UNDERSTANDING ORGANISATIONAL CHANGE IN MUSEUMS:

AN INVESTIGATION OF EVOLVING MUSEUM PRIORITIES AND

PRACTICES AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF NATURAL

SCIENCE, TAIWAN

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Abstract

Understanding Organisational Change in Museums:

An investigation of evolving museum priorities and practices at the National Museum of Natural Science, Taiwan

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In this time of rapid political, economic, social and technological change, museums of all kinds face continuous pressures and demands from a variety of stakeholders. These demands are frequently competing (or at least in tension), arising from the different agendas, interests and requirements of diverse stakeholders which, in turn, raise questions around the purposes and priorities of museums. Although many literatures have contributed to the discussion around the museum's purpose, there remains a lack of in-depth, grounded analysis that explores museums' structures, processes, and practices and the role of individuals and broader forces for change in the making and reshaping of the organisation. In short, there has been relatively little scholarly attention given to the study of the museum as an ever-changing, dynamic and complex organisation.

Drawing on organisational change studies, management theories and museum studies, this thesis seeks to understand the processes that contribute to the reshaping of the museum's purpose, priorities and practices by staff and other agents through a qualitative investigation of change within a single institution. The aims of the research are to better understand the role of leadership in the process of change and the dynamic attitudes, values and power relations that underpin such processes.

In order to explore the hidden complexities of the internal workings in the museum, this paper employs a single case study - the National Museum of Natural Science (NMNS) in Taiwan – that was investigated through an organisational ethnography approach. This thesis focuses on two main forces for change. One is the increasing influence of market forces that encourage the museum to move towards more business-like practices. The other is a growing appreciation of the social responsibility of the museum. These two predominantly external forces play out in a different ways and, at the same time, emerge as significant factors which influence the museum's move away from traditional functions and conventional works and practices. By revealing various values, interests and power dynamics intersecting at the organisational and personal levels, the thesis aims to contribute an enhanced understanding of how and why change occurs in museums and how potentially competing interests can be negotiated.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Our museums are in desperate need of psychotherapy. There is abundant evidence of an identity crisis in some of the major institutions while others are in an advanced state of schizophrenia. - Duncan F. Cameron (1971)

The identity crisis, which Duncan F. Cameron highlighted in 1971, has continued to resonate for many museums in the intervening decades. In Duncan's article, he argues that museums have an identity crisis that relates to their role as a temple or a forum. The former presents what many regard as an outdated view of museums that arranges the artefacts with an aim to inspire awe, while the forum offers a place for public discussion, confrontation and debate surrounding different values and viewpoints. This all seems to point to ambivalence in the purpose of museums. In fact, there is a reason for museums' identity crisis. The Museum as an organisation, in contrast to other organisations in, for example, the private sector, accommodates a wide range of stakeholders. Museums have to meet those varied expectations and interests from stakeholders whose demands are always different and conflicting. We can see that contemporary museums live in a rapidly changing environment – shifting policy agendas, decreasing public funding, innovating technologies, changing demographic structures and evolving public expectations – and this has led to a lot of tension, anxiety and uncertainty among museum workers, along with a loss of confidence and identity. What purposes should museums serve and what functions should they prioritise? The *raison d'être* for the museum continues to be searched for and vigorously debated. This thesis seeks to explore the ways in which Taiwanese

museum purposes, priorities and practices are being influenced by different change demands from stakeholders through an in-depth field research approach.

Within the ecology of contemporary museums, it has been seen that there are various forces driving museums to change. If we try to capture the scene of those forces, the scenario that the museum is facing and responding to is in a post-Brexit and post-Trump global political landscape, where museums operate under an atmosphere of considerable uncertainty. The erosion of public funding for museums is familiar to many institutions across the world. Museums have had to strengthen their business acumen and entrepreneurial strategies in order to survive. Technology has changed the way we communicate with others and perceive information from the world. Museums increasingly need to engage with social media and bring in new technology in order to better communicate with visitors. Migration issues, refugee crises and legal equality for LGBT people has divided society into binarism. Museums have started to realise their potential as a catalyst for social inclusion. This scenario is just the tip of the iceberg in a complicated and intertwined world situation, yet shows that the museum's purpose, priorities and practices are continually changing and shifting. Those changes in purpose, priorities and practices are always accompanied by internal conflicts in museums; differences in opinion amongst staff as well as between competing stakeholders. The following change forces illustrate the concerns and debates surrounding museum change.

The vague boundary between museums and the market

The convergence between museums and the marketplace[1] – a process through which the traditional functions of museums have been turned towards more commercial, recreation-focused and market-orientated foci – has the increasing

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[1] The term 'marketplace' or 'market' in this research refers to the free market in a business context involving competitive or commercial dealings. This 'marketplace' or 'market' is different from the original 'market' in which non-profit organisations used to exist.

influence on the museum world. The driving forces for this convergence are varied, such as declining income, governmental policy, commercial pressures from trusts, and increased competition from the leisure sector and cultural consumption from the public. This shift can be seen in the way that business terminology has been used in governmental publications and how performance measures have been introduced to the arts and museum sectors (Belfiore, 2002). Many museums have moved towards partnering with businesses, and museum 'products' – exhibitions, research, public programmes, spaces – have been commodified. Furthermore, museums have begun to see themselves as a part of the tourist industry, and consequently, public relations and marketing offices have become an integral part of all major museums (Harrison, 1994).

This shifting priority towards the market has led to some tensions and conflicts among museum staff. The typical conflicts within museums include, for instance, those between staff in different departments – some have argued that the marketing team has tended to focus primarily on what the public wants and the education team have tended to think more about what the public needs – and the conflict between the business and the curatorial sides of the institution (Janes, 2009; Ames, 1988; Alexander, 2007). The reality is, of course, more complex than these broad-brush caricatures suggest and my research seeks to look beyond them.

The impact of market-driven ideologies has not been solely on museums; indeed, many non-profit organisations face a similar dilemma, and this has been discussed extensively in the literature over the last decade. On the one hand, some research tries to demonstrate the positive relationship between market orientation and non-profit organisational performance (Gainer and Padanyi, 2002; Jones, 2000), or highlight customer-oriented thinking within non-profits such as churches, hospitals and theatres (González, Vijande and Casielles, 2002; Vuokko, 2000). On the other hand, some scholars argue that non-profits adopt

entreprenuerial practices in order to compete in a broader commercial customer-focused environment, which can detract from the unique nature of non-profits and threaten their missions (Schlesinger, Mitchell and Gray, 2004). Some also highlight that it can be over-simplistic of non-profits to focus only on the market and the needs and desires of customers (Liao, Foreman and Sargeant, 2001). These polarised arguments reflect the tension and complexities in this dynamic process, challenging the growing influence of market discourse[2].

This phenomenon, however, is not a short-lived trend; this convergence has been evolving over a long period of time. If we briefly review the history of marketing in museums, it is interesting to note how the attitude of the Western museum sector towards marketing has changed over the past thirty years. In the beginning, some museum directors and staff felt uncomfortable about introducing marketing into their discourse (Kotler, 2005). However, marketing posts are rapidly increasing, and have resulted in the development of entire divisions in many large museums (Ames, 1988; McLean, 1997).

As marketing was progressively accepted and applied in museums throughout the 1990s, some scholars expressed a concern about the perceived burgeoning of Disney-style themed displays and blockbuster exhibitions (McLean, 1995a; Harrison, 1994). These concerns present a more sophisticated attitude, which rethinks the role of the marketing approach within the museum context (Bradford, 1991; McLean, 1993; McLean, 1995b; Ames, 1988). McLean (1997) states a distinction between a market-led and a marketing-led approach. The former is suitable for profit-led organisations which satisfy customers' needs and wants, whereas the latter moves beyond a purely profit-driven purpose and involves more imaginative tasks which help organisations achieve their mission.

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[2] Cultural policy researcher Jim McGuigan (2001) points out three discourses of cultural policy - state, market and civil - to explain how the language of cultural policy changed in Britain. This research adopts McGuigan's concept of market discourse to explain the current cultural policy discourse turning into "commodified culture" and "marketisation".

Because of their status as non-profit organisations, museums need to be marketing-led, and therefore it is inappropriate to transfer business concepts to a museum without any modification.

However, the issues arising from the convergence between museums and the marketplace are much more complicated than this and do not only impact the marketing functions and practices of museums but rather the ways in which the whole organisation is oriented. It involves the exchange of interests in a partnership or cooperation between museums and private enterprises. All the museums need to adopt a more nuanced and sophisticated understanding of the market. However, although there has been an increasing quantity of literature over the past twenty years on museum vs. marketplace issues, clearly delineated attitudes for and against can be seen. Some have criticised market-driven ideologies within museums (Bradburne, 1999; Bradburne, 2001; Janes, 1999; Janes, 2011), while others have attempted to encourage the practice of business strategies, such as marketing and branding (Griffin and Abraham, 2000; Runyard and French, 2011). Therefore, a more comprehensive discussion is needed in this area in order to proactively respond to this market-orientation tendency.

Towards museum activism

In a similar time period, the tendency towards museums combating social inequity can also be discerned. This has been strongly advocated by international museum studies leading writers, professional associations and organisations. The idea of being a socially responsible museum can be reflected in various practices, such as promoting the accessibility of museums, community engagement, social inclusion works and exhibitions tackling social issues (Marstine, 2011; Sandell, 2002a; Janes and Sandell, 2007).

In recent years, there has been a growing recognition of the social purpose and role of museums. For instance, the International Council of Museums has highlighted the social role of museums as one of their 'hot topics'[3]. Numerous international conferences, meetings and workshops have been held concerning issues such as social inclusion and the contemporary museum; social welfare of communities; human rights and accessibility; national policy and the social functions of museums; migration and migrant communities and so on. The Museums Association in the UK launched a campaign named 'Museums Change Lives' with an aim to promote the social impact of museums in order to demonstrate museums' capacity for supporting positive social change. The project emphasised three themes via three bold claims: museums enhance wellbeing; museums create better places; and museums inspire ideas and people[4]. Those various themes and areas have offered evidence of museums' social engagement practices and enthused the museum sector as a whole.

Although the idea goes with universal values towards a more diverse and equal world, these new roles and social responsibilities can be seen as a derailment from the traditional museum functions of preservation, collection, display and education (Sandell, 2003: 48). For example, there are concerns and worries that this purposefully activist approach could "undermine the ethical bases of museum" (Sandell, 2011: 129). As the resistance towards museum activism tends to play out in a more subtle way, there is a need for empirical research into the attitudes and values of museum staff.

Change forces in Taiwan

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[3] ICOM Annual Activity Report 2015, http://icom.museum/fileadmin/user_upload/pdf/Activity_report/ICOM_activity_report2015_eng.pdf. (Accessed: 20 February 2017)
[4] Museums Association website, http://www.museumsassociation.org/museums-change-lives/25062013-the-vision (Accessed: 20 February 2017)

In Taiwan, like many East Asian countries, public museums have been deeply influenced by central and local governments (Chu, 2011; Tseng, 2003). The establishment of different national museums in Taiwan has had a strong political, economic and social purpose over a long period of time. Since 2002, on the one hand, the government-led museum development has turned museums in Taiwan into part of the Cultural and Creative Industries policy (CCI), which has enabled many museums to actively update their museum shops and restaurants, to design and merchandise museum products, develop marketing and introduce special exhibitions. Despite the fact that some museums have met this challenge with some success and positive outcomes, many national museums are just facing this transition and struggling with these changes.

On the other hand, the global influence of human rights and equality discourse has increasingly gained resonance in Taiwan. Particularly, the Preparatory Office of the National Human Rights Museum was established in 2011. Its core mission is to document the history of the White Terror era (1949-1992) in Taiwan and to promote human rights education. Since President Lng-Wen Tsai from the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) held power in May 2016, the new government has stated its purpose to fast-track the passing of the Organizational Act of the National Human Rights Museum and promised a four-year plan on NT$2.2 billion budget for the Preparatory Office[5]. This top-down declaration and budget authority shows the determination of the new government for fast-tracked completion of the National Human Rights Museum. Also in some museums, practitioners begin to engage the ideas of social equality with their work, primarily on curatorial and educational practices. Losheng Story Museum, for example, displayed and represented disability powerfully through residence empowerment in the making of the exhibition (Chen, 2010).

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[5] Ministry of Culture website. http://english.moc.gov.tw/article/index.php?sn=4606 (Accessed: 25 February 2017)

These two different external forces play an important part for Taiwanese museums moving away from the traditional functions and conventional works of museums and have a significant impact on the future of museum development. However, there is relatively little research for understanding how museums are engaging with and responding to these trends, and the tensions, challenges and opportunities they pose. This project focuses on the ways in which a national museum's purpose, priorities and practices are evolving and the conflicts that are arising as a large and complex organisation continues to navigate the local and global forces for change. As this project deals with topics around change, I then drew on organisational change literature and sought to locate my research questions.

Toward a comprehensive view of understanding change

Organisational change has been perceived, conceptualised, and researched in a wide variety of ways. The dominant approach is to adopt a more rational and systematic way of thinking which seeks steps, procedures and methods to plan and manage change initiatives. This approach focuses on stability and predictability of change that tends to be more top-down and in which the leaders and managers take control over staff by making rules and procedures. This perspective, however, is criticised as it over-simplifies the complex and emerging characteristic of change.

For example, since the 1980s, the increasingly diverse perspectives towards more fluid, dynamic and flexible ways to understand change have contributed to knowledge in this area. As opposed to the one-best-fit model of change management, Collins (1998) calls for more reflective approaches to the study of change in which there is a shift from a top-down focus upon consensus and stability to bottom-up studies of contradiction and complexity. Besides, the past three decades have seen a gradual growth in attention to the contextual and political side of change. Pettigrew (1985a) and Dawson (1994) advocate focusing

on multiple contexts and levels of analysis on the politics, process and substance of change in order to better understand the dynamics of change.

As organisation change theories develop, there is a fundamental question about the linear thinking in change management (Stacey, Griffin and Shaw, 2002; Stacey, 1991). The complexity theory/theories, borrowed from natural sciences, argue that change is an ongoing and continual process through which the interactions between individuals are the key to understand change. Hence, the research on organisational change has shifted focus onto personal levels of empowerment, self-management, emotional intelligence, personal mastery and learning (Finch, 2011). There is a growing recognition that individuals enacting behaviours is crucial for successful change which encourages researchers to study the behavioural and attitudinal reactions of organisational members when they encounter change (Armenakis and Bedeian, 1999: 312).

In addition to change, leadership is another important feature in the essence of organisations. Leadership and change are always interconnected (Burnes and By, 2012: 239). The traditional view of leadership is understood as the leader on the top of structured hierarchies taking the most responsibility and power to control and effect change. As change is increasingly recognised as an emergent process, it demands a different kind of leadership in organisations. Leadership has developed in a more distributed way and put emphasis on each member of the organisation to have a crucial role in the change process and affect the outcome of change. However, as the change process is full of complexity, questions are increasingly asked around how leadership should play out in the different stages of the change process. Does distributed leadership fit well in the museum sector? The leadership issues need consideration in this project.

It is important to know that most theories and case studies are built on the private sector. It has been argued that it is more challenging to manage change in the public sector than the private one as the nature of public organisation

follows bureaucracy and regulations and is traditionally risk-averse, which may create barriers to change (Greasley, Watson and Patel, 2009: 386). Besides, some people question whether the change model in the business sector can be directly applied to public organisations (Coram and Burnes, 2001: 94). In this sense, a more organic and 'soft' way to deal with change is more likely to suit the understanding of change in the public sector.

1.2 Research questions

The research addresses three main areas. The first part deals with different demands for change from museums' stakeholders. These can be understood as driving forces. The research wants to highlight stakeholders as we have understood that people are at the core of organisational change. In this project, the stakeholders of museums are firstly focused on the government – their policies and implications for museums; secondly, the communities and visitors – their demands on the roles of contemporary museums; and thirdly, the museum workers – their belief and values towards museums. These three groups of stakeholder interact with each other and form varied change forces for museums. It is important to identify what the forces are and how the forces are formed.

The second and largest part of this study is to investigate how museum managers and staff construe, experience and negotiate the change process. The process is undoubtedly having a significant impact on museums in Taiwan. More particularly, the study seeks to explore the ways in which different values and views on museum priorities and goals are being negotiated. As we have known, power plays an essential part in organisations. In relation to this, I also try to understand how power relations are embedded in museums among individuals and departments.

In the third area, I aim to conclude how the leadership in change processes should be structured in order to assist museums navigating through change. The leadership is the key part for operating an organisation as it keeps the organisation focused on its mission and purposes. This project aims to explore the varied forms of leadership for dealing with the complexity of organisational change.

1.3 Research methods and data sources

Although the value of museum management has become widely accepted over recent decades (Sandell and Janes, 2007b: 101), there remains a lack of in-depth, grounded analysis that explores museums' structures, processes, and practices and the role of individuals and broader forces for change in the making and reshaping of the organisation. Meanwhile, the perspective of emergent change has gradually gained more interest as a way to better understand organisational life through the interaction of individuals and power relations in a dynamic process. There is an urgent need for contextually grounded methods to understand this bottom-up and emergent side of daily organisational life. In response to the call, organisational ethnography - a methodological approach and analytical perspective – is increasingly viewed as capable of capturing richer, detailed and in-depth ways of exploring organisational cultures and changes in particular organisational rules, strategies, and operations. This research seeks to conduct an in-depth, single-case empirical investigation with an organisational ethnography approach, exploring the complexities of these change processes and their implications for museums and their stakeholders.

To address my research questions, this study adopts a more exploratory approach to understand organisational change. The main data sources heavily rely on an intensive period of time in the case study museum. Through multiple methods for data collection, such as interview and conversation with museum managers and staff, observation in the daily museum organisational life, and

document analysis on museum newsletters, journals, articles and reports, I want to explore the subtle evolution of museum priorities and practices over the past few decades, and to understand the ways in which these changes are perceived, adopted, resisted or reaffirmed by multiple stakeholders. A more detailed methodology and research design will be addressed in Chapter 3.

1.4 Case study

As Denscombe (2010: 39) states, "a case study should be chosen deliberately on the basis of specific attributes to be found in the case – attributes that are particularly significant in terms of the practical problem or theoretical issue that the researcher wants to investigate." The case study chosen for this project is the National Museum of Natural Science (NMNS), Taiwan. The rationale for the selection of the NMNS is based on its relevance for my theoretical framework. This research seeks to understand how a national museum responds to and navigates through change. The criteria for choosing NMNS are as follows: firstly, its history is long enough to reflect the political, economic and social change over a long period of time as the museum was planned in the 1980s and opened to the public in 1986. Over this thirty-year period, Taiwanese democracy has gone through a dramatic change, such as the declaration for martial law ending in 1987 and party alternation for the third time. These all accelerate economic and social change in Taiwan. Compared to other new-build museums in the late 1990s and 21st century, the NMNS has witnessed and been part of the change process for a long time.

Secondly, its organisational scale is large enough to explore the complex dynamics when museum managers and staff negotiate with change. The NMNS employs 334 people which includes 64 researchers[6]. Based on this employee numbers, it is the second largest museum in Taiwan. On the basis of these two

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[6] National Museum of Natural Science (2014). Statistics on the NMNS's website. Available at: http://www.nmns.edu.tw/ch/intro/organization.htm (Accessed: 25 April 2016)

distinctive features, the NMNS can be an appropriate field for exploring my research questions. Thirdly, and most importantly, its representative status can be used to understand other Taiwanese museums. It is a typical case among Taiwanese museums in that it reflects the common anxiety when museums face change and addresses the similar opportunity and challenge for contemporary museums. Although there are certain distinctive features of the case study, I also argue that the implications of the research findings hold considerable relevance for museums more broadly, both within and beyond Taiwan.

1.5 Introducing the case study

The NMNS, which is the oldest model of a modern museum in Taiwan, was opened to the public on 1 January 1986. The reason for marking NMNS as the birth of the modern museum dates back to the social context in 1980s Taiwan. Before the NMNS opened, the only two national museums – the National Museum of History and the National Palace Museum - were more object-centred, displaying collections of Chinese artefacts and works of fine art. Compared to these two museums at that time, the NMNS was a brand-new idea in terms of the museum architecture, display and engagement with audience. The opening of the NMNS has not only stimulated the movement for development of museum studies in Taiwan, but has also started a new page of museum practice in this society.

The intention of the government to build a natural science museum was as a demonstration and celebration of modernisation at that time and served as an incubator of civic scientific literacy. The museum-building plan was a part of the Cultural Construction project of the National 12 Major Construction Projects (1979-1985). Different from most Western museums which were found in context with rich collections, this museum-building started with no collection. Moreover, as the concept of the museum does not occur naturally in the country of Taiwan, there was an impression that a natural science museum was an

unfamiliar concept for most people and there was lack of a clear vision and picture on the government's part (Han, 2012: 123-125).

Nevertheless, a group of scholars was convened by the government in charge of planning initiatives. The various museum models around the world were referred to, to imagine and construct this museum by the planning team. For example, although collecting and museum building started simultaneously, the NMNS adopted theme display and story-telling narrative to create exhibits and models to solve the issue of lack of collection. As the functions of the museum developed, the museum collection gradually expanded. At present, over 1.3 million natural history specimens and objects have been acquired by the museum, ranging from Zoology, Botany, Geology and Anthropology collection.

The mission of the NMNS is, on the one hand, to serve as a traditional natural history museum, collecting and investigating natural specimens and anthropological relics and, on the other hand, to stimulate the public's interest in the natural sciences and world cultures through creating engaging exhibits and educational programmes. In the beginning, the NMNS set a sole foundation to functionalise its organisational structure. The museum made it clear that four functions – collecting, researching, displaying and educating – are their main priority. With this mind-set, the museum managers frame the organisational structure and human resources allocation based on functional specialisations.

In terms of organisational scale, the NMNS is the second largest national museum in Taiwan only after the most famous National Palace Museum. The museum currently employs 334 full-time staff, including 64 researchers[7]. It has developed an increasingly complex organisational structure along with the

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[7] National Museum of Natural Science (2014). Statistics on the NMNS's website. Available at: http://www.nmns.edu.tw/ch/intro/organization.htm (Accessed: 25 April 2016)

management power of other institutions which have been transferred to the NMNS, including Botanical Garden, 921 Earthquake Education Museum, Fonghuanggu Ecology Education Park and Chelungpu Fault Preservation Education Park.

It should be noted that national museums in Taiwan are not independent institutions. As a part of the central government institution, the organisation operation and development has been constrained by law and regulations. There is no museum board system for governance. Instead, the NMNS is supervised by its upper institution – the Ministry of Education. More layers in the hierarchy can be seen as obstacles when it comes to organisational change. For example, it has to be approved by legislators at the Legislative Yuan[8] if the NMNS wants to change its organisational structure, number of personnel and even the price of the museum admission fee. Those constraints have become potential disadvantages for the museum in responding to external and internal forces to change (Wu, Lin and Yeh, 2007: 122; Yeh, 2008: 18).

1.6 Contextual framework of Taiwanese museums

The following section aims to give a background picture of the Taiwanese museum context which unfolds the complexity and contextual dynamics of organisational changes. The purpose of this discussion is to lead the readers to this particular Taiwanese museum context and to understand what the enablers and constraints for change in museums are, and to prepare the ground for discussion in the following chapters. We should be aware that the contextualising process is not just a background analysis to regard 'organisations and their context' as dualism. Instead, we should never forget that 'organisations are part of society and 'social organisation'; societal culture and so on are inside organisations as well as around them (Watson, 2012:16, 18). Therefore, when I

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[8] Legislative Yuan is the unicameral legislature of Taiwan. Its function is similar to parliament.

point out those particular phenomena which have the impact on the NMNS, I still look at the NMNS as part of those phenomena and has the impact on them at the same time. With this in mind, I then identify the most significant and growing trends of development in museum practices. These will show that there are some tensions where the museum is caught in the middle of the forces – some are lining up together, while some might pull off each other. The convergence between museums and the market, especially along with the ideas of cultural tourism and marketisation, is deeply embedded in the discourse, practices and policies in Taiwan. Meanwhile, there has been emerging and growing interest globally but also in Taiwan at that time in engagement with social purpose. This trend of development perhaps did not really stand out in the main museum discourse when the NMNS was born, yet, there is an increasing recognition within the Taiwanese museum sector which has shaped museum practices profoundly.

Shifting toward the market

National museums in Taiwan, as a part of the public sector, have been directly governed by the central government. Their finance and personnel management is monitored by the Legislative Yuan. Because of this characteristic, the development of national museums in Taiwan tends to be influenced by politics (Chu, 2011; Tseng, 2003).

Since the late 1980s, there has been a growing tendency for museums in Taiwan to embrace the idea of developing a culture economy. The trend of moving towards the market can be exemplified by the following phenomena. Firstly, cultural tourism and regional regeneration discourse has subtly integrated museums into a larger leisure and tourism industry. The governments have begun to value the benefits and outcomes in this aspect of museums. Secondly, the phenomenon of the blockbuster exhibition has been rising since the late 1990s, which has successfully attracted visitors and generated income. It created

a trend of special exhibition industry and a culture of private-public cooperation. Thirdly, the Cultural and Creative Industries (CCI) policy (started from 2002-) has put museums in a situation of developing income-related 'products' and attempts. Finally, the promotion of museum organisation reform leads museums into more self-funded practices and a financially driven perspective. I then will detail those observations which unfold the complexity and contextual dynamics around and in the NMNS.

Cultural tourism and regional regeneration

The notion of cultural tourism was introduced to Taiwan in the late 1980s. The first Director of the NMNS, Pao-Teh Han, made a commentary in their museum journal, *Museum Quarterly*, titled *The age of cultural tourism*:

> In this age, it is behind the times, even if museums are no longer keen on collecting and look at education and culture as their main purposes. The people come to museums to do leisure so that museums have become part of the tourism industry (Han, 1988: 1).

The comment not only marks a shift in the expectation of museums' purposes and roles in Taiwan but also reveals consciously the instrumental policy aim for museums. Although Gibson (2008: 248-9) argues that instrumentalism is always an essential part of cultural policy, it is worth pointing out that the culture tourism discourse grows naturally with policy agenda. When it comes to outcome and benefit, the culture tourism argument becomes a rhetoric that the policy makers would like to hear. For example, the Local Cultural Museum Project in Taiwan (2002-2015) had a clear policy aim on stimulating culture tourism which expected those small and local museums to develop cultural tourism routes and become a platform of cultural economic development[9].

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[9] Ministry of Culture (2015). Museum and Local Museum development plan by Ministry of Culture. Available at: http://www.ey.gov.tw/Upload/RelFile/26/733696/992af1bb-f526-4f5f-a225-b2b311632cc1.pdf (Accessed: 18 April 2016).

Besides, the culture tourism discourse sometimes comes along with the regional regeneration discourse that the museum is one of the crucial elements which could attract people to come and push forward local economy. There is no need to describe the famous Bilbao Effect which has been seen as a best practice of regional regeneration for many politicians, though authors like Janes (2009: 110) argue the saying 'If you build it, they will come' is a fallacy. Given the fact that one of the local governments once actively strived for the Guggenheim Museum to locate in Taichung city, that is self-evidently showing how the governments' expectation towards the museum is as a hub to develop tourism and local economy.

The recently opened National Palace Museum Southern Branch is another example to show central and local governments' expectation of 'development in the economic, tourism and cultural and creative industries'[10] by building a branch museum of NPM in Puzi city, the countryside of Chiayi county. It is written clearly in its brief[11] that the vision of NPM Southern Branch is to increase the opportunity of culture and art education, and to become a tourist attraction of Southern Taiwan and stimulate the development of CCI. Besides, it seems the estate of museum areas in several Taiwanese cities has increased dramatically and brought massive economic prosperity to the area. This tempting benefit is always attractive to local government in terms of culture and museum constructions, as cultural and educational institution areas are always a favoured place to live.

In terms of culture participation percentage in Taiwan, 41.5 per cent of respondents stated they had visited a museum or gallery at least once in twelve

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[10] National Palace Museum (2016). About the NPMSB- Vision. Available at:
http://south.npm.gov.tw/en-US/Wish (Accessed: 18 April 2016).
[11] National Palace Museum (2015). Southern Branch of the National Palace Museum Building Progress Report. Available at: http://www.ey.gov.tw/Upload/RelFile/3179/725772/843e4d42-ed1c-4ef8-8f02-c1a2242612e1.pdf (Accessed: 18 April 2016).

months in 2013[12]. The figure shows the public is quite willing to visit museums. Also, people demand that museums could offer a better leisure service; for example, Lin's (2006: 312) empirical research shows that people would be more satisfied if museums provided better restaurants and leisure facilities. Museums have also gradually recognised that they have a role to play in cultural tourism and regional regeneration. For example, some museums have started to hold art or cultural festivals in conjunction with other attractions nearby to form a cultural tourism map in the area.

Although it is not always successful for museums as a hub of cultural tourism and regional regeneration, there is obviously a governmental expectation in Taiwan which drives museums to take more responsibility for stimulation and growth of local economy.

The blockbuster effect

Since the first blockbuster exhibition[13] was successfully introduced to Taiwan in 1993, it seems that museums have been fascinated by the benefit of the blockbuster and special exhibitions. The short-term, once-in-a-lifetime and spectacular blockbuster experience has created a trend and was there to hook people to immerse in it. Until now, the blockbuster and the following commercial exhibitions phenomenon has been seen as a part of the cultural industries and has become a common event over the years. It has also been proved that there

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[12] Ministry of Culture (2015). Cultural Statistics. Available at: http://stat.moc.gov.tw/ImportantPointer.aspx (Accessed: 18 April 2016).
[13] *Monet et les Impressionnistes au Musee Marmottan* was the first blockbuster exhibition to be introduced in the National Palace Museum in Taiwan in 1993. The following blockbuster exhibitions during the 1990s were such as *Le paysage dans la peinture occidentale, du xvie au xixe siecle : chefs-d'oeuvre du Mu* in 1995, *L'Age d'or de l'impressionnisme-Chefs-d'oeuvre du Musée d'Orsay* in 1997, *Chefs-d'oeuvre du Musée de l'Orangerie Collection Jean Walter et Paul Guillaume* in 2000. The more recently list of blockbuster exhibitions is in the appendix 1.

is a huge cultural consumption market in Taiwan and visitors are continuing to demand this form of exhibition.

Besides, the phenomenon of the blockbuster exhibition has opened cooperation opportunities between museums and private curatorial firms. For example, the most visited blockbuster exhibition record is *Terra Cotta Warriors and Horses* special exhibition (15.12.2000-11.03.2001) which attracted 1.05 million visitor numbers in 84 days (Lee, 2005: 47). It has been seen as a successful partnership between a museum and a private multi-media company.

Private-public cooperation is not unusual to many museums in the world. For example, holding blockbuster exhibitions always comes with a high cost, and especially borrowing objects from other museums usually involves expensive transport and insurance costs and some fee for the borrower, a so-called donation. It depends on the agreement between museum and museum; sometimes the fee can be avoided by exchanging objects with each other. As the power structure in the global art world is unbalanced, museums in Taiwan have always been in a country which imports culture from Western museums which are 'lending for profit' (Gardner, 2011: 290; Lian, 2010). Within current Government General Budget, public museums in Taiwan can barely afford the high price of a 'donation'. Hence, seeking sponsorship has become the most promising way for blockbuster exhibitions to come to Taiwan.

What is significant to Taiwan is that the private sector could also play a role as an exhibition dealer who 'imports' exhibitions to Taiwanese museums. While blockbuster and commercial exhibitions have become an industry, there are two major multi-media companies[14] jumping into the 'market' and introducing

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[14] A multimedia group owns and manages newspapers, magazines, multi-channel television services, Internet media, publication and a marketing and events management division. For example, there are two major curatorial companies-- Media Sphere Communications LTD (Want

exhibitions to museums. As long as the 'market' is developing, more and more small-scale curatorial companies are also starting to introduce many more commercial-like exhibitions to museums or other exhibit venues (Chu, 2016; Hsieh, 2012).

There are definitely positive outcomes from private-public cooperation. On the one hand, the museum can increase visitor numbers and media coverage through the strong advertisement from the multi-media companies as co-organisers. On the other hand, the private sector could build a positive corporate image by working with museums. However, this model can go wrong if these museums lose the balance between appropriate sponsorship and unethical business practices[15]. For example, it has been criticised by many Taiwanese scholars (Wang, 2003; Lin, 2003; Chang, 2003; Keng, 2003) that private-public cooperation blockbusters are highly commercial due to the strong promotion of the exhibition shop and the relatively expensive ticket fee. It is further argued that the agreement between museum and private curatorial company is not transparent enough, a feature which causes disputes and controversy[16].

Besides, the quality of the exhibitions is being questioned (Lien, 2010:313; Liao, 2014) as there is always a short period of preparation time but frequent launches of new blockbuster exhibitions. The overcrowded exhibition space potentially causes a poor visitor experience and complaints. Moreover, it would cause a

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Want China Times Inc) and Gold Media Group (United Daily News Group) in Taiwan. They could be deeply involved in blockbuster exhibitions, usually including the decision making of the theme, sponsorship, advertising, editing of exhibition guidebook, production and selling of exhibition merchandise.

[15] In Gardner's (2011) article – "Ethical, entrepreneurial or inappropriate? Business practices in museums" has created discussion regarding unethical practice. For example, in the United States, museums capitalising on their collections can be seen as a covert way to use the collections as collateral or selling them for financial reasons.

[16] For example, there was fierce criticism of the curatorial cooperation between the Taipei Fine Arts Museum (TFAM) and curatorial companies in 2010-11 (see a series of articles in ARTCO May 2011). Especially, as co-organising two special exhibitions - '*Elsewhere: Paul Gauguin*' (27/11/2010-20/02/2011) and '*Monet Garden*' (05/03-06/06/2011) failed at the box office and caused financial disputes between the curatorial company and TFAM.

sense of the museum losing cultural authority. The private sector may have a chance to be deeply involved in the curatorial process, while museums may just want to accept a ready-packaged exhibition.

Many Taiwanese are used to visiting museums and special exhibitions as a leisure activity (Kuo, 2006; Lin, 2006). It can be observed that the demand of cultural consumption has been growing rapidly in Taiwan since the late 1990s and the blockbuster phenomenon is one of the driving forces that seduces people to consume it (Kuo, 2006: 42). However, while several museums launched blockbusters in a similar period of time, competing over visitors, it could cause a crowding out effect between those museums. People might feel fatigued after so many blockbuster events. If without visitors' support, the private sector will realise that the blockbuster market is declining. When the private sector recognises they cannot return their investment in blockbusters, this private-public cooperative relationship would come to an end. The blockbuster phenomenon could not last for a long period of time. It is hard to say how long the blockbuster phenomenon will endure at the moment. Nevertheless, the blockbuster effect has been influencing – and will continue to influence the museum sector in Taiwan in the foreseeable future.

Implementation of the CCI policy

Inspired by the Creative Industries policies in the UK, the Cultural and Creative Industries (CCI) policy has been addressed by the Taiwanese government since 2002 with an intention of developing the cultural economy to integrate cultural and creative related sectors[17]. Suddenly the CCI became one of the key industries which the government wanted to promote, and a hot topic where people from industry, government and academia have jumped on the bandwagon[18].

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[17] 2006 Taiwan annual report: cultural & creative industries, pp.24-25.
http://stat.moc.gov.tw/Research.aspx?type=5. (Accessed: 10 May 2016)
[18] 2005 Taiwan annual report: cultural & creative industries, p.4.

The thinking around cultural economy has grown into a powerful driving force to encourage cultural and heritage sectors, including museums, to work on the added value of their 'products'. In 2010, the Legislative Yuan passed the 'Law for the Development of the Cultural and Creative Industries' which marked a milestone for this cultural economy trend[19]. It seems inevitable that the museum sector is included as part of CCI, though the strategies vary among different countries. For example, the Creative Industries as defined by UNESCO includes museums as part of the visual arts sector, since museums can play a role in making art accessible to all (Buljubašić, Borić and Tolić, 2016: 110).

Differently, in Taiwan, the museum sector has been classified in the 'cultural assets application and exhibition and performance facility industry' as one of the industries that originate from creativity or accumulation of culture[20]. While UNESCO emphasises the accessibility of museums as Creative Industries, it seems that the Taiwanese government are more focused on how the museum sector can generate income. With the central and local governments' strong push, many public museums devote themselves to actively updating their museum shops and restaurants, to design and merchandise museum cultural creative products and develop licensing, marketing and branding. The so-called 'cultural creative products' means to develop products based on the museum collections which could be related to the collection's own story or meaning or the texts, images, textures or patterns of the collection. The range of the products is really diverse, from jewellery and accessories to food and drinks. In order to promote those museum products and brands, some museums actively attend various domestic and international cultural and creative expos, licensing shows, and book fairs to promote their museum brand products and publications.

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http://stat.moc.gov.tw/Research.aspx?type=5. (Accessed: 10 May 2016)
[19] 2011 Taiwan annual report: cultural & creative industries, p.13.
http://stat.moc.gov.tw/Research.aspx?type=5. (Accessed: 10 May 2016)
[20] Law for the Development of the Cultural and Creative Industries.
http://mocfile.moc.gov.tw/mochistory/ccaImages/laws/247/1-0-5.pdf. (Accessed: 10 May 2016).

With another grant-in-aid from the 'Taiwan e-learning and Digital archives programme' (1998-2008), most national museums have been offered funding to do the digitisation of artefacts and digitised archives over ten years. The museums could use those digitised images as resources for education, licensing and the inspirations for developing cultural creative products. There are approaches applied in many museums in Taiwan, such as digitising the images, filming[21] and commercialisation.

Furthermore, two museums — National Palace Museum (NPM) and National Museum of History (NMH)[22] — even adjusted their organisational structure to be able to add a new department in charge of CCI-related development work. It seems that these two museums are more active in developing their strategies of developing cultural economy than other museums. For example, NPM has been actively developing its licensing, marketing, and product development by cooperating with companies and holding the 'National Treasure Merchandise Design Competition' annually[23]. NMH addressed the idea of emphasising public welfare in the cultural and creative field so that the museum serves as a platform between enterprises and disadvantaged people to help them to create cultural and creative products by encouraging the enterprises' investment[24]. Although it seems that revenue is not NMH's main aim, as with many other national museums in Taiwan, they are still under pressure from legislators. Museums have to give an explanation if the turnover does not increase reasonably per annum[25].

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[21] For example, a 3D animated film entitled 'National Treasure Superstars' was created in 2007 by the collaboration between National Palace Museum and Digimax Corporation, which brings their key collections alive and tells a strong story about their adventure in the museum.

[22] The National Palace Museum announced the restructure of its organisation and the development of a Department of Marketing and Licensing in 2008, while the National Museum of History established its Creativity and Marketing Division in 2012.

[23] National Palace Museum website. http://ccp.npm.gov.tw/en/content/design/design_01.htm. (Accessed: 10 May 2016)

[24] Annual Report 2015 of National Museum of History, p. 67. http://www.nmh.gov.tw/file/Upload/publish/file/6e0fbf29-548b-45c1-8888-49533e660890.pdf. (Accessed: 10 May 2016)

[25] For example, according to the minutes of the Legislative Yuan's 7th session of the 8th meeting

Among all national museums in Taiwan, NPM can be seen as the best practice so that the government regards it as a flagship base for development of the Cultural and Creative Industries by including the museum in the I-Taiwan 12 Projects[26]. It means NPM receive extra funding and support from the government, while other museums are hardly able to access those resources. NPM did showcase a strong ability to develop culture economy. As a good example of creating a marketing 'buzz' for the museum, Silks Palace, a high-end museum restaurant serving fine dining was opened in 2008. Its most signature dishes resemble items from NPM's famous collections which successfully attracts media attention. Also as a world-famous museum, NPM is always packed with tourists. It is no surprise to see that shops in NPM brought in 820 million (New Taiwanese dollars) profits in 2014[27].

Those impressive examples seem to suggest that there is a massive cultural consumption market in Taiwan. It is important to know, however, that most of those successful examples were achieved by the NPM which means the credit for developing cultural economy may not be seen as a success of the whole museum sector. As Chu (2012) argues, the NPM is an exception as its privileged position and political importance could attract more resources than other museums.

Recent research into the relationship between museums and CCI in Taiwan indicates CCI development has justified and deepened commercial activities for museums, and that museums have turned to a model of practice reflecting the visitor experience of theme parks (Chu, 2012). CCI policy has a strong impact on the museum sector. As Han (2008) argues, this policy has caused the loss of a sense of mission among national museums in Taiwan (Kao and Hsu, 2008: 85).

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on 8 April 2011, some legislators questioned about the performance of NPM's online shop. It was written as follows: the National Palace Museum should enhance its management performance of the online shop. After investigation, the turnover was 2,826,000 NTD by June of 2010 which was far behind the turnover for the previous year and shows the lack of advertisement.

[26] National Palace Museum (2016). NPM's Cultural and Creative Industries Plan. Available at: http://ccp.npm.gov.tw/content/plans/plans_01.aspx (Accessed: 10 May 2016).

[27] National Palace Museum (2015). News. http://www.npm.gov.tw/zh-tw/Article.aspx?sNo=04006141 (Accessed: 10 May 2016).

This shows that there are still many concerns regarding museums' input in CCI, although CCI has been dominant in cultural policy discourse for over a decade.

The discussion of administrative corporations

There has been a fierce discussion[28] over the past ten years about whether museums are suitable to transition from government bodies to administrative corporations[29]. In doing so, the government could implement their organisational structure reform and relieve the financial burden, with aims of enhancing museums' performance and uniting the legal restrictions of museums' finance and staff recruitment. Some people argue that it would give museums more flexibility on the operation, finance and human resource aspects, while other people worry the museum would become really commercial for meeting finical needs if they are an administrative corporation.

As most museum directors were against the plan of transferring to administrative corporations (Chin, 2003: 107), the government could not go further and put the plan into action. Still, the museums were constantly haunted by the uncertainty of whether to be administrative corporations. For example, although the museums could not be transferred to administrative corporations immediately, the government introduced the museum operation fund to several national museums[30] in 2007, with aims of increasing financial flexibility and

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[28] See: (Chin, 2003; Chin, 2005; Hsueh and Hsueh, 2004; Huang, 2004; Huang, 2008a; Huang, 2008b; Keng, 2008; Liang, 2004; Lien, 2013)

[29] The administrative corporation is one of the approaches of government organisational reform which intends to increase flexibility in budgeting and daily operations for an institution by changing the form of its governance. It is a system in between governmental governance and privatisation. The administrative corporation still retains its publicness but is allowed to streamline and relax personnel and accounting rules and regulations. The biggest concern for an administrative corporation is its fiscal self-responsibility for some percentage (usually 30-50%), so it is no longer 100% government funded.

[30] Those national museums are National Museum of Natural Science, National Science and Technology Museum, National Museum of Marine Biology and Aquarium and National Museum of History. Besides, there are also two quasi-museums adopting the museum operation fund, including National Taiwan Science Education Center and National Chiang Kai-Shek Memorial Hall.

efficiency of museums, and with an intention of saving the governmental subsidy to museums.

The national museums used to be fully funded by governmental budgets annually which means museums' income and the unexpended annual budget was returned to the National Treasury. This system was neither flexible in terms of how to expend the budget nor economical in terms of saving money for museums. There was also not enough motivation for museums to generate income. The museum operation fund offers museums a relative and conditional flexibility[31] so that museums' income does not have to return to the National Treasury fully. But it also means the museums should advance their capacity of seeking resources, funding and sponsorship. This is a pressure obviously as those museums have to set a goal of some amount of money they will self-fund prior to the budget year, and they will need to explain it to the legislators if they fail to achieve their goal.

It seems that the museum operation fund has become a tendency for museums in Taiwan — at least we can see the museum law, passed by the legislature in July 2015, expressly stipulated that public museums can set up the museum operation fund for their operational need if the self-funding of the museum can reach a certain percentage. This is to say the museum law imbues the legitimacy for public museums to introduce the museum operation fund. It does not seem the introduction of the fund is directly relevant to the development of cultural economy but it definitely serves as a wake-up call for museums to think about generating income and other sources of funding.

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[31] For example, the museum's annual expenditure should be written on the budget statement beforehand. After the statement was examined by legislators, the museum should execute the budget by the budget statement specifically.

Towards a more socially engaged approach

While the market forces were undoubtedly taking hold and having considerable influence since 2002, it is also worth noting that other voices calling for other priorities within museum discourse and practices began to emerge. As we will see in Chapter 5, this played out in a particular way at the NMNS. I will demonstrate how the social engagement approach, which originated from Western countries, has been appropriated and interpreted by the government and museum sector.

As mentioned earlier, the birth of the NMNS has accelerated the development of museum studies in Taiwan. Since the leading publication *Museology Quarterly* was launched in 1987, museum practitioners and scholars started to introduce and engage with international museum studies discourse and practices into Taiwan. The idea of New Museology was first seen in *Museology Quarterly* in 1989 – a translated article named 'Museology and Museums' from Dutch writer Peter van Mensch. Although this New Museology tendency, which questions and challenges "the traditional museum approaches to issues of value, meaning, control, interpretation, authority and authenticity" (Stam, 1993: 267) – has shifted the museum discourse enthusiastically, practices in the Taiwanese museum sector have not seen dramatic changes. Nevertheless, the sector shows a culture that enjoys embracing new ideas and trends in international museum studies development.

It was not until the mid-2000s that more researchers started to focus on representation of other voices in museums. The research can be divided into two areas. First, focusing on the practices and processes of exhibition making and interpretation of disabled people. Chen (2010) uses the Losheng Story Museum as a case study to discuss the meanings, strategies and ethical conflicts of representing patients with leprosy. The research suggests a more empowered approach for disabled people in museum exhibitions making. Chen (2014)

investigates the representation of mental illness in museums through analysis of five exhibitions in Taiwan, the UK and Australia to represent three different exhibition models. The author points out that there is still a lack of exhibitions dealing with the themes of mental health issues in Taiwanese museums. Second, emphasising services and educational programmes for disabled people. There is a growing awareness of accessibility for disabled people. Many researches have offered cases, examples and suggestions about the current accessible services and educational programmes in Taiwanese museum practices (Liu, 2015; Lo, 2015; Lu, 2015; Yu, 2015; Chen and Chang, 2012; Lin and Chao, 2016; Wu, 2016; Chao, 2016). Although many museums have demonstrated the commitment on accessibility for disabled people, there is still lack of a systemic plan among most museums in Taiwan[32] and those services are mainly offered to visually impaired museum visitors rather than people with other disabilities.

Besides, human rights issues have gradually been brought into museum practices. For example, AMA museum was opened in 2016 by a Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) as a base to represent the voice of Taiwanese 'Comfort' Women. The permanent exhibitions of this museum include the display on life stories of the A-ma (referring to Taiwanese 'Comfort' Women) and issues around contemporary women's rights[33]. Although the museum marked a milestone for promoting women's rights in Taiwan, the challenge of this NGO-based museum is to operate the museum on a daily basis despite the constraint of limited resources.

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[32] So far, only the National Museum of Taiwan History has launched an 'accessibility and social inclusion' policy. The museum marked it as one of their core values and has actively demonstrated commitment on this issue. Their action plan includes the environmental and information-wise accessibility; diverse interpretation; equal participation; friendly service (Lu, 2015).

[33] Taipei Women's Rescue Foundation Website. https://www.twrf.org.tw/tc/p2-news_detail.php?PKey=df5432xoCPjIokOynOdwDZeVU3bZ4ViawJVnBZBwFE8. (Accessed: 27 February 2017)

The themes and displays on the 228 incident[34] have become a key historical event in promoting human rights. For example, there is the 228 Memorial Museum located in Taipei and Chiayi City to commemorate the victims of the 228 incident and offer a space for documenting, educating and participating in this historical event. Also in Kaohsiung Museum of History, the 228 incident is also one of the themes on display. Chen (2007) discusses the display and analyses visitors' messages about the exhibitions in Taipei 228 Memorial Museum. The author points out that the museum directly links this event with the issue of national identity, which reflected the ruling party's ideology at that time. Indeed, the two main parties in Taiwan have different ideologies towards national identity. Therefore, it can be observed that the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) is much more active in dealing with human rights issues than the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) government. As a result, human rights development tends to be highly political and selective.

The first national museum in Taiwan on human rights - The National Human Rights Museum – has been in preparation since 2011, with aims to move the nation towards reconciliation of the conflicts in the White Terror era (1949 - 1992) and pave the foundation for Taiwan's human rights education, demonstrating the commitment of government towards human rights. It should be pointed out that the current focus of government priority is political human rights[35]. This is related to a history of the White Terror era (1949 – 1987) in which many political victims[36] were held in custody, imprisoned and executed. As parties alternated again in 2016, the National Human Rights Museum is hoping to be completed by the new government. Although it is glad to anticipate the birth of the National Human Rights Museum, the focus on human rights issues is

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[34] The historical event, beginning on 28 February 1947, was a series of conflicts against the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) government uprising in Taiwan. The military adopted armed suppression which caused thousands of civilians to be killed.
[35] The current ruling party – DPP - is aimed at promoting the realisation of transitional justice.
[36] As the ruling authority, the KMT launched martial law (1949 – 1987) at that period, and any voices opposing authority were being oppressed.

still limited in scope. There is also relatively little discussion on Taiwanese human rights discourse in the museum sector. For example, Lin (2014: 114) mentioned that a contemporary art work exhibit at the Jing-Mei Human Rights Memorial & Culture Park[37] as part of reopening activity in 2009 caused a dispute and conflict in historical event interpretation. One of the victim's family members, Jia-Jun Chen, damaged the artist Wen-Fu Yu's work as Chen argues the artist Yu's work is to celebrate the White Terror authority instead of commemorating the victims. This gap between the artist's intention and perception of the victims' descendants is quite wide. This incident gave us a warning call that the government should be transparent and careful with human rights issues as the undemocratic and exclusive working practices can lead society into a serious division. Though the values of human rights are widely accepted by the public in Taiwan, there remains a lack of appropriate training in working on human rights issues for the museum sector.

Overall, in the development of social engagement in Taiwanese museums, despite the growing interest, there is still a lack of systematic working practices among the museums. Many museums have started to engage with disabled people's needs and want – whether in exhibition interpretation, education programmes or museum service. However, it tends to serve visually impaired museum visitors and should be more inclusive of other minority groups. The human rights issues in museum practice mainly emphasise political human rights which deeply reflect the ruling party's ideology. When we look at the development of human rights issues in museums, we should be aware of the political implication within it.

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[37] The National Human Rights Museum owns two sites— the Jingmei Human Rights Cultural Park and the Green Island Human Rights Cultural Park, which were both major detainment centers for reforming political prisoners during the White Terror era. Preparatory Office of the National Human Rights Museum website. http://www.nhrm.gov.tw/Archive?uid=942 (Accessed: 27 February 2017).

1.7 Structure of the thesis

This introductory chapter has offered a rationale for the research project by identifying the key issues around museums and change. It has also highlighted theoretical tensions when museums are facing and responding to change and provided a comprehensive approach to understand organisational change through organisational change and management literature. The research methods and data sources have been explained and the case study has been introduced. The chapter also offers a contextual analysis of Taiwanese museum change to prepare the ground for the following chapter.

Chapter two develops a conceptual framework to understand organisational change. Through the lenses presented by different change theories, the chapter reflects on what each theory offers and takes a more holistic approach to studying the complexity of change in organisations. This approach also requires an analysis of power dynamics and leadership in the museum to examine how it affects the change process.

Chapter three provides a justification of the philosophies that underpin the research, and the choice of methodology and research design. In order to reveal the complexity of change, it locates this project within interpretative and critical theory perspectives through qualitative approaches. The chapter will also make a case for employing organisational ethnography and explain the data collection and analysis in detail.

In the analysis of chapter four and five, I look at themes of market ideology and social engagement separately. Those two forces emerged during my fieldwork which both reflect the complex nature of organisational change. The main questions in these chapters are twofold. Firstly, to explore how museum managers and staff perceive, negotiate, resist or embrace those forces that have

shaped the museum's priorities and practices. Secondly, to investigate how the museum engages with those forces by unfolding various beliefs, values and power relations embedded in the museum and how the leadership plays out in the process.

More specifically, chapter four examines the ways in which values are underpinning the NMNS and how it has become financially driven. This chapter then analyses how the sponsorship dilemma has happened and how their special exhibition policy has shifted when the museum is facing the market. It also explores the tensions and complexities in this dynamic process which were created by museum managers and staff through negotiation with intersecting a making profits strategy and CCI policy agendas.

Chapter five takes a more exploratory approach to investigate social engagement practice in the NMNS. Firstly, I investigate how the concept of education has become the main social purpose for the NMNS. Then I take two special exhibitions as examples to examine how the tensions and complexities in the exhibition-making process allow us to understand how museum managers and staff negotiate the concerns and conflicts that might arise from the social engagement approach.

The concluding chapter discusses implications of the findings both for museum management and for future research agendas, and to reflect the dynamics of the museum change process on the broader organisational change literature. A conceptual framework will be proposed within which a leadership designed to assist the museum navigating through change can be considered.

Chapter 2 The complexity of organisational change

2.1 Introduction

In this highly uncertain world, many organisations find themselves torn between different stakeholders' interests and the organisation's mission in the face of forces for change. The organisational identity crisis is caused by conflicting identities and values in the organisation. Drawing on organisation studies and change management literature, I will firstly discuss the literature on the issues around the identity crisis and conflicting values, and offer different strategies to tackle these issues.

In the second part of this chapter, I return to explore in more detail the ways of understanding organisational change – how organisational change happens and who makes it happen. As many scholars have pointed out, organisational change literature is fragmented and limited in scope as researchers only focus on one aspect or another (Jacobs, van Witteloostuijn and Christe-Zeyse, 2013; Armenakis and Bedeian, 1999). This chapter seeks to take a more holistic approach to better understand the complex and paradoxical nature of organisations and change.

As we know, an organisation is assembled from different interests and values among stakeholders with complicated power dynamics. In order to understand who makes change happen and resists it happening, it is equally important to understand various power relations embedded in connection to change in organisations. Besides, leadership is essential for initiating and driving change as it demonstrates the legitimacy of and commitment to change (Jacobs, van Witteloostuijn and Christe-Zeyse, 2013: 784). This chapter will explore what role

leadership can play during a process of organisational change.

2.2 Facing the change: Identity crisis

Organisational identity is used to explain "who are we?" as an organisation (Smith *et al*, 2010: 110), which differentiates us as an organisation from other organisations. Through identity, organisation members can locate themselves in their environment to communicate with stakeholders about the organisation's purpose (Smith *et al*, 2010: 111). At the same time, stakeholders are able to shape organisational identity by engaging with strategic communication in organisations (Waters and Jones, 2011: 251).

Identity is not fixed but fluid through time. One organisation could have multiple identities (Smith *et al*, 2010). It is also possible that different identities in organisation could conflict with each other. Organisational change could trigger internal organisational identity conflicts and members' resistance when the change direction is inconsistent with their identity (Jacobs, van Witteloostuijn and Christe-Zeyse, 2013: 787; Armenakis and Bedeian, 1999: 299).

Smith and Knapp et al. (2010) point out the concept of social enterprise in non-profit organisations would lead to organisational identity tension as the business identity of the social enterprise often clashes with institutionalised social service identity. Indeed, for many non-profit organisations, the business mind tends to conflict with their philanthropic nature. There is a growing tendency that non-profit organisations have to move toward the market in order to survive the changing environment. However, this movement increases identity crisis for non-profit organisations.

The foundational difference between for-profit and non-profit sectors is their market systems. Within a free-market ideology, markets are traditionally defined by three factors: demand, supply, and price. The business market deals with exchange relationships with customers. On the other hand, markets in a non-profit context may refer either to 'the market of service or products users or customers, or to the market of donors' (Vuokko, 2000: 334). It has also been debated whether true markets, in the economic sense of the term, exist in a non-profit context, as non-profits have a market for resource acquisition with donors and a market for resource allocation with service users (Liao, Foreman and Sargeant, 2001). Profit-orientated organisations attempt to find the balance among these three factors in order to maximise profit, while non-profits tend to be mission-driven and in a sense, are frequently examples of a 'market failure'[38].

Given this difference, the dilemma for non-profits facing convergence with the free-market economy can be easily understood. For example, in the museum context, both opposing positions have been found. On the one hand, Janes (2011: 56-58) warns that the rise of marketplace ideology and museum corporatism have been uncritically accepted by museum practitioners. He points out the increasing focus on business operating models – short-term thinking, money as the measure of worth, conspicuous consumption and business tribalism – and how these result in a clash of non-profit and for-profit values. Therefore, he stresses there should be a safe distance between one side – care of collections, scientific research and community engagement – and the other side – the marketplace and corporate influence. Such an attitude expresses a sense of foreboding regarding corporatisation, and implies the hazards that exist in the free market.

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[38] 'Market failure' is an economic term which refers to inefficiencies resulting from the for-profit provision of goods or services. It has been argued that many non-profit organisations have characteristics of non-exclusion and non-rivalry, which are often referred to as public goods. These organisations often belong to such sectors as national defence, education and culture, and their position as public goods is often the reason for government intervention in a particular market.

On the other hand, Rectanus (2002: 171-172) argues that the museum, as a privileged and contested field of cultural representation and mediation, has become an attractive venue for sponsorships, tourism and consumption. He indicates that there is potential for a fusion between museum culture and event culture, perhaps transforming the museum into 'a multiple-use cultural centre that incorporates production and audience interaction'. To extend Rectanus' perspective, this cultural hybridisation demonstrates an attitude of liberation – from the consolidation of traditional functions to interactions with visitors and markets.

Whether hazardous or liberatory, it is now widely accepted that the convergence between museums and the marketplace has become a contemporary cultural phenomenon. Some have argued that this process has resulted in the subversion of the core values and mission of museums by market-driven ideologies, while others would argue that a sharper focus on the market and the needs and desires of visitors has been and still is critical in helping museums to achieve their goals. Both challenge and opportunity exist among these complexities. The issue is how to maintain a delicate balance between them, and to retain clarity upon the location of the boundary between museums and the marketplace.

2.3 The conflicting stakeholders' interests and values

Stakeholders are relevant people, groups or organisations which can affect or be affected by the actions, objectives and policies of the organisation as a whole. Stakeholders have different interests and values for the organisation and those interests and values are always conflicting (Stacey and Griffin, 2008: 3). Especially for non-profit organisations, there is a wider range of stakeholders[39] to deal with.

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[39] In the for-profit sector, they may mainly focus on customers and employees as the two primary stakeholder groups. Non-profit organisations, however, are more complicated and diversified, including the Board members, employees, service users or recipients, members, volunteers, public and private partners, competitors, donors or funders, local communities, government representatives at all levels, media and the public and so on.

There has been a tendency to focus on satisfying customer demand ever since the concept of 'marketing myopia'[40] was introduced in the 1960s. This concept has profoundly influenced the advocacy of a customer-orientated philosophy both in the business and non-profit sectors. For example, Vuokko (2000: 334) believes that focusing on customer orientation may 'encourage a non-profit organisation to consider its mission, problems and opportunities strategically, and to manage its activities and performance carefully, responsively and effectively.' However, Smith, Drumwright, and Gentile (2010) argue that overstressing any one set of customer needs might cause the neglect of a wider set of stakeholders, and the failure of an organisation to survive in this rapidly changing business environment. They address 'new marketing myopia'[41] and offer us a reconsideration of customer-focused marketing thought. Instead of customer orientation, they stress the multiple stakeholders and societal forces that have profoundly changed the business context, and suggest managers should shift from a narrow focus on customers to a broader stakeholder orientation.

It is also important to integrate different stakeholders' interests in the non-profit context. As we can see, user-focused or audience-orientation has become a vital strategy in order for organisations to survive. However, in some cases, it has been argued that customer satisfaction should not be the only consideration in a non-profit context. Hanson (1997: 319) argues that the non-profit organisation exists to 'serve its inner stakeholders rather than its constituencies'. Liao et al. (2001) take arts organisations as an example, and explain that these institutions should not necessarily appeal to the majority of their existing customers. The reason arts organisations elect to show particular forms of art is not just because audiences

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[40] The concept of 'marketing myopia' was introduced by Theodore Levitt and highlighted marketing myopia as the most influential marketing idea of the past half-century. Levitt (1960) defines 'marketing myopia' as a short-sighted management strategy in which organisations focus narrowly on producing goods or services rather than creating customer satisfaction.
[41] Smith et al. (2010: 4) argue that new marketing myopia stems from '(1) a single-minded focus on the customer to the exclusion of other stakeholders, (2) an overly narrow definition of the customer and his or her needs, and (3) a failure to recognize the changed societal context of business that necessitates addressing multiple stakeholders'.

demand them, but because they believe the promotion of such art forms is of benefit to society as a whole.

Additionally, as stakeholders come from diverse perspectives and positions, it is highly likely that conflicting values may arise. This may lead to difficulty in making decisions that comply with both the organisational mission and values, and the demands of stakeholders. It becomes a real challenge for non-profit managers to ensure a good fit between institutional goals and stakeholders' expectation. Organisations could lose legitimacy in the eyes of key external stakeholders, if organisations could not meet stakeholders' expectation (Jacobs, van Witteloostuijn and Christe-Zeyse, 2013: 778). Therefore, many scholars have addressed the importance of values alignment between individual values and organisational values for organisational change and development (Branson, 2008; Straughn and Gardner, 2011).

To align with the diverse stakeholders' values, leadership is needed to negotiate among interest groups, rather than using the independent acts of executives. Besides, it is important for not only managers but also every member in an organisation to actively recognise their expectations, interests and investments with regard to the organisation and its success (Hsieh, 2010). For this to happen, it is important for organisations to have a clear mission and the ability to prioritise elements, tasks and values within that. Meanwhile, the leadership strategies can be introduced to non-profits in order to ensure better understanding and communication with stakeholders.

2.4 Keep the mission of the organisation in focus

The role of mission – as the reason for an organisation's existence and its driving motivation – has been challenged by this changing external environment. Within the context of non-profit organisations, a paradigmatic shift in thought needs to be considered. Transformations have emerged as a consequence of pressures of

competition over limited funding, budgetary restrictions, the increased need for accountability and the need for new ways to reach and engage broader audiences and potential volunteers. The traditional non-profit culture, which focuses on an 'altruistic, society-oriented and nonfinancial mission' (Dolnicar, Irvine and Lazarevski, 2008: 109) has therefore been challenged by instrumental, market-oriented and commercial thinking and practice.

Dolnicar et al. (2008: 108) point out that the challenge for non-profits is to manage competitive grant funding without sacrificing their mission imperatives. Andreasen and Kotler (2008: 350) study non-profits struggling to gain financial support, and address so-called 'mission creep' – the excessive pursuit of donors and foundation grants. They warn that this can lead a non-profit far afield from its core mission. Malaro (1994) argues that when museums and other non-profits lose sight of their mission and become market-oriented, their privileged status might be questioned by the public. Indeed, many authors have emphasised that the internal mission should not be sacrificed for the sake of seeking external resources. Therefore, Dolnicar et al. (2008: 110-111) suggest a conceptual tool – the 'mission filter'. In their model, organisations re-examine their mission to 'filter' coercive, normative and mimetic[42] institutional pressures to avoid compromising their core mission and values. On the contrary, if no 'mission filter' is applied, these institutional pressures could cause conflicts and changes within the organisation's culture, structures and routines, and may lead an identity crisis in which 'staff perceive that the mission is compromised' (Dolnicar, Irvine and Lazarevski, 2008: 115).

2.5 What organisational values matter?

Organisational values are a set of shared beliefs which affect organisations' actions, judgements and decisions. It is highly interconnected to organisational

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[42] Dolnicar et al. (2008: 108) adopt DiMaggio and Powell's concept of three institutional "pillars": coercive (regulatory rules), normative (taken for granted societal norms including professionalisation) and mimetic (the copying of the behaviour of successful organisations).

culture, leadership and the organisation's performance (Malbašić, Rey and Potočan, 2015: 438) as organisational values can be used as the basis for decision-making, problem-solving and guiding directions and changes (Sashkin, 1984: 19).

Although organisational values could vary from one organisation to another, there might be some values which can be emphasised for modern organisations navigating through changes. For example, Schor and Van Buskirk et al. (1994) offer an alternative viewpoint to Western patriarchal masculine values. Their empirical study is based on a feminist organisation which had undergone a series of changes. They argue feminist core values – caring, voice and self-reflection – are beneficial for organisations to create and cope with change.

Caring emphasises responsibility for others, emotional connection and support for each other in the organisation (Schor, Van Buskirk and Mcgrath, 1994: 36-7). Voice means to promote democratic and participative values which respect a wide range of opinions and attitudes and empower members to have their own voices (Schor, Van Buskirk and Mcgrath, 1994: 37). Self-reflection allows organisation members to think more deeply and widely about their work which can help to form a distinctive identity (Schor, Van Buskirk and Mcgrath, 1994: 37-8).

In the change process, caring support can help organisation members to cope better with the pressure and frustration that change might bring in to the organisation. The value of voice empowers members to take part in the change process and encourages concerns and worries to be heard and honoured. Besides, the encouragement of open dialogue can lead to self-reflection which enriches the decision-making process of change (Schor, Van Buskirk and Mcgrath, 1994: 47).

Besides, Wooten and White (1999) point out that the roles of justice and fairness

play a vital part in facilitating successful organisational change. Organisational justice and fairness are beneficial for organisations undertaking significant change as the fair outcomes from difficult decision-making could encourage organisation members to endure the negative part of the change process. They then argue core values - based on equality, empowerment and horizontal relationships – are the postmodern organisational paradigm.

These core values resonate with many management models for organisational change which emphasise organisational learning, teamwork and participative management. In a time of great change, it has been advocated that a more agile and reflective organisation is better at coping with uncertainty (Maimone and Sinclair, 2014). As the importance of a clear mission and aligned values in the change process has been shown, this chapter now shifts attention to explore different schools of thought in organisational change studies to offer a more comprehensive approach to understanding the complexity of organisational change.

2.6 The images of organisation

The ways to understand organisational change are based on how we look at 'organisation'. The perspectives we take deeply affect how organisational change can be designed, operated, managed and analysed. From a scientific management perspective[43], it stresses an organisation's efficiency, cooperation, maximum output, the task and the bonus and labours' greatest efficiency and prosperity by utilising scientific, engineering, and mathematical analysis. Organisation, in this view, has been metaphorised as 'machine' (Morgan, 2006). Organisation is instrumentally designed like a machine serving a specific purpose

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[43] The concept "scientific management" was developed by Frederick Winslow Taylor between the 1880s and 1890s within the manufacturing industries. In his book "The Principles of Scientific Management", Taylor (1911) addressed four principles for managers to improve the efficiency of task completion. Those philosophies on management have evolved greatly and influenced profoundly on contemporary organisation studies (Blake and Moseley, 2010; Evans, 2013; Schachter, 2010). However, this theory has been criticised by many academics. For example, it resulted in exploitation of the employees and ignored employees' human element.

and employees perform by rules and procedures as a part of the machine. The most important goal is to function as an efficient organisation through rational planning and control.

As Morgan (2006) argues, the mechanical nature of organisations can be regarded as bureaucracies. The bureaucratic organisation tends to operate in a "routinised, efficient, reliable, and predictable way" which has formed our basic perception of what organisations look like (Morgan, 2006: 13). Although there are increasing studies questioning the "validity of organisational models based on central control, stability and bureaucracy"(Beeson and Davis, 2000: 180), the mechanical elements[44] are still the foundation of most modern organisations.

While initial organisation studies focused on managing organisations in a rational and planned way, more recent studies have recognised that organisations are full of complexity and may not be understood only through a mechanical viewpoint. For example, many organisation theorists seek to find the parallel between artificial organisation and natural biology. Metaphors, like 'organisations as organisms' or 'organisations as "open system"', have been developing as an alternative for thinking about organisation. Moreover, complexity theorists reject the mainstream thinking of seeing organisation as a system at a level above the individual. Organisation is emphasised as 'an evolving pattern of interaction between people' (Stacey and Griffin, 2005: 19). Therefore, linear thinking and planning in organisations is inappropriate for real-life operation as a pattern is only emerging from people by 'communication, power and ideology, and evaluative choices', not by planning.

Their paradoxical nature revealed that organisations are full of complexity. It might be a danger to simply classify organisations as one single form. As

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[44] As Morgan (2006: 12) describes, "organisational life is often routinised with the precision demanded of clockwork. People are frequently expected to arrive at work at a given time, perform a predetermined set of activities, rest at appointed hours, and then resume their tasks until work is over."

mentioned earlier, organisational change studies are deeply related to the way between how we identify an organisation and understanding of how organisational change can be managed. If we believe that organisations operate like a machine, we will focus on inputs and outcomes so that we will put in place a policy and expect a rational response to that. If, however, we have a rather more nuanced understanding of how organisations work, we will focus more on intangible social impact and long-term influence which is impossible for linear thinking and planning. Therefore, in order to capture and understand how change happens, the next section is going to explore different approaches of studying organisational change and offer a framework for understanding change and its implication in organisations.

2.7 Capturing change in organisations

In studying organisational change there are many divergent approaches. Some people adopt a more rational, systematic way to understand change, while some recognise that change is an ongoing dynamic process in its own specific political context. Those different perspectives are useful to make sense of the complex nature of organisational change. The following paragraphs illustrate the three key perspectives of organisational change studies and then point out a framework which offers an overview of important views on organisational change and how we could study it.

Change management model

In this time of increasing radical change in the environment, many organisations have to seek to implement organisational change to survival and prosper. How to foster and improve efficient organisational change and transformation? – the answer to this question has been eagerly sought by managers and management consultants. Change management, hence, has become a popular subject. The perspective regards change as being able to be a planned, managed, implemented and evaluated subject. To some degree, the view of change as a

predictable and controllable subject is matched with the metaphor of organisations as machines (Beeson and Davis, 2000: 180).

The root of planned change can be traced from Kurt Lewin. Lewin's (1947) model for planned change has been widely recognised for its importance to change management[45]. The idea of Lewin's change model includes four elements – Field Theory, Group Dynamics, Action Research and the 3-Step Model of change – which together simulate planned change (Burnes, 2004b; Burnes, 2004c). Lewin believes group behaviour is the main driving force for change, and argues that the 3-Step Model is the most effective way to facilitate change.

The first step is known as 'unfreezing', which unfreezes quasi-stationary equilibrium between old and new behaviour. Then a 'moving' step should be based on action research for groups and individuals to identify and evaluate all the forces and changeable opinions at work. The final step is 'refreezing' which means to stabilise the new behaviour to a level of quasi-stationary equilibrium. It may require collective effort to change 'organisational culture, norms, policies and practices' so that new behaviour can integrate into existing behaviour, personality and environment (Burnes, 2004b: 313).

Following this philosophy, there are various models developed in a systematic way which include rational calculation and a certain set of steps, strategies and tools to help the management team make decisions (Al-Haddad and Kotnour, 2015). Al-Haddad and Kotnour (2015: 245) identify eleven systematic change

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[45] Lewin's focus on human behaviour and group dynamics has inspired organisational development since the Second World War. Although Lewin's work has inspired many researchers and set a foundation for planned change management, it has also been criticised by scholars as the 3-steps model overly simplified the change process (Cummings, Bridgman and Brown, 2016); it seems to assume the organisation is operating at a stable stage and neglected organisational power and politics (Burnes, 2004c). The influence of Lewin's model is undeniable and many advocates strongly believe in this philosophy and try to defend the value of planned change (Burnes, 2004b; Burnes, 2004c; Cummings, Bridgman and Brown, 2016).

methods[46] which share similar processes such as: "scouting and diagnosing the current situation, planning and communicating change and finally implementing and instilling the new changes." As those methods are easy to follow and use, they have been applied to many organisations for a planned change.

Besides, many authors develop a more conceptual guideline for leading change initiatives. For example, Kotter (1995) argues that the change process usually requires a considerable length of time through a series of phases. He identified the most common pitfalls for organisational change and proposes eight steps to transform an organisation which are based on a vision creation, communication and empowering. Kotter's method emphasises the importance of leadership and vision which resonates with different types of organisations, including museums (Sandell and Janes, 2007b).

Meanwhile, most of the management guru works and student-oriented texts tend to develop guidelines for change based on the idea that change can be planned, guided and led through several successive phases (Collins, 1998). Although this approach seems easily understandable and simple to operate, critics are concerned that the approach overly simplifies the complex nature of change as it assumes there is one best way to implement change and solve all organisations' problems (Dawson, 2002:31-32; Coram and Burnes, 2001: 96-97).

There are growing reflections on the planned approach to organisational change as organisational systems have become much more complex and complicated and the environment around organisations has gone through rapidly changing turbulence. Planned change, hierarchical patterns, problem shooting and one-

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[46] The methods include: the planning method; "what" and "how" method; participatory action research (PAR); the integrative method; six step; wheel method; lean thinking; evaluation, re-evaluation, and action (ERA) method; total quality management (TQM); six Sigma; process reengineering (Al-Haddad and Kotnour, 2015).

size-fits-all methods have been regarded as oversimplified and inadequate in an uncertain world (Jenner, 1994a; Jacobs, van Witteloostuijn and Christe-Zeyse, 2013). Moreover, different perspectives of organisational change have started to emerge.

Processual model

Pettigrew (1985a: 15) is concerned about literature on organisational change being largely 'acontextual, ahistorical, and aprocessual' which regards change as a single unit and episode of analysis with a particular beginning and ending. He embraces the concept of 'continuous change' to emphasise temporal and spatial elements to organisational change studies in order to capture the processual dynamics of change. Unlike the organisations as machine metaphor, Pettigrew looks at organisations as systems and subsystems of political action. He rejects the prescriptive deterministic planned model and advocates an alternative framework to examine the history of attitudes and relationship, and power structure among interested groups of the organisation (Pettigrew, 1985a; Pettigrew, 1990). In addition, he argues that "the useful research on strategic change should involve the continuous interplay between ideas about the context of change, the process of change, and the content of change" (Pettigrew, 1985a: 19). To reveal the continuity and change in organisation, he advocates longitudinal comparative filed research as the model is helpful "to examine continuous processes in context and to draw in the significance of various interconnected level of analysis" (Pettigrew, 1990: 271).

In his book, *The awakening giant: continuity and change in Imperial Chemical Industries (ICI)*, Pettigrew examines one of Britain's largest corporations and its response to the external economic, political and business changing environment and then focuses on processes of managerial reaction to change their strategy, structure, technology, organisational culture and relationship over a period of 20 years. Through the context, process and content framework, the study shows

how executive leadership is able to intervene in the inertia and existing strategy of the organisation by responding to the external changing environment and to align different patterns of internal character, strategy and structure (Pettigrew, 1985a).

Similarly, Dawson (1994) proposes a processual framework of change to emphasise the complex non-linear processes of change. He points out the importance of understanding the substance, context and politics of change in studying organisational transition. The substance part means to analyse what type and scale of organisational change is being introduced and how the change techniques enable or constrain the change to happen. The context of change refers to the historical and contextual dimension and factors should be considered in order to understand the process of organisational change. The politics of change is to emphasise the political side of multi-level consultation, negotiation, conflict and resistance within and around an organisation.

The processual change model has much resonance with many researchers who are interested in exploring the dynamic of time, process and context around change (Pettigrew, Woodman and Cameron, 2001). Mainly, the processual model reminds us to make sense of change from a more comprehensive perspective which is no longer a linear development of change but rather across time, multiple contexts and political considerations involved in the process.

Emergent change model

Change tends to be seen as an 'object' which is a reactive or/and proactive process. The former means that organisations reactively respond to external forces to change; the latter shows that organisations proactively initiate change to achieve particular goals. Either way, change is still a controllable subject through rational analysis and planning. However, despite intellectual

construction, many scholars and practitioners are still unable to fully explain how the change actually happens. The perspective of emergent change has become recognised which views change as "continuous and emerging from the ongoing interactions between individuals" (Peacock, 2008: 337). Although the empirical studies on emergent change are relatively fewer than on planned change, there are more and more studies trying to show the bottom-up and emergent side of change perspective in daily organisational life.

Lichtenstein (1997) describes the change process as a 'grace, magic, or a miracle' moment, which he concludes from the interviews with three experienced practitioners/theorists in the USA. The study demonstrates that change can be facilitated by a logical framework but this planned approach has its limitation. The author then argues that "at a critical threshold it is non-linear logic and spontaneously felt action – grace, magic and miracles – that actually support organizational (and personal) transformation" (Lichtenstein, 1997: 407).

Beeson and Davis (2000) use a case study about a specific change intervention – the introduction of a new information system for fingerprint identification into police forces in England and Wales – to understand the complex patterns of interaction in dynamic organisations. They argue the conventional top-down hierarchical approach in change management cannot help us to make sense of how change happened. Instead, they point out that change is a fundamental feature of organisations which is widely distributed and emergent across the organisation levels and boundaries in a non-linear system.

Besides, Simpson (2012: 294) argues that the change process is not a cause-effect relationship but instead "emerging from the interactions between differences". In his empirical research, he adopts an action research method with a group of six leaders from the Church of England in order to explore how change

is emerging through participation in conversation rather than through the application of professional knowledge.

The above examples, undertaken in different contexts with different methods, all show change as an emerging process in organisations which may not be planned. Some researchers take the idea on emergent change further and try to build it up with theories to explain the emergent phenomenon. The complex theories, for example, are used as mixed concepts of the following similar theories (Burnes, 2005).

Complex theories

The complex, untidy and chaotic side of change has been emphasised by complex theorists. Since the 1990s, complex theories have been introduced from natural science to organisational management. The natural complexity sciences deal with unpredictability, diversity, self-organisation[47] and emergence in the natural world (Stacey and Griffin, 2005: 13). Its original idea is based on building mathematical models of weather systems by meteorologists which intend to simplify complex systems (Burnes, 2005). From natural science, scientists have started to see world systems in self-organising ways as emergent and unpredictable (Parker and Stacey, 1994). This new way of thinking of the natural world is known as New Science which some change researchers find a parallel within the social world. Complex theories in the change management field include different models, concepts and theories (Burnes, 2005), which all point out an anti-linear way of coping with change and towards a non-linear approach to studying organisational change.

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[47] In an organisation, the idea of self-organisation means "a group phenomenon that occurs spontaneously when members of a group produce coherent behaviour in the absence of formal hierarchy within the group, or authority imposed from outside". (Janes and Richard, 2007: 5)

Complex theories offer us a more organic and overarching framework of understanding organisational change. The following paragraphs illustrate the key concepts of complex theories that can be included in, but not limited to, non-linear dynamic systems, chaos theory and complex responsive process. They are all interwoven together to offer a productive way of thinking about organisational change.

Non-linear dynamic systems

The perspective of non-linear dynamic systems is compared to the linear concept which has been traditionally favoured by natural and social scientists. In the organisation world, managers tend to appreciate a scientific, rational and linear process. As a result, non-linear thinking has been avoided for a long time. Linear thinking views the cause-effect relationship as developing in a controllable manner, while non-linear thinking argues a given cause or action could have many possible outcomes (Parker and Stacey, 1994: 12). Moreover, non-linear dynamic systems are disproportionate, non-proportional interactions which can be explained as the 'butterfly effect'[48] (Lichtenstein, 2000). Lichtenstein (1997: 405) elaborates on these interactions in organisation: "in some cases putting a huge amount of energy into these highly sensitive systems results in no change whatsoever; whereas in other cases one small action can be amplified dramatically to impact the entire organization".

A linear system is made up of several components. Each component can be studied and explained separately and put back into the linear system, and then the linear system can be understood as a whole. However, the reductionist method is not applicable to non-linear dynamic systems. Synergy can be found in non-linear systems which means they cannot be understood by the sum of their

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[48] Butterfly effect is a hypothesis which states that "a butterfly taking flight in Tokyo may trigger a hurricane in New York and nobody will be able to trace the steps back from the hurricane to the butterfly" (Parker and Stacey, 1994: 13-14).

components. A holistic or systemic approach should be taken in order to capture patterns of behaviour (Parker and Stacey, 1994: 12-13).

To sum up, the non-linear dynamic system includes the following characteristics: 1) change is a constant; 2) emergent systems are not reducible to their parts; 3) mutual dependence, and 4) complex systems behave in non-proportional ways (Lichtenstein, 2000).

Chaos theory

One of the features of New Science is the essence of chaos. Chaos theory asserts that the world is functioning in an unstable, disorderly and non-linear way. This overthrows the conventional idea of creating order and predictability as the priority. According to New Science scientists, a new form of order is created by a so-called 'strange attractor' within chaos (Thietart and Forgues, 1995). The process where order re-emerges from a random chaotic state is referred to as self-organisation (Adams and Stewart, 2015). Furthermore, the following concepts may be beneficial for us in thinking about chaos theory. Firstly, the nature of chaos and order should not be seen as opposite sides but an interdependent relationship. Chaos can be described as an "orderly disorder in which patterns of behaviour unfold in irregular but similar forms" (Burnes, 2005: 79). Secondly, a system should be operated as on the 'edge of chaos' or 'far-from-equilibrium' in order to survive – too stable and it will die; too unstable it will get out of control and destroy itself (Burnes, 2005: 79). Thirdly, self-organisation is a crucial element for a system to be balanced between order and chaos. This means self-organisation is created based on order-generating rules, "which permit limited chaos while providing relative order" (Burnes, 2005: 80).

Complex responsive processes

Drawing on complex adaptive systems from complexity sciences, with the consideration of human agents, Ralph Stacey and colleagues propose the theory of 'complex responsive processes of relating' (Stacey, 2003; Stacey and Griffin, 2005; Stacey and Griffin, 2008). Human interaction – "the ongoing patterning of interactions between people" (Stacey and Griffin, 2008: 1) - is the key to the theory. In this perspective, the dominant thinking of organisations as systems has been challenged and rejected.

Organisations are understood to "be ongoing, iterated processes of cooperative and competitive relating between people" (Stacey and Griffin, 2008: 1). In this regard, the overall program, design, blueprint or plan for the organisation as a 'whole' is not working. Human consciousness and self-consciousness, reflexivity, imagination, choice, creativity or spontaneity are regarded as some of the key conditions in the complex responsive process.

This perspective encourages us to think of organisations as the daily life of interaction between people. Therefore, the fundamental aspects of communication, power and ideology, and evaluative choices should be emphasised in studying organisational change.

Implications for complexity theories

How then to apply complexity theories thinking to real life organisation? What does the phrase 'change tends to emerge from individual interaction rather than a planned and predictable top-down level' mean to organisations? It is powerful for organisations to have a non-linear thinking mind-set to be able to create a climate for self-organising and emerging change (Maimone and Sinclair, 2014). Meanwhile, organisations should be more open and embrace bottom-up processes and adopt leadership styles which can "moderate dysfunctional tension and forestall the emergence of chaos" (Lewin, 1999: 215).

Complexity theories mark a new perspective to study organisation and change, showing the strength of living with ambiguity and uncertainty. It is fair to say, however, that the ideas and theories have not been fully embraced by the mainstream management field as applying it on a practical level may be very difficult. Many scholars are skeptical about applying natural science to the human organisation and its applicability to change management in the real world (Lichtenstein, 1997; Beeson and Davis, 2000). For example, Burnes (2004b; 2005) points out that complexity theories are still used as a metaphor rather than as a mathematical way of analysing and managing organisation. There is a potential for empirical research following the complexity theories framework and embracing the new perspective. Yet nevertheless, there have been more and more scholars questioning the top-down controllable change management way of thinking and searching for new ways of coping with change. As Beeson and Davis (2000) remind us, it would be dangerous to apply non-linear systems in a linear way and take the language of non-linear systems as jargon and mystification. We should be cautious about not overlooking real organisational life when adopting the ideas of complexity theories.

Discussion

A brief discussion of the above perspectives offers us a different, and even contradictory lens to capture change in organisations. Although the most literature on organisational change chooses one of those angles to study change, some literature suggests a more integrated approach to combine the elements of planned change, emergent change, and political dynamics within change (Johnson-cramer, Cross and Yan, 2003; Kempster, Higgs and Wuerz, 2014).

Indeed, each perspective opens up different angles to understand change. For example, the change management model addresses a set of principles and strategies that can be beneficial for us to develop the strategy to navigate the external changing environment. It shows the importance of a clear mission and

leadership in implementing organisational change. At the same time, we should avoid acontextual thinking to apply change management methods without any modifications. Also, the processual model reminds us to look at change from an ongoing and dynamic viewpoint. For this study, it took a more explorative approach to investigate the evolving museum's priorities and practices in Taiwan, in which changes are not to be seen as a start-end linear action but rather as a more continual process.

Moreover, emergent change and the complexities theory provide a new ground for understanding organisational change. Self-organisation is critical in the change process so that organisations can be operated at the edge of chaos. The study will also review human interaction in museums to see how the possibility of self-organising and order-disorder dynamics form. Besides, it is interesting to know that all the perspectives concern power as an important part of the change process though looking at power in a different way. Therefore, to gain a more comprehensive understanding of organisational change, we should not ignore the negotiation process of change in which power relations and dynamics play a part in the process. Within this conceptualisation of organisational change, the following sections seek to understand individual reactions to organisational change and how organisational change is interpreted and negotiated by organisational members. I shall then discuss how power relations, resistance and leadership play out in the organisational change process.

2.8 Power relations and organisation change

Studying power relations and dynamics has been emphasised in organisational change processes by many researchers (Boonstra and Gravenhorst, 1998; Pettigrew, 1985b; Dawson, 1994; Stacey and Griffin, 2005). Power has always been critical to manage and influence the change process by stakeholders around organisations.

Power influences the decision-making process in which control and inequalities are involved. In organisations, there could be several power dynamics existing at the same time. What is fascinating about power relations and dynamics is that they are both observable and hidden features in the change process. According to Boonstra and Gravenhorst (1998), there are mainly four power relations relating to organisational change. The following paragraphs explain those power relations in detail.

Firstly, when it comes to power in organisations, it is easy to relate to power in a hierarchical chain in which the person in the top position owns the authoritative right of control and power over their subordinates. In other words, the legitimacy of power depends on one's formal position in a hierarchical form of organisation. The upper position exercises higher power, and vice versa.

Positional power fits well in the dominant management viewpoint in terms of implementing planned change (Ford, 2006: 496), though solely positional power may not be enough to make planned change happen (Schein, 1996). In this power relation, top managers have legitimate power to lead organisational change and effect the change process (Boonstra and Gravenhorst, 1998). The decision-making process is through a top-down approach in which managers can use power-coercive strategies to convince their less-empowered subordinates.

Secondly, positional power is for the person who owns the power because of the formal position, while personal power depends on an individual using their particular expertise, experience and charisma as a personal power base. In this process, individuals can use personal power to influence other people to agree with one's own initiative. This means every change agent plays an influential part in the change processes based on their personal skill and knowledge. For managers and consultants, they could refer to facts and logical arguments to

increase their influence in change processes (Boonstra and Gravenhorst, 1998: 99).

Structural power emphasises power in different interdependent groups in organisations. This power process is based on negotiation and exchange of resources among different departments and task-force teams. The power is distributed within different agencies in organisations. Each interest group – dependent on their position in the organisation, their departmental power sources, and their own interests – plays their role in the control processes of organisational change. Therefore, the force of power is relatively visible as different agencies negotiate about the direction of the change process (Boonstra and Gravenhorst, 1998: 104-5).

Cultural power describes that power which is embedded in organisational norms, values, rules, habits, language, communication, use of symbols and culture which are almost taken for granted by people. This form of power is insensible and unconsciously rooted in organisations so that organisation members do not question this form of power relation. Through the construction of shared meaning, the agency/agencies will have the legitimacy to influence the change process. In relation to resistance to change, cultural power could restrain people from seeing an alternative by shaping the perception, attitude and cognition of individuals and groups in organisations (Boonstra and Gravenhorst, 1998: 107).

The above four power relations are interwoven with each other in the change process. However, although those power relations inevitably exist in organisations, it is important to know that the post-modern organisation has an increasing emphasis on decentralisation of power and employee empowerment (Jenner, 1994b). As three quarters of change initiatives fail to succeed (Al-Haddad and Kotnour, 2015: 235) due to the inadequacy of hierarchical patterns

in the contemporary economic environment (Jenner, 1994b: 2), there is growing literature arguing for an alternative way in implementing organisational change which emphasises empowerment, collaboration, and a group-oriented approach. For example, Janes (1999) proposes the project-based organisation as one alternative to the hierarchical system. In a project-based organisation, the work units form based on knowledge and experience of members and they adopt self-organising networks to develop projects. Then the work unit disbands when the task is completed.

Boonstra and Gravenhorst (1998) also argue for the importance of democratic dialogue and open discussions that can affect power redistribution in a change process. The power relations embedded in organisations are likely to be dominant and restrict the possibility of developing innovative ideas. Genuine dialogue facilitates the exchange of ideas, rational argument and open communication. This approach enables cross-influencing attitudes and opinions of organisational members and creates both a shared set of norms and values, and shared language and meaning in the change process. Therefore, the different interests of individuals and groups can be included in the decision-making process whether they hold power or not. In this way, the drawback of the hierarchical system can be alleviated as all organisational members would have more responsibility and influence in the decision-making process rather than power in fewer people's hands.

2.9 Unfolding resistance to change

To understand how people respond to change, we should pay more attention to resistance to change. Although change is inevitable for organisations, change can also bring in uncertainty, risk and even organisational trauma. As change cannot always be regarded as a positive thing to organisation members, resistance to change is understandable in the change process. For example, Fox-Wolfgramm et al. (1998: 120) point out that resistance to change will be encountered when the

change attempt is inconsistent with the organisation's identity and image. Meanwhile, there is growing recognition of resistance to change in organisations. Instead of seeing resistance as problematic, many scholars are able to see it as a natural and even constructive matter (Giangreco and Peccei, 2005: 1816; Hynds, 2010: 378; Waddell and Sohal, 1998; Isabella, 1990).

Resistance at the individual level can be understood from cognitive, affective and behavioural reaction aspects (Erwin and Garman, 2010; Isabella, 1990; Piderit, 2000). These three aspects interact with each other. For example, the cognitive reaction to change refers to individual beliefs and attitudes on change. Since people perceive and sense change happening, they start to interpret and think about it. The affective dimension is related to people's emotional feelings about change. It can include emotions such as stress, elation, anxiety, anger, fear, enthusiasm, and apprehension (Erwin and Garman, 2010: 43). The behavioural reaction means how people behave and act in response to change, such as embrace, cynicism, complain, criticise or sabotage. As these reactions to change are based on individuals' values, beliefs, professional identities and social position (Hynds, 2010: 378), we should adopt a more holistic view when we try to analyse individuals' resistance in organisation.

Besides, change involves a shift from the old habits to new behaviour that could affect the configuration of power relations. The fear of loss of stature/power in organisation can be a strong reason for group or individual resistance. For example, Hynds (2010) studies resistance to school reforms with a social justice orientation to understand the reasons for the gap between ICS regulations and practices. She argues the dominant or majority group who benefit most from the status quo tend to be against change as they believe reform will threaten their children's educational opportunities.

Indeed, the reasons for resistance are diverse and complicated. Therefore, many

scholars have urged a more organic way to understand the complexity and messiness of resistance to change (Hynds, 2010; Diego, Maria and Bertolotti, 2002).

2.10 Leadership and organisation change

Since we have known how power relations are situated in organisations, we are able to look at leadership in organisational development. Despite diverse definitions, leadership is an influence process in connection with power dynamics in organisations. Traditional leadership theories look at leadership as the man leading at the top of organisations. More recent theories have argued that leadership can be exercised in various ways and on different levels. A brief review of leadership theories here helps us to understand the shifting trends in leadership studies.

The traditional perspective fits well in hierarchical organisations which designate a leader with primary responsibility to perform the specialised leadership role. The role has responsibilities and functions that cannot be shared too widely (Yukl, 2013: 19). Therefore, the early leadership theories focus on a trait and style approach. The former seeks to identify personal qualities and characteristics of leaders in order to select a good leader, while the latter emphasises the behaviour of leaders with an aim to train a good leader (Parry and Bryman, 2013: 448).

Moving into the late 1960s, the contingency approach drew attention to situational factors. This approach helps managers to use different leadership approaches dependent on different situations. Meanwhile, there has been increasing interest in the concepts of engagement, empowerment and delegation in an organisation. Some leadership strategies have been addressed, such as participative leadership and team leadership, which involve power sharing and group decision making. For example, participative leadership focuses on the use

of various decision procedures (such as consultation, joint decision making, delegation and so on) that involve followers in making and implementing decisions and allow them to have influence over the leader's decisions (Yukl, 2013: 115; Rok, 2009: 467). Similar to participative leadership, team leadership also focuses on organisational members and is based on teamwork. It encourages member commitment to shared objectives and emphasises common interests and values. This means the members have opportunities to give opinions and make decisions so that the relationship in organisations is more like colleague vs. colleague rather than a formal distinction between superior and subordinate. However, although the idea of shared leadership is gradually recognised, the mainstream thinking in leadership still focuses on the individual and regards shared leadership as counterintuitive (O'Toole, Galbraith and Lawler, 2002: 66).

Several approaches emerged in the 1980s, together called New Leadership, which all point to the importance of building organisation mission and vision by leaders. For example, one of the most discussed approaches - transformational leadership - stresses the role of leaders to motivate followers' ideals and emotions and to transcend self-interest for the needs of the mission or organisation (Yukl, 2013). This approach includes some key elements. Firstly, leaders use their idealised influence (charisma) to provide a clear vision and a desirable future for organisations as an inspiration and show determination and confidence to achieve the goals. Secondly, leaders are able to pay personal attention to the developmental needs of followers and stimulate innovation and creativity in the followers. Thirdly, leaders emphasise intrinsic rewards, such as self-expression and self-efficacy, to enhance followers' job satisfaction. Finally, by motivating followers' commitment, transformational leadership fosters collective efficacy and performance (Bass, 1999: 10-11; Simosi and Xenikou, 2010: 1600). In terms of change organisations' *status quo*, transformational leadership has been advocated as a better leadership model to implement planned change (Eisenbach, Watson and Pillai, 1999). However, although transformational leadership has been widely applied in management, some scholars criticise that

this approach is mainly about senior managers and top leaders (Parry and Bryman, 2013: 452). This means that there is still a boundary between leader and follower. The leader is the one who offers visions for organisations and leads the follower navigating through change.

There has been a change of focus away from "the attributes and behaviours of individual 'leaders' (as promoted within traditional trait, situational, style and transformational theories of leadership) to a more systemic perspective, whereby 'leadership' is conceived of as a collective social process emerging through the interactions of multiple actors" (Bolden, 2011: 251). Compared to individualistic understandings of leadership, distributed leadership[49] offers alternative understanding about how leadership can be shared and distributed to all people involved in the pursuit of a task or goal. More than empowerment, the notion of this approach is about the openness of boundaries in leadership (Bolden, 2011: 257) that 'leaders' and 'followers' share in the process of enacting leadership (Parry and Bryman, 2013: 455). In this way, leadership can be exercised in both the vertical and lateral forms in the traditional hierarchical organisation (Harris, 2009: 5). Also, not only about power-sharing, the approach emphasises that the varieties of expertise and knowledge are distributed across the organisation (Bolden, 2011: 257). It encourages leadership practicing in both formal and informal ways (Harris, 2009: 5). Based on these factures, distributed leadership has been argued as a most appropriate way to integrate the dynamics of change management (Kempster, Higgs and Wuerz, 2014) and has been linked to empirical evidences of positive organisational change and improvement (Harris, 2011: 9).

Since the spirit of distributed leadership is to embrace a shared form of leadership, its definition can be elusive and varies among the literature. For

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[49] Similar concepts to distributed leadership also include dispersed leadership; shared leadership; collective leadership; collaborative leadership; co-leadership; and emergent leadership (Bolden, 2011: 252). The common ground of these concepts emphasises a shared form of leadership which moves away from the notion that leadership is all exercised by the heroic leader at the top of organisation.

example, Harris(2011: 7) points out, in the school system, that distributed leadership refers to the relinquishment of power and authority from positional power holder (i.e. principals) to co-performed leadership in formal and informal forms in the organisation. In the small business context, Cope et al. (2011) argue that the strength of distributed leadership is "multiple leaders taking multiple decisions and multiple, co-ordinated action-taking (Cope, Kempster and Parry, 2011: 275)" through "a distribution of resources and social capital, plurality of experience (Cope, Kempster and Parry, 2011: 280)" that contributes to the growth of small and medium enterprises. Thorpe et al (2011: 241) examine a range of distributed leadership literature and define it as "a variety of configurations which emerge from the exercise of influence that produces interdependent and conjoint action".

In this study, distributed leadership can be emphasised on two dimensions. One is the leadership that is distributed from the leaders who exercise positional power to the different levels of organisation which means there is no one of absolute authority in organisation. Every member is involved in the change process and has responsibilities to make decisions. This requires power-sharing from the 'top' of the organisation and continuous communication through the process. The second is the focus on spontaneous collaboration among all members at different levels of organisations so that members have the confidence to take on leadership roles without feeling need to gain permission from positional power holders. This requires the aligned organisational values and a clear mission and visions underpinning this shared leadership. In this respect, distributed leadership shares the same spirit with emergent change. Emergent change advocates change as a continuing process of organisations. All members in an organisation are living with and managing change continuously (Beeson and Davis, 2000: 183). Distributed leadership promotes self-organisation which contributes to emergent change.

From a brief review of leadership theories, we can see how leadership studies

has been shifting and how the concept of leadership relates to organisational change. Despite divergent perspectives, leadership is a crucial factor to lead organisational change and negotiate with competing agents in the process. For example, in the planned change perspective, leadership is about how leaders identify the need for change and encourage followers to implement change (Battilana *et al*, 2010) and is essentially concerned with guiding and facilitating a transformational change and the adaptation to external change within an organisation by leaders. The emergent change philosophy, on the other hand, argues leadership is executed in various ways and distributed over a larger number of individuals in different levels of organisation (Van Der Voet, Groeneveld and Kuipers, 2014). Additionally, from an integrated change management perspective, leadership is a collective effort and relational process (Kempster, Higgs and Wuerz, 2014).

It has gained growing recognition that the process of leadership is not solely about individual leaders. Other members of an organisational senior team and colleagues at all levels of the organisation have a strong influence on the change process. Meanwhile, the singular leadership approach might be an obstacle to organisational change as change models are different and diverse. In facing a turbulent and dynamic environment, leadership should be able to pull organisations' visions together and include different agents in the process for every member to have responsibility for and commitment to change.

2.11 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated the complexity of organisations and change. A brief review of organisational change literature suggests that a single perspective or model of organisation and change cannot fully explain the complexity of change. A comprehensive approach to examine planned and emergent change together is more suitable for real-life organisation. A mixed approach to reconcile planned change with spontaneous and unplanned change offers a good approach

to change studies.

Apparently, many organisations are facing an identity crisis, loss of sense of mission and conflicting values in this chaotic changing environment. There is a calling for a strong mission and values for organisations in order to navigate through those changes. However, since most organisations are formed by a hierarchical system, the traditional management approach tends to be less empowering and more controlled by the top leader and manager. This chapter shows that the old view of change – top-down and linear thinking – fails to take account that organisation is full of people with different interests and values, and there is a need for a shared form of leadership. Besides, an understanding of power dynamics and resistance to change in organisation is valuable for us to deepen understanding of human interaction in the change process. Meanwhile, there is growing literature addressing the elements – dialogue, reflection, power-sharing, sharing visions and self-organisation – to include in the leadership process so that organisations can be more agile and reflexive to change.

The change literature has also shown a need for contextually grounded methods to understand the dynamic process of change (Pettigrew, 2013). Drawing on these ideas, I undertook an organisation case study with ethnography elements in order to understand how organisations negotiate different forces for change and how power dynamics and leadership operate on the ground. This research design is beneficial for offering the prospect of authentic accounts of a complex change phenomenon. I will then explain more details in the research methodology chapter which follows.

Chapter 3 Methodology and Research design

3.1 Introduction

The conceptual framework presented in the last chapter has revealed the need for a contextually grounded methodology to investigate the complex and emergent nature of the organisational change process. This chapter aims to discuss the broad philosophical underpinning to my chosen research design, and introduce the methodology for investigating the research questions. This chapter is concerned with research design which is directly linked to my methodological choice, and intend to offer a coherent and robust research design and data analysis. Overall, this chapter seeks to justify my choices of methodology and research design and show that data will be efficiently collected and well handled.

The chapter is composed of two parts. The first part focuses on the ontological and epistemological positions behind this project. I also position myself in relation to current and past discussion within which my research methodology is located. The second part deals with research design in more detail and practical consideration about research approach, aims and questions, strategy, methods, data analysis and ethical issues.

3.2 Investigating organisational change

The beginning of every research should go back to what the researchers' metatheoretical stand and assumptions are - ontological and epistemological positions. Ontological perspective is concerned with what we accept as the nature and essence of social reality. A researcher can begin to see their own ontological view of the social world as a position about what kinds of social

phenomena do or can exist, the conditions of their existence, and the ways in which they are related (Blaikie, 2009; Mason, 2002). Epistemology represents a researcher's theory of knowledge, and is concerned with the principles and rules by which a researcher decides whether and how social phenomena can be known, and how knowledge can be demonstrated (Mason, 2002).

The study of organisational change has been diverse and variable in methodologies for the last few decades. Like many other disciplines, organisation studies also find itself torn by different research philosophies which fundamentally affect how organisations are to be researched. For example, positivism has been seen as a dominating philosophy underpinning management and organisational research for a long time. The core features of positivist epistemology are to only focus on empirically observable and measurable phenomena and to test causal theories by hypothetico-deductive methods. Therefore, any subjective dimensions of human action should be excluded as being meaningless (Duberley, Johnson and Cassell, 2012: 18-9). Positivism has a strong influence on the functionalist paradigm in organisational research. This paradigm holds the view that society is real and systematic 'out there' as an external reality which is beyond the individual. The role of the researcher is to search for social order and regulations and find causal relationships among the variables within the social world (Bryman, 2000: 207). If we take the study of organisational change as an example, at the functionalist end of the typology researchers are interested in conducting organisational diagnoses to discuss the causes (organisational conditions) and effects (change outcome) relationship, with the aim of developing effective and successful planned change.

As positivism and functionalist theories, with the subsequent use of quantitative methods, are developed, they are accompanied by criticism about the neglect of the subjective nature of human consciousness, actions and relations. Hence, a growing variety of different philosophical stances have shown their strength in

organisational studies. Those philosophical assumptions may be classified under the umbrella of qualitative research and it may not be possible to draw neat lines around one or another (Duberley, Johnson and Cassell, 2012: 21). However, it is useful to understand the characteristics of different philosophical stances and consider the underpinning assumptions for researchers.

Interpretivism has been seen as an opposite position to the functionalist paradigm (Bryman, 2000: 207). It saw a tradition of the use of 'human interpretation as the starting point for developing knowledge about the social world' (Duberley, Johnson and Cassell, 2012: 21). Ontologically speaking, social reality is viewed by the interpretative paradigm as uncertainty. Although orders can be possessed by society, they are made up of the intersubjective experiences of its participants instead of external form (Strati, 2000: 59). According to Duberley et al.(2012: 21), interpretative organisational studies seeks to understand 'the actual meanings and interpretations actors subjectively ascribe to phenomena in order to describe and explain their behaviour through investigating how they experience, sustain, articulate and share with others these socially constructed everyday'. As skepticism of the idea of planned change is unable to unfold the dynamics of change in organisations, interpretivism is valuable in regard to embracing multiple voices in sense making of organisational change for us to understand how change emerges. This interpretative perspective has led me to locate my research project in a sense of understanding how organisational members experience and negotiate change in their daily organisational life.

As organisational change is always interrelated with power relations and dynamics in organisations, critical theory approach is useful for this study as it especially focuses on dealing with power and control relations in organisations. Critical theory offers an insight into revealing power and ideology in society and seeks to enable emancipation. At the ontological level, critical theory also holds

views that everyday reality is socially constructed. It challenges the authority of scientific knowledge by focusing on the connection between politics, values and knowledge. Organisational research using the critical theory lens tends to explore how the power relations are embedded in and legitimise the practices and institutions of management (Duberley, Johnson and Cassell, 2012: 22-3). The perspective of critical theory inspired this project to investigate how power relations and leadership are exercised in the organisational process. This study seeks to combine the strengths of interpretative and critical theory perspectives to be able to capture the complex nature of organisational change.

3.3 Positioning the researcher

Reflexivity is an important quality in qualitative organisational research. It refers to 'an awareness of the researcher's role in the practice of research and the way this is influenced by the object of the research' (Haynes, 2012: 72). Reflexivity could come from different levels of the research project which enables the researcher to acknowledge how their preconceptions and theoretical assumptions affecting the research processes and findings, and revisit these throughout the research processes to know how these may have shifted. Therefore, although my intellectual assumptions, personal experiences and social background will inevitably shape the way my research project is formed, processed and analysed, I shall be aware of that and try to position myself in this project through ontological, theoretical, background and experiential reflexivity.

By choosing interpretative and critical theory approaches, I believe that no absolutely objective reality exists 'out there' waiting to be discovered. I believe all the meanings are constructed by humans, therefore, it is impossible to be an objective observer where the researcher's identity, values and beliefs are to be kept out completely. As the researcher's ontological view will influence and is influenced by their theoretical positioning and methodology (Haynes, 2012: 83), I shall also point out the process of building my theoretical understanding. When I

review the literature of organisational change, I tend to favour those of a qualitative perspective which seek to reveal the complexity of organisations. I am more interested in people's interaction in organisations where practices are not only formed by on-going negotiation by organisational members but also constrained organisational policy, regulations and power relations. I am intrigued by the ideas of emergent change and complexities theories when I read about it in literature. As I have a sense that organisational life is full of messiness and disorder, I am concerned whether I can fully understand the complexity of organisational change by those theories built on rational and ordered thinking. Engaging with this theoretical knowledge on organisational change and leadership gave me some new insights into my own identity, and as the project progresses, this prior knowledge will generate new theoretical understanding in turn.

Despite these theoretical assumptions, my personal background and experiences always shape the approach to this project. As a researcher, I have been doing museum studies for over ten years. I have accumulated many experiences in museum visitor studies, museum exhibitions and policies analysis, and had the privilege to be involved in both national and local museum measurement projects in Taiwan. These experiences have increased my understanding of different parts of museum practice such as management, development, exhibitions, education, and community engagement, and the external factors around museums such as governmental policy and museum audience. Although I have many opportunities working with museums, I did not work for museums as an employee. Therefore, I always observe museums from an outsider's perspective which is inevitably different from an insider's. It was the desire to try to gain a better understanding of museum internal works that was the personal impetus behind the research. Besides, I have to admit that some biases from my values and beliefs may shape the way I understand and interpret the data I collect. For example, I argue that museums should be mission-driven and I believe that every museum should serve social responsibilities. Understanding

research biases allows me to think more critically about my research approach and design. Therefore, I seek to understand the complexity and dilemmas in museum operation reality as I am aware that there is always a grey area in museum practices. To be able to acknowledge my biases, I decided to take a more exploratory approach that the purpose of this study is to reveal the complex nature of when museums navigate through changes. Being reflexive is beneficial for me to acknowledge and articulate the intertwined ontological position, theoretical knowledge, personal motivation, values and beliefs underpinning this project.

3.4 Qualitative organisational research

As many researchers note, qualitative and quantitative approaches should not be seen as distinct and polar opposites (Mason, 2002; Van Maanen, 1983) – all the motivation and objective of these two approaches are to seek explanation (Franklin, 2013; Creswell, 2013). It is important to acknowledge their unique characteristics and choose most suitable approach/es for the project. The characteristics of quantitative research are deductive, validating, variable-focused and number-driven (Creswell, 2013). Quantitative research tends to test and verify objective theories by examining and measuring the interplay among variables. It emphasises the scientific methodological approaches to build a hypothesis in which cause and effect relationships are measurable. Quantitative research appears to be the tendency to attach importance to the pursuit of generalisable findings. Hence, the samples for research carried out must be able to represent a larger population, and investigations should be capable of replication which means the research process tends to involve an ordered, linear sequence of steps (Bryman, 2000: 4-8).

On the other hand, qualitative research is characteristically exploratory, reflexive, flexible and context-sensitive (Mason, 2002). Qualitative research is keen to explore and understand the meanings which are constructed by

individuals or groups. This means identifying a culture-sharing group and studying how it develops shared patterns of behaviour over time (Creswell, 2013). Qualitative researchers tend to ask 'how' and 'why' questions to understand the unfolding of social processes (Garcia and Gluesing, 2013: 437; Gray, Stensaker and Jansen, 2012) and develop interpretive frameworks to identify those meanings emerging from the investigations (Van Maanen, 1983: 10-11).

Besides, qualitative approaches are ideal for unfolding the dynamic complexities within the context of understanding change (Garcia and Gluesing, 2013; Gray, Stensaker and Jansen, 2012). Studies of organisational change have increasingly used qualitative approaches (Pettigrew, 2013) that have helped to bring about a fundamental shift in the way organisations have been viewed and understood. For example, many authors argue that older views of change – as driven from the top-down and through linear thinking – fail to take account of the complexity of real-world organisations that are full of people with different interests and values and the need for leadership to be exercised at multiple levels (Jenner, 1994a; Jacobs, van Witteloostuijn and Christe-Zeyse, 2013). The scientific methodological approaches associated with this view – based on hypothesis and systematic test – have also limited the ways in which we can study and reveal the complexity in organisations.

Gray et al. (2012) point out that qualitative approaches are valuable for complexifying organisational change, especially in three key issues – context, voice and time. The authors encourage qualitative researchers to consider the role that different change contexts – such as environments around the change events, the industry, the competitive landscape, institutional pressures – may play in fostering or impeding the change process. In terms of voices, because traditional patriarchal change research has been dominated by the one-sided top manager's voice, the authors remind us to incorporate multiple voices across

various organisational levels through which a variety of change voices, perspectives and stories can be heard. In terms of temporal perspective, the authors argue how time in the change process is conceptualised by different actors and how these conceptualisations influence how change should be highlighted. They point out different conceptualisations of time: clock time – the physical perceptions of time; psychological time – the perceptions of non-linear developing time; and socialised time – the perception of time combined with social processes and sets of events. Especially the latter two known as 'qualitative time' can be understood and interpreted in many different ways by various change participants.

Given the difference between these quantitative and qualitative approaches, the quantitative approach cannot explain and capture the diverse dynamic of organisational change as its main concern is hypotheses-building to testify to the causality relationships between the change types, enablers, methods and outcomes. Instead, the nature of the qualitative research approach tends to provide deeper and richer insights for unfolding the complex, contextually embedded change processes. The details of my research aims and questions will be examined in the next section.

3.5 Research aims and questions

The interpretive position this research holds led the research aims and questions to develop in a more exploratory way to understand how meanings form, and are interpreted and represented by organisational participants. Because of the complex and dynamic nature of change process in organisations, the literature on organisational change provides various perspectives on revealing the complexity of the change process. For example, the perspective of emergent change has gradually gained more interest as a way to better understand organisational life through the interaction of individuals and power relations in a dynamic process.

Through the lens of an interpretive position, human interaction is the main concern. Therefore, in the change process, people's attitudes and values toward change need to be highlighted. Meanwhile, the critical theory position concerns of leadership and power relations implemented by people are equally important as these relationships will influence how change is engaged.

In this vein, the aim of this project is to understand the process of reshaping the museum's purpose, priorities and practices by organisational members in the museum. The approach used is a qualitative investigation of different change processes and events, aimed at better understanding the role of leadership in museum change processes and exploring the dynamic attitudes, values and power relations underpinning museums.

The overarching question of this project is:
How are national museums' purpose, priorities and practices being reshaped by increasing change demanded by stakeholders?

In order to answer this question in a more sophisticated and detailed way, the following four sub-questions were investigated:
1. How are different forces emerged to shape the process of museums' priorities and practice in Taiwan?
2. How are the change processes construed, understood, experienced and negotiated in practice by museum workers and managers?
3. How are different values and power relations embedded in the museum among individuals and disciplines during the change processes in museums?
4. How should the leadership in the change process be structured?

3.6 Research strategy

The research strategy is based on 'the bigger picture' to decide how to approach the research, which includes a carefully constructed plan of action and a specific goal in relation to research questions and the changing context (Mason, 2002;

Denscombe, 2010). To explore the research questions, there is a need for contextually grounded methods and in-depth study to understand the bottom-up and emergent side of daily organisational life. By employing a single case study with an organisational ethnography approach, this project seeks to gain a much richer, deeper and more nuanced understanding of many of the phenomena and issues under investigation.

Case study as a research strategy

Case study research engages multiple methods to investigate a contemporary phenomenon or social process within a real-life context over a period of time (Yin, 2009: 2). It deals with 'how' and 'why' research questions which require a detailed understanding of social or organisational processes in their social context (Hartley, 2004: 323). Case studies emphasise contextually grounded investigation in order to understand how multiple contexts – organisational or environmental contexts - influence social processes.

Hence, case studies are suitable for exploring new or emerging processes in organisations. A single case study is often considered as a most effective research strategy, especially as the researchers only have a limited amount of time and have difficulty to get access to two organisations. It can offer more in-depth data in one organisation as the researcher spent all their time, effort and resources on a single case.

This project adopts a single case study as a research strategy to explore emergent organisational change for a period of intensive fieldwork in one national museum. As the selected national museum is a large and complex organisation, one single case can offer enough and rich data for answering research questions.

Choosing the case - the National Museum of Natural Science

I intended to choose a case museum whose organisational size, employee numbers and history are sufficient and relatively rich, enabling me to explore its

complexity. NMNS - the oldest modern museum - has been open to the public for thirty-one years in Taiwan, which is considered to be an appropriate choice. It is a typical national museum in Taiwan as its mission includes four traditional functions – research, collecting, education and display. It is also a unique museum as its organisational scale is more complex than many other national museums in Taiwan, which offers an appropriate ground to explore complexity.

The mission of NMNS is, on the one hand, to serve as a traditional natural history museum, collecting and investigating natural specimens and anthropological relics and, on the other hand, to stimulate the public's interest in the natural sciences and world cultures through creating engaging exhibits and educational programmes. Although its mission has not been changed from the beginning, the NMNS has witnessed constant changes in organisational structure, personnel and spaces. As the environment around the museum is rapidly changing – the policy agendas shift, government budgets are cut, technologies evolve, demographic structures and public expectations change - this evolving museum is not only influenced by but also has influenced on it. How those changes happened is actually through the negotiations by its organisational members. The NMNS offers a perfect place for me to explore those changing phenomena. The findings from this single case study are expected to generate theoretical understandings of the ways in which national museums' purpose, priorities and practices are reshaped by the increasing change demand from stakeholders.

Ethnography as a research strategy

Ethnography as a research strategy, with aims to describe people and cultures, is a method of investigating why a particular group does the things that they do, and how changes can affect that group (Denscombe, 2010; Machin, 2002; Neyland, 2008). The origins of ethnography in anthropology traced to the period of Western European colonisation, when the anthropologist conducted fieldwork in pre-industrial societies to understand and depict 'other' people and their

cultures. Although ethnography has its roots in an anthropological approach, it has been widely employed in many other disciplines, such as sociology, education, psychology, business studies and media studies. The ethnography approach has become a popular choice of methodology to study lifestyle, understandings and beliefs within 'our own' society (Denscombe, 2010).

The characteristics of ethnography

Ethnography has the following features. For example, it requires the researcher to be immersed in the field among the people whose lives and culture are being studied, which allows for a 'journey of discovery in which the explanations for what is being witnessed emerge over a period of time' (Denscombe, 2010). It emphasises 'first-hand experience' in particular social and cultural settings (Atkinson, 2001). Although its data are gathered from a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods, it tends to adopt observation and/or participation to understand the insider and outsider perspectives (Taylor, 2002). The analysis of the data involves interpretation and 'a crafted construction' of the meanings of human actions and institutional practices (Denscombe, 2010; Hammersley, 1998).

Thick description

It has been argued that so-called "good" ethnography is equipped with thick description (Geertz, 1973). The term was coined by Clifford Geertz, which 'involves long-term immersion in the field setting, the development of incredibly rich, detailed and (con)textured observations, the establishment of close relations with those studied, and the incorporation into the ethnographic text of numerous reference points' (Neyland, 2008).

Thick description has been perceived as a literary style of ethnography, with a detailed interpretation of the moment-to-moment way in the field among a social group based upon action and the meanings that lie before and follow from such action (Rosen, 1991; Neyland, 2008).

Organisational ethnography

Since the late 1970s, there has been gradually recognition of the value of ethnography-based research in organisation studies (Rouleau, de Rond and Musca, 2014: 3). It can be seen as an "ethnography turn" from the anthropological and sociological tradition to organisation and management studies in recent years (Neyland, 2008). Organisational ethnography - a methodological approach and analytical perspective – is increasingly viewed as capable of capturing richer, detailed and in-depth ways of exploring organisational life and changes in particular organisational rules, strategies, and operations. The strengths of the ethnography approach - as a particular type of method or fieldwork activity, a kind of intellectual effort or paradigm and a narrative or rhetorical style - have been advocated by many researchers in the area of organisational ethnography (Bate, 1997; Neyland, 2008; Rosen, 1991; Brannan, Rowe and Worthington, 2012).

There have been many scholars and a specific journal[50] who have tried to devote to organisational ethnography and argue for its benefit in the fields of anthropology and organisation studies. Van Maanen (1979: 540) argues organisational ethnography is 'to uncover and explicate the ways in which people in particular work settings come to understand, account for, take action, and otherwise manage their day-to-day situation'. In this process, organisational researchers may encounter contradictory and conflicting perspectives, reveal embedded power relations and discover emerging interactions and actions. All are beneficial for researchers to develop rich insights for theorising what is going on in organisations (Rouleau, de Rond and Musca, 2014) .

Time issue of ethnographic research

As Geertz (1973) has argued, ethnographic research takes time to allow the

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[50] The Journal of Organizational Ethnography (JOE) was launched in 2012, with the aim to provide a forum for quality ethnographic work with a focus upon organisations, broadly understood. See: Editorial for the Journal of Organizational Ethnography (Brannan, Rowe and Worthington, 2012).

ethnographer to be immersed in the field in order to produce "thick" descriptive insights. Opposite to thick description, 'quick description' has been used as a criticism of brief immersion in the field and directed towards achieving a specific narrow goal (Neyland, 2008; Bate, 1997). Such an approach to ethnography may threaten many of the strengths of doing ethnography. Often it is said, the longer the ethnographer remains in the field, the more detail the ethnographer can discover. The time, according to Geertz (1973), which an ethnographer spends in the field spans years. However, it has been argued that this slow, time-consuming and thus expensive ethnographic approach might put researchers and even research funding bodies off. Furthermore, the time issue can involve practical issues, especially in organisational ethnography, such as organisations might be reluctant to allow researchers in for a prolonged time.

Given this situation, it is worth considering - is the time issue really the main consideration of ethnographic research? Jeffrey and Troman (2004) argue 'ethnographic time need not only be perceived of as a lengthy and sustained period in the field prior to writing'. They suggest that there are different forms of ethnographic research time modes, which researchers can adopt in different circumstances. For example, 'a compressed time mode' involves a short period of intense ethnographic research from a few days to a month. The researcher is able to identify one directed theme to determine the research focus, with observational field notes and synecdochal writing style to 'portray a part of a picture as a representation of the whole picture'. They believe this type of ethnography can 'capture the dynamics of a context, documenting the visible and less tangible social structures and relations'.

The reasons for choosing ethnography
This research is keen to explore the puzzle regarding the process of museums' purpose, priorities and practices being reshaped by organisational members in museums. To unravel this puzzle, as this research is concerned, will need a more immersive approach to help to 'lift the lid' on the institution and better grasp the

internal workings of museums. For example, to understand how an exhibition policy has been changed by putting visitors' demands and numbers as priorities, and to explore if the market-driven ideologies have affected the director's decision-making. The answers to these questions seem to be hidden behind the scenes and it is difficult to discover from museums' 'front-stage performances'.

Besides, the researcher recognises that the national museums in Taiwan tend to be managed hierarchically (Chu, 2014: 19), which might be attributed to the following reasons. Firstly, the national museums are part of the central government administration system. Except the National Palace Museum, the other nine national museums are affiliated organisations of Ministry of Culture or Ministry of Education[51]. The hierarchical relationship limits national museums' autonomy. Secondly, over half of museum staff are civil servants, whose role is mainly to implement the work which is commanded from the staff of higher rank. Given the hierarchical situation, the research is concerned if the museum staff give the official account of their perspective which might not aid the research to dig out the relationship, culture and meanings in which they exist.

As there are already some examples of ethnographic research in museums (Handler and Gable, 1997; Macdonald, 2002), this research considers employing organisational ethnography as a research strategy in order to offer the prospect of authentic accounts of complex phenomena. The researcher aims to use this approach to be able to hang around and soak up every tiny detail in a specific museum.

Gaining access: National Museum of Natural Science

One of the main challenges for organisation researchers, especially with the organisational ethnography approach, is gaining access to organisations. On the one hand, the choice of research organisation and participants must be clearly tied to the research aims and questions; on the other hand, the choice is

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[51] See Appendix 2

inevitably constrained by what is feasible.

Organisations do not always welcome researchers to study their own organisations. As Saunders (2012: 36) mentioned, this could be because of many reasons such as: 'a lack of perceived value of the research to the organisation, the time required of participants, the intrusive nature or sensitivity of the research and associated confidentiality issues, skepticism regarding the role of outsiders, or even concerns about the competence of the researcher'. I also anticipated the difficulties associated with gaining access, therefore, I adopted a so-called 'opportunist approach' to seek recommendations from professors of museum studies in Taiwan in order to gain credibility for myself with the organisational gatekeeper. Meanwhile, I have a clear preparation, including alternative plans, to be able to flexibly amend the research design to ensure the research aims are met. Fortunately, I obtained the permission to conduct an ethnographic research in the NMNS. The details of fieldwork will be described in the next section.

Conducting fieldwork

The initial intention of my research project was focusing on the ways in which Taiwanese museum priorities and practices are being influenced by the increasing convergence between museums and the marketplace. However, the fieldwork process has helped me to slightly shift my initial aims to a bigger picture of the change phenomenon. As Hammersley and Atkinson mentioned, the feature of ethnographic research is to employ a relatively open-ended and exploratory approach to data collection. This allows that "the initial interests and questions that motivated the research will be refined, and perhaps even transformed over the course of the research" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007: 3). Indeed, the fieldwork was fruitful in a way that different priorities and issues emerged which reflect the reality of operation on the ground of the museum.

I began field research in December 2014 after a few weeks of negotiation to get

permission. When I started my fieldwork in the NMNS, I was offered a desk in an independent room of the gatekeeper's office. As Head of the Science Education Department, the gatekeeper is responsible for science educational works and projects which are not highly related to the market side of development in the museum. I thus tried to seek permission to use a participant-observation method at a special exhibition in order to investigate how market-driven ideologies have affected the nature of exhibition-making, if at all. Such a proposal was realistic and doable but, I gradually learned, impossible to implement during the period under review. This is partly because there was not a suitable special exhibition on view or under development.

And also because, most importantly, the presentations of diversified special exhibitions within the NMNS suggest a more radical puzzle to me. It seems to me that there are different curatorial styles and also quite a lot of freedom for curators to do what they want. It really strikes me that there were other managerial, political, economic and social forces shaping the priorities and practices of this museum, and that the market is one influence, but not necessarily the dominant one. Although I could not have unfettered access to participate in and observe the process of producing an exhibition, the ethnographic approach I used allowed me to broaden the initial frame of my research with a more open-minded attitude concerning what might be relevant to the project. I am gradually moving into a more exploratory understanding about changes in the museum.

On my first day in the museum, the gatekeeper introduced me as a researcher to his colleagues at his department and several curators in the exhibit department. In the following two weeks, I got to know people and the working environment (people were getting to know me as well). I had conversations with different curators in the exhibit department in order to understand their recent exhibition projects and some of the perspectives of the museum. There was lots of talk of 'the first Director'; of 'the current Director'; of 'their curatorial experience'; of

'the Natural history'; of 'tensions with some other colleagues and managers'. It was a great privilege to be offered an ID for the fieldwork period of time so I could access the museum office freely and the museum as well. It all helped me to know what the museum's daily works and priorities are.

By the end of March 2015, the fieldwork finished, and I had conducted 27 semi-structured interviews with museum professionals in the NMNS, from the director to department managers to curators to frontline staff, who were influential in the museum in different ways during my fieldwork and whose experience serves to illuminate the themes of the study. A full list of interviewees with their institutional title and interview dates is given (see the Appendix 3). As an ethnographic approach is deployed in this study, I treat every interview as a special encounter with informants, not only gaining data from the interview per se, but also sensing the organisational culture and atmosphere, informants' personalities and interests. I respected the informants' choice of where the interview was conducted - some invited me to their own office, while some did not. This is a great opportunity to access different territory in the museum to grasp the dynamic of spaces and meanings within them. For example, I made a note of an informant who told me 'we should not conduct the interview in my office as the walls have ears'. This made me sense immediately the dynamic and (maybe) tensions among colleagues.

There were three exhibitions opened and one marketing press conference during the time of my fieldwork. I would never have known that there were many difficulties, tensions and conflicts which were ironed out if I had just looked at the finished exhibition. Because of the ethnographic approach, I started to unfold a little bit of those messy yet rich stories behind the scenes.

The research has some limitations. Although I wished I could attend internal meetings in order to gain more understanding of the power structure and interpersonal interaction within the organisation, I could not obtain the

permission to do so as they did not feel comfortable for an outsider to attend the meeting. In this situation, I had to change my strategy of collecting data to a way more focused on observing their daily lives and reaching out to as many potential interviewees as I could. Besides, I also collected written evidence – the museum's annual reports, publications, newspapers, journal papers and academic research reports – and audio and visual materials – photographs, videos and websites – in order to capture the changes which have occurred and are occurring within the museum.

3.7 Data sources and research methods

Ethnographic research emphasises the use of cultural settings as data sources (sometimes seen as natural settings) and immersion inside for generating knowledge (Mason, 2002). This research chooses a cultural setting - a museum - as a field to explore how organisation members negotiate change process in a museum. The data sources are as follows:

People: people in the museum for this project include the museum director, managers, curators, front-line staff and administrators. The ways to engage with the museum's people are observation and interview. The research collects data through daily conversations with organisation members, attending their activities and after-work parties, having irregular lunches with organisation members, and walking around the museum in order to take field notes on the behaviour and activities of individuals or groups.

I also conducted semi-structured interviews to understand organisation members' accounts, experiences and judgements about some specific questions. As Hammersley and Atkinson (2007: 4) remind us, although gatekeepers may secure access to the organisation, the relations with people being studied do not come automatically; instead it will need to be established and (re)negotiated all the time. Prior to conducting formal interviews, I had some discussions with some curators and carried out observation for over a month. This helped shape

the focus and development of specific questions and also gain trust from interviewees in order to secure interviews.

The final interview protocol included questions about their working experiences in the museum, dealing with conflict with colleagues, decision-making process, attitudes about the museum's role and purpose, sensing of any organisational change, and successive leadership style of the directors and managers. All the participants were sent a short information sheet outlining the nature of the research beforehand and interview questions as well. Semi-structured interviews were designed to allow sufficient freedom to explore issues and topics for researcher and participants. Interview informants were selected through non-probability sampling (Saunders, 2012: 39) – choice is based on the researcher's judgement regarding the participants' answers to enable a rich understanding of the research aims. I obtained consent from each interviewee and ensured that the details of all the participants would be kept confidential during my research process. I maintain their anonymity unless they are happy to be acknowledged in my research. In total, 26 face-to-face interviews were completed, lasting between 41 and 166 minutes each. One interviewee chose to reply to questions by text.

Exhibition: the research intended to select past or current special exhibitions in the museum as a phenomenon to investigate. In the process of making a special exhibition, it involves decision-making, public-private cooperation, cross-team working and public service. Those meanings are produced in the museum's everyday life during the pre-exhibition and post-exhibition period. The researcher uses observation, interview and document analysis methods to gather the data.

Documents, audio and visual materials: as Blaikie (2009) points out, while organisations change, the structure of relations and forms of authority and leadership are likely to be relatively enduring. This research is not only to explore the present but also the past in order to understand the process by which museums' purpose, priorities and practices have been reshaped by organisation

members. The researcher collects the written evidence - museum's annual reports, visitor research reports, minutes of meetings, newspapers and academic research reports - and audio and visual materials - photographs, videos and websites - to analyse the language, words, visual narratives and meanings in order to capture change in the museum.

3.8 Data analysis

A variety of data take the form of words (spoken and written) and visual images (observed and photographs and video produced) in this research. As Neyland (2008) mentioned, the primary and most complex feature of ethnographic writing is to translate ethnographic material (field notes and supplementary data) into an ethnographic text. This research analysis was performed in four stages. Firstly, organise those materials into a coherent form. This involves cataloguing and indexing field diaries of observations to be able to navigate back and forth through the data, transcribing, annotating and coding interviews and organising any documents which have been collected.

Secondly, I then went through a laborious process of searching through field notes, interview transcripts and other data repeatedly to develop an initial understanding of how museums' purpose, priorities and practices have shifted, and highlighted interviewee comments that reflect the interest of the study. Thirdly, I began with open coding to develop interpretations and identify analytic themes that emerged in the data. Then I continued with a focused coding in order to advance how the description and themes will be represented qualitatively. In the final step of data analysis, I carefully pieced together narratives to make an interpretation of the findings or results (Creswell, 2013; Neyland, 2008).

3.9 Ethical considerations

Prior to my fieldwork, this project had approval from the Ethics Committee, University of Leicester. All the data collection followed the guidelines of the Code

of Practice for Research Ethics to ensure the fieldwork was undertaken under the University's auspices. It is my commitment to act in ways that are ethically appropriate, to guarantee being fully aware of any particular ethical issues which may be raised and to address these issues.

For example, I was offered a working desk in a room connected to the gatekeeper's office. It happened very naturally that the gatekeeper and I discussed my fieldwork progress quite often. Sometimes it was just a daily conversation such as 'where have you been this morning/afternoon?' or 'how the interview went?'. I must not reveal many details regarding participants' identity and interview content to ensure confidentiality of all informants. Besides, as the two offices connect to each other, I can hear some parts of the gatekeeper's conversations with other colleagues. This gave me a real sense of how the organisation's daily life is but I cannot use those conversations in my thesis if I did not gain permission and get every participant's consent.

In terms of anonymity in interview data, some participants are happy to be acknowledged in my research while some are very cautious about confidentiality. This is my responsibility to be highly sensitive about each participant's own choice and ensure the interpretation would not disclose their identity. Although the subject matter of my research is not expected to raise serious ethical considerations, I should maintain a reflexive awareness about any ethical implications raised and make the best judgements I can in the circumstances.

Chapter 4 Negotiating with market force and ideology

4.1 Introduction

As chapter 1 described, there is a strong market ideology around the cultural policy and museum sector as a whole in Taiwan. This trend of market force is inevitably affecting museums' priorities, purposes and practices. This chapter will discuss the influence and impact of this dominating economic rationale on the NMNS. As the priorities and practices of the NMNS are constantly changing and evolving, it is worth exploring what changes the NMNS has encountered and is encountering in the face of the challenges and opportunities presented by external market forces.

This chapter examines the ways in which the NMNS responds to the external market force by revealing various values and beliefs intersecting on the organisational and personal levels which underpin the museum. I will also focus on how the leadership, power relations and dynamics are exercised in this process.

First, I explore what organisational values underpin the museum, and then consider how the museum has become financially driven and explore the process through which the museum staff perceive, negotiate, resist or embrace the market forces that could shape museum practice.

Secondly, I explore how the museum special exhibition strategies and policy have been shifted and are shifting and how market forces have impacted on this

process. Meanwhile, I aim to understand what challenges and tensions can possibly arise and how a different kind of decision-making process can potentially shape the practice. Finally, I explore the ways in which the NMNS has considered how to navigate through the financial difficulty and the temptation of market forces.

4.2 The underpinning value for a visitor-orientated museum

The underpinning value of the NMNS has deeply related to how the museum has made decisions and strategies, and these have also reflected on how the ideologies of the government have been placed upon museums in Taiwan. To reveal the underpinning value of the NMNS, we have to trace back to the way in which this museum was born. The NMNS was being planned in the late 1970s and 1980s, while the Western natural history and science museums were going through a dramatic change, especially in regard to display approaches to the objects and the emphasis on hands-on experience and visitor experience.

The first museum director, Pao-Teh Han (1934-2014), was the heart and soul of the birth of the NMNS. He set up the museum's foundation — such as mission and visions, organisational structure, human resources and scale, themes of the permanent exhibitions, and even the plan of the museum architecture — which had a profound influence on the NMNS and the museum sector as a whole. The vision for the NMNS is as a visitor-orientated museum influenced by the trend of 'New Museology' at that time. The first museum director interpreted visitor orientation as a classic value of 'New Museology' (Han, 2012: 125). His ideal museum would be able to combine education with entertainment, and yet, he made it clear that what he means by entertainment is to be able to have fun and at the same time to be inspired on the intellectual level. This is totally different from theme parks where the main focus is to make visitors have fun (Han, 2012: 145). The first museum director's way of thinking has reflected the debate of

disneyisation of museums for a long time. Although museums have a lot to learn from theme parks in terms of attracting visitors, the differences between museums and theme parks have been addressed. As Zbuchea (2015: 488) noted:

Museums create a sense of place and belongingness, while theme parks promote the idea of a global and utopic world even when making references to local traditions and heroes. Museums offer, as much as possible, the real thing/authenticity, while theme parks are idealized simulacra. Museums offer knowledge and cultural improvement (through play and entertainment if the case), while theme parks offer play and entertainment through induced sensation of belonging to a certain cultural environment. They stimulate the desire to improve oneself having also fun, while theme parks stimulate the desire to entertain and consume/spend money.

This idea of combining education with entertainment was implanted in the display design of their permanent exhibition. For example, the first museum director made a strategic decision about the first phase of the museum building plan. It was to build a Science Centre and Space Theatre first rather than to build the museum itself. The rationale behind this was that they supposed the Science Centre and Space Theatre would be very attractive to the public at that time. They wanted the museum building plan to be a success so that they could convince the government to support the subsequent building plan. As expected, the hands-on and interactive display at the Science Centre, and the sounds and light effect at the Space Theatre proved to be a huge success that not only attracted over 1.64 million visitors in the first year but also brought a new museum visiting experience to Taiwanese people. These all helped the museum to build its reputation of combining education and entertainment. As an associate curator, Chi-Long Lin explained the unique experience the NMNS brought to the Taiwanese:

> The theatre is the first museum theatre in Taiwan. In 1986, the government just permitted the overseas tourism policy. Not many people were able to travel abroad to see this stuff at that time. It was novel and very different from other types of museums […] There was a meteorite at the Science Centre that you could touch. Those things were very novel and increased the visitor numbers dramatically.

It should be noted that there is only a fine line between an entertaining experience and sensationalism. To create those two levels of feeling involves different approaches — the former offers an entertaining experience based on the museum's collection and interpretation, while the latter focuses on sensational experience based on marketplace ideology. Ideally, museums need to take the former approach and keep away from the latter one. But in reality, it is easy to cross over and mix the two up, especially when museums are under other external pressures. For example, when museums are eager to pursue high attendance, the strategy could tend to cater to market demand and create sensational factors to draw visitor numbers.

Quantitative measurement has become essential for modern governments to judge museums' performance since the introduction of increased accountability in Western countries in the mid-1980s (Scott, 2007: 169). It has been pointed out that there are some positive effects of using performance measurement. For example, through collective objective setting, museums can develop indicators which help them to better achieve their mission and goals. Besides, policy makers and museum managers can identify emergent trends across museums by using the quantitative data produced (Scott, 2007: 170). Despite these benefits, whether the quantitative measurement is able to present long-term intangible museum outcomes has been questioned by critics (Scott, 2007: 171).

It is important to note that the visitor numbers may only reflect a part of museum performance. Specifically, the long-term social value of museums cannot be identified by attendance numbers. However, the mythology of attendance – 'the more the merrier'– is still embedded in many people's minds in Taiwan. High attendance has become a strong evidence to show the government that museums fulfil their role and responsibility. It has been sensed from my fieldwork that the visitor numbers myth haunted people at the NMNS for years, which might have started from the museum planning stage at the very beginning. The first museum director cleverly used the visitor numbers as a statement for convincing governmental support — in order to persuade the government officers that the museum building plan would be a success, he came up with a goal number that the museum will attract at least one million visitors per year[52]. With hindsight, the strategy was very successful — the goal was easily achieved as people really demanded this new type of museum.

As the museum continues growing, the next phases two to four, known as the main museum building plan, will be completed within the next seven years. This multistage development strategy, as associate curator Chi-Long Lin said, has been regarded as the museum's wow factors at different stages so that the public has increasing confidence in the museum. It has been proved that the museum is adored by the public based on the consistent visitor numbers at around three million each year for over two decades and, its highest attendance figure was 3.8 million visits in one year. The staff started to build their confidence and sense of pride in their work and the visitor orientation philosophy has formed a part of many people's DNA. In a subtle way, however, visitor orientation thinking seems to tie up with visitor numbers.

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[52] The first museum director stated: "It is not an overwhelming number in the present days but it was in the 1970s. Given that the average museum visitor numbers were around 10 thousands, and the population of Taichung city (where the museum is located) was around 100 thousands, the 1 million visitor numbers we proposed is a tempting one."(Han, 2012: 125)

Moreover, the high attendance has always been regarded as 'a necessary evil' by museum directors. Many interviewees explained that because the upper-level authority and Legislative Yuan take the number as vital criteria for reviewing its performance, no museum director would dare not to care about visitor numbers. Besides, high attendance seems to become strong evidence for increasing government funding. As an associate curator, Chi-Long Lin said, "If we can increase visitor numbers dramatically and gain a high reputation, the Ministry of Education won't dare to cut our budget and will even give us more."

This ideology of seeking high attendance has affected the museum not only on the level of developing strategy but also on their functional level, such as public service, exhibition and educational programme planning, and collection strategy. For example, to meet the government expectation on high attendance, the NMNS has to look at every possible way to attract visitors. The strategies on a functional level – including the free entrance at 09:00-10:00 on every Wednesday morning, holding special and blockbuster exhibitions, offering school visits free entrance, and acquiring popular objects - might be regarded as potential approaches to maintain and attract visitors coming to the museum.

Those approaches could cause tensions and conflict concerning priority and resource allocation, in which museum directors play an important role in whether to push the museum forward to increase visitor numbers or not. For example, some museum directors may be keener on increasing visitor numbers than others. During assistant curator Hui-Chuan Chen's interview, she mentioned that the approach of one of the museum directors was to seize every opportunity to market the NMNS.

> We had 46 exhibitions in one particular year. His (the museum director's) strategy was the more the better so every place and every corner were

utilised as exhibit spaces to strive for media coverage […] Looking back, I was thinking whether this approach used up all our energy. But it is hard to say whether we kept our visitor numbers because of the approach.

Another assistant curator also said, "In the process, the museum director could control the direction and use up a lot of money and resource […] so the biggest problem is that these things squeeze out other possibilities." It is clear to see that the museum director could have the absolute power to make any strategic move, as long as it is under the umbrella of enhancing visitor numbers.

Moreover, the visitor number-orientated approach not only affects their exhibition practice (which will be discussed later), but also on the collecting level. At times the decision makers wanted to accept and acquire popular objects to create media buzz. An assistant curator from the Biology Department wrote about the frustration of seeking a buzz through popular objects as it took up limited manpower, time and budget in the museum in the process of acquisition. It has been questioned that those are just for short-lived popularity where there is lack of a long-term strategy about what to do with those particular acquisitions and whether there is any expertise in the museum to do further research on them (Chen, 2006: 66).

As many authors have discussed, this obsession with attendance is problematic (Janes, 2009). Bradburne (2004: 31-2) argues that increased visitor numbers have been linked to success in the museum sector which has become a vicious circle. Museums depend upon blockbuster exhibitions and new buildings to attract visitors but it has been seen that the visitor numbers drop dramatically after the third year of a new building opening as those visitors tend to be one-time visits. Then museums have to afford the substantially increased operating costs of the new building while the visitor numbers are decreasing. Janes (2009: 105) also

criticises that the market ideology is accompanied by 'imposition of quantitative performance measures based on money as the measure of worth (attendance, number of exhibitions, earned revenues, cost per visitor and so forth)' which is problematic for the museum sector but there is a lack of substantive evaluations or comments by the sector itself. Janes (2009: 105) urges:

> Without such dialogue and evaluation, museums have once again chosen passivity and isolation, bereft of any influence to counteract the dominance of simplistic, commercial indicators.

Indeed, there is always a danger that visitor numbers-led thinking can lead to the neglect of long-term strategy and resource misallocation. It can also be seen that the idea of creating a visitor-orientated museum has evolved to become visitor numbers-driven, through which the museum priorities of exhibition and collection could be shifted away from their original direction. The following section will explore how the priority has been shifted again and how the museum staff respond when the NMNS is under the pressure of budget cuts.

4.3 Financially driven museum

As discussed in chapter 1, the initiative for administrative corporations[53] has aroused a fierce discussion in the museum sector in Taiwan. As one of the top national museums, it is hard for the NMNS to stay out of the debate. Although the administrative corporations issue has been debated for a long time, I would not expect this topic to still be lingering in many museum staffs' mind. It was surprising that many staff mentioned the topic spontaneously in the course of conversations or interviews.

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53 The administrative corporation is one of the approaches of government organisational reform which intends to increase flexibility in budgeting and daily operations for an institution by changing the form of its governance. The biggest concern for an administrative corporation is its fiscal self-responsibility for some percentage (usually 30-50%), so it is no longer 100% government funded.

It can be seen as a polarisation of attitude toward the idea at the NMNS. Most of the museum staff are against becoming an administrative corporation as they think the museum will become profit oriented and lose its original mission, and eventually be unable to survive. For example, an associate curator said, "Once the museum is corporatised, I am worried that the exhibitions will need the expression of sensationalism – the nature of museums will be lost." On the contrary, some people argue that becoming an administrative corporation will make the museum operation more efficient as the museum can lay off or employ staff more freely, which the current government system does not allow.

The debate around administrative corporations reflects the difficulty of the NMNS operation. On the one hand, the government has faced financial difficulty so that the government wants the museum to stop relying on governmental budget. Although the museum could not be transferred to an administrative corporation immediately, the government started to introduce the Museum Operation Fund which will force museums to increase their self-funded percentage year by year. Some people think the Museum Operation Fund is a factor which drives the NMNS to think and practise as an administrative corporation. In the chief secretary's interview, Wei-Che Lo indicated,

> The administrative corporation is something the government doesn't want to talk about at this moment but actually, they are already doing it gradually. For example, why do they introduce the Museum Operation Fund? It is actually a transition phase into an administrative corporation by reducing the governmental budget and increasing self-funding gradually.

On the other hand, many people also know that the way the NMNS has operated has brought challenges as there are some foundational flows in this organisation that can impede efficiency and innovation. There is also a convincing argument that as the system is problematic, transferring to an administrative corporation could be an opportunity to resolve those problems.

This dilemma and wavering between remaining a government body and transferring to an administrative corporation have caused unsettled feelings in many people's minds, although it is not yet time to face the decision for the NMNS or the government. However, the current process is the government budget cuts which decline by 6% to 8% of total budget each year and have affected museum operation deeply and forced the museum into thinking in a much more market-orientated way. In particular, when this reduction of funds is coupled with the preoccupation with maintaining or growing visitors discussed earlier, it is easy to imagine the difficulty and pressure that the NMNS has been through. The influence is on every level of the museum from the basic cost of utilities to the exhibition budget. The staff start recognising the impact of budget cuts as this directly links to their own work. As one of the section chiefs said, "Everyone can feel the difference. It's like a rich family but suddenly our family fortunes declined."

It has caused the following impacts. For instance, firstly, there is the sense of insecurity to work. As a curatorial assistant said, "I want to buy a spare supply but they said we don't have money. I am very worried in case the machine breaks down…" The saving in daily expenses makes staff feel a direct difference in their daily work. Secondly, being more innovative and imaginative is hard to achieve against the background of cuts. An assistant curator told me, "Our budget has shrunk to this point, our imagination then has shrunk to this point too. Our imagination will always be subject to resources". This also shows a loss of morale to work. Thirdly, outsourcing a portion of museum activities and work has become an 'easy' solution. One of the section chiefs, Tien-Yu Hsu, said, "In order to have sustainable operation, we have to go this way (meaning outsourcing), even though we know this is a cruel decision." It seems that the museum has no choice but to outsource as the budget is consistently decreasing. However, although outsourcing can alleviate the financial burden on museums, it should be evident that there is a substantial impact on the way that museum services are delivered (Tuckman and Chang, 2006: 633). For example, Tuckman

and Chang (2006: 633) point out the concerns that may arise from outsourcing, including it can "blur the line between what is distinctly non-profit and what is commercial" and "a loss of uniqueness for the organisation."

For a long period of time, the NMNS received a full budget from the government so that the museum did not have to worry about income too much. As an associate curator, Chi-Long Lin described the shifting strategy of the NMNS before and after the introduction of budget cuts, and how profit-making has become the priority.

> We used to be funded by the government. The budget was fixed so if we
> had income, it did not go into the museum. The change is towards becoming
> partly self-funded. We have to find other income but at the same time, it
> also allows us to use those incomes more flexibly. The goal in the past was
> to increase visitor numbers. Profit-making was not important because if we
> did not make enough profits this year, the ministry of education would still
> give us the similar amount of budget as usual.

The interviewee indicated a crucial shifting point at the NMNS that increasing visitor numbers was their top priority in terms of securing budget, while things started changing with the continual budget cuts. The NMNS has become more financially driven than ever before, and they have to step out of their comfort zone to endeavour to gain sponsorship and generate income. However, the ways in which museum staff handle it are varied. The following particular example might help to illustrate this observation.

Sponsorship dilemma

It is interesting to find that there are two opposite ways to handle sponsorship by different people. As there is no marketing team in charge of sponsorship at the NMNS, it is usually initiated by the museum director. Sometimes staff seem

to not understand the decision-making process as they commented that they did not know where the sponsorship comes from, and they just received the mission from the top to implement it. How the sponsorship works are always dependent on the negotiation and communication between staff on both sides.

The NMNS has been facing the fact that the permanent exhibition galleries are becoming gradually out of date and need to be refurbished, but the budget is always a problem for them. If there are some corporations interested in sponsoring museums to refurbish the galleries, the NMNS is more than happy to accept it. The case of the Science Centre of the museum is particularly related to different sponsorship models at the NMNS. The Science Centre is a building with four floors and one basement with different themes of galleries on each floor. It is a separate building of the museum and located by the side of the museum main building. Its galleries on each floor have gone through several periods of refurbishment over 29 years, but especially, its basement, first and third floor were sponsored by technology corporations separately for a long period of time.

There are two distinct models to handle sponsorship. The difference is who takes control. On the one hand, the sponsorship mode for the 'DaDa's Magical World of Light and Electronic' gallery and 'Semiconductor's World' gallery tends to be sponsor-dominated, in which these sponsors are in charge of most things about the gallery-making, including planning, gallery design, contracting out and even offering their own volunteers to do the gallery talk, while the museum is just involved in reviewing the content of the text panels.

The topics of both galleries are specifically related to the product of both corporations. When visitors come to those floors, the first thing they see is a cartoon character sculpture standing at the entrance with a business logo and name on it (see Figure 4.1 and 4.2). Walking in those galleries, it is hard not to

find information related to the technology, product and achievement of the corporation. For example, there is a display encouraging visitors to touch the electric panel to see the screen changed with colours and pictures (see Figure 4.3) but the text beside the display is described in a way which seems to me a bit like an advertisement by saying: "a store owner can use this technology….would be most eye-catching advertising campaign".

The sponsor-dominated model is problematic for some staff as it looks like a business gallery to showcase the sponsor company's achievement and contribution instead of a gallery discussing scientific issues which is what the gallery should do. Besides, there is a feeling of loss of control of their autonomy in some curators' eyes, as the associate curator, Chi-Long Lin, described, "Some colleagues call this as leasehold that is you give him an area and that is him. You are the owner but you have no right to say. You just accept whatever they gave you". Regardless of those concerns, some people try to understand why the sponsors want to be involved in the design and gallery-making process. The chief secretary Wei-Che Lo mentioned,

> Sometimes it also has to depend on the sponsor's ideas — the sponsor might think they can be more flexible than a government body in terms of contracting out, they might want to use their product in the gallery, and they might think their volunteers know more about the gallery — as they have many things to consider so they might not only want to offer the money but also want to be deeply involved in the process.

On the other hand, the 'Material World' gallery is also sponsored by some corporations but there is barely a glimpse of those sponsors' names or produce in the gallery. In this case, the curator took control over the content and design, while the sponsor just offered the money to the NMNS. In the associate curator, Chi-Long Lin's interview, who is responsible for this case, he told me,

Basically, these are two opposite approaches, so it depends on each case. There is no right or wrong answer in the museum […] This is my personality, I am quite bossy as I want to implement my ideas in the gallery. I will take control through the process. Because these are different people in charge, each person has their own style.

We can see that there are extremely different sponsorship models running in the museum as different people are in charge of the negotiation so that the person has the power to decide how things work. It seems a kind of norm in the museum that favours individualism in the workplace. As an assistant curator said, "Although some people might have disagreement about the approach, they would not interfere in others' work." It strikes me that although the NMNS is a hierarchical organisation, the staff have the power to make some major decisions about their own work. In other words, many decisions were made by who is in charge on an individual level rather than by who is in power on a management level. This is one of the important factors that helps to shift museum practice in different ways. According to Boonstra and Gravenhorst's (1998) classification mentioned in Chapter 2, it seems the cultural power is dominated in this situation. The organisational norm – the person who is in charge gets the power to decide the sponsorship model – subtly affected the museum's change process. Additionally, this kind of culture and norm could be a disadvantage for the NMNS as there are too many directions and there is a lack of cohesion in those working approaches.

Although some people are still sceptical about the sponsor-dominated model at the Science Centre, it is inevitable the NMNS will need the sponsorship more than before as long as the financially driven circumstance continues. Therefore, they should be aware of the effects and consequences of the sponsor-dominated model as Dolnicar et al. (2008: 108) point out, that the challenge for non-profits is to manage competitive grant funding without sacrificing their mission

imperatives. Similarly, Andreasen and Kotler (2008: 350) study non-profits struggling to gain financial support, and address so-called 'mission creep' – the excessive pursuit of donors and foundation grants. They warn that this can lead a non-profit far afield from its core mission. It is important for the NMNS to form an open yet supportive discussion culture in which people can express their opinions freely and honestly and be able to make a decision as a group to avoid things like 'mission creep'.

4.4 Shifting special exhibition policy

Constantly changing special exhibitions is one of the best ways to attract repeat visitors to the museum and potentially generate income. As mentioned earlier, the NMNS always has the pressure of the visitor numbers and facing complications from other leisure industries. Holding special exhibitions has become a vital mission for the Exhibit Department. In Hui-Chuan Chen's interview, a senior curator in the Exhibit Department, she described how the NMNS learned through the process and gradually realised the importance of special exhibition after it opened to the public.

> At the beginning, we didn't really understand the museum sector so we thought it would be enough if we just made a great permanent exhibition and ran it. We didn't value special exhibition very much so we thought we would just temporarily support the Exhibit Department and return to scholarly departments to do our own research. But, after the 3rd and 4th phases completed and all galleries opened to the public, we realised that creating special exhibition has become a very important mission for us.

At the NMNS, it is not only the curators in the Exhibit Department who have the right and responsibility to make special exhibitions, but also the curators in the scholarly departments share the responsibility to be involved in the exhibition creating process. The exhibition proposal can be initiated by an individual or

across a department team at the NMNS. There are various possible ways to decide the topics of the exhibitions. For example, the curators can initiate a special exhibition based on their research interests or by introducing tour exhibitions from other museums.

Besides, diversified approaches and presentation of the exhibitions can be seen in the museum. It seems that there are different curatorial styles and also quite a lot of freedom for curators to do whatever they want. Several curators from different departments all mentioned that they did have control over the method and direction of their own projects as the managers and colleagues quite respect each other and would not intervene too much even if they do not agree with the way that other people do things in some cases. Again, this is confirmation of the cultural power mentioned earlier.

For the NMNS, the diversified themes and approaches are a strategy for them. A manager indicated that this strategy could help the museum to attract visitors with different interests.

> Our exhibitions are very diverse in terms of different subjects on zoology, botany, geology and anthropology; and different contents, such as specimens, photography and model creation. If the visitors have a particular interest, they can find an exhibition here. Compared with other museums, some tend to be very narrow on the themes, while our museum is very diverse.

Conflicting values and beliefs toward exhibition-making

In terms of cooperation across department teams, classic conflicts can be seen in people's attitude toward exhibition-making. Many curators have shared similar stories with me. They think some curators in the scholarly departments are more focused on the knowledge aspect and the integrity of the content, which makes

the exhibition inscrutable to visitors. Some curators even regard this as an arrogant attitude, to neglect another team member's opinion. Similarly, in some degree, an associate curator from the scholarly departments was also aware of the different perspectives between themselves and curators from the Exhibit Department, but the curator argues that some curators from the Exhibit Department might offer incomplete and even wrong information on the exhibition.

The inconsistent attitudes towards exhibition-making are also reflected in whether the collection can be borrowed from the storage of the museum. The NMNS used to face a situation where exhibitions seldom used the museum's own collections but borrowed objects from the outside (Kao and Hsu, 2008: 86). This seems to suggest that there is no mutual vision towards exhibition-making and it all depends on different people and their approaches. As an associate curator from the Exhibit Department said,

> Sometimes when you want to borrow objects for exhibition, the collection manager says the condition of the object is inappropriate for borrowing.[…] It depends on different collection managers. Some are easy to communicate with, while some are a pain to work with.

Although many curators mentioned that the ideal exhibition team should have people from scholarly, exhibit and educational departments working together, the unpleasant working experience across department teams is always intimidating people and could harm the morale of the team and organisational harmony. Nevertheless, the whole exhibition creating process is a learning curve for many curators. In the end, some people would only work with those who are easy to work with, some people would rather work alone, and some would learn from the process and adjust their working style to cooperate with others. It is worth noting that some conflicted organisational culture and relationship cracks have formed through the unbalanced power relations among curators across the

organisational departments. In Boonstra and Gravenhorst's (1998) category, this is regarded as the structural power which means the power is distributed to different departments or agencies in organisations.

These power dynamics could be traced back to the very beginning when the first director set up the scholarly departments and respected those curators as independent researchers, giving them a lot of power and freedom in their work, which made them become the most privileged group of people at the NMNS. They are working behind the scenes and have a better office area, extra research funding and a normal Monday-Friday working week, which are far better working conditions than those for curators in the educational and exhibit departments (Chin, 1998: 455-456). A senior museum staffer also describes the power dynamics at the NMNS, which show the power has been shifting as other departments start growing.

> They (the administration staff) think the people in the scholarly departments are very difficult to work with as they think they are the boss. But we have been through many years and the administration operation is getting strong […] Now I feel it is the case that the collection and research work is there to back up the educational, exhibit and operation departments.

The disagreement over content interpretation and presentation style is reflected not only in the different group dynamics at the NMNS, but also in the inconsistent attitude of facing the audience to some degree. In reviewing the past exhibitions at the NMNS, we could easily find there are some obvious scholarly exhibitions which tend to be more object-centred, while some exhibitions focus more on story and engagement with visitors. From the following comments made by an assistant curator from the scholarly department, it can be seen that there is a gap between the aim of the NMNS claiming they are visitor-orientated and the reality of some people struggling to understand the visitors.

I have visited many special exhibitions in our museum. I found that if the exhibition was mainly led by the scholarly departments, it would have a blind spot. After all, we are not professional curators [...] we are not trained to be so. I mean a so-called professional curator, they should understand visitors and know how to design.

Blockbuster trend

In addition to special exhibition, the NMNS also learned that the blockbuster exhibition would be a more sensational way to draw people's attention. It seems it worked particularly well in terms of bringing new visitors to museums. As a front-line staffer said, "In recent years, I can see many more young people visiting our museum because of those blockbuster exhibitions." It is worth exploring the time since the NMNS started thinking about blockbusters in order to see how the trend and strategy changed over time. A former deputy director of administration pointed out that a very early attempt by the NMNS to think about holding blockbuster exhibitions was around 1992. The museum director was involved straight away in negotiating blockbuster exhibitions, such as the Terracotta Warriors or dinosaur special exhibition. Although for many reasons things did not go to plan at that time (Chin, 1998: 592), the NMNS eventually held those blockbuster exhibitions in their museum in the following years.

The first blockbuster, *Giant Insect Park*, was held at the NMNS in 1995, which successfully attracted around 390 thousand visitors during 3 months and gave the museum a lot of confidence in holding blockbuster exhibitions. As the special exhibition industry was still at an early stage, we can see how the NMNS played an important role in initiating and negotiating a blockbuster exhibition. This can be proved, when we review their early exhibitions, that the NMNS was actively developing special exhibitions by introducing touring exhibitions or lending objects from international museums. The approach can also be seen from other national museums, however, as mentioned in Chapter 1, that the two main

media companies[54] heavily invested in blockbusters and were actively involved in the process. It definitely affected the museum's strategy regarding blockbusters.

In order to explain the shifting relationship, the process of decision-making behind each special exhibition is worth exploring. In the early stages, the power of special exhibition proposal decision-making was held by the museum director, and then the power shifted to the consultancy committee and museum affairs meeting. In order to avoid the controversy of politics intervening in museum exhibition-making again, the NMNS started enforcing the power of the expertise development committee so that it could prevent political intervention in museum decision-making (Yang, 2010: 37-38). At present, the expertise development committee has become the gatekeeper that makes decisions as a group, which avoids power lying in a few peoples' hands[55]. A manager described the proposal process for me:

> Each of our exhibitions has to go through the expertise development committee's approval. Every curator could develop exhibitions based on their own ideas and then they could submit a proposal to the committee for review. The committee will recommend whether the proposal proceeds or is subject to amendments or further review.

Besides, with the commission of the expertise development committee, the NMNS could accept proposals from private sectors to put an exhibition together, as private sectors always have an advantage in terms of fundraising and

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[54] While blockbuster and commercial exhibitions have become an industry, there are two major multi-media companies jumping into the 'market' and introducing exhibitions to museums. As long as the 'market' is developing, more and more small-scale curatorial companies are also starting to introduce many more commercial-like exhibitions to museums or other exhibit venues. The collaborative partners of the NMNS are not necessarily limited to multi-media companies, but also include many curatorial companies.

[55] However, it is necessary to point out that the members of this expertise development committee are selected by the museum director. It is usually selected from senior curators and department managers.

advertising. An assistant curator explained the reason for cooperation with the media company:

> We take advantage of each other. For us, working with those media companies could raise our profile and enhance visitor numbers, while they want to use our brand and educational image to enhance their corporate image.

Indeed, most curators know that the purpose of private sectors holding exhibitions is profit-making, but they still agree to work with them for many reasons. For some curators at the NMNS, they are aware that they should be cautious and careful about proposals from private sectors and make agreements with them based on the museum's mission. There have been some positive examples of cooperation with private sectors; for example, *the Terracotta Warriors and Horses of China's First Emperor*, a blockbuster exhibition which proved a huge success with 1.05 million visits over one and a half months in 2001, and was seen as mutually beneficial for both sides.

However, in spite of the positive outcome, the museum had to sacrifice some time, for example, to change spaces physically in order to accommodate a large-scale exhibition. As mentioned earlier, the NMNS did not expect they would need blockbusters at the museum planning stage so the first director only left two spaces as temporary exhibition galleries. When the demand for special and blockbuster exhibitions increased, the NMNS started feeling there were not enough exhibition spaces. Around 2005, a decision was made at the top to take down a permanent exhibition in one gallery in order to release some spaces for a fourth temporary exhibition gallery – the largest temporary exhibition gallery with its own humidity and temperature monitoring system. The decision makers believed this change could bring in new opportunities for the museum to introduce more international touring exhibitions or blockbusters. This was also

beneficial for the museum in terms of attracting a larger audience and generating more income.

However, not everyone agreed with this idea, which caused a debate at the NMNS. For example, one of the assistant curators in the Exhibit Department expressed an opposing opinion to the decision makers,

> This is our institutional trauma. Since they made this decision, we know we are preparing for those charged exhibitions […] They see this as an opportunity as more exhibition spaces brings larger audiences, while I think this is a vicious cycle as we have to find or produce more exhibitions to fit in those galleries in the situation of decreasing budget.

Meanwhile, another manager interpreted this resistance to change in a different way, thinking people are against this idea because they do not want to take down the gallery made by the first museum director,

> The biggest problem in this museum is nostalgia. Those old staff always think that everything the first museum director did is perfect. No matter if the exhibition in the old gallery is really beautifully done or not. I think the topic was out of date and must be changed.

These are all honest accounts illustrating the paradox of bringing in changes as a decision could arouse many different reactions. Besides, as the fourth temporary exhibition gallery is the largest space, it requires a greater proportion of the budget to form an exhibition in that gallery, so the issue of how to utilise the space wisely has become a difficult problem for the expertise development committee. It might be an easy decision for the museum to accept the proposals from private sectors when it is under pressure in resources. This museum strategy as a venue lender will be discussed in a detailed example in the following section. Although the profit-making strategy in which museums and

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galleries rent their spaces and sites for after-hours receptions and parties has increasingly been seen around the world, the venue lender approach I pointed out here is a different model. This is about museums renting their exhibit space to a private company for them to bring a special exhibition to the museum.

The problematic point is that once museums adopt this strategy, in some degree they "sell" their control to others. They may also lose their discourse opportunity in the process. As a front-line staffer mentioned, they do not even need to guide the special exhibition if the exhibition curator is from the outside company as the company recruits the volunteers to do so. It remains unclear about how this strategy affects public perception of museums' role in society, but when it comes to complaining about the exhibition, the visitors usually do not recognise who the real exhibition-maker is and make complaints to the NMNS. This could potentially harm the museum's reputation.

The head of the Anthropology Department, Whe-Lee Chu, who is one of the members of the committee, described their dilemma when they adopt a venue lender strategy:

> Sometimes the fourth temporary exhibition gallery has become a space for venue hire. […] We take the hiring fee, and making a profit or not is your own business…For example, the *Mammoths* special exhibition…many people feel disappointed as they spent 250 NTD, waiting in a long line, but only saw an elephant. So we also reflect on this because people don't know this was organised by *United Daily News*. So we must weigh the pros and cons very carefully whether those themes are appropriate or not.

In terms of decision-making, the head of the Geology Department, Chun-Hsiung Chang, who is also a committee member, indicated that the review process is based on a directorial system so even if they have different stances, they should

all respect the mechanism. This reveals that there is a lack of consistent organisational belief among committee members in the matter of exhibition strategy.

> Strategy-wise, as we are a committee, it is relatively complicated. Some people think we should rather have no exhibition than have a poor quality exhibition there, while some argue it would be a waste if we leave the space empty […] I join the committee to review the proposals as it is a directorial system and we all vote to make a decision. So there is no specific direction.

Profit-making strategy

In terms of profit-making, a charged exhibition is a potential way for the museum to do so. For a long time, as the museum has charged an admission fee, most special exhibitions have not been additionally charged. In recent years, it can be seen that there has been an increasing tendency towards charged exhibitions at the NMNS. As associate curator Tak-Cheung Lau mentioned, "Overall, the NMNS has more and more charged exhibitions. In the past, we didn't have a charged exhibition every year, but now almost every large special exhibition we hold here is charged." Especially, the fourth temporary exhibition gallery set the tone as a gallery for charged exhibitions. For many curators, this act is against their will, but as the NMNS is facing financial difficulty, they have to do so. Many people also commented that it is also inevitable that the marketing and advertising budget all falls into those charged exhibitions. Some curators also feel disappointed that the resources are reallocated by the gallery scale so most of the budget goes to those charged exhibitions and less and less money and resources are being spent on other free exhibitions, as the exhibition budget is decreasing year by year.

Although charged exhibitions seem imperative for the NMNS' survival in a time of tightening resources, it should be noticed that there are negative effects on

the museum in terms of accessibility. This could be an obstacle to fulfilling the museum's social responsibility. As Gardner (2011: 289) reminds us in reflecting on the ethical side of budgeting and resource allocation, this is not just about resource allocation but we should think deeply about ethical obligations to the public we serve. He comments,

> Museum budgeting today is too frequently detached from the mission, lurching from project to project without providing the sustained support for the core activities for which we were established.

Indeed, if museums only seek to make profits and abandon their mission and values based on a non-profit ethos, how can a museum justify its social purpose in serving the public? Although resource and budget allocation may be constricted by the fiscal situation, the ethical obligations of museums should be put at the core of decision-making.

Nevertheless, the trend towards charged special exhibitions has been observed, and it seems that the museum is not at the 'do or die' stage to become purely profit-focused. Some curators have mentioned that they try to break even on each special exhibition instead of making a profit from it. A manager commented, "Because some curators don't have a concept of cost, it would be hard to recover the expenditure sometimes." This lack of the concept of cost might be another reason why the museum changed its exhibition strategy from self-curation to become a venue lender in order to reduce the expenditure. The following example may explain in detail the dilemma of becoming more financially driven.

A particular example was mentioned several times while I conducted the interviews, which caused concern and discussion among the museum staff. The special exhibition, *Alice's Game*, was curated by Universal Impression Co Ltd and

displayed at the NMNS. The museum played a role as a venue lender, charged a venue hire fee and also gained some percentage commission on tickets and merchandise profit from the borrower. Some staff commented that it is easy money for the museum to earn a large amount of income from a small amount of input.

The exhibition focused on elements of education, technology and entertainment. The whole exhibition tried to create a fairy-tale atmosphere. It was full of images representing *Alice in Wonderland* scenes and encouraged visitors to have their photographs taken with *Alice in Wonderland* characters (see Figure 4.4). The first section of the exhibition presented a text panel which briefly introduced the *Alice in Wonderland* writer and illustrator, Lewis Carroll and Sir John Tenniel. In addition, the exhibition included several *Alice in Wonderland* pictures and pop-up books displayed in separate glass cases (see Figure 4.5), but there was a slight issue in that some of the glass cases were just too high for young children.

The exhibition makers also adopted a 3D trick art element in the exhibition. This trick art approach has been widely used in many exhibitions and events in recent years as it is fun, entertaining and always attracts visitors' interest. In a room called Alice's Adventure House, it adopted the three-dimensional illusion technique with the story of *Alice in Wonderland*. The text panel showed, ''You can experience the magic transition of growing bigger or smaller by drinking a magic bottle and eating the cake", which links back to the original *Alice in Wonderland* story. It encouraged visitors to walk into the house and execute fun poses to create the three-dimensional illusions.

The last section of the exhibition was a motion-sensing games area, which was advertised as the wow factor, offering visitors the chance to experience Kinect motion-sensing technology (see Figure 4.6). Ironically, the games themselves

have no connection with the story of *Alice in Wonderland* and were just ready-made games in which you can find other cartoon characters.

This exhibition is problematic for many people in the museum who think that the exhibition is highly commercial and not much related to the museum's mission. Several curators expressed their concerns to me; for example, the head of the Geology Department, Chun-Hsiung Chang, said,

> Those exhibitions from the outside sector could bring negative effects to the museum — those very commercial exhibitions, such as the Robot, the Alien and the Alice (the interviewee referred to the names of those exhibitions), had high ticket prices and promotional product sales were everywhere.

For those people who visit exhibitions for leisure and fun with family and friends, this kind of exhibition may not be an issue. A manager who observed the visitors at this exhibition indicated their dilemma concerning this:

> From the users' perspective, the exhibition was not that bad — children love it but it is just not really fit for the NMNS as they think our museum is a space for education but those are just games. It's our dilemma because the outsiders come to rent a venue that can bring in net profit for us but it is hard to control the quality.

Despite the benefit of cooperating with curatorial companies, *Alice's Game* caused huge criticism of the NMNS not only from some visitors, but also from many staff internally. The director made a decision eventually that the larger-scale exhibitions should be curated by curators in the museum and the museum should avoid introducing those regarded as commercial exhibitions. As the current director of the museum, Wei-Hsin Sun, commented,

We are rejecting the type of hiring venue exhibitions because of those

exhibitions, like *Alice's Game* or the *Chocolate special exhibition,* have a

lack of scientific meaning. Although those exhibitions could bring in

visitors and income, most importantly we have to curate by ourselves

— that is our priority right now.

It seems very encouraging that the museum would like to draw a line with commercial exhibitions and involve itself deeply in curatorial work by their own curators. However, sometimes it is difficult to judge whether their own exhibitions are market-driven or not as they all have their own curatorial style. It can easily be argued that they have diverse special exhibitions around the museum but it could also be regarded as a lack of coherence.

Sometimes similar elements can be found, like 3D trick art and games, being used in their own curators' exhibitions. It seems that some curators also follow the market trend to use elements that other commercial exhibitions have tried and used. It is not surprising that some curators told me they are not really fond of some other curators' works as the exhibitions had a lack of scientific and educational meaning. An associate curator told me, "Like […] exhibition, it was full of games. Although there were considerable numbers of visitors coming, I think there was a lack of knowledge and discussion about the issue from a researcher perspective." This claim reflects that difference stances toward the exhibition are similar to those in the chapter mentioned earlier about the cross-departmental exhibition-making conflict.

Some curators emphasise the knowledge of the content, while some people think novelty and curiosity is the priority for making an exhibition. To some degree, the difference reflects how people think about museums. It is fair to say there is no perfect exhibition, as everyone could have their own interpretation

toward the objects and issues but it is interesting to see the dynamic between the curators and how personal values and beliefs can shift the exhibition practices in the museum so much.

4.5 The impact of Cultural and Creative Industries policy

In addition to special exhibition, there is a growing interest in developing museums' Cultural and Creative products in the museum field. The demand for cultural consumption, the success of the National Palace Museum and the impulsion of CCI policy have stimulated many museums in Taiwan to think about branding and product development. The current director of the NMNS is keen on developing marketing and branding for the museum. However, the organisation structure set up thirty years ago did not prepare to develop marketing. There was no marketing department or specialist for a long time and the only thing they do have is people in charge of media relation and advertising. When the external environment is constantly changing, a lack of knowledge and awareness about the importance of marketing has become a weakness of the NMNS.

The museum sector in Taiwan is showing increased interest in marketing. The Committee of Marketing and Public Relations in the Chinese Association of Museums is actively involved in participating in the activities of ICOM-MPR by holding a 2014 annual conference in Taipei which marked a highlight event. Also, some national museums have restructured their departments to add a marketing department[56]. Following this trend of valuing marketing in museums, the NMNS will only recruit a specialist in charge of everything related to marketing, advertising and product development. Yet, nevertheless, does this mean the NMNS is starting to value marketing considering this is an older organisation? A curatorial assistant told me,

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[56] The National Palace Museum announced the restructure of its organisation and the development of the Department of Marketing and Licensing in 2008, while the National Museum of History established its Creativity and Marketing Division in 2012.

I think so. There was no post for marketing and advertising in the beginning. But the current director of the museum realised this is very important, so he tried to restructure a position in marketing and advertising and CCI. This is all because he thinks highly of this work.

One of the obvious outcomes from CCI is product development. Although the museum is eager to develop museum CCI products for sale, there are foreseeable difficulties in the NMNS due to limited budget and expertise and the constraint of the Government Procurement Act. It has also been a difficult struggle for the museum which tried to license the image to develop products as the NMNS has not yet found their niche in this competitive cultural consumption market. For example, a manager describes the difficulties in developing the products, including a lack of uniqueness of collections compared to NPM, and a lack of capital to mass-produce products so that the pricing is not competitive in the market.

We have a lot of room for improvement. It is hard to succeed like NPM as their images are quite unique…but our museum is all about ecology; those images you can get from the natural environment. At the moment we only license the image for publication but not yet for the product development…The biggest difficulty is we couldn't afford to mass-produce so that the sale price isn't competitive enough.

The above difficulties of developing CCI products might be resolved by increasing budget. The main problem seems to lie in an inconsistent attitude toward marketing in the NMNS. There are conflicts, frustration and inconsistency across departments regarding marketing. The following example I encountered during my fieldwork may be able to reveal the problem. The marketing campaign for the *Birth of the Dinosaurs － Egg and Embryo Fossils from China special exhibition* launched on 27 January 2015. It includes the use of an app with AR (Augmented Reality) technology – the visitors can download an app on their smart phone and

use it to scan the QR codes on the floor around the NMNS so that dinosaurs will jump up virtually on the screen of the phone. Besides the use of VR (Virtual Reality) technology, there was a two-floor-high LED screen at the plaza of the museum entrance with dinosaurs on the screen; when people come into the special area of the plaza then their image will show on the screen (see Figure 4.7). The advertisement claims that people can interact with virtual dinosaurs to create a different museum visiting experience.

This campaign, initiated by the director of the museum, was an unexpected and evolving cooperative project between several sponsors. It looks a pretty impressive campaign with cutting-edge technology and an eye-catching big screen standing in the museum plaza. There is a lack of knowledge about public feedback about this campaign, but from what I observed during the fieldwork, there were many less positive comments toward the campaign from some museum staff. Some people think the campaign is a little bit shallow and lacks actual educational meaning and is just a showcase of the technology, while some people feel this is useless in terms of attracting people to visit the special exhibition.

This kind of lack of faith in marketing will never be the sole case. On the contrary, this reflects a lack of consensus toward marketing in the NMNS over a long period of time. A manager feels frustration that they did not get the support from other colleagues and said, "Some colleagues question why we didn't use some marketing channels, but they never know what difficulties we are facing in practice." But it is equally frustrating for someone who thinks that those people in charge of marketing misuse the concept and confuse it with advertisement, so it is not truly doing marketing for the NMNS. This comment also echoes two approaches to marketing within the museum literature: firstly, it regards marketing as a set of techniques or tools, such as advertising, public relations and promotional tools, with aims to attract visitors; secondly, it views marketing

as an overarching philosophy or orientation in shaping the museum's strategies and guiding the entire organisation (Sandell and Janes, 2007a: 292-3). However, the problem of the first approach is that it is relatively narrow and simplifies a concept of marketing which does not even focus on understanding visitors' needs and interests. As museum marketing scholar Fiona McLead reminds us, museum marketing is a process which helps museums to better achieve their purposes and build greater relationships with the public (McLean, 1997: 3).

In the above case, the marketing campaign is not built upon the basis of marketing strategy or market research. Instead, it is initiated by the museum director, which is a top-down approach. In addition, the marketing work is now centred on the Operation Section. The importance of marketing is not being raised to a higher level. There is also no cross-department team to take a holistic approach on marketing. Apparently, the NMNS has not reached a consensus on marketing. It seems that there is a lack of clear understanding towards the purpose of marketing and its value in the NMNS. This is always a disadvantage for the museum in building relationships with their stakeholders in this changing environment.

The future plan's logic

The cultural economy discourse dominated the government's policy logic by cutting museum budgets and encouraging them to develop CCI, which definitely has an impact on museum development strategies. For example, I had the chance to hear about the museum's future plan from the museum director during my fieldwork, which involves several phases of work. However, the ultimate plan is to construct a new building for the NMNS, which includes storage, exhibiting spaces, restaurants and parking space. Although it is not a solid plan and still seeking funding at the moment, this complex idea and way of imagining a new building for the museum are not convincing to many curators.

An assistant curator talked about how their proposal for a storage building has changed to a completely different plan:

> We really want a new collection storage building…we think if we keep asking, there might be a chance. Then we realised that they want to build on our green area. […] In a word, the garden will be ruined.[…] My thought is that I feel scared to express a wish to them now. Although they listen to your opinion at the beginning, they then evolve it by themselves.[…] They add many other ideas to it. It became a restaurant, parking space, and exhibiting space. On the second floor, they left space for storage but they never thought about how we can manage the storage by putting the restaurant and specimens together, if there is a fire.

Although the future plan has not yet actually been put into action, the parking space plan has been confirmed that is planning to build three levels of below-ground parking space, whereof the site has been decided in part of the green area of the museum garden. The plan to dig out some part of the lawn and move the trees caused huge criticism, both externally and internally, but contrarily, many staff argue the shortage of parking space is an important issue for the NMNS to solve. In Wei-Che Lo's interview, the Chief Secretary talked about this process and their plan for operation:

> Basement one will leave space for exhibition space and restaurants. We would like to outsource the parking and exhibition spaces for other businessmen to run.[…] We hope they can manage the spaces on their own and hopefully they can make some profits for us.

It can be seen that the logic behind the parking space plan and the future plan includes both the hope of attracting visitors and making profits. It seems the NMNS has slightly moved towards the market side. An associate curator gave an

account of how the decision makers might want to cater to the CCI policy so they came up with the business plan:

> The parking space plan — why dig out the lawn, and the logic with building the parking space and then they are planning a food court […] to combine with business from outside as it's easier to secure resources from outside. The government might think you're doing CCI so they will let you do it.

Anti-commercialism

It is worth mentioning that there is a strong sense of anti-commercialism among staff at the NMNS. Even under the pressure of budget cuts, many museum staff firmly believe that the museum is a place for learning and the museum should not overly pursue commercial benefit. As the senior curator, Hui-Chuan Chen explained,

> The biggest difference between our museum and others is we have many researchers in several academic fields. They also actively input to our exhibit and education programme…so that we won't step out of line to do commercial exhibitions.

This kind of resistance could be a pressure upon the museum moving toward the market but also could be a limitation to entrepreneurial innovation and practice. For example, a manager expressed the concerns and struggle in terms of venue hire:

> We are always tossing up between offering a bustling market and a quieter visiting environment for our visitors. These are two totally different policies. The former means we could invite many commercial activities and charge the hire fee. But personally I don't want the museum to become a market and I think it will cause a negative effect on the visitors.

This account seems honest, that the manager wants to draw a line with those commercial activities but I wonder if this would become overly conservative when the museum could have had a chance to try and find a balance between entrepreneurship and commercialism. Another curatorial assistant also mentioned the conservative culture in the NMNS:

My feeling is our museum is scared to earn money. Why we are not very keen on Cultural and Creative products, I think, part of the reason is they think we are a public sector so we shouldn't earn much money. I feel those administrators are scared to earn money.

It seems the conservative attitude has been deeply rooted in many staffs' minds for a long time and many people regard it as a disadvantage for the museum to develop an innovative agenda (Wang, 1999: 18; Wu, Lin and Yeh, 2007: 124). In fact, profit-making can be a beneficial process for museums if the income generation can be used to fund the non-profitable parts of museums. As Alexander (2007: 405) argues, to maintain a delicate balance between museums and the marketplace:

Museums must also preserve culture and heritage and cannot be diverted too much in the direction of entertainment…The arts, heritage, and knowledge must be valued as ends in themselves, not as numbers on an accountant's computer. Museums must succumb to the inevitable, in moving toward a more business-like model for their operations and revenue, without losing sight of conservation and connoisseurship.

To find the balance in this, I argue that the leadership should play an important role in not only convincing the conservative element of people to believe that change would be beneficial for the museum, but also making sure that profit-seeking will not derail them from their original missions. Meanwhile, exercising

leadership should ensure that decision making is based on organisational core values.

4.6 Conclusion

The governmental budget cuts, policy toward developing the cultural economy and the cultural consumption demand of the public have forced museums to think about the market in order to survive. It is inevitable for the whole museum ecology to adjust its priority to become more market-like in thinking and practice. Although there is an expectation from the government about moving toward market-driven ideologies, we can see from this chapter that there are various forces leading to negotiation around the market-driven ideologies in the complex museum organisation.

The convergence between museums and the marketplace, on the one hand, does indeed bring in new opportunities to the museum sector — cooperation with private sectors and attracting new audiences as the change to a leisure and tourism function meets the public expectation. On the other hand, it also causes challenges to the museum as this might derail museums from their mission and values and those royal audiences of the museum might not agree with museums seeking a profit-making strategy either.

In the process of negotiating different interests, attitudes and values in museums, the power dynamics can be observed from the following levels. The positional power is exercised by the director of the museum who has the power to decide the priorities and strategies for the museum. The decision-making process is top-down and there is a lack of wider consultation and discussion within the museum. Meanwhile, there is the structural power in different departments competing with each other. Specifically, it is often revealed in the cross-department exhibition-making process. These two forms of power are

expected; cultural power is usually less obvious but embedded deeply in the museum. Cultural power can be sensed when there are some distinct working models and approaches existing in the museums at the same time, because there is a kind of norm and culture that the person in charge of the project has the power to decide the direction and method of the project. Being in favour of this kind of individualism in an organisational working place is detrimental to cooperation. In the case of the NMNS, there is a sense of lack of coherence and consistency in sponsorship and exhibition style. It also leads to conflict and lack of direction among museum staff.

Hence, leadership and people in the museum play an incredible role at NMNS as people can really come up with different strategies to rethink the market, either to resist or to embrace it. But when the decision-making process is undertaken by individuals rather than by a form of collective process, there is always the danger that personal values and belief might affect judgment. There is a sense of lack of strong leadership at the NMNS. I argue that leadership should be exercised more distributively so as to create a space for discussion of museum visions and values; that people can come up with strategies as a whole rather than decide as individuals. Therefore, museums can better equip themselves with a cohesive approach based on their organisational values in the face of marketplace ideology and financial difficulty.

We can see that museum exhibition policy and practices have been changed subtly by negotiating with the tendency of moving towards the marketplace. It can be seen from the beginning that the museum did not prepare to have many special and blockbuster exhibitions both space-wise and management-wise. Since the NMNS needs visitor numbers, they became very keen on holding blockbusters. It can be seen the NMNS was struggling with the market forces and seems to have lost its way a bit. They even changed their exhibit space in order to accommodate more and larger exhibitions but they have also learnt their

lesson that there are many negative effects caused by cooperating with private sectors as a venue lender. It means the museum loses its autonomy and control over the content of the exhibition-making. The private company's mission is usually inconsistent with the museum's mission. These all put the museum in a vulnerable position.

Now we can see that the museum has shifted its policy again towards developing exhibitions through the deep involvement of their curators and being more cautious about cooperation with private sectors. But meanwhile, it can be seen that the NMNS moves toward developing charged exhibitions and inputs more resources and budget to those exhibitions. This may raise ethical concerns as the strategy goes against the social purpose of museums. In terms of curatorial style and approach, there is an inconsistency among in-house curators' attitude toward exhibition. Some people tend to think in a more market-orientated way, while some people are firmly against commercialism. Overall, this shifting of special exhibition policies reveals the museum's reality to us. Despite a strong push by the government for turning towards the market, people in the museum sector are continually negotiating different market forces to change.

In fact, the lack of consensus and cohesion is not only happening in creating exhibitions, but can also be seen in matters such as sponsorship, marketing, CCI product and construction plans, which could become a disadvantage for the museum in facing the challenge from the market. Indeed, the conservative portion of people can prevent the NMNS from being overly commercially driven, but sometimes the museum needs to have the confidence to navigate through the market forces rather than just reject every possibility. Indeed, it is important for museums to be able to negotiate with market forces instead of being driven by the market.

In the next chapter, I will turn the focus on social force to change. I will investigate the ways in which the NMNS' response to international museum studies calls for social engagement, and explore the role of the NMNS in society by revealing different attitudes, values and beliefs among museum staff and managers.

Figure 4.1: The entrance of Semiconductor's World gallery.

Photograph, Wen-Ling Lin.

Figure 4.2: The entrance of DaDa's Magic Land gallery.

Photograph, Wen-Ling Lin.

Figure 4.3: The display at DaDa's Magic Land gallery.

Photograph, Wen-Ling Lin.

Figure 4.4: The display at *Alice's Game* exhibition.

Photo credit: Universal Impression Co Ltd. (Official website: http://www.u-impression.com/exhibition_page.asp?seq=18)

Image removed due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 4.5: The display at *Alice's Game* exhibition.

Photo credit: Universal Impression Co Ltd. (Official website: http://www.u-impression.com/exhibition_page.asp?seq=18)

Image removed due to copyright restrictions.
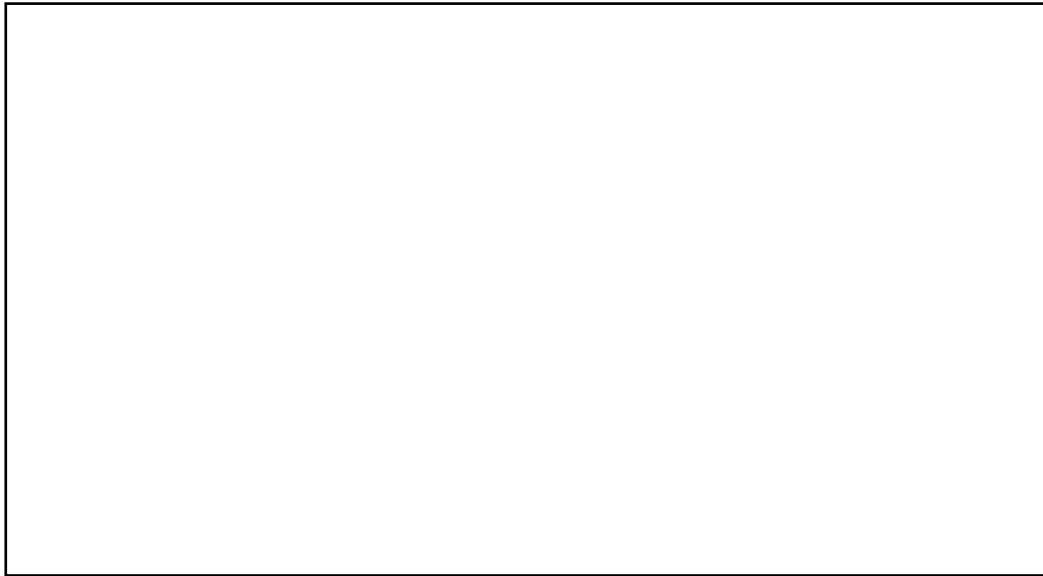
Figure 4.6: The motion-sensing games at *Alice's Game* exhibition.
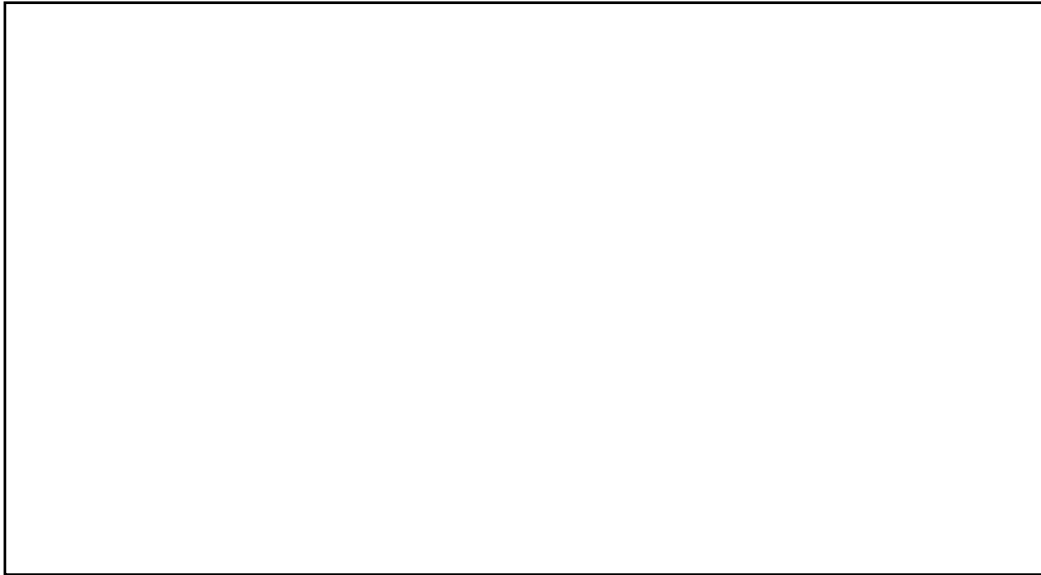
Photo credit: Universal Impression Co Ltd. (Official website: http://www.u-impression.com/exhibition_page.asp?seq=18)

Image removed due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 4.7: The marketing campaign for the *Birth of the Dinosaurs － Egg and Embryo Fossils from China* special exhibition.

Photograph, Wen-Ling Lin.

Chapter 5 Exploring museums' social role

5.1 Introduction

Chapter 4 has analysed the influence and impact of the dominant economic rationale on the NMNS. This chapter will turn attention to the social role of museums in Taiwan. Although many authors have emphasised the relevance of museums to society, there is a lack of consensus about approaches and to what extent museums engage with society.

For example, there is an increasingly forceful demand for museums to commit to social responsibilities. This force emerged from the cutting-edge call for museums to be a catalyst of combatting social inequality and a site of moral activism (Sandell and Nightingale, 2012; Sandell, 2002b), which is influencing museums' social engagement practices around the world. Although the appeal for museums to serve a social purpose and commit to social responsibility is not a new one, it remains contentious whether this should be museums' main priority. Evidence from many empirical studies also shows that it still takes time for museums to fully embrace the idea and paradigmatic shifts in thinking and practice.

As mentioned in an earlier chapter, the NMNS plays a leading role in museum studies progress in Taiwan. This chapter discusses what kind of social role the NMNS has been playing in Taiwan and how the NMNS has responded to the call for social responsibility commitment. This chapter is divided into three parts. Firstly, I investigate why the educational role has been regarded as a main social role for the NMNS and explore how the educational role has changed and is

changing in Taiwanese contemporary society. I also seek to understand how the NMNS responds to social change through their educational role. In the second and third parts, I purposely choose two exhibitions – a historical and a present exhibition – as my analysis cases in order to understand the challenges and complexity in the process of engaging with controversial social issues through exhibitionary practice. I then seek to understand what different stances within the museum staff and managers can potentially encourage or resist the museum's commitment to social engagement by revealing the tensions and dynamics of exhibition-making practice.

5.2 The changing educational role

The importance of museums as educational institutions has been well recognised in Taiwan (Lin, 2006). To fulfil the museum's educational function on science education has also been the NMNS's mission. As it stated:

> In the area of education, the museum's missions are to raise public knowledge of science, cultivate reasoning and independent thinking and encourage people's curiosity about natural phenomena. With widespread knowledge of science, Taiwan will be able to close the gap with advanced countries[57].

Tracing back to the birth of the NMNS, there was an encouraging advocacy on the part of intellectuals calling for the building of a science museum, with phrases such as "we should enhance people's science literacy in order to advance economic development" and "science museum is the milestone of Western modern civilization so it is necessary to set it up"(Han, 2012: 120). The attitude towards science, in some degree, represented a sense of development,

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[57] The NMNS website,
http://web2.nmns.edu.tw/Archive/nmns_2012/nmns_eng/01about/attach/missions.pdf
(Accessed: 14 December 2015)

prosperity and Westernisation at that time in Taiwanese society (and might still be doing so at present). It is inevitable that a science museum has unsurprisingly taken responsibility for cultivating and civilising the public's scientific literacy in Taiwan.

The NMNS has demonstrated abundant good practices in their educational role, from serving as a supporter for formal education to offering a series of programming to the public, which has helped the museum to build its reputation and become popular with school visitors over past decades. The interviews with many staff all show a deep belief that the social education role is the role the NMNS should play.

The educational purpose is deeply linked with the museum's exhibit and collecting purposes – many people firmly believe the ultimate goal of exhibits and collecting is for educating the public about science and natural history. It is clear to see that there is a strong justification for education which means things are easier to justify in the name of education. As Hooper-Greenhill (2007: 3) commented, "Education and learning have been prioritised in museums, but there is no single view of what this might mean." When I conducted my fieldwork, I had a sense that education has been regarded as a vital element for the NMNS but it seems that there are different opinions toward educational approaches. These different approaches seem to be all implemented in the NMNS at the same time. In other words, there is no coherent educational philosophy that pulls all the different perceptions together.

For example, some people emphasise knowledge-based learning. As a curator said, the NMNS should be acting as a knowledge palace which presents the newest scientific knowledge to the public; on the other hand, some people think that how to interpret knowledge is more important than delivering knowledge.

As a front-line staffer described, "We are now learning to not only deliver scientific fact, but also, most importantly, to interpret the meaning behind the fact." Nevertheless, it can be seen there is an overall shift from a teacher-centred approach that situated the museum in an active role while the visitors took a more passive role in learning, to an individual-learning pedagogy that encourages visitors to explore and self-learn in the museum.

Many staff admitted the museum pedagogy in the past tended to focus on declarative and textbook-like knowledge, but they have continually changed and adjusted the way of communicating with visitors as the visitors' attitude towards learning is changing too. An assistant curator thought that in the past they were more like an instructor who focused on teaching but now the museum should at least serve as an inspiration for their visitors. Another front-line educator also explained that they tended to tell visitors a fact which is more like a one-way method of communicating the knowledge to visitors. The museum guide used to remember everything in their script and deliver it with clear articulation. But nowadays, they emphasise more their own interpretation of the objects and exhibits and two-way communication with the audience.

Furthermore, a manager points out that they are working on mobile learning to offer visitors the opportunity for learning online through a 'game for learning' approach. Their goal is to apply technology to combine the online and on-site learning experiences with the aim of constructing the visitors' pre-visit, on-site visit, and post-visit learning behaviour model. These examples all reflect a broader shift in museum communication and education from a didactic to a constructivist approach that has been widely discussed in the museum studies literature and in the Taiwanese science education field as well.

Besides, as the NMNS is an affiliated institution of the Ministry of Education in the Taiwanese museum governance system, the museum is assigned with the task of implementation of national education reform[58]. For example, in response to national education reform policy, the NMNS, along with four other science and technology type museums in Taiwan, launched the programme of the Science Learning Centre. The centre is designed for sciences teachers in the formal education system with the aim of offering museum resources and teaching materials to develop their teaching approaches, pedagogy and subject knowledge in order to provide the best education available. In a more specific approach, the educators have to equip for the ability to develop lesson plans for junior high school courses and offer training for the teachers to learn how to use those lesson plans and museum learning resources.

During my fieldwork, I participated in the training for junior high school teachers to observe how the museum implements the programme and also to see how the participants were involved in it. This new approach seems to be gaining much positive feedback from the teachers and increasing the cooperation between schools and the museum. Although the NMNS has been actively involved in the formal education system by offering a diverse education service, there is a lack of overall strategy towards the practices. The establishment of the Science Learning Centre can enable a strategic and systematic approach towards cooperation between the museum and schools, and fulfil its mission in educational reform policy.

In terms of exhibitionary approach, the curators have gradually renounced their authority in scientific knowledge towards a more open dialogue with the audience. Some curators have shifted their curatorial practice towards a more

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[58] The primary national education reform is to extend the 9 years compulsory education to 12 years with aims of developing equitable access to higher education and alleviating the pressure of study.

experiential, participatory and illuminating approach. For example, exhibition curator, Hui-Chuan Chen, described her curatorial philosophy as having more focus on letting the audience have fun. Specifically, they are endeavouring to seek things that make scientific knowledge become fun and interesting. Chen also explained that they used to think their target audience was junior high school students but she thinks their target audience should be a family audience, as she said, "The most significant difference of my exhibition is to make interactive and participatory exhibits, especially employing interpretive devices and offering hands-on opportunity for two people playing together."

Although this is very encouraging to see some people in the NMNS start shifting the museum pedagogy to become more constructive, it seems that most of the exhibitions and educational programmes are designed for a mainstream audience. In terms of fulfilling the museum's social education role, I then explore how the NMNS considers their accessibility to minority groups.

Towards socially engaged work?

The Science Education department has been launching a lot of projects to include demographic minorities in the museum. A front-line staffer told me that they are doing those projects for disabled, disadvantaged, elderly people and new immigrants in order to respond to the social trend and awareness toward caring about those particular groups' needs. They think the museum did not really consider those people in the past but rather mainly focused on school visits.

Although the Science Education department has started engaging those communities previously excluded from the museum, the staffer also admitted that, "It seems we did everything but we did not go further and deeper." For example, those particular projects for disabled people are mostly limited to

school students and there are no regular educational activities for disabled groups. This means that when disabled people need a tour guide in the NMNS, they should make a reservation beforehand (Chen and Chang, 2012: 102). Also, a curatorial assistant clearly points out that social engagement work is not their main priority. Most of their budget and manpower have been used on the formal education system which involves working closely with schools and offering museum resources and teaching materials for formal education and students' learning.

It is not surprising to know that the NMNS has a long history of engaging with the formal education system. The connection with schools has been built since the NMNS opened to the public. Many programmes have become routine for the staff. This means that some of the staff just continually carry on their work with a student audience. There is no need to echo social change and change the way of working and thinking fundamentally.

But why are the school visitors so important to the NMNS, which seems an unchangeable priority? There was an honest comment made by a curatorial assistant as this has been partly because of the nature of the NMNS as a subdivision of the Ministry of Education. It has been taken for granted to fulfil an educational function and be an ancillary resource for formal education. It is interesting to note that the curatorial assistant thinks the NMNS fulfils more educational responsibilities than other national museums which are subdivisions of the Ministry of Culture. Besides, it is partly because the NMNS needs attendance. That is to say, the school visits can always bring in more audience than social engagement projects. The logic sounds like instrumentalism but it reflects the reality of the high attendance- driven performance evaluation that I have discussed in the last chapter.

Indeed, to develop new ways of engaging with wider visitors needs policy intervention, manager support, and personal values and belief all together towards increasing museums' accessibility to those underrepresented demographic profiles. During my fieldwork at the NMNS, I had a sense that the social engagement work might not be implemented in a systematic way at the NMNS – there is no clear policy or strategy for it and the social engagement work is concentrated on a few people's responsibilities.

It is more like it is out of personal belief in this work; for example, some staff told me that it is because they think this is 'the right thing to do and worth doing'. It also shows some staff are influenced by international museum studies discourse so they have realised that museums should care for those particular groups' needs and have an enthusiasm to develop those social engagement projects at the NMNS. For instance, the Naturalist Centre team has been working with some special schools for a long time. Through special activities designed for both general and disabled students working together, they have gained high recognition from those partners.

Although the NMNS has started to notice disabled people's needs and to offer exclusive services and activities, all the awareness has not been brought up to the whole organisational level to consider. This may be because the governmental policy has not put an emphasis on museums' social engagement for a long time and it may be partly because the museum itself did not realise its potential in social engagement work. As Sandell (2002a: 4) indicates that museums can deliver wider-ranging outcomes in combating social inequality, his framework for museums and the combating of social inequality might be worth considering.

> The framework suggests that museums can impact positively on the lives of disadvantaged or marginalised individuals, act as a catalyst for social

regeneration and as a vehicle for empowerment with specific communities and also contribute towards the creation of more equitable societies.

Meanwhile, the increasing policy trend towards social inclusion has started to direct museum practice in Taiwan. For example, the NMNS signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with the National Immigration agency in order to develop a further partnership for encouraging immigrants to blend into society[59]. It seems a great start for the NMNS in tackling the issue of immigration. Planned projects include science education activities for new immigrants, developing exhibitions and training immigrants as volunteers to offer more available language guides.

Although the further impact of the MOU is still under review as it was just launched in November 2015, I have been able to investigate some issues about their present projects for new immigrants during my fieldwork in the beginning of 2015. The most foundational issue is the lack of a strong purpose in developing the immigrant programme. It seems that it is out of a few individuals' interests and enthusiasm, combined with the opportunity of the relevant new immigrant agenda. The purpose of responding to the agenda did not align with the whole museum's mission. It is hard to convince other departments and staff that the new immigrant agenda is meaningful, timely and important. This results in the responsibility only falling to one department and a few people's shoulders.

Apart from that, even if the NMNS launched the immigrant programme, it seems that they did not take it further to reflect their work and curatorial practices. For example, one interviewee thinks that their immigrant programme did not meet

[5959] CNA (2015) Available at:
http://www.cna.com.tw/postwrite/Detail/183296.aspx#.VpPOzFnftLN (Accessed: 10 December 2015).

expectation and has a lot of room to improve as it is more like colonialism to "promote culture – getting them to know us – instead of providing a dialogue between both sides." This critic reminds us that exclusion might exist in inclusive work, although the original intention is good. Dawson (2014: 1004-05) argues that exclusive practices have been embedded in those informal science education (ISE) institutions and reinforced to those whom have already been excluded from museums. Dawson's (2014) research gives us an insight into science museum visit experiences of people from low-income, minority ethnic groups. She points out how those groups of people encounter language barriers, inaccessible learning opportunities and unwelcome feelings in ISE institution visits, which reinforces the idea of being excluded. She then suggests "that understanding experiences of difference, discomfort, and inaccessibility are crucial for creating more inclusive ISE practice" (Dawson, 2014: 984).

Indeed, as socially engaged work always involves complicated issues and minority groups of people in society, museums should be more careful and mindful in designing social engagement programmes. This needs extra training for museum staff and to include partnership with those communities. This work in museums can not only rely on a few people's responsibility. The key to success in socially engaged work is the whole museum having the same belief about its value and all involved in the practice. There is a danger if museums overly simplify the programme for particular groups of people. It could cause short-term and project-based thinking. To create more inclusive science learning opportunities, it needs not only to offer services and programmes but also to have a more self-conscious, deep and reflective approach. It also needs to think more deeply about whether only playing an educational role is good enough for the museum to respond to changing social expectations. I found that very few people in the museum would think of the museum as an agent of progressive social change for many different reasons. The two following back stories regarding exhibition-making could help to exemplify the tensions and conflicts when attempting to engage with controversy at the NMNS.

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5.3 Facing curatorial conflict -- *Wounds of Natural History – Black-faced Spoonbill* special exhibition

My analysis of the following exhibitions aims to point out the different values and beliefs which existed at the NMNS when the exhibitions were intended to take a political stance in engagement with social issues. The historical exhibition created 23 years ago, mentioned by many staff, triggered my interest as an associated curator even referred to the exhibition as the very first attempt by a museum to respond to and engage with the sensitive social issues in Taiwan. Although some people involved in the exhibition making are no longer working at the NMNS and their account cannot be acquired, some interviews and documents can still offer us an insight into the disputes in the curatorial process.

In January 1993, the special exhibition *Wounds of Natural History – Black-faced Spoonbill* was mounted. The striking feature of this exhibition was to display a wounded black-faced spoonbill taxidermy laid in a bloody sand beach in order to evoke the concern of endangered species. The exhibition purposely used this progressive approach to try to raise public awareness of the issue of excessive exploitation of the natural environment and the issues of conservation of biodiversity.

The motivation for this exhibition came from a social incident at that time – four black-faced spoonbills were shot by hunters while they migrated to Taiwan over the winter – involving a complex contradiction between ecological preservation and economic development[60]. The incident not only aroused huge media and public attention, but also evoked museum people's concern and sense of responsibility. An ornithologist at the NMNS proposed this exhibition to echo the

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[60] The location of the gunshot incident was in the Zengwun Estuary Wetland where endangered black-faced spoonbills always migrate to over the winter every year. The local government intended to capitalise on the area for industrial development. The plan caused a huge controversy and became a media event at that time.

tragedy and soon gained approval from the museum director – it was the first time that the NMNS formed a timely exhibition (in less than one month) in response to a social issue.

Before this exhibition, there were a few special exhibitions held at the NMNS and most of them were focused on knowledge elaboration and aesthetics appreciation (Chou, 1993: 64). As the collaborative development model for exhibitions was quite new for staff in the early stage of the NMNS, this was a learning process for them to work as a team. The cross-department team included curators and designers in the Exhibition Department responsible for exhibition design, curators in the Animals Division responsible for label and text writing, and curators and staff in the Science Educational Department in charge of exhibits making and programming. Although the exhibition team seems comprehensive with diverse talents, it is interesting to note that there was still an unbalanced power among the team members; the educators especially felt they were not fully consulted through the planning and discussion process, and were only informed of the resolution of the exhibition (Wang, 1993: 84).

The aim of the exhibition seems to fit well in the context of a natural history museum. The vice museum director, Wen-Hao Chou, told me that the earlier museum report mentioned that the NMNS should intervene in social issues regarding the natural environment. Although it is not written in their mission statement, there is a sense of mission in encouraging biodiversity conservation in many people's minds.

In the process of producing this exhibition, however, there was a polarisation around the degree of intervention. What should be the predominant message of the exhibition? On the one hand, some people in the team argued the exhibition should emphasise the importance of biodiversity conservation (Yan, 1993: 72).

As the media reported this tragedy, having heavily evoked the public's sympathy, the role of the museum was to offer knowledge elaboration for the public to know more about this endangered creature. This is regarded as a traditional scholarly approach in which exhibitions are "designed to transmit expert information to a lay public" (Lee, 2007: 184). Besides, some people also stated that the preservation issue implied controversy about a complex industrial area development plan. They were worried that if the museum went beyond the stance of a social education institution, it could be involved in conflict. They argued then that the aims of the exhibition should be constructive at a peaceful and knowledgeable level (Chou, 1993: 64).

On the other hand, other people argued the exhibition should use a thought-provoking approach and a strong appeal to evoke much discussion around natural conservation. Hence, the exhibition should focus on the gunshot incident and industrial development controversy. The NMNS should take a stance on care for natural history development to defend the animal rights of the black-faced spoonbill. The biological knowledge is necessary but it is not the priority. The chief curator in this exhibition, Wen-Hao Chou, indicated: "In a word, it is a difference about education. They think just to feed you knowledge will be enough, while I argue the thinking level can be broader."

The fundamental difference reflects on whether museums can and should assert the stance of value neutrality. The ideal of being objective and rational in science has dominated the practice of scientific research for centuries. As Kincaid et al. (2007: 4) indicate in the argument of value-free science,

> Scientific claims are true or false and depend on evidence independent of anyone's moral or political views, and though the correct application of moral or political values may depend on what the facts are, the appropriateness of such values is a matter quite independent of facts

about the world. The job of science is to tell us the facts. Moral and political decisions, on the other hand, are matters of values and preferences. The two domains are autonomous.

However, such a claim has been challenged and debated in philosophy, history, and social studies of science (Kincaid, Dupré and Wylie, 2007: 3). In the museum field, for example, science displays have been questioned as to whether they can ever have value neutrality as Macdonald (1998: 1) states,

> The science displays are never, and have never been, just representations of incontestable facts. They always involve the culturally, socially and politically saturated business of negotiation and value-judgment; and they always have cultural, social and political implications.

Disputes in engagement with controversy are typically discussed from two different stances during the exhibition-making process. Some researchers claim that they should retain objectivity and think the best method of display is to showcase the 'pure science' outcome. An educator also states the museum should avoid any judgemental stance and insist on delivering naturalised scientific knowledge in order not to confuse the museum's educational role (Wang, 1993: 86). On the contrary, the chief curator, Wen-Hao Chou argues that the science is never to be neutral and should abandon the stance of value neutrality (Chou, 1993: 67). The associate curator Hsu Huang also argues that exhibit design is never to be neutral. Even more, he warns that if the curators relinquish their judgements and ideologies in exhibit design, as a consequence, the design technique will become anyone's tool of manipulation (Huang, 1993: 75).

We can see that the divergent stances do not come from the disciplinary or departmental difference. It results from different professional and personal values which underpin opinions and perspectives. More specifically, those different professional and personal values reflect on the interpretation and display of the exhibition – the argument about how to display the taxidermy and the colour of the sand beach.

A curator at the biology department thought the taxidermy should be displayed in a standing position as if still alive and well. In this way, it would show their unique nature and elegant body shape so that the public would appreciate them more (Yan, 1993: 73). Although this has been a conventional way to display a taxidermy in many natural history museums, other team members had a different idea about the display. The first curator argued that to display a wounded and lying taxidermy fits more with the exhibition appeal. Hsu Huang, another exhibition curator, proposed a space design to portray a sense of 'partners in crime'. In his design, several stainless steel funnels surrounded the 'bird carcass'. When people came closer to see the bird, the stainless steel funnel would reflect people's image. The purpose was for the participant to become part of the display. The bird carcass, industrial funnel and reflective self-image were intentionally displayed together to create a space inviting the audience to self-reflect (Huang, 1993: 76) (see Figure 5.1). As Huang explains,

> This detective novel-like interrogative sentence – "Who killed the black-faced spoonbill?" The clue, offered by the central display area, does not point to the hunter who pulled the trigger. It wants to prove that the story behind this gun-shot incident is 'partners in crime' in which even conservationists find it hard not to get involved by a strong economic development logic (1993: 76).

Besides, dispute around the colour of the sand beach also reflected misaligned values within the team. The design of a red sand beach was not only to show the brutality of humanity but also to light up the colour tone of the whole gallery (Chou, 1993: 66). But the design idea did not resonate with every team member. A curator believed the red sand beach was misleading and inaccurate as the habitat of the black-faced spoonbill is in the intertidal zone with a more grey-like colour tone. For the curator, aesthetic appeal impeded the presentation of truth, which goes against the principle of the NMNS to deliver true science knowledge (Yan, 1993: 73). Some educators thought the bloody sand beach was way too provocative and were afraid it would scare away children. They argued that the sand beach should be painted like its original nature colour and only show a bit of red under the bird as it could win approval and lead the audience to appreciate nature (Wang, 1993: 86).

Within one month of the exhibition-creating process, those disunited opinions had to be compromised due to the time restriction. A curator mentioned that the different interpretive perspectives were not well integrated but rather spoke independently in the exhibition. Consequently, the exhibition lacked a strong perspective and might not have been convincing enough (Huang, 1993: 78). In some degree, this comment reflects the complexity of dealing with controversial issues in interior museum communication.

Meanwhile, how did the media and the public perceive and respond to this exhibition? Although the exhibition was small-scale and only exhibited for two months, it still impressively attracted over 100 thousand visits. During the exhibition, the educators undertook a visitor questionnaire to find out what visitors' perceptions and values were with regard to the exhibit. Although the questionnaire was quite short and simple, it could still offer us an insight into the overall impressions of visitors to the exhibition. For example, regarding the controversial sand beach, it is interesting to know that visitors were quite

impressed by the red sand beach. Some people found it very 'eye-catching', while some understood that the black-faced spoonbill was laying on it and had sympathy with it (Wang, 1993: 88). Also, it seems the visitors did not regard the exhibition as overly controversial. The visitor research shows that the exhibition successfully highlighted 'wounds of natural history' and the importance of wildlife conservation (Wang, 1993: 88-9).

If anything made the museum feel a bit unsettled, it might probably be the question about the NMNS's stance by journalists. The chief curator, Wen-Hao Chou, recalled the scene after the press conference, and said, "Facing the questions by journalists, I am running out of words and I don't know why."

> A group of the journalists were questioning me, "your tone of design is really obvious with a strong critical intention. Why is the museum director Han being so indiscreet?" I just answered, "An exhibit design could have many different interpretations. If you think it is critical, it is. But we don't have the intention to get involved in controversy. We just call for public attention to heal the wounds of natural history, don't we?"

Despite the sharp questioning by journalists and concerns by some staff, the exhibition did not lead to any criticism in the media. Should this experience give the museum reassurance and confidence to get involved in social issues? In fact, the exhibitions which engage with controversy are really exceptional at the NMNS, although many staff have a sense of mission to encourage biodiversity conservation and would always emphasise the concept of biodiversity in exhibitions. The vice museum director, Wen-Hao Chou, commented,

> It is rare to see critical thinking-led exhibitions in Taiwan. From Black-faced Spoonbill to South Wind, you can see that there is only those same people thinking about and designing exhibition in this way.

Indeed, in terms of curatorial practice in social engagement, it is all from the same group of people. In the museum organisation, to decide to curate what exhibit topics is strongly related to the curators' personal background. Due to lack of a clear policy on social engagement, the initiative always comes from personal levels. Besides, there are some practical factors in deciding whether the exhibition is appropriate to engage with social issues. For example, it also relates to whether curators get an appropriate topic and potential material linking to social issues, whether all members of the curatorial team agree with the direction, whether people have the ability to touch upon the issues, and whether the time of preparation is long enough. Besides, on the organisational level, an assistant curator pointed out that they are still within a framework of mainstream value in delivering ideas.

> You could say the group of museum people are upper-middle class. We just hope we have a stable life and we are not really willing to fight for what is right. In this circumstance, our displays and discussed topics are very mild. We don't really want to reform. We just settle into a framework of mainstream value with a role of a government institution.

5.4 Engaging with controversy – *When the South Wind Blows – the Documentary Photography of Taixi Village* special exhibition

It took over 21 years to have another special exhibition which comprehensively worked on and touched upon social issues. The special exhibition – *When the South Wind Blows – the Documentary Photography of Taixi Village* was opened to the public in December 2014. It was a few days after my fieldwork started. I had the chance to find out more about why many staff described this exhibition as an 'unusual' one. I explored the stories behind the exhibition and tried to understand what disputes and tensions could form during the exhibition-making process, and how different values and beliefs might be encountered during inner museum communication.

The South Wind exhibition was an opportunity to touch on the issue of social justice. The exhibition tells stories about the social issues and environmental damage a remote coast village is facing through documentary photographs and text by two photographers, Sheng-Hsiung Chung and Cheng-Tang Hsu (see Figure 5.2).

Strictly speaking, the exhibition was not proposed on museum staff's own initiative. The curator Wen-San Huang was approached by Chun-Yu Cultural and Educational Foundation to seek the possibility of a photography exhibition displayed in the NMNS through partnership together. In order to make the case stronger to be approved by the expertise development committee, the curator Wen-San Huang approached other curators in the museum. Hsu Huang, then becoming the chief curator for the exhibition, explained the process to go through the committee,

> I never thought this exhibition could come here as the topic is quiet sensitive for the NMNS. I don't think the case would have been approved if I had proposed it by myself but I had Wen-San Huang as the chief of the biology department and Tak-Cheung Lau as the chief of the science education department on board to support and I thought there was a great chance to pass…

He also explained that some members of the committee were concerned about the topic and the exhibition proposal[61] but as the key person supported the case, the proposal was not rejected.

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[61] The concerns were also triggered by some news regarding a libel lawsuit case. A university professor Ben-Jei Tsuang was sued by a petrochemical company, Formosa Plastic Group, as he presented evidence of increased cancer rates in residents living near the Sixth Naphtha Cracking Plant and published the research result publicly. The lawsuit action received a heavy reprimand by many scholars and was also reported by both international journals *Nature* and *Science*. Although the court rejected the case, the exhibition committee still raised their concerns.

There were still very conservative opinions from the feedback of the committee, including the high sensitivity of the issue and worries of being involved in controversy. I was planning to put Professor Ben-Jei Tsuang in as a consultant for the exhibition but they didn't agree. As you can see there are still many different opinions about whether the museum should engage with social issues. But nevertheless, they didn't directly reject it as the vice museum director Chou was the chair of the committee being supportive for this case.

If this was a general photography exhibition, it might not be regarded as a controversy. What is controversial about the exhibition is the text and images revealing the environmental damage and health risks and accusing the Sixth Naphtha Cracking Plant of being a perpetrator.

As the exhibition introduction states:

Taixi Village is in Dacheng Township, Changhua County.
To the south is Mailiao Township, Yunlin County, the location of the Sixth Naphtha Cracking Plant, on the opposite side of the Zhuoshui River estuary.
In fall and winter, the northeast monsoon winds blow the pollution from the factory southward.
In summer, the south wind carries the pollution to Taixi Village.
"When the south wind blows" was the key phrase used by all of the residents of Taixi Village who were interviewed.
It is the opening line to their real-life stories.

Besides, the curator Hsu Huang thought the traditional photography exhibition focuses more on the photographer, the interpreter, while the people being shot never have any opportunity to speak out. With the ideal of letting the local residents' voice be heard in this exhibition, he came up with the idea of a theatre workshop through which the residents could express their own opinion by

performing a play. His initial concept was to invite those residents to come over to the museum every weekend to guide this exhibition and perform the play as well. But the plan has been asked to be amended as some members of the committee think it would cause too much trouble. To take the feedback on board, the team filmed and edited the whole process of the workshop into a 20-minute film showing in the exhibition as an alternative.

The curator thought it would be a great idea if the residents could perform the play during the exhibition opening. Surprisingly, it resulted in conflict and tension between the museum director and the exhibition curator. The play was collectively created and prepared for almost half a year by the Assignment Theatre Group and some Taixi villagers, through various performance forms – conversation, movement, folk song singing, and dancing, together telling the stories about their life in Taixi Village and the change after the cracking plant was built across the river. The play was performed by eight villagers and one professional actor (her role represents the painfulness and sadness by performing a piece of modern dance in the last part of the play) that explores the personal accounts of country life before and after the Sixth Naphtha Cracking Plant was located.

Around one week before the opening, the curator Hsu Huang had a meeting with the museum director. The meeting was supposed to be a briefing about the exhibition and inviting the museum director Sun to give a speech at the opening. According to Hsu Huang, the meeting did not go well as the museum director had a different opinion towards the exhibition and the residents' play performance. It was a communication breakdown between the curator Hsu Huang and the museum director – the curator thought the exhibition might not be opened if he did not cancel the play at the opening, while the museum director thought the play was presented by professional actors and was concerned the performance would cause anti-government implications. To

cancel the opening performance aroused strong discontent in related groups, so another exhibition curator Wen-San Huang tried to mediate between the disputants by persuading the museum director to agree to the performance taking place as planned (see Figure 5.3 and 5.4).

In this case, the curator and the museum director both took a strong but opposite stance about engagement in controversy. There was a clash between the views of the curator and the long-established culture of the museum, and the culture of science museums more generally, that have tended to favour dispassionate, depoliticised presentation in the museum. The museum director states that the natural science museum should remain neutral as science delivers truth and avoids alternative interpretations. In stark contrast, the curator advocates that museums should actively combat social inequality and make the residents' voice be heard. The museum director, Wei-Hsin Sun, provided an account of his own stance about engaging with social issues:

> NMNS is a neutral platform as science itself is a neutral thing which doesn't involve any good or bad judgement. We just need to present truth and let people judge for themselves…. We should be very careful to prevent us becoming a pioneer of social movement.

He then made a comment about this exhibition:

> You should combine different angles and stances into this exhibition so that it can be a fair and neutral platform and people can see where the problems are. We are not there to help any particular groups or disadvantaged groups' voices to be heard. The NMNS does not play this role.

Some curators express a similar interpretation to the museum director's attitude – the museum director has to take responsibility and is afraid of incurring criticism by going against the government's industrial development policies. Indeed, being a subdivisional institution of the Ministry of Education, the NMNS is part of the government body. The stance of value neutrality leads to relatively politically 'safe' images of science.

Meanwhile, the strong statement by the museum director seems to affect some staff's reaction to the exhibition. It directly reflects on the marketing and educational programme work. As the previous chapter indicated, the current marketing strategy is to allocate most of budget and resource to charged exhibitions. It should come as no surprise that there is only 'basic' advertising for the exhibition, such as flags and posters, the same as other free exhibitions.

The exhibition tour is another example. Traditionally, the interpretive staff in the Science Educational Department are responsible for it. They took a course of training regarding the exhibition brief and curatorial ideas, and then each of them developed their own interpretation. Those staff were deeply involved in the training process, including a field trip to Taixi Village to meet the local people. They even initiated the use of Hokkien[62] to guide the exhibition as it could help the elderly audience and local communities to understand the exhibition deeply[63]. Usually, the exhibition tours use Mandarin as the main language. In this case, the staff want to adopt an unconventional approach which made the curator feel touched and impressed (Huang, 2015).

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[62] According to the Oxford dictionary, Hokkien refers to "a dialect of southern Min Chinese that is also spoken in Malaysia, Singapore, Taiwan, and the Philippines." Oxford dictionaries (2015) Available at: http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/hokkien?q=Hokkien (Accessed: 21 December 2015).
[63] Hokkien is not only the main language for those villagers but also the second largest spoken language in Taiwan.

However, facing this slightly controversial exhibition and the museum director's strong stance, the interpretive staff might be concerned about public acceptance of the topic and images. For example, the last part of the exhibition – Portraits in the South Wind – tells the stories of losing loved ones and refers to fatal disease potentially caused by pollution. Through a number of strong images of portraits of the deceased people and a piece of a story with some images, the section conveys a feeling of sadness and bitterness. Some of the interpretive staff might want to avoid guiding this section as the images are quite strong (see Figure 5.5). As a member of staff commented,

> They might be concerned whether to guide the portrait section or not as the images are quite strong. Maybe there is no need to interpret. The visitors are able to understand what the photographers want to deliver. As the topic is quite controversial, it should have many different angles to look at. But this exhibition only represents one perspective in some degrees. It is not objective enough for staff to interpret the exhibition from one angle.

Interestingly, the staff also share a similar perspective with the museum director, thinking the exhibition only presents one way to look at the issues, and the interpreter should be mindful of objectivity. Another manager feels it is because the museum director does not fully support this exhibition, so the interpretive staff do not want to touch upon the controversial issue and express their true stance.

Although the museum director and some of the staff have reservations about the exhibition, it seems that the exhibition gains much attention from the media, politicians and the public, and creates a massive impact on society. It is worth mentioning that the mainstream media have shifted their attitude toward the exhibition. At the beginning, the *South Wind* exhibition did not attract media

attention immediately. The exhibition curator, Hsu Huang, described how the media's attitude has changed:

> What is really odd about the media is there were very few journalists at the exhibition opening, and just one came to interview one of the photographers. This is the fewest journalists I have ever seen through my entire career at the NMNS. I did not see any news reports about this exhibition the next day…After a few days of opening, the alternative media started reporting this exhibition. This is the most reported exhibition by the alternative media I have ever seen. After that, mainstream media also started reporting.

The curator expected the media to report the exhibition immediately after it opened but it is surprising that things turned out contrary to his wishes. Although some people might assume this is because the topic is too sensitive, the real reason might remain unknown and suspicious. When the alternative media began to notice the exhibition, it even spread out broadly and quickly. Meanwhile, the curator worked very hard in terms of promoting the exhibition and raising awareness of the issues. Since the exhibition opened, he has consecutively published several articles to deliver his own ideas about the relevant topic and the exhibition to mainstream media newspapers.

Besides, the curator has successfully created media buzz by inviting politicians to visit the exhibition. The Yunlin county magistrate[64], Chin-Yung Lee, and a member of the Legislative Yuan, Chia-Chun Chang, belong to different parties but both came to visit the exhibition separately (Figure 5.6 and 5.7). Both of them declared their determination to quickly introduce legislation in the Air Pollution Control Act after visiting the exhibition. For example, there is a welcome policy

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[64] Yunlin county is the neighbour county of Changhua county where Taixi Village is located. The Yunlin county magistrate came to the exhibition mainly because the Sixth Naphtha Cracking Plant, one of the infamous air pollution sources, is located in Yunlin county.

passed related to this issue – "The Regulations of banning bituminous coal and petroleum coke at factories in Yunlin county'' was passed in May 2015 by the county council, which set a milestone for further legislation.

As the curator put it in the article, "What can a Natural Science Museum do for environmental protection? The people across the Zhuoshui River and policy makers are helping us to answer this question" (Huang, 2015). The exhibition being held in a national museum made a statement of helping disadvantaged people's voices to be heard. Furthermore, the exhibition has been touring to different places, including Yunlin County Government building and Taipei public library, not only attracting media attention and more people visiting the exhibition but also arousing public awareness and discussion.

Meanwhile, the curator has been working closely with partners and related groups including two artists, a theatre group and local green group and so on. Through different communication media and platforms, they are all devoted to raising public awareness of this topic. For example, the Assignment Theatre Group also launched another small exhibition and seminar through another platform to display the process of the theatre workshop with the Taixi villagers, and they also initiated things more provocatively by holding a rally outside the office building of the Formosa Plastic Group to raise public attention and awareness.

To offer the opportunity for visitors to engage with the exhibition, there are three computers in the gallery connecting to the exhibition website where the visitors can leave a message to share their thoughts about the exhibition (Figure 5.8). In reviewing those messages, the visitor responses to the exhibition were largely positive. Many people think the exhibition reveals the reality of serious

pollution in people's lives and stimulates their thinking. For example, a visitor wrote,

> This exhibition deeply reflects and lets us know many problems caused by the Sixth Naphtha Cracking Plant. It is not only the air pollution but also related to villagers' health and safety...When the Sixth Naphtha Cracking Plant was built, the south wind became smelly. Harvests of watermelon and eel are decreasing, while lung and oral cancer are increasing...it makes us reflect – is it worth sacrificing a few people's right of life to achieve the industrial economic benefit?

Also, another visitor gave recognition to the role of the museum and the exhibition. The visitor left a message behind the set question about the balance between economic development and environmental protection.

> I think this is a very important question and needs much scientific evidence and social debate. For human beings, what is most important? Great support to the NMNS continuing to make exhibits related to the environment and social issues of Taiwan!

The exhibition is also a catalyst for civil empowerment, not only for those concerned groups consistently raising their voices but also for many visitors realising the right to be against social inequality. For example, visitors wrote some key phrases such as, "very impressed by the importance of civil awareness"; "don't be a silent citizen"; "these truths need to be seen, cared about and involved in by more citizens".

Despite the conflict in beliefs among the museum staff and managers, the positive feedback for the exhibition seems to prove that the engagement with controversy is not 'harmful' to the museum. It seems the NMNS is embracing

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more exhibitions with environmental pollution related topics. For example, the special exhibition – *The Island of Floating Smog: PM2.5 Visual World* – launched in 2017. The exhibition deals with the issues of air pollution through scientific research and art works by scientists, artists and environmental protection groups and individuals, with aims of stimulating much discussion and debates (see Figure 5.9). This is very encouraging to see that the NMNS are continually developing exhibitions related to social issues.

5.5 Discussion

These two examples show that responding to social issues can still result in polarised thinking among museum professionals in Taiwan. It can be seen that there has been a continual argument about the neutrality of science as a statement to avoid political implications for the past few decades. For example, when I interviewed with museum curators to know their attitude towards engagement with social issues, an associate curator told me, "Basically we are a natural science museum and we are dealing with science. Science is precise about objectivity and neutrality so that we could not have a strong subjectivity on those social issues."

Besides, rationality becomes one of the discourses when some curators mentioned the role of their exhibition. They claim that using a rational perspective to present multiple voices is the role that the museum should play. The account resonates with the director Sun's stance that "the NMNS is a fair and neutral platform" and "is not there to help any particular groups or disadvantaged groups' voices to be heard".

The position of neutrality of science is not very convincing for some people at the NMNS as not only is the concept itself challengeable but also it has been used as

a statement to cover up the real concern which is the fear of engagement. An assistant curator commented, "In terms of engaging with social issues, I think that our museum is comparatively conservative though we are pretending that we stay neutral on social issues matters." Also, another associate curator indicated, "I think they fear controversy but just because of the fear you've lost the opportunity to open up further communication with society. I think this is a mistake."

It is interesting to note that resistance to museums engaging with contemporary social issues or controversial topics usually plays out in a very subtle and invisible way. The museum discourse in Taiwan is always trying to keep pace with the newest and cutting-edge discussion in international museum studies. Even though cutting-edge thinking has not been fully embraced by museum practitioners into their practice, those ideas and examples have been spread quite easily by various forms of media – news article, research paper, blog, conference and public speech. The more this discourse is discussed in the forefront, the more convincing it could be. Therefore, it is rarely seen that the museum as an institution claim they do not want to engage with social issues, or go against universal values directly.

In the case of the NMNS, there is still a sense of resistance beneath the surface. The power dynamics in the process are usually latent. For example, an associate curator told me that "the reserved voice is not always obvious but you can feel it in the organisational atmosphere. This might relate to various ideologies among individuals. They might not go against you publicly but they could make things go less smoothly under their authority". The authority referred to here by some curators does not lie in the hierarchical structure; instead, it lies in the division of work. Therefore, no matter their position is a manager, administrator, front-line staff or even volunteer, as long as they play a part in the process, they have authority. Another example is related to a film installation in a past exhibition

which might be regarded as slightly controversial. The curator explained, "It was quite challenging for some staff and volunteers to see the film in the museum. Sometimes, when I passed by the gallery, I found the voice had been muted […] Sometimes I found one image had been stopped." The power relation in those cases can also be regarded as positional power but is slightly different in that positional power does not lie in the hierarchy of authority. As the attitudes towards museum engagement with controversial issues vary greatly, anyone who holds positional power can affect the smooth process of exhibition-making and presentation.

The main issue for the NMNS in implementing social engagement work is value misalignment. Straughn and Gardner's (2011) good work framework is fascinating and could help us to understand what I mean by value misalignment here. They point out the alignment of four different levels of forces which could influence and control behaviour that facilitates good work. In the museum field, this framework refers to: (1) the value system held by an individual museum staffer; (2) longstanding values of collection, preservation, education, and public service; (3) the particular museum, professional associations along with donors and critics; and (4) the current priorities of the nation and the world (2011: 43). The value misalignment at the NMNS between organisational and individual levels is distinct. Lack of clear and consistent museum values causes tensions when there is a conflict in beliefs and attitudes.

Many staff explained that due to being a part of the government body, the stance of the NMNS tends to be conservative. It seems that avoiding controversy has been mainstream in museums in Taiwan. In these two exhibitions, we can see that there are key people involved in facilitating the exhibitions to be mounted in the NMNS. The people's attitude towards social issues is definitely a crucial part of engagement. Furthermore, a more shared form of leadership is

needed in order to create a supportive culture for decision-making at every level of the organisation.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has shown how the museum is continually changing in order to stay relevant to society and how different voices are negotiating through the process. The finding presents that there is a strong belief among museum staff and managers about museums' social education role. It has also been seen that there are shifting attitudes towards museum education, from a didactic to a constructivist approach, from one-way communication to interactive forms of communication. The museum is committed to developing specific programmes or services to target audiences, including immigrants, disabled people and school teachers, which all deepen and diversify their roles in society.

However, developing socially engaged work has not been raised to the organisational level to consider the overall philosophy and belief. It shows that socially engaged work only falls into a few people's responsibility. This could be a disadvantage for museums as socially engaged work needs sophisticated thinking, planning and executing. The overall key concepts and approach to the work need to be debated, tested and agreed by team members and museum partners before the engagement can be put in place.

In two examples of exhibitions engaging with social issues, this study reveals the conflicts of negotiation in the opposing attitudes and beliefs towards museum socially engaged practice. Especially in a science museum, the attitude to neutrality of science is linked to the attitude to exhibition narrative and design. The thinking of the neutrality seems to be deeply embedded in some people's minds. This leads to avoiding any involvement in controversy and a much more conservative attitude towards the presentation of exhibitions. In stark contrast,

some people in the museum want to take a more proactive approach to dealing with controversy. They think this approach can arouse much more reflection and discussion in people, and most importantly, encourage museums to take more social responsibilities.

In the process, value alignment is helpful for coordinating conflicts, especially when individuals in organisations have different beliefs and perceptions towards socially engaged work. Besides, as the resistance to engagement with social issues plays out in a subtle way, a shared form of leadership is valuable for dealing with unbalanced power relations. Chapters 4 and 5 together point to a need for clear visions and values and a more shared and distributed form of leadership in organisations in order to respond to the changing environment. In the conclusion chapter, I will then address the strategies and methods for museums to navigate through the change in more detail.

Figure 5.1: Stainless steel funnel, Black-faced Spoonbill taxidermy, red sand

beach display at *Wounds of Natural History – Black-faced Spoonbill* special

exhibition

Photo credit: National Museum of Natural Science. (the NMNS Facebook Official
Website:
https://www.facebook.com/COBOFANS/photos/a.117230628351483.21234.115092601
898619/780574042017135/?type=3&theater)

Image removed due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 5.2: When the South Wind Blows – the Documentary Photography of Taixi

Village special exhibition.

Photograph, Wen-Ling Lin.

Figure 5.3: The residents' play performance in *the South Wind* exhibition opening.

Photograph, Wen-Ling Lin.

Figure 5.4: The residents' play performance in *the South Wind* exhibition opening.

Photo credit: National Museum of Natural Science. (the South Wind exhibition Official Website: http://summer2017.nmns.edu.tw/home/photo.htm)

Image removed due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 5.5: "Portraits in the South Wind" section at *the South Wind* exhibition.

Photograph, Wen-Ling Lin.

Figure 5.6: The Yunlin county magistrate Chin-Yung Lee visits *the South Wind* exhibition.

Photo credit: National Museum of Natural Science. (the NMNS Facebook Official Website: https://www.facebook.com/COBOFANS/photos/a.117230628351483.21234.115092601 898619/807812422626630/?type=3&theater)

Image removed due to copyright restrictions.
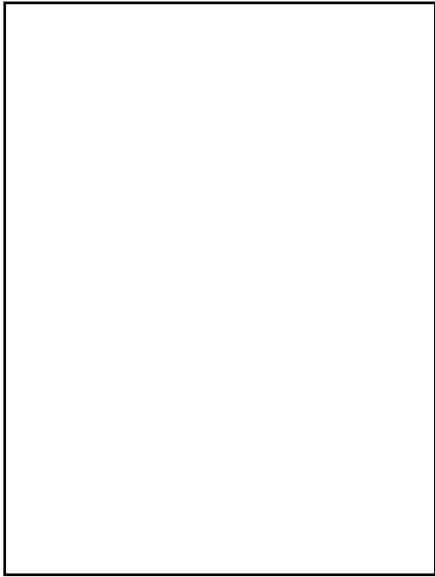
Figure 5.7: Legislator Chia-Chun Chang visits *the South Wind* exhibition.

Photo credit: National Museum of Natural Science. (the South Wind exhibition Official Website: http://summer2017.nmns.edu.tw/home/photo.html)

Image removed due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 5.8: Visitors leave a message to share their thoughts about the exhibition.

Photograph, Wen-Ling Lin.

Figure 5.9: pm2.0: The Island of Floating Smog: PM2.5 Visual World special exhibition.

Photograph, Wen-Ling Lin.

Chapter 6 Conclusions

6.1 Introduction

Remarkably, museums have retained their core work of collecting, exhibiting and
interpreting, irrespective of all of these historical iterations – a clear
demonstration that core practices need not be relinquished as the environment
changes. The choice now is between more of the same, or embracing
mindfulness in pursuit of greater societal relevance (Janes, 2009: 184).

Robert Janes's book – 'Museums in a troubled world: renewal, irrelevance, or
collapse?' makes a strong argument about what core values and practices should
remain unchanged and what museums should pursue in today's turbulent and
chaotic environment. However, have these core values and practices been
unanimously agreed by museum professionals? It is apparently not the case in
this study. There is a persistent debate about what museums' purpose and
priorities are, especially when museums are facing a challenge to balance each
museum stakeholder's own agenda. Contemporary museums are facing more
rapid external environmental changes than ever before. I argue that there is a
need for flexible internal management in reconciling conflicts between
organisational members, unifying divergent values and sharing with leadership
that better equips museums to navigate through changes.

In this thesis, I have attempted to understand how national museums navigate
changing demands from different stakeholders through theoretical and empirical
investigation of the ways in which museum managers and staff negotiate with
divergent perspectives, values and attitudes. Concomitantly, I seek to reveal how
the power relations and dynamics are located and operating in this process and
to understand how leadership should be structured to help museums better

cope with changes. I provide a framework for a better understanding of organisational change through which I argue it is beneficial for us to understand organisational change as full of dynamics and an on-going process. On that basis, this project tends to not focus on one single change event; instead, it chose an exploratory approach to unfold the intricacy and complexity of organisational change in museums.

The messy real organisational life in museums has been highlighted through a single case study and organisation ethnographic approach that includes document analysis, interviews and observations. These research methods and strategies appear to be especially effective in revealing different voices at an individual level and the power relations and dynamics in organisations. Two main change forces have emerged from this study - one is the increasing influence of market forces to encourage the museum to move towards more business-like practices, while the other is a growing social responsibility on the museum. These two predominant external forces play out in different ways but at the same time play an important role for the museum moving away from the traditional functions and conventional works and practices. This study illustrates how people in museums respond to these external forces to change, and most importantly, how they negotiate the competing demands internally.

Although issues related to 'museums and change' are very recurrent theme in the literature, this study points out that the micro-dynamics of change at an organisational level are often overlooked. Moreover, engagement with organisational study and change management literature has helped to sharpen my focus upon internal organisational power relations and leadership. I have attempted, therefore, to investigate beyond the order, policy and regulation – those top-down approaches to change - in detail, the nature of organisation ethnography that emerges from vivid accounts of individual museum workers and then capture the dynamic process when organisation members encounter

change. Furthermore, I have explored the idea that leadership can be performed in different ways in the change process that is relatively less discussed in museum change literature. This perspective of micro-dynamics of change has revealed a number of tensions and conflicts among museum managers and staff which has helped deepen our understanding of the change processes in museums and in due course elsewhere.

The findings of this study have led toward a more comprehensive understanding of how change happens, who makes it happen, and eventually toward a processual and contextual description of change events and initiatives in organisational life. The findings add to a wider field of museum management, especially by contributing a detailed case study of how a national museum navigates different change demands within a single museum. Findings also add to the field of organisational study by providing an insight of museum organisational life and how change is effected from top-down and bottom-up. This thesis will, therefore, resonate with museum management academia, museum practitioners and organisational studies researchers and theorists.

6.2 Limitations of this research

Although I have justified the choice of the research strategy and methods, it is inevitable that my own worldview, interest and preference could, more or less, affect the way this study was done. It is important to recognise that there is a range of different ways to look at my research topic and I just chose one of those possible approaches to explore organisational change in museums.

Several limitations with this study should be noted so that further empirical investigation in a number of different areas can be suggested. Although one single in-depth case study is valuable for offering rich and deep research findings, some examples I draw on could be specific to this particular museum. It would

provide a more comprehensive understanding of micro-dynamics of change if the research approach of this study could be applied to a wider range of museums. Besides, there are many areas of organisation which can be concentrated on. While I chose power relation and leadership as my main focus based on a literature review, it would be useful to undertake studies focusing on other areas, such as organisational structure, organisational culture and organisational learning. While I have argued that an organisational ethnographic approach was particularly well designed to answer the research questions, the rejection of alternative methods and approaches is a potential limitation of this research.

The benefits of longitudinal study for organisational change research have been argued by many scholars (Pettigrew, Woodman and Cameron, 2001; Pettigrew, 1990; Dawson, 1994). This study was conducted over a period of three months' intensive fieldwork. The time frame was decided from the outset as appropriate for both the NMNS and myself. The themes that emerged from the study were highly relevant to the current museum environment in Taiwan and the broader world as well. However, it may have overlooked particular areas for study because there was not enough or significant evidence.

In connection with the broader issues with fieldwork, with hindsight, I have reflected on my own developing research skills. While I have argued the organisational ethnographic approach is beneficial for revealing the complexity of organisational change, the conducted ethnography has proved to be a learning curve for me. For example, although I made the field notes every day when I was in the field, a review of the field notes suggested that the note-taking skill could have been more explicated to allow easier analysis of the data. Also, although the semi-structured interview was argued as an appropriate technique in this study, a few interviewees might be a little bit concerned about how their response will be interpreted. This might affect their willingness and honesty

about what they want to reveal. Therefore, I ensure using other methods for data collection to be able to provide credible and reliable evidence to justify the study as a whole. The relationships I had established with those encounters in the museum eventually shaped my findings of the study. This is only just partial reflections of much more complex organisational change processes. This preference for some encounters over other people in the museum is inevitably a rejection of the potential stories to my research interest.

6.3 Towards a values-aligned museum

The findings of this study show that individual values and attitudes to change have a strong impact on the change process. Although most museums are bureaucratic organisations which tend to exercise positional power, individuals can affect the outcome of change deeply. We can see from the case of the NMNS that individuals have the power of making decisions on their own projects and the managers tend to respect their decisions. There is a lot of freedom for curators to exercise their ideas – it has been observed that different styles and working strategies of exhibition and sponsorship practices are based on an individual level rather than organisational level. The strength of this individual autonomy lies in that this is more likely to facilitate bottom-up spontaneous emergent change. As Maimone and Sinclair (2014: 349) argue, if the organisation can encourage the internal spontaneous process of change, the organisation will be more capable of coping with external change and adapting to environmental complexity. The case, indeed, shows that the museum was not overly driven by market forces as many people's attitude toward commercialism was quite negative.

However, there is a danger in giving people too much freedom to do whatever they want or pull in all directions at will. An Individual agenda prior to an organisational one leads to a loss of direction in the museum. There is a sense of lack of cohesion in the NMNS as divergent perspectives, values and attitudes are

competing with each other. Indeed, any organisation could face conflicting perspectives, values and attitudes among organisational members, and museums are no exception. For example, Davies et al. (2013) present a four modes framework to analyse a range of values in museums. The first mode, the club mode, means museums' main purpose is collecting and preserving objects for a group of like-minded people. Museums tend to value informal expertise rather than academic knowledge. The second one is the temple mode in which museums place studying the collection as the main priority. They emphasise connoisseurship and scholarship of objects so that they offer knowledge to visitors. The third one, the visitor attraction mode, values visitors' needs rather than knowledge. Their priority is to communicate effectively with the visitor so as to gain the visitor's satisfaction and generate income. The last mode, the forum mode, focuses on the benefit to society and individual well-being. Acting as a forum, museums create a place for visitors to debate social issues and create meaning from their collection. Davies et al. (2013) point out that museums are operating in the interaction of the above four modes. Values in these four modes exist on individual, group, organisational and societal levels and interact with each other in a complex and dynamic way.

The evidence from this study shows the NMNS is struggling with different values, especially among the last three modes. The underpinning value is a visitor-oriented museum but curators have misaligned values on the museum's priority. Some scientists and curators tend to value knowledge and research, while some advocate the museum as a forum. For example, in developing exhibitions, some curators emphasise knowledge-based exhibition, some want to develop socially engaged practice in exhibitions and some focus on exhibitions that show curiosities to entertain and attract visitors. This conflict in values and attitudes causes a lot of frustrations, anxiety and tensions in inter-organisational interaction. Even more, the value misalignment could lead to an identity crisis among museum staff during the change process (Branson, 2008: 381).

As Sashkin (1984: 19) points out, values are extremely powerful in determining behaviour in an organisation and the organisation's effectiveness. When organisational values and personal values are aligned, the employee attitudes towards organisational commitment and job satisfaction will be enhanced (Branson, 2008: 381). Most importantly, value alignment between the individual and organisation will create a harmonious relationship among people in organisations, which can reduce tensions and negative emotions in the workplace. A value-based organisation means shared values at organisational level can be used as the basis to help organisations in making decisions, solving problems, identifying goals and vision, and adapting to external change. In short, organisational values should underpin every organisation's strategies. However, the values-aligned organisation does not come naturally. On the contrary, each organisational member has their own personal set of values. The personal and organisational values can marry together only if individuals fully embrace and support the collective organisational values. But, how does the values alignment process work? This needs a collaborative process amongst organisational members to co-develop a set of organisational values. The autocratic values-making approach does not work as it seems highly likely that an individual does not put those organisational values over their own.

Empirical evidence from this case suggests having a clear vision and shared values is critical for museums navigating through change. A clear vision and shared values give people a sense of direction and purpose through which organisations can exercise change more smoothly. Therefore, museums should be aware of the power of values and how they affect people, performance and outcome. It is important that museums make decisions and develop their strategy based on organisational values. Alignment between individual and organisational values can resolve the tensions and conflicts in internal museum interaction. A values-aligned museum can stand up to external environmental change and reconcile competing stakeholders' demands. Because of values

alignment, museums would not be derailed from their original goal and direction or be distracted by other unethical temptations.

6.4 Creating a space for organisational learning and reflection

Since the importance of values alignment has been highlighted in both literature (Straughn and Gardner, 2011) and this study, I argue that organisations need to create a space and atmosphere to process alignment. As we know, individuals have to proactively take action to align personal values with organisational values. However, for a long-established museum, there are many big personalities in the museum for whom it may not be easy to change their belief, perception, values and the way of the old working model. This seems obvious, yet easy to ignore in many organisations, as Akgün and Byrne et al. (2007) point out:

> Organizations have widely established and accepted beliefs and methods that persuade them to neglect important new technologies and markets, because they have a great emotional investment in old ways of working. Those established beliefs and methods create rules and competency traps that negatively affect the operations of organizations (Akgün *et al*, 2007: 795).

Before organisations can start benefiting from values alignment, their members have to overcome ingrained habits, resistant attitudes and established beliefs (Branson, 2008: 387). The findings from this study also suggest that it seems difficult for some people to change their ingrained ideas about the museum's purpose and to accept new ways of working practice. For example, some people think social engagement is not their priority and find it difficult to handle as this relatively 'new' idea of social engagement practice conflicts with their current beliefs and working practice. The resistance to change could lead to rigid responses to external opportunities and challenges which is a disadvantage for adapting to changing environmental demands.

Therefore, museums need spaces for organisational learning, discussion, exchange of ideas and reflection. This requires an open and transparent 'safe place' for organisational members discussing and debating these big issues – such as, what does our museum want to be in the next twenty years or what values are most important for our museum? Unfortunately, these questions for the busy daily museum working life are like an 'elephant in the room' that are seldom heard in museum internal discussion.

In order to create an organisational learning atmosphere, Akgün and Byrne et al. (2007) provide an interesting conceptual perspective on organisational learning and change. They argue that organisational unlearning is vital in the first place. It involves a process of unlearning established beliefs and routines as "fixed beliefs lead to perception rigidity or inaccurate causal attributions" (Akgün *et al*, 2007: 795) which could be an obstacle to organisational change. This concept can be applied to museums as museum change will need to readjust the old way of working and thinking, more directly, to lead a fundamental change in the existing beliefs.

Creating a space for exploring museums' purposes and priorities may require museums to be learning organisations. Many organisation studies researchers have tackled this issue in organisations which might be of interest to the museum sector. For example, organisational learning has been highlighted in the literature to emphasise the ability to learn to adapt to change at the organisational and individual level (van der Bent, Paauwe and Williams, 1999; Akgün *et al*, 2007; Scott-Ladd and Chan, 2004; Ford and ogilvie, 1996). The idea of a learning organisation by Peter Senge offers us a framework for facilitating learning attributes in organisations. Senge (1993: 3) refers to a learning organisation as "where people continually expand their capacity to create the results they truly desire, where new and expansive patterns of thinking are nurtured, and where collective aspirations are set free". He emphasises that

individuals play a crucial role in the organisational learning process. The five principles of a learning organisation are built on the basis of personal mastery, mental models, shared vision, team learning and systems thinking. These five disciplines, especially managing mental models, building a shared vision and encouraging team learning, echo with the above issues that this study has pointed out. Changing mental models means individuals' action to clarify deeply ingrained assumptions and beliefs that impede them in making changes. A shared vision gives organisational members a sense of purpose and enhances their commitment to work. Team learning focuses on the collective effort to create a dialogue and learning opportunity. Although the criticisms of Senge's concepts argue that it's misleading and under-theorised (Caldwell, 2012a; Caldwell, 2012b; Fielding, 2001), Senge's work identified the helpful qualities that organisations and individuals can pursue and nurture to become a better organisation.

It is also worth noting that Jamali, Khoury et al. (2006) have analysed six characteristics of post-bureaucratic organisations which have received growing attention in the literature on management. These are empowerment, teamwork, trust, communication, commitment, and flexibility. They argue that these themes are a critical foundation for developing learning organisations and fit well in organisational emergent theory and non-linear philosophy. So far, I have concluded there is an urgent need for value alignment, clear vision and reflective space for contemporary museums to navigate through change. I then discuss how the leadership can function in and structure this process.

6.5 Encouraging different forms of leadership

Although emergent change has been highlighted by empirical evidence, it does not mean, of course, that top-down planned change is functionless in museums. On the contrary, planned change is still actively performed by museum directors and managers. This study shows that museum directors in the NMNS have the

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power to make decisions and utilise resources to develop what they think is important for museums. It seems there is a lack of consultative and transparent process to museum staff at different levels of museums. Meanwhile, although emergent and planned change approaches are both performed in museums, there is a lack of cohesive action combining these two approaches together.

Many organisation researchers have suggested that planned and emergent change approaches can complement each other in the change process (Esain, Williams and Massey, 2008; Kempster, Higgs and Wuerz, 2014; Van Der Voet, Groeneveld and Kuipers, 2014; Burnes, 2004a; Pina and Campos, 2003). In the case of the NMNS, there is a lack of transparency and full consultation at the time of decision-making on top-down planned change and lack of direction on bottom-up emergent change. As a result, the change initiative from top-down, on the one hand, tends to cause negative reactions, such as anxiety, cynicism and anger, which is a disadvantage to implementing organisational change. The emergent change, on the other hand, leads to value misalignment, tensions and conflicts between co-workers.

The literature review of this study has shown that the traditional ideas about leadership have revealed weakness to the contemporary rapidly changing environment. Further, I argue that encouraging different forms of leadership is beneficial to the interplay of emergent and planned change in museums. Top-down, paternalistic leadership has shown shortcomings in coping with various demands from stakeholders. Instead, distributed leadership in which the power of leaders is more spread out in each level of the organisation has demonstrated a more agile attitude in the face of complexity. In this sense, leadership is distributed among the members of a group, with each member playing a vital role. As mentioned in Chapter 2, this study considers that distributed leadership can be practiced in real-life organisation in two ways. Firstly, the positional power holders (i.e. museum directors) should intentionally relinquish power and

authority and distribute the power of decision-making and action-taking among some groups and individuals. It is helpful for the lone museum director to alleviate pressure from change processes and diminish resistance to change among organisation members. The value of distributed leadership lies in the encouragement of participation in decision-making for those people involved in change process.

Secondly, distributed leadership is useful for effecting an organisation's self-organisation. It helps to gain confidence among organisation members that spontaneous collaboration can happen. Leadership has been distributed unconsciously which creates a suitable condition for emergent change. Volberda and Lewin (2003) point out that self-organisation means the abandonment of the command and control philosophy of traditional hierarchical bureaucratic organisations, and a belief in the capabilities of the individuals and units at every level of organisation. In order to nurture and maintain self-organisation, they argue that managers should "function as stewards of the evolutionary process and focus their managerial role on devising and articulating critical values and on establishing boundary conditions that enable and guide decision making at lower levels of the organization"(Volberda and Lewin, 2003: 2127) . Overall, distributed leadership encourages both the vertical/lateral and formal/informal forms of leadership which fits well with the holistic concept of understanding organisational change. However, to encourage the best practice of distributed leadership requires persistent communication among museum members based on a values-aligned organisation.

Also, Leadership plays a role in facilitating dialogue and respecting individual capability, and at the same time, giving a sense of cohesion and direction in organisations. As Maimone and Sinclair (2014: 355) argue that mindfulness is a valuable leadership quality. The mindful leader encourages creativity and emergent change in organisations, as they 'facilitates free expression of differences and mediating among different identities and cultures to produce an

inclusive narration that makes people feel united in diversity (Maimone and Sinclair, 2014: 356)'. Besides, mindful leadership is helpful for organisations coping with the ambiguity of change (Chesley and Wylson, 2016). At the individual level, mindfulness help people better managing with a range of cognitive, emotional, behaviour, and physiological respond to change (Good *et al*, 2016); while at the organisational level, mindful leadership enhances organizational readiness for change (Chesley and Wylson, 2016). Mindfulness is considered as a 'soft' approach for nurturing people's adaptability for change and focusing on relationship, mental well-being, self-awareness and self-care. Since the conflicting values and beliefs are inevitable in the change process, the mindful leadership also play a role in reconciling tensions and ease the pressure of negotiation.

This case of the NMNS has seen a lack of strong leadership causing the negative effect to change process. This seems a part of the picture of leadership function in Taiwan. There is relative less discussion on leadership in Taiwanese museum studies field. This is probably because the way of exercise leadership is regarded as the responsibility of the director, which Janes (2009) indicates as lone director model. Although Janes (2009) has pointed out the negative consequence of the lone director model, such as isolation, omniscience, loneliness and overwork, it seems difficult to change people's assumption of how leadership should work. This study, however, points out that museums need different forms of leadership – a more distributive and mindful one that can encourage participation in decision-making, resilience building and shared values facilitating. When different forms of leadership are applied, museums can benefit from each style and become more flexible to external raised challenges. In order to smooth the process of shared leadership, a space where can nurture learning, reflective discussion and dialogue is needed. Being a values-aligned museum, the individual can exercise self-organising based on organisational values and commit their best capability in responding to external forces to change.

6.6 Three reflections for museums navigating through change

In the last section of this thesis, I want to offer three reflections for museums navigating through change. Firstly, two emerging themes from my study have shared similar change forces that many museums around the world are experiencing. The study has investigated how museum managers and staff construe, experience and negotiate with the change process. The finding shows the NMNS tends to retain reserved attitudes towards market forces and socially engaged practice. There are many reasons for this. It is partly because of conflicting perspectives, values and attitudes all function in one museum and it may partly be because people just fear to change traditional norms, rules and ingrained habits about working methods.

The way to navigate through change is not to avoid or resist change. Instead, museums ought to adopt a proactive approach to face those change forces. For example, it is important that museums keep their characteristic of 'public good' so that museums are not driven by the market. It is equally important that museums develop a form of social enterprise model that can help to generate income and demonstrate social value as well. This means museums develop a business model based on enduring social impact. The case of the NMNS shows that many people in the museum go against commercialism, and a lack of business acumen has impeded the role the museum can play in the cultural economy market. Indeed, there is a danger in overly pursuing commercialism and prioritising profit-making as this contradicts with museums' mission and the pursuit of social responsibility. But, with government budget cutting and public demand for cultural consumption rising, museums have to respond to these challenges and opportunities. To develop a social enterprise model has proven valuable for many non-profit organisations (Kerlin, 2006). Museums can benefit from those experiences.

Besides, there is a sense of fear of engagement in the NMNS. This reflected a reserved attitude towards the museum engaging with social issues. Many people express that museums should remain neutral on those social issues and should not take a stance. This reaction is not solely in the NMNS; instead, it reflects a general belief within the museum sector (Sandell, 2003). However, there is a growing interest and rising awareness of museum socially engaged practice. The traditional norms in neutralising attitude have been shifting and many museum professionals have been advocating the powerful social impact museums can have. As Janes (2009: 184) points out, the core work of collecting, exhibiting and interpreting should continue to be valued by museums. This is what makes museums a unique place. But museums should not be self-limiting to those core works. Instead, museums can blend socially engaged practice into those core works to make a real impact on society and people. This will make the museum an irreplaceable place. The first reflection here calls for changing ingrained norms and attitudes and being bold to step outside of the comfort zone in the face of challenges and opportunities.

Secondly, as contemporary museums live in a complex and uncertain world, museums should be as flexible as possible. This study has indicated that a comprehensive approach to examine planned and emergent change together is more suitable for real-life organisation. The findings from this study have suggested that there are some obstacles impeding the museum to exercise both planned and emergent change smoothly. The planned change is lacking a transparent and participative decision-making process at every level of the museum, while the emergent change is lacking cohesion and a sense of direction. I have pointed out the approach that museums can use to interplay these two different change processes. Here I want to make a point of flexibility in museums. A flexible museum tends to adapt to the external changing environment and embrace new ideas and methods, which is helpful to improve the weakness of hierarchical bureaucratic organisations. For example, the power tends to be centralised on the top level of bureaucratic organisations. A flexible

museum can resist this centralised power situation by adopting multiple forms of leadership without breaking the bureaucratic system. Different forms of leadership can interplay together in museums in the different stages of the change process. As mentioned above, the multiple forms of leadership can create a dialogue and trusting space for organisational learning and exchange of ideas and help to align organisational and individual values.

On the contrary, a rigid museum relies on regulations and control, tends to be reserved towards innovative ideas and is afraid to make mistakes. These will all restrict the capability of individuals in museums. Therefore, my second reflection for museums to navigate through change is to keep flexibility. Flexibility can encourage self-organisation and power flow that eventually helps museums to increase adaptability to change.

The third reflection is to encourage mindfulness in museum practices. The study has revealed many tensions and conflicts in the NMNS which come from the different individual values and beliefs. Tensions and conflicts at the workplace cause stress and negative emotions that could blind people's judgement and sabotage harmony in group dynamics. Besides, the uncertainty of change can lead to pressure and anxiety that also lead to resistance to change among museum staff. People are the most valuable asset in museums. This study has shown that individuals have a strong impact on the change process. Therefore, I argue that mindfulness can be exercised in museums to reduce the tensions and negative emotions during the change process.

Mindfulness is an ability for museums to cultivate moment-to-moment awareness so that they can focus on the present and position themselves around the world. In daily busy life, it is really hard for museums to be in the present to practice mindfulness when museums have many future plans to be considered.

That will need some strategies and methods to practice which Janes (2009) has discussed in the chapter of his book. For example, organisations can use Study Circles to create an equal and free space which encourages members' learning, sharing and exchanging ideas (Janes, 2009: 153-4). This is a valuable approach to being a learning organisation. Besides, developing strategic thinking to reflect on those ingrained beliefs, attitudes, norms and habits is crucial for organisational members to "jump out" their daily routine and inertia of thinking (Janes, 2009: 154-6). Practicing orthogonal thinking is also helpful to move away "constraints of conventional thinking and conditioned views (Janes, 2009: 151)" and extend "individual and organizational perspectives on the world (Janes, 2009: 151)". These activities and thinking approaches offer opportunities for museums to create a mindful workplace and increase well-being, happiness, creativity and compassion among museum workers.

Drawn on Janes (2009)'s viewpoint, I argue that there are many benefits for museums developing mindfulness. One of the important aspects of mindfulness is to shift habitual ways of seeing and believing. This is similar to Senge's changing mental model discipline. The present-moment focus of mindfulness makes people start realising the habitual behaviour in their routine and helps them to become very aware of how their thoughts, feelings and emotions can affect their behaviour. This is helpful for people to build their relationship with others and become more reflective on their action and behaviour, and embrace new practice and ideas. Mindfulness at the organisational level helps the organisation to find a sense of purpose and to create a mindful atmosphere in organisations, and exercise mindful leadership. This research has shown that inside organisational life it is full of complexity and messiness. Mindfulness has shown evidence of having a powerful influence on well-being and happiness. This third reflection for museums to navigate through change is focusing on reducing tensions and conflicts in the workplace and creating a learning and reflective culture through mindfulness.

By revealing various values, interests and power dynamics intersecting at the organisational and personal levels, this research reveals the internal organisational life of the museum in navigating through different forces of change. Museums towards a values-aligned organisation, creating space for organisational learning and reflection, and encouraging different forms of leadership, will enhance their adaptability to change. Meanwhile, museums which are bold, flexible and mindful will equip themselves with better capability to navigate through change.
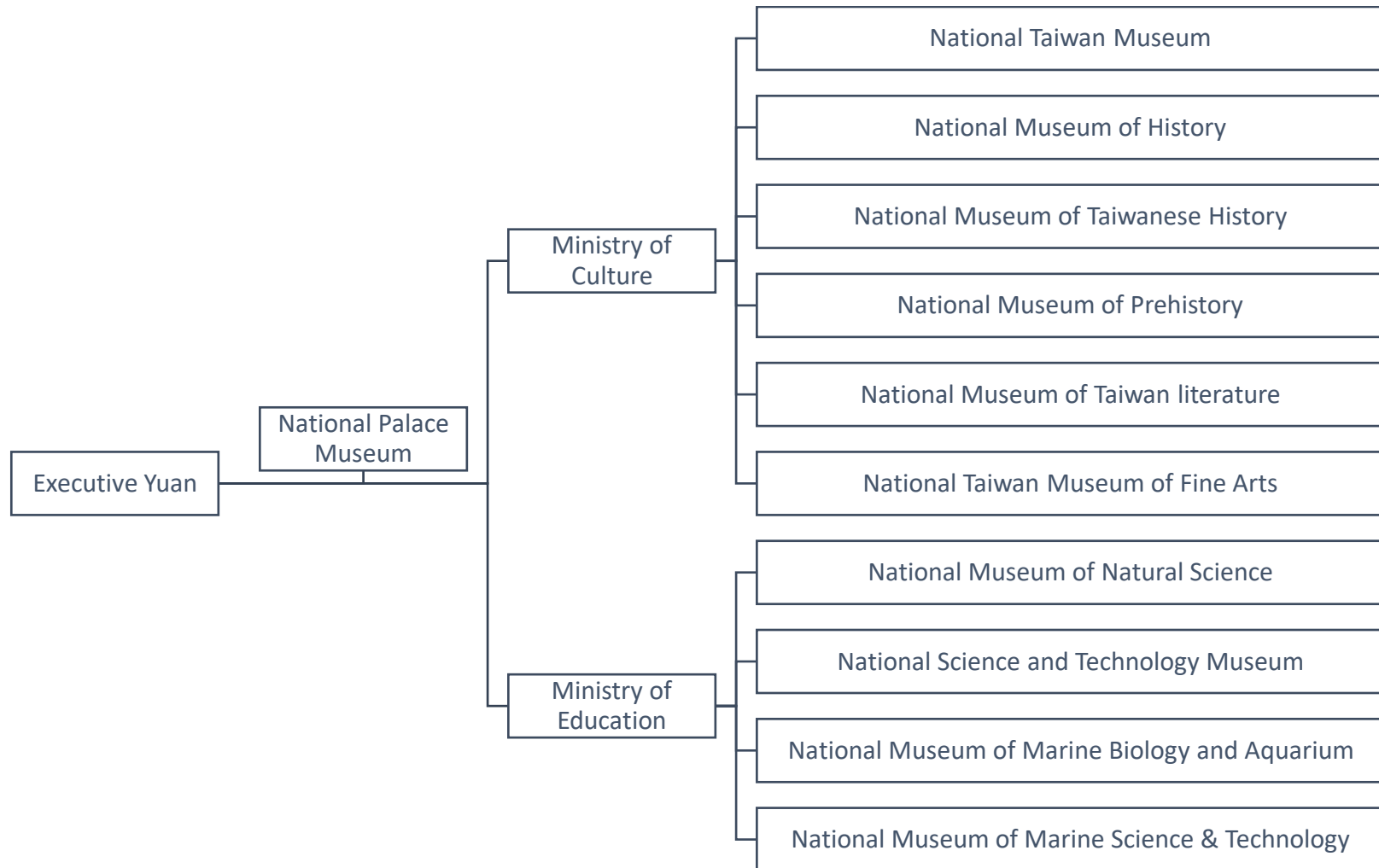
Appendix 1: List of past blockbuster exhibitions in Taiwan

Year	Location	Title
1993	National Palace Museum	Monet et les impressionnistes au Musee Marmottan
1995	National Palace Museum	Le paysage dans la peinture occidentale, du xvie au xixe siecle : chefs-d'oeuvre du Mu
1997	National Museum of History, Kaoshiung Museum of Fine Art	L'Age d'or de l'imjpressionnisme-Chefs-d'oeuvre du Musee d'Orsay
1998	National Museum of History	Retrospective Jean Dubuffet, 1919-1985
1998	National Palace Museum	Exhibition of Pablo Picasso
2000	Taipei Fine Arts Museum, Kaoshiung Museum of Fine Art	Chefs-d'oeuvre du Musée de l'Orangerie Collection Jean Walter et Paul Guillaume
2000	National Museum of History, National Science & Technology Museum	Leonardo da Vinci: Scientist Inventor Artist
2001	National Museum of History	Terra Cotta Warriors and Horses of Qin Shi Huang, The First Qin Emperor
2001	National Palace Museum	From Poussin to Cézanne - 300 Years of French Painting
2001	National Palace Museum	Salvador Dali
2001	National Museum of History	La Mesopotamie: Entre le Tigre et l'Euphrate
2001	Kaoshiung Museum of Fine Art	Exhibition Napoleon
2002	National Museum of History	MAYA: Mysteries in the jungle
2002	National Museum of History, Kaoshiung Museum of Fine Art	Alphonse Mucha—Splendor of Art Nouveau
2002	National Museum of History	Matisse: l'emotion du trait, le don de l'espace
2002	Kaoshiung Museum of Fine Art	The World of Original Drawings for Hans Christian Andersen's Fairy Tales
2002	National Palace Museum, Kaoshiung Museum of Fine Art	World of the Heavenly Khan
2003	National Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall, National Museum of Natural Science, National Science & Technology Museum	The Ancient Egyptian Art From Louver

2004	National Palace Museum	A Century of German Genius: Masterpieces from Classicism to Early Modernism, Collections of the Berlin State Museums
2004	National Museum of History, Kaoshiung Museum of Fine Art	Millet, Corot and Pleiades of Barbizon School from Jin(Nakamura) Collection
2005	National Museum of History	From the Forgotten Deserts：Centuries of Dazzling Dunhuang Art
2005	Taipei Fine Arts Museum	"La Vie Moderne. Paris 1925-1937" Les Collections du Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris
2007	National Palace Museum	Treasures of the World's Cultures: The British Museum after 250 Years
2007	National Museum of History	The World and Fanatsy of Niki de Saint Phalle
2007	National Palace Museum	Splender of the Baroque and Beyond: Great Habsburg Collectors Masterpieces: From the Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna
2008	National Palace Museum	Camille Pissarro: Family and Friends--Masterworks from the Ashmolean Museum
2008	National Museum of History	Millet and His Time: Masterpieces from the Musée d'Orsay
2008	National Museum of History	Legend of the Silk Road-Treasures from Xinjiang
2009	Taipei Fine Arts Museum	CAI GUO-QIANG - Hanging Out in the Museum
2009	Taipei Fine Arts Museum	Pixar: 20 Years of Animation
2009	Taipei Fine Arts Museum	Arcadie. Dans les Collections du Centre Pompidou
2009	National Museum of History	Van Gogh: The Flaming Soul
2010	National Palace Museum	GOLD AND GLORY: The Wonders of Khitan from the Inner Mongolia Museum Collection
2010	National Museum of History	Legends of Heroes: the Heritage of the Three Kingdoms Era
2010	Taipei Fine Arts Museum	Manet to Picasso: Masterpieces from the Philadelphia Museum of Art
2010	Taipei Fine Arts Museum	Elsewhere: Paul Gauguin
2010	National Palace Museum、National Science & Technology Museum	Tibet–Treasures from the Roof of the World
2010	National Palace Museum	The Body Beautiful in Ancient Greece

2011	National Palace Museum, National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts	Celebration by Marc Chagall
2011	National Palace Museum, Kaoshiung Museum of Fine Art	Alphonse Mucha–Art Nouveau & Utopia
2011	National History Museum	Masterpieces from Musée National Picasso – Paris
2011	Taipei Fine Arts Museum	Monet Garden
2011	National Palace Museum	Emperor Kangxi and the Sun King Louis XIV: Sino-Franco Encounters in Arts and Culture
2011	National Museum of History	Dreams Come True: The Art of Disney's Classic Fairy Tales
2011	Kaoshiung Museum of Fine Art	Modigliani and His Circle
2012	National Palace Museum	Western Mythology and Legends Selected Works from The Louvre Museum
2012	Kaoshiung Museum of Fine Art	Salvador DALÍ, Mind of Genius
2013	National Palace Museum	*Leonardo-Mona Lisa-The Myths*
2013	National Palace Museum	*Renoir and Painters of the Twentieth Century*
2013	National Museum of History	The Divine Michelangelo
2013	National Museum of History, National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts (2014)	Women, Birds, Stars Joan Miró
2013-14	National Museum of History	Monet：Landscapes of Mind
2014	National Palace Museum	A History of the World in 100 Objects
2014-15	National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts	Marie Laurencin
2015	National Palace Museum	Crown of the Alps：Masterworks from the Collections of the Prince of Liechtenstein
2016	National Palace Museum National Science & Technology Museum	Qin Culture and Terracotta Warriors
2017	National Palace Museum	Musée d'Orsay: The Aesthetic Worlds of the 19th Century

Appendix 2: Diagram of National Museums in Taiwan

- Executive Yuan
  - National Palace Museum
    - Ministry of Culture
      - National Taiwan Museum
      - National Museum of History
      - National Museum of Taiwanese History
      - National Museum of Prehistory
      - National Museum of Taiwan literature
      - National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts
    - Ministry of Education
      - National Museum of Natural Science
      - National Science and Technology Museum
      - National Museum of Marine Biology and Aquarium
      - National Museum of Marine Science & Technology

Appendix 3: List of Interviewees

Institutional title		Length of service (appr /years)	Dates of interview	Gender
Director-general		5	5 March 2015	M
Deputy director of Administration		N/A	Interview questions are replied by text	M
Deputy director of Research and Education		34	12 March 2015	M
Chief Secretary		7	13 February 2015	M
Head of Science Education Department		16	13 March 2015	M
Science Education Department	Assistant Curator	18	29 January 2015	F
	Curatorial Assistant	22	3 March 2015	M
	Contracted-based employee	22	5 March 2015	F
	Contracted-based employee	22	16 February 2015	F
Head of Exhibits Department		27	6 March 2015	M
Exhibits Department	Associate Curator	22	9 February 2015	M
	Associate Curator	18	13 March 2015	M
	Associate Curator	24	2 February 2015	M
	Associate Curator	24	4 February 2015	F
	Assistant Curator	24	28 January/12 March 2015	F
	Assistant Curator	10	9 February/10 February 2015	F
Head of Biology Department		23	13 February 2015	M
Biology Department	Associate Curator	22	2 March 2015	F
	Assistant Curator	24	30 January 2015	F
	Assistant Curator	8	5 February 2015	M
Head of Geology Department		22	6 February 2015	M
Head of Anthropology Department		25	11 February 2015	F
Department of Operation, Visitor Service, Collection and Information Management	Section Chief of Information Management	24	16 February 2015	M
	Section Chief of Operation	18	3 February 2015	F
	Curatorial Assistant	17	30 January 2015	F
	Curatorial Assistant	1	12 February 2015	F
Anonymous	Confidentiality	Confidentiality	16 February 2015	F

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