Academy of Fine Arts, Malaysian
Institute of Art, and Fine Arts Department of
Chinese Culture University Professor Works | 1983.11.27~12.6 |

- Exhibition
161. 韓國玄中和書法展 1983.12.3~12.9
Korean Shun Chungho Calligraphy Exhibition
 162. 日本畫府作品展 1984.1.7~1.13
Japanese Interior Design
 163. 瓜地馬拉現代美術展 1984.9.4~9.14
Guatemalan Modern Arts Exhibition
 164. 現代西洋名家版畫展 1984.10.1~10.15
Modern Printing Masters of the West
 165. 柴原雪作品個展 1984.10.27~11.9
Shibahara Yuki Solo Exhibition
 166. 日本近代名家書畫展 1984.11.24~12.7
Modern Japanese Painting and Calligraphy
 167. 費曼爾與歌劇藝術展 1984.12.1~12.7
Fei Maner Opera Art Exhibition
 168. 韓國韓尚洙刺繡展 1984.12.8~12.14
South Korean Han Shangzhu Embroidery Exhibition
 169. 中日美術交流展 1985.1.12~1.21
Chinese and Japanese Arts Exhibition
 170. 日本島田幸一陶藝展 1985.2.9~2.17
Koichi Shimada, Japanese Ceramics
 171. 非洲、中南美洲原始藝術展 1985.2.20~3.31
African and Latin American Original Art
 172. 馬來西亞藝術訪問團作品展 1985.4.10~4.17
Malaysian Delegation Arts Exhibition
 173. 中美畫家四人聯展 1985.6.1~6.14
United States Four Artists Exhibition
 174. 美國猶他州鹽湖水彩畫展攝影展 1985.6.30~7.10
Watercolor and Photography from Salt Lake City, Utah
 175. 美國藝裳作品展 1985.9.5~10.5
American Skirts Exhibition
 176. 古代埃及文物展 1985.9.7~10.21
Ancient Egyptian Antiquities Exhibition
 177. 日本二科會攝影精品展 1985.9.23~9.30
Second Science Council of Japan Photography Exhibition
 178. 中、韓、日東亞三國結藝展（三次） 1985、1991、1999
China, Korea, Japan—Three-Country East Asian Knot
 179. 韓國君子會畫展 1986.1.8~1.14
Korean Gentlemen's Event
 180. 比利時畫家密納爾畫展 1986.2.17~3.9
Belgium Painter Minado's Exhibition
 181. 紀念先總統蔣公逝世日本書道協會訪華作品展 1987.4.1

- In Commemoration of the Death of Chiang Kai-Shek, the Japanese Calligraphy Association's Visit and Exhibition
182. 馬雅文物展 1987.9.19~11.22
Mayan Relics Exhibition
183. 比利時十九世紀名畫展、十九世紀末名畫展 1987、1988
19th Century Belgium
184. 烏拉圭名畫展 1987
Uruguayan Exhibition
185. 韓國研墨書法展 1988.1.9~1.14
Korean Calligraphy
186. 韓國釜山創作美術會書畫展 1988.1.23~1.31
Pusan, South Korea Creative Art Club
187. 林肯總統文物展 1988.3.20~3.24
Lincoln Presidential/President Lincoln Heritage Exhibition
188. 日本龜甲會書法展 1988.4.23~5.3
Japanese Calligraphy Exhibition
189. 第二屆亞洲國際美展 1988.5.18~5.31
Second Asian International Art Exhibition
190. 亞洲服飾展 1988.7.2~7.31
Asian Fashion
191. 八八韓國現代繪畫展、現代美術展 1988、1989
Eighty-eight Korean Paintings, Modern Art Exhibition
192. 夏威夷藝術家三人展 1988.12.16~12.30
Three Hawaiian Artists
193. 歐洲玻璃藝術展 1989.2.6~3.12
European Glass Art Exhibition
194. 比利時十九世紀新藝術展、近代廣告畫作展 1989、1990
Belgium 19th Century Art and Modern Advertisement Exhibition
195. 臺北元墨畫會、漢城新墨會聯展 1989.7.13~7.25
Taipei Millennial Ink Painting Event, with Seoul and New Mexico Joint Event
196. 歐洲近五世紀壁氈畫展 1989.8.12~8.31
Near-5th Century European Wall Art
197. 非洲藝術展 1990.1.27~2.26
African Art Exhibition
198. 十九世紀歐洲名畫展 1990.5.14~7.22
Nineteenth-century European Famous paintings
199. 巴西聖保羅美術館收藏展 1991
Sao Paulo Museum of Art Collection
200. 哥斯大黎加古代金玉文物展 1991.2.15~5.10
Ancient Relics of Costa Rica
201. 一九九二年現代陶藝國際邀請展 1992.11.12~1993.2.12
1992 International Exhibition of Modern

	Ceramics	
202.	南非雕刻藝術展 South African Sculptures	1993.8.20~10.29
203.	一九九三國際年曆特展 1993 International Exhibition Almanac	1993.12.4~12.25
204.	中國古代貿易瓷特展(大英博物館借展) Special Exhibition of Ancient Chinese exported porcelain (Loaning from the British Museum)	1994.5.20~7.24
205.	俄羅斯冬宮館藏中國年畫特展 Russia's Hermitage Museum Print Collection (Chinese New Year Special Exhibition)	1994.12.31~1995.2.28
206.	南非現代藝術特展 South African Contemporary Art Exhibition	1995.3.2~4.16
207.	英國地鐵藝術海報特展 British Subway Poster Art Exhibition	1995.3.12~4.30
208. *	黃金印象—奧塞美術館名作特展 Golden Age of Impressionism - masterpieces of Musee d'Orsay	1997.1.15~4.27
209.	精緻&敘事—澳洲當代工藝展 Exquisite & Narrative - Australia Contemporary Craft	1997.12.6~1.6
210.	西漢南越王墓文物特展 Relics from Royal Tombs in Nanyue	1998.5.30~8.16
211.	高第在台北—高第建築藝術展 Gaudi in Taipei	1998.8.20~9.20
212.	尚、杜布菲回顧展 “Still” – A Dubuffet Retrospective	1998.9.26~12.20
213.	第二屆台北國際攝影節 Second Taipei International Photography Festival	1998.12.24~1.17
214.	日本浮世繪藝術特展 Japanese Ukiyo-E Art	1999.2..11~3.7
215.	台灣與加拿大原住民藝術聯展 Taiwan and the Canadian Original Art	1999.3.18~4.18
216.	如雪、如冰、如影—法國居美美術館收藏中 國陶瓷特展 Snow and Ice like Shadow—Chinese Ceramics represented by France in the US Art Museum	1999.5.14~6.27
217.	達利素描版畫展 Dali Sketch Prints	1999.6.11~7.4
218.	波羅的海三國民俗藝術特展 Baltic Folk Art	1999.8.12~10.16
219.	龍文化特展 Year of the Dragon and Culture	2000.1.22~4.9
220. *	達文西—科學家、發明家、藝術家特展 Da Vinci—Scientist, Inventor, Artist	2000.3.25~4.16
221.	牆 Wall	2000.5.17~7.16

222. 阿曼創作回顧展
Retrospective of Omani Creations 2000.7.26~9.10
223. 大地之歌—奧克拉荷馬印地安藝術創作展
Song of the Earth—Oklahoman American Indian Art 2000.9.22~10.22
224. 2000 中華民國國際陶藝雙年展
2000 Taiwan Ceramics Biennale 2000.11.10~12.17
225. 再見青春·再見童顏—猶太文化展
“Goodbye, Boys!” – Jewish Culture Exhibition 2000.11.16~12.10
226. * 兵馬俑—秦文化特展（二次）
Qin Warriors 2000.12.15~2001.1.14 ;
2007
227. 捷克世紀大師水晶藝術展
Czech Crystal Masters of the Century 2001.1.18~2.18
228. * 文明曙光—美索不達米亞古文物特展
The dawn of civilization - Mesopotamian antiquities 2001.3.24~7.15
229. 仙履奇緣—西元 200~2000 西洋鞋流行展
Cinderella—Shoes Couture from 200 to 2000 AD 2001.6.15~7.22
230. 薛薩克藝術展 2001.9.1~10.7
231. * 屈原的故鄉—楚文化特展
Qu Yuan's hometown - Chu Culture Exhibition 2001.12.14~2002.2.17
232. 與自然對話—池田大作攝影展
Dialogue with Nature—Daisaku Ikeda Photography Exhibition 2002.3.1~3.31
233. * 「馬雅·MAYA—叢林之謎」展
Jungle Mystery of Maya 2002.5.3~7.28
234. * 布拉格之春—新藝術慕夏展
Prague Spring - Art Nouveau Mucha Exhibition 2002.8.14~11.5
235. * 馬諦斯特展
Matisse Exhibition--Manchester 2002.11.19~92.2.16
236. 2003 千禧之愛~兩岸攝影聯展（三次）
2003 Millenary Love 2003~2005
237. 心靈窗口—捷克現代版畫藝術三人展
Window into the Mind—A Trio of Modern Czech Printers 2003.3.27~4.20
238. * 印度古文明·藝術特展
India's Ancient Civilization 2003.4.23~7.20
239. 日本人形藝術展
Japanese Fractal Art Exhibition 2003.4.25~5.4
240. 瑰寶重現—輝縣琉璃閣甲乙墓出土文物研究
展
Hai Province, China Archeological Research Exhibition 2003.5.9~6.29

241.	原生與創作—加拿大原住民藝術家作品展 Canadian Aboriginal Artists Exhibition	2003.9.26~10.26
242.	蒼茫草原的國度—二十世紀的蒙古 Vast Prairie Country of 20 th Century Mongol	2003.10.24~11.19
243.	戲泥話偶—惠山泥人展 Even Mud Plays—Huishan Clay Figurines	2003.11.4~12.28
244.	前進非洲—原始藝術特展 Into Africa – primitive art	2003.12.6~2.22
245.	世紀版畫名作展 Famous Prints of the Century	2004.4.16~5.9
246.	大漠登音—沙烏地阿拉伯王國畫家聯展 Qiongyin Desert—Kingdom of Saudi Arabia	2004.7.17~7.25
247. *	農情楓丹白露—米勒、柯洛與巴比松畫派 Foret de Fontainebleau – Barbizon Schools	2004.7.17~9.19
248.	波希米亞的巴洛克讚頌—捷克巴洛克建築攝影展 Bohemian Baroque Tribute—Czech Architectural Photography	2004.10.21~11.21
249.	古剛果文物展—從古儀式至現代藝術之探究 Out of Congo—Ancient Relics and Rituals to Explore Modern Art	2004.11.23~2005.1.9
250.	跳！動！變！日本江戶時期機械人形展 Jump! Move! Change! Edo Period Japan's Mechanical Humanoid	2005.1.28~2.6
251. *	荒漠傳奇、璀璨再現—敦煌藝術大展 Desert Legends, Bright Reproduction – Dunhuang	2005.3.25~5.29
252.	形彩的質變—澳洲恐龍設計創意展 Australian Dinosaur Designs	2005.4.8~5.1
253.	蒼穹下的騎士—布里雅特藝術家達西銅雕展 Knights Under a Starry Sky—Buryatian Bronze	2005.5.6~5.31
254. *	雷峰塔—祕寶與白蛇傳奇展 From the Legend of Lady White Snake: the Hidden Treasures on the Leigeng Pagoda	2005.6.11~9.7
255.	古字今文—德國藝術家于克文字創作展 Old Words, New Expressions: German Artist, Gunther Uecker	2005.7.7~7.31
256.	鄭和與海洋文化—鄭和下西洋六百週年特展 Zheng He and the Oceanic Culture: An Exhibition in Memory of the Six Hundredth Anniversary of Zheng He's Voyages	2005.9.16~10.23
257.	六大州拼布藝術展—美國藝術與設計美術館收藏展 Six Continents of Quilts - The Museum of Arts & Design Collection	2005.11.4~12.11
258.	王朝秘寶—古中原考古文物展	2005.12.4~2..6.2.19

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| 259. | Treasures from the Ancient China
紐芬蘭密卡茂族影像展
The Mi'kmaw People of Newfoundland : A Celebration | 2006.03.24~4.30 |
| 260. * | 西班牙玩具特展
Toys from Spain | 2006.07.01~9.24 |
| 261. | 2006 中華民國現代陶藝邀請展
An Invitational Exhibition of Ceramic Art from Taiwan | 2006.10.03~11.19 |
| 262. | 匈牙利音樂家—巴爾托克
Bartok, the Classical Pioneer Inspired by Folk Music | 2006.10.17~11.12 |
| 263. | 2006 沙烏地阿拉伯畫家聯展
Saudi-Arabian Painters 2006 | 2006.12.22~12.31 |
| 264. | 可汗子民—蒙古現代美術展
Mongolian Exhibition of Modern Art | 2006.12.29~2007.2.11 |
| 265. * | 妮基的異想世界
The World and Fantasy of Niki de Saint Phalle | 2007.2.9~4.29 |
| 266. | 來自南方之島~澳洲塔斯馬尼亞藝術家聯展
From an Island South - A Joint Exhibition of Australian Artists from Tasmania | 2007.3.6~4.08 |
| 267. | 書•香•茶•花~~~日本漆文化展
Traditional Penship • Incense • Tea-culture • flower arrangement- Japanese Lacquer Culture | 2007.4.13~5.6 |
| 268. | 藝術家的書~從馬諦斯到當代藝術
Artists' Book~f rom Matisse to Contemporary Art | 2007.6.1~7.8 |
| 269. | 婆娑之眼~國姓爺足跡文物特
Exhibition of Koxinga | 2007.6.29~8.12 |
| 270. | 東南亞民俗文物展
Treasures of Southeast Asia: Folk Artifacts of the Philippines, Vietnam, Thailand and Indonesia | 2007.10.12~12.12 |
| 271. | 雪域傳奇—2007 格薩爾史詩特展
Legend of the Snow Land-Epic of King Gesar 2007 | 2007.11.16~12.16 |
| 272. | 光影之舞~義大利瑟古索現代玻璃藝術大展
The Solo Exhibition of Livio Seguso | 2007.12.18~2008.2.10 |
| 273. * | 驚艷米勒~田園之美畫展
Millet and His Time: Masterpieces from the Musée d'Orsay | 2008.5.27~9.5 |
| 274. | 骨文金貌・福岡一墨會台北特展
Calligraphy Exhibition from Ichiboku Kai, Japan | 2008.10.17~11.09 |
| 275. * | 絲路傳奇~新疆文物大展
Legends of the Silk Road- Treasures from Xinjiang | 2008.12.6~2009.3.15 |
| 276. | 體視會神~羅浮宮雕塑藝術觸覺教育展 | 2009.4.10~5.24 |

- Chang Dai-Chien: Memorial Painting and
Calligraphy Exhibition
277. 中非傳統兵器文物展 2009.6.23~8.16
Fatal Beauty: The Traditional Weapons from
Central Africa
278. * 微笑彩俑~漢景帝的地下王國特展 2009.6.27~9.27
**The Smiling Kingdom—The Terracotta
Warriors of Han Yang Ling**
279. * 燃燒的靈魂・梵谷展 2009.12.11~3.28
Van Gogh: The Flaming Soul
280. 古風今韻 2009 兩岸重彩畫傳承展 2009.12.25~1.31
2009 Cross-Strait Exchange Exhibition of Heavy
Color Ink Painting
281. 慈禧與世博：一幅畫像的故事 2010.9.17~10.17
Cixi and the Expo: The Legacy behind the
Empress Dowager's Portrait
282. * 英雄再起~大三國特展 2010.6.5~9.5
**Legends of Heroes: the Heritage of the Three
Kingdoms Era**
283. * 盛世皇朝祕寶—法門寺地宮與大唐文物特展 2010.10.29~2011.1.9
**Imperial Treasures——Relics of Famen
Temple Underground Palace and the
Flourishing Tang**
284. * 大清盛世—瀋陽故宮文物展 2011. 1.29~5.1
**The Golden Age of the Qing : Treasures from
the ShenYang Palace Museum**
285. 人巧勝天—齊白石書畫展 2011.2.23 ~5.8
Celestial Skillfulness: Calligraphy and Painting
of Qi Bai-shi
286. * 世紀大師—畢卡索 2011.6.18~9.18
**Masterpieces from Musée National Picasso –
Paris**
287. * 美夢成真：迪士尼經典動畫藝術 2011.12.10 ~2012.3.14
**Dreams Come True: The Art of Disney's
Classic Fairy Tales**
288. 秘境・圖騰・印象：瓜地馬拉藝術創作展 2012.4.10~5.20
Uncharted・Totemic・Expressive: Guatemalan
Art
289. 中國鄉土寫實靈魂—羅中立的繪畫藝術 2012.4.17~6.3
The Soul of Chinese Rural Realism: Art of Luo
Zhong-li's Painting
290. * 立體書的異想世界特展 2012.6.16~9.16
The Stunning Pop-up Books
291. 蘇聯藝術大系—社會現實主義繪畫展 2012. 6.23~8.12
the USSR Art Series – Socialist Realist Painting
292. * 小小羅浮宮展—種田陽平的美術世界 2012.10.6~2013.1.8
Petit Louvre

293. * 天堂・審判・重生 米開朗基羅：文藝復興巨匠再現 2013.1.26~5.12
The Divine Michaelangelo
294. 古韻新風—河南朱仙鎮木版年畫特展 2013.1.18~3.17
 Old Rhymes and New Songs: Woodblock Prints for New Year from Zhuxia Township, Henan
295. 黑木國昭 50 年玻璃藝術—台日藝文交流展 2013.2.7~3.31
 Kuniaki Kuroki's "Half Century" of Glass Art: A Taiwan-Japan Exchange Exhibition
296. * 女人・小鳥・星星—米羅特展 2013.6.8~9.25
Joan Miró: Women, Birds, Stars
297. 詩意的抽象—來自伊斯坦堡 2013.8.16~10.2
 Poetic Abstraction: from Istanbul
298. * 印象・經典—莫內 2013.11.14 ~2014.2.16
Monet: Landscapes of Mind

**V: Question: the meaning of special exhibition to special Exhibition visitors
(from a survey for Dreams Come True: the Arts of Disney's Classic Fairy Tales)**

Art is a medium to let beginners understand, people in intermediate level to comprehend, and people in advanced level to integrate into. The older generation of Taiwanese people has less sense of aesthetics, and their parents did not focus on aesthetics during childhood education, so parents in nowadays would bring children to special exhibitions to increase aesthetics training. (Angela)

Personally, I am very interested in the theme, the message of the creator, how it was done, and how it made the creator succeed. I can learn from the creator, and people can learn how to succeed. Learn the spirit, and learn how the creator organized it so it can be viewed by everyone in the world. (Crystal)

The place can absorb knowledge. (Joanna)

Somewhere for leisure, and some places to go during spare time; somewhere to learn new things. (Lily)

To remind me some things, such as reminding me the ancient artistic techniques and modern artistic techniques, so I will not limit myself in my own techniques during creation, and forget the things I have learned. Special exhibitions can recall memories. (Nana)

Essence of masters; place for pilgrimage; can expand vision and understand the painting techniques. (Uh-Hou)

I can understand something I cannot figure out. I want to try to understand since everyone has recommended. (U-Tin)

The pace can satisfy my curiosity and resolve the doubts in my mind. (Dai-Un)

An opportunity to see something I usually won't go to see. I can learn something in depth. For example, the development of Disney and history of Qing Dynasty. (Ching-Wen)

Widened my life. At least I am not wasting my life. (Sue-Jen)

It allows us to see a lot of things that are hard to see. (Lee-Ting)

I am just here for fun. There are a lot of things. It's like entertainment because I cannot understand it in depth. I am just widening my view. (Ting-Tsu)

Some things are heard but not seen. You can see these things at special exhibitions. It is different from reading and hearing. (Ju-Ting)

You have heard about the artist, but you might not have seen his paintings. You

can understand the artist through this special exhibition. (Gen-Chung)

It has a special significance. It can create a resonance among people. (Chen Guan-Wen)

A leisure activity. (Ping-Hen)

Some people would think it is a commercial display, but I think the themes of special exhibitions are not like regular exhibitions. They stand out, especially when there are many exhibitions in Taiwan. Regular cultural exhibitions and familiar exhibitions would not be my choices when there are many options, unless I have time or it is connected to me. For example, when I went to see the Francis Bacon exhibition at the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts, I discovered that the museum had contemporary art exhibition, like Chen Chenpo. I found out that I really like the contemporary exhibition so I had less impression of the originally intended exhibition. (Shu-Chin)

To understand them in depth. Special exhibitions attract me because of the new things, knowledge, or experience I learn and my interest. (Hau-Haw)

Things that can make me understand more about special exhibitions, like animation exhibition. It can remind me of my childhood memories. When they exhibit things from the past, I would remember the past. (Yun-Shin)

A chance to expand my vision. The theme does not have to be especially novel or related to daily life. Exhibitions should not be limited common customs. (Hai-Je)

Not like regular exhibition. This is more famous. (Chi-Chen)

I want to understand different painter's paintings. I will introduce it to my nieces and nephews. (Gei-Ju)

It's like a book, and someone reading a book out loud. It allows us to understand quickly, and children can understand them in depth. A gradual learning process will feel like improving. (Hai-Fung)

It is like an information. Sometimes I do not know half of the things so I use Internet, guiding brochure, or audio guide to understand. (Chung-Win)

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