

GOVERNMENT POLICIES AND FINE ARTS MUSEUMS IN TAIWAN

The Impact of Government Policies on Museum Personnel and Finance

Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of Leicester

by

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ABSTRACT

GOVERNMENT POLICIES AND FINE ARTS MUSEUMS IN TAIWAN

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Submitted by

Hui-Jong Hsieh, Department of Museum Studies, University of Leicester, May 2005

Following rapid economic development since 1970s, political transformation and social reformation in the 1980s, Taiwan has become increasingly concerned with its arts and culture. The main purpose of this research is to find out in what ways Taiwanese government can help the public fine arts museums in their personnel and financial managements to substantiate their sustenance and development in order to ensure the preservation and development of arts and culture. Therefore the main subjects of this thesis are arts and culture, fine arts museum and government along with the emphasis on tackling museum personnel and finance problems. This research has offered an overview of the cultural development in Taiwan, the personnel and finance problems of museums in practice. It has also justifies the importance of arts and culture, the values and functions of fine arts museums, the necessity of government intervention. Most of all, with the inspection on the policies and programmes developed and applied in different countries, this research attempts to provide possible and better solutions for Taiwanese Governments and fine arts museums.

In order to answer my research questions: Why should the government support fine arts museums? In what ways have the government policies impacted upon the roles and functions of fine arts museums in Taiwan? What are the main problems experienced by the fine art museums in Taiwan and in what form of relationship that government might help to ameliorate them? I have applied two qualitative methods: document and in-depth interview collecting and analysis. This research has reviewed the relevant theories from a broad range of disciplines including politics, economics, sociology, cultural studies and museum studies to explore the key themes founded in the documents and in-depth interviews, such as government intervention vs. museum autonomy and centralisation vs. decentralisation.

This research adheres to the statement of Adorno that 'culture suffers damage when it is planned and administered', yet, 'when it is left to itself... it threatens to not only to lose its possibility of effect, but its very existence as well'. Therefore, it presents the theoretical and practical aspects, as well as the advantages and disadvantages of every policy and project. Finally, it emphasises the formulating assessment of museum performance and the implementing marketing and management skills as important approaches for being a 'successful' museum.

My deepest gratitude is to

My families- Father, Mother, Sister, Brother

My mentors- Richard Sandell, Simon Knell, Eilean Hooper-Greenhill

also my friends and my government

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PART I. BACKGROUND, QUESTION AND METHOD

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE BACKGROUND OF RESEARCH

Following rapid economic development, political transformation and social reformation, Taiwan has become increasingly concerned with the preservation and development of its arts and culture. The concern is manifested in the foundation of the Council for Cultural Affairs (CCA) in 1981. Before 1981, all art and cultural activities and institutions were under the governance of the Ministry of Education (MOE), a cabinet-level department under the Executive Yuan (the highest administrative organisation of the State), and MOE's subsidiary executive entities at the provincial and municipal governments levels. The responsibilities of the Bureaux of Education include supervision and resource management of educational, sports, art and cultural affairs.

The establishment of a special governmental entity, the Council for Cultural Affairs (CCA) separates art and cultural affairs from the domain of MOE and frees them from competition of resources at the local governmental levels. CCA is a new cabinet-level department at the same level as MOE. The foundation of CCA indicates the government's emphasis on the importance of its arts and culture.

Since the establish of the CCA to oversee the arts and cultural affairs for the whole country, the government has also founded cultural centres in each city and county since 1980, most of which had been upgraded to Bureaux of Culture since 1999. The twenty-or-so Bureaux of Culture work with the CCA and the local authorities to provide a better quality of life to the public (Lin and Tsai, 1994). Moreover, government has made a large investment in public art and cultural institutions, such as museums, music halls and opera houses. However, much attention has been paid to the 'hardware', the facilities and the buildings, rather than the 'software' of the culture such as the organizational efforts, resources, social relationships and the performance of cultural institutions.

The hardware-software balance, or lack of which, is exemplified in the criticism by Kuei-miao Chen, former director of the National Museum of History, who raised the fact that the government spent approximately \$300 million to build the National Music Hall and the National Opera House, but failed to increase funding for museums for enhancing their collections, improving research and educational programs, and hosting more international exhibitions.¹ This proclamation led us to question the relationships between the government and the art institutes, how their ideologies, values, roles and functions play different roles in their relationships. The examples of explorative questions are endless: why should government spend public money on fine arts museums? What are the roles and functions of fine arts museums in the society? What are the main problems that fine arts museums encountered? How can government help the sustenance and development of fine arts museums?

¹ See *Siung-Shi Art Monthly* (1988).

It is the intention of this research effort to study the relationship between government, museums and arts and culture. The main topics of discussions include the obligations and responsibilities of government in promoting arts and culture, the values of fine arts museums in arts and culture, and the importance of government to have policies for the preservation and promotion of arts and culture. The research explores how the government (including their subordinate agencies), by means of setting policies, rules and regulations, guide or empower the individuals and institutes to serve the functions of preserving and promoting cultural evolution and social development.

Central to this thesis are issues relating to the tensions between government intervention and institutional autonomy or the *laissez-faire*. The relationships and the communications between these two entities, government and fine arts museums, are based on the fact that each is deeply involved in the management of arts and culture (Bennett, 1998). While exploring the balance between the intervention and the *laissez-faire*, we also discuss the effects and benefits of centralisation and decentralisation. It is not the intention of this research to position these policies as alternatives to one another; rather the purpose of the thesis is to explore how the two approaches, taken by the government, can assist fine arts museums in their personnel administration and funding arrangements to ensure their sustenance and development. Indeed, the fine arts museum is one of the most important institutions for the preservation and promotion of art, which is the essence of human cultural heritage that can improve and enrich our life today and pass it on to future generations.

The social, economic and political context of Taiwan is also important to the interpretation of information that has been collected to answer our research questions. Thus it is

important to review the related social and cultural backgrounds in Taiwan, which serves as a uniquely great example of how economic and political changes are the fundamental and crucial factors in the interaction of governments and museums.

1.1.1 An Overview of Taiwan's Development

Before the Republic of China (ROC, as opposed to People's Republic of China, PRC, government in Beijing) government repossessed Taiwan in 1945, the island had been under the government of the Japanese for fifty years from 1895 to 1945 as a colony. The ROC government later relocated to Taiwan in 1949, after the Chinese Mainland fell under the reign of the communists. For the next 50 years from 1949 to 2000, the KMT (Kuomintang, the Nationalist Party) held power in Taiwan, during which the ROC's economic structure had undergone gradual reconfiguration. The economic structure was shifted from an agriculture-based economy to labour-intensive industry, and then from primitive light industries to major industries such as heavy chemical and manufacture-intensive industries. The transition continued into building a world-class information technology industry that supports the global economy (Yu, 1998). In the 1950s, Taiwan's economy was heavily dependent on agricultural production; by 1962, the production value of industry began to overtake that of agriculture. The government had the foresight to make efforts to lead the country towards an industrialized path by introducing and implementing a number of important economic policies and projects.² The period between 1963 and 1980 saw the most rapid economic growth in the history of Taiwan's economic development and won itself the accolade of 'Taiwan Miracle' (Chen, 1998). By 1995, accumulated foreign exchange reserve exceeded US\$100 billion, although the reserve

² 'Since the 1970, the government has launched a series of large-scale public investment projects: the ten, twelve, and fourteen 'major construction projects', the Six-Year National Development Plan and the Twelve Economic Construction Projects. These projects have primarily involved the construction of the ROC's infrastructure, such as airports, railways, highways, ports, and new cities and towns' (Yu, 1998).

decreased moderately to US\$85 billion by the end of 1996 (Yu, 1998). According to the Bureau of Statistics, the GNP of Taiwan was about \$9.7 trillions in 2001 (see Appendix 1.1). The economic achievements of the small, resource-limited island have been identified as a promising model for other developing countries.

However, the art and cultural development of Taiwan progressed much slower, in contrast to its economic leaps. Due to the ideological and political rivalry between ROC and PRC and its fear to lose the power, KMT had executed the so-called “Emergency Decree”, which empowers the government to justify the Martial Law and the ban on new media organizations (such as news papers) and political parties. The Decree put substantial restriction on the freedom of speech, publishing and the formation of civic associations (Li, 2000). The impacts of the Decree were deep and profound. On one hand, the radical authoritarianism successfully protected the reign of KMT for several decades and created the so-called ‘White Terror’³ era (Pai, 2000), where notions of challenging the incumbent KMT were severely sanctioned. On the other hand, the prohibition of free thoughts and expression, which are important to the cultural development, permeate through the hierarchical education systems as governed by the Ministry of Education. This has delayed the maturity of cultural identity and art development in Taiwan for several decades.

Beginning in the 1980s, pivotal economic, political and social changes took place in Taiwan. The year 1987 was crucial in the transformation in that the government lifted The Emergency Decree and then gave way to the cessation of Martial Law. The ban on new media organizations was eliminated along with restrictions on free speech, publishing and

³ ‘White Terror’ is the fabrication of charges through an abuse of national police power against dissidents for leftist ideas or moves (emphasis on the word ‘leftist’) for the purpose of expanding a right-wing dictatorship (Pai, 2000).

the formation of civic associations and opposition parties (Li, 2000). It paved the way to subsequent political achievements included ‘pushing through full elections to the legislature, introducing the direct popular election of the president, building a framework for multi-party politics’ (Li, 2000), and all these changes and achievements freed the people from the ‘White Terror’ and opened the door to the democratisation of Taiwan. The election for the 10th-term president of the Republic of China in the year 2000 has shown the world that Taiwan has accomplished a historical transition of political power from KMT to Democratic Progress Party (DPP) through a peaceful election. The election has not only “set a new model for the Asian experience of democracy, but also added an inspiring example to the third wave of democracy the world over”.⁴

The transition of the governmental agency from MOE to CCA needs to be understood in the context of such political transformation. The proposal to establish a ‘Ministry of Culture’ has been brought up to the Congress for many times during the long KMT domination without results. Because of the alternation of political power in 2000, it is now gaining traction under a much more enthusiastic and promising legislative process. The new government led by the DPP has announced itself as a government which respects the island’s art heritages and cultural identity (Liu, 1999). It is also more willing to establish a cabinet-level Ministry of Culture in the near future⁵ by expanding the function of CCA. However, the way in which organizations within the art and cultural sectors are likely to be governed and funded is likely to be subject to radical changes, and the question has transformed from ‘whether’ to ‘how’ should the government assist and facilitate arts and culture? What form might the relationship between central government

⁴ In the speech – ‘Taiwan Stands Up: Moving Toward a Brighter Future’ of the 10th-term president of ROC, President Chen’s inauguration, *Sinorama*, Vol. 25, No. 7, July 2000, p. 78.

⁵ As a matter of fact, the DPP government has won the presidency election in March 2004 again and continues its regime, but the establishment of a Ministry of Culture is still in discussion.

and public funded museums take? What role might the government play in nurturing art museums? In addition to governmental agencies, there are some active non-profit agencies that are also working toward the preservation and development of arts and culture.

This research seeks to take into account of the changing climate of political and social transformations experienced in Taiwan since 1987, as well as the economic developments, its attempts to survey, to identify, and to analyse the direct and indirect influences of these social and ideological changes caused by the democratic progressive processes and the reconfiguration of economic structure. The dynamic relationships are substantiated in the intertwined interaction between governmental agencies and public fine arts museums. Furthermore, the following section will explore the hypotheses and objectives of research questions, while the last part will outline the main points of each chapter.

1.2 THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND THE OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

1.2.1 The Hypotheses and Objectives of Research Questions

The main purpose of this research is to answer the fundamental question of why and how the Taiwanese government should help public fine arts museums' sustain and proliferate, through the examination of their current and potential problems as well as possible solutions while investigating the relationship and operating system of government and fine arts museums. Furthermore, it addresses the advantages and disadvantages of government intervention and museum autonomy, analysing the policies, plans and regulations that have been manifested and implemented by other countries. Through the investigations and comparisons of the advantages and disadvantages of different policies and programmes, this research attempts to identify the most suitable frameworks for Taiwan's government in forming, evaluating and implementing the related policies.

Before presenting the research questions, there are three main assumptions of this research which stand to the fore. Firstly, government has a responsibility to ensure the sustenance and development of fine arts museums; secondly, most countries or governments are concerned about the preservation and development of their arts and culture; thirdly, fine arts museums play an important part in the preservation and development of arts and culture. This research is based on the belief that the government would like to promote, and should be responsible for, the preservation and development of its arts and culture, and this hypothesis has also been reconfirmed by most of the museum directors that I have interviewed in Taiwan in 2002 during fieldwork.⁶ The role of government is to assist the ministries and the subordinate agencies in their communications and corporations through art and cultural policies, rules and regulations. Besides, when museum directors are asked what they think are the major problems and difficulties that their museums have encountered, in their operation and for their sustenance and development, there is a high degree of consensus that the answers lie in the areas of museum personnel and finance. With the discussions above, my research thus intends to answer the following questions:

1. Why should the government support fine arts museums?
2. In what ways have government policies impacted upon the roles and functions of fine arts museums in Taiwanese society?
3. What are the main problems experienced by fine arts museums in Taiwan and what form of relationship with government might help to ameliorate them?

⁶ In the in-depth interviews, almost all the interviewees deem that it is the responsibility of government to be in charge of the sustenance and development of its arts and culture. Yet, Mi-cha Wu, Vice Director of the Council for the Cultural Affairs emphasises that it is the responsibility of the society, the public, but not only the government (interview on 11th June, 2002).

To answer these questions, the importance and necessity of arts and culture to our life, the functions and values of fine arts museums, and the roles and responsibility of government to the arts and culture will be justified. Additionally the relationship among governments, governmental subordinate agencies and fine arts museums will be examined. The major personnel and finance problems of Taiwan's fine arts museums will be identified with the aim of finding possible solutions through investigation and comparison of related policies and programmes promoted in other countries. To achieve its objectives, this research will undertake a qualitative approach including the analysis of documents and in-depth interviews. Political, social and economic theories will then be applied to analyse and interpret the data, and furthermore, the comparative method will be employed as an auxiliary approach to find possible solutions or suitable policies to ensure the sustenance and development of the fine arts museum, which preserve, transmit and promote arts and culture for our life.

1.2.2 The Outline of the Thesis

To answer the research questions, this research will review relevant theories from within a range of disciplines (politics, economics, sociology, cultural studies and museum studies) to explore issues and debates that are especially relevant in illustrating and analysing the relationships among government, museums, arts and culture. Because there are many theories and concepts from different academic fields, for the purpose of this thesis, it is preferred to draw up and combine different theories during discussions instead of presenting them in a specific section. This is done on one hand to avoid redundancy, and on the other hand to be efficient by putting the discussion of specific issues and circumstances in their theoretical contexts.

Eight chapters are presented as the main body of this research, grouped into four parts. The first part introduces the background to this research as the justification of the project and points to the direction of the interests and the targeted problems to which the solutions are to be provided. The thesis then goes on to discuss the methodology used in the collection and analyses of information to support the research efforts. The second part consists of the definition of art and culture, the functions and the changing roles of fine art museums in society, as well as the impact of governmental roles towards the arts and culture; all these discussions aim to depict why and how government can help sustain and develop fine arts museums to ensure the preservation and promotion of art and culture for society. The third part discusses the problems of museum personnel and museum funding and possible solutions. The final part draws together the new findings, conclusions and suggestions for further studies in this line of research.

Following this outline, Chapter one describes the political, economic and social histories of Taiwan as well as its current situations in order to acknowledge the capabilities or deficiencies of the government in its dealing with the issues of arts and culture. It presumes that it is the responsibility of government to enhance the preservation and promotion of arts and culture and also assumes that the fine arts museum is the most important institution for achieving this mission. It also points out that this is achieved through the government's application of a set of policies or rules to direct or assist fine arts museums in the mission of preserving the arts and culture for the society. This brings me to my research hypotheses, main research questions, along with the objectives of these questions, and finally an outline of the chapters.

Chapter two is about research methodology and methods, addressing the key issues related to the research questions and the methodology chosen to answer them. It presents the justification for undertaking a 'qualitative' research approach by discussing the nature of the methodology and by clarifying why and how this research is more a 'theoretical' research than a 'policy' research. Next, it introduces the source of data, including supporting documents and transcriptions from in-depth interviews. The former consists of regulations and policies announced or published by governments, authoritative agencies, art and cultural institutions and museums; the latter are transcriptions of interviews with government officers (policy makers), and museum and cultural bureau directors (policy executors). In addition, it also introduces the methods by which I conduct the pilot study, how the interview questions have been shaped, and the criteria used to select the interviewees. The chapter also explains how the theoretical perspectives of main research questions are connected to the interview instruments, through the discussion of data analysis and the coding system. Finally, it states the reason for applying a comparative method as an auxiliary approach to find out more applicable and more recommendatory art and cultural policies for the Taiwanese government.

The beginning of chapter three discusses the definitions, dimensions and functions of art and culture, presenting the debates between anthropologists and the Adornoians for two objectives. For the first objective it explores the importance of art and culture for the society, and at the same time provides a rationale for government intervention in the arts and cultural affairs. This research then seeks to confirm the necessity of governmental policies in its effort to preserve art and culture and to assist in their development. The last section introduces the art and cultural institutions of Taiwan in charge of formulating and implementing policies.

The subject of chapter four is the fine arts museum itself, one of most important institutions at the centre of the thesis. First it introduces the definitions of a museum as defined by different schools, at different time periods and in different countries, encompassing the complexity and evolution of the concept in different historical contexts. Second, the chapter proposes categorical examples of the values and functions of fine arts museums in four different functions: political, economic, social and aesthetic. Finally, it depicts the changing roles played by Taiwan's public fine arts museums since 1949. Depending on the political climate, the museums in Taiwan did not always reflect political, economic and social developments of Taiwanese society; rather, they were used as a measure to exercise social controls. In a liberated social climate, museums in Taiwan need to reconsider their values and missions. In summary, it substantiates the notions that the fine arts museum is one of the most important institutions in the cultural activities of the society and that the government should ensure its sustenance and development.

Chapter five justifies a government's responsibility for its involvement in art and cultural affairs, and also debates the tension between government intervention on one hand and museum autonomy on the other. It reviews the advantages and disadvantages of direct and indirect governmental intervention by introducing Netzer (1978) and Zimmer & Toepler's (1999) theories of government intervention in the arts and culture. Next, the chapter examines the relationships among governments, subordinate agencies and fine arts museums through contradictory axioms such as 'intervention and laissez-faire' and 'centralisation and decentralisation'. Furthermore, it connects the discussion of Weber's 'ideal type' of bureaucracy with museum personnel. The final part of this chapter emphasises the importance of government formulation and implementation of legislated

regulations and feasible policies to ensure the sustenance and development of the art and cultural institutions.

Chapter six deals with one of the major problems of the public fine arts museum in Taiwan, the management of museum personnel. The first section introduces the process of designating museum directors and the two main systems through which the public fine arts museums of Taiwan recruit their staff, discussing the diversity and complexity of the museum profession and their roles and responsibilities. The following part is devoted to a discussion of the cultivation of museum professionals, along with the assessment of museums performance in terms of their utility of public funding, one of the main issues of the next chapter.

Chapter seven works on another major problem: museum funding. It begins by drawing a distinction between 'public patronage' and 'private sponsorship', reviewing the advantages and disadvantages of both sources of funding. The chapter then points out that government budget shortfalls and disproportionate distribution of funds are the two main financial problems facing Taiwan's museums. The following section makes an effort to identify possible solutions, including the allocation of plural funding, developing partnerships among governments, corporations and museums, encouraging private participation in public projects, and finally, adopting new concepts and techniques for marketing and management in order to perform more effectively and efficiently.

Chapter eight is the concluding chapter which provides a brief summary by reviewing the research questions, research methods and findings. The second part of this chapter

comments on the limitations and contributions of this research, drawing together the new findings and recommendations for future study.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

2.1 Methodology

This chapter concerns the methodology and methods that this research has applied to answer the research questions. It discusses the nature and justifications of different research designs through the comparison of assumptions, purposes, approaches and other prepositions, which characterise the qualitative inquiry from the quantitative design. It explains why I chose a qualitative method to undertake the whole project, which academic disciplines I adhered to, and what research techniques I used to achieve the outcomes in order to answer my research questions. It also explains the term, ‘policy research’, which may cause some confusion because I have used it in a special way. ‘Policy research’ is commonly associated with a set of substantive strategies or action plans geared towards solving social problems. Although the title of this paper contains the word ‘policy’, it should be aligned to the ‘theoretical research’ approach, which focuses more on the causes and explanations of social and cultural phenomenon.

The second part of this chapter states the reasons why I have chosen documents and in-depth interviews as the main methods for data collection, what the advantages and limitations of these two types are, what documents I have collected and some ethical (the

selection bias) and authenticity issues related to the documents. It also focus on the justifications and criteria for selecting the interview type and the interviewees, the manner in which I conducted a pilot study, changes and adjustments to my interview questions, and how my interview questions relate to my research questions.

The third part of this chapter introduces the methods that the research has adopted for the data analysis. I approach data analysis as a process to build up the explanations, to present the outcomes, and hopefully, to answer the questions raised by the research. In this research, the data is collected mostly from textual documents and in-depth interviews. The analysis of the qualitative data is based on theoretical analysis and a comparative approach. ‘Theoretical analysis’ refers to the ways in which data is analysed according to some political, economic, social and cultural theories instead of constructing a new theory as a result of obtaining new data. Comparing analysis is again not the ‘traditional’ comparative study of different policies: I introduce some related policy approaches undertaken in other countries which may be useful references for the Taiwanese government in helping the financial and personnel- related developments of public fine arts museums in Taiwan.

2.1.1 The Nature and Justification of Qualitative Research

Both quantitative and qualitative methods are used by researchers to ‘state a purpose, pose a problem or raise a question, define a research population, develop a time frame, collect and analyse data, and present outcomes’ (Glesne and Peshkin, 1992: 5). Nonetheless, quantitative methods are mostly used in positivist or scientific research which is largely based on statistical facts, while qualitative methods are generally applied for the interpretivist or social research which attempts to analyse and explain complex human interaction and social phenomena by using words (Glesne and Peshkin, 2000; Mason,

1996). The quantitative researchers contend that their data is ‘credible’, ‘rigorous’, and ‘scientific’ while those who use qualitative methods persist that their data is ‘nuanced’, ‘detailed’, and ‘contextual’ (Creswell, 1994; Glesne and Peshkin, 2000; Mason, 1996). There are many debates over research methodology in the quantitative and qualitative paradigms (Brannen, 1992; Hammersley, 1992). However, it is important to identify the characteristics of these two paradigms in helping the researchers to recognize the relative positions that they should take, and how they can conduct the research process (Maynard and Purvis, 1994; Stanley and Wise, 1993). Creswell (1994: 5) presents us with the assumptions of quantitative and qualitative paradigms based on studies by Firestone (1987), Guba and Lincoln (1988) and McCracken (1988) (see Table 2.1):

Table 2.1 Quantitative and Qualitative Paradigm Assumptions

Assumption	Question	Quantitative	Qualitative
Ontological Assumption	What is the nature of reality?	Reality is objective and singular, apart from the researcher.	Reality is subjective and multiple as seen by participants in a study.
Epistemological Assumption	What is the relationship of the researcher to that researched?	Researcher is independent from that being researched.	Researcher interacts with that being researched
Axiological Assumption	What is the role of values?	Value-free and unbiased	Value-laden and biased
Rhetorical Assumption	What is the language of research?	Formal Based on set definitions Impersonal voice Use of accepted quantitative words	Informal Evolving decisions Personal voice Accepted qualitative words
Methodological Assumption	What is the process of research?	Deductive process Cause and effect Static design-categories isolated before study Context-free Generalizations leading to prediction, explanation, and understanding Accurate and reliable through validity and reliability	Inductive process Mutual simultaneous shaping of factors Emerging design-categories identified during research process Context-bound Patterns, theories developed for understanding Accurate and reliable through verification

SOURCE: Based on Firestone (1987), Guba & Lincoln (1988) and McCracken (1988).

The five assumptions (the ontological, the epistemological, the axiological, the rhetorical and the methodological) illustrate the contrasting characteristics of the quantitative and qualitative paradigms. In the ontological issue, quantitative researchers regard the world

reality as an objective existence in itself, and believe that reality can be measured, explained and displayed by objective factors and statistics. To qualitative researchers, reality can be comprehended and interpreted in many different aspects simultaneously, according to the informants who are participating in the making of the meanings of the reality. Hence, there will be many different voices that the researchers will encounter, and they have the responsibility of recording and demonstrating as many of these multiple realities as possible. In conducting this research, no matter what literature, theories or interviews that I have read or engaged with, I can always come across different opinions, connotations and interpretations based on different standpoints, situations and individual values. Therefore, based on the ontological assumption, the research I undertake is qualitative.

In addition, quantitative researchers contend that their own values and biases are less involved in the project than the qualitative researchers' are. Most of the time, the quantitative researchers seek to remain 'distant' and 'independent' from the research and rely more on evidence and statistics. Qualitative researchers, on the other hand, regard 'interaction' as a very important component of a study. They are inclined to observe those being researched as closely as possible, or even to 'collaborate' with the informants in order to capture or elaborate the meanings, the judgements and the values of both the informants and the researchers on the research projects. Therefore, quantitative research tends to be more objective, independent and scientific, whereas the qualitative research is more subjective, interactive and interpretive. One of my main data collecting methods is in-depth interviewing, which certainly involves 'interaction' between the researcher and informants.

The rhetorical issue is concerned with the language, the vocabulary and the designs used by the researchers in data collection, analysis, and reporting. Quantitative research applies the instruments such as the survey (Babbie, 1990; Fink and Kosecoff, 1985; Fowler, 1988), questionnaire, and experimental and quasi-experimental projects (Keppel, 1991; McMillan & Schumacher, 1989; Rosenthal and Rosnow, 1991). Those designs provide us most effectively with accurate, numeric and scientific descriptions. Therefore, the language used in those designs and reports should be more formal, impersonal and based on the set of accepted definitions. Qualitative researchers are interested in seeking and exploring the meanings, denotations and connotations of the language, text and pictures of the observations, interviews, documents, auditory and visual materials, as well as the ideas, values, feelings and personal thoughts. Therefore, the language used in the qualitative research is relatively informal and personal. In this research, though the data includes some statistics, they have been analysed through qualitative procedures.

The quantitative methodology tends to confirm the ‘concepts’, ‘variables’ and ‘hypotheses’ through the cause-and-effect and deductive approaches and reaches a predictable, reliable outcome (Creswell, 1994: 7). Instead, the qualitative methodology draws more attention to the process rather than the outcome. It applies the inductive method while dealing with the rich context-bound data which enable us to understand, verify and interpret the multiple, simultaneously-existing information. In my policy study, the formation, implementation and evaluation of governmental policies concerning fine arts museums, as well as the ways that the government helps the fine arts museums in their personnel and finance administration are all important in the discussions. The different textual and verbal information collected and translated needs to be verified and analysed by different theories and techniques. Moreover, the assumptions help the researcher to

understand the characters of quantitative and qualitative paradigms, and the description of the two different methodological processes also helps the researcher in undertaking the project.

Glesne and Peshkin (1992) also introduce quantitative and qualitative modes of inquiry from four different predispositions: the assumptions, the purposes, the approaches and the researcher roles (see Table 2.2).

Table 2.2 Predispositions of Quantitative and Qualitative Modes of Inquiry

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

(Source: Glesne and Peshkin, 1992: 7)

This research deals with policy analysis which explores the relationship of the governments, subordinate agencies and fine arts museums, and the necessity of having the art and cultural policies. In addition, it also addresses the main functions and challenges

that the fine arts museums of Taiwan have had and faced, and in what ways the Taiwanese Government might help the sustenance and development of the museums. In this research, all the subject matter and values are ‘socially constructed’ and all the discussions and variables are ‘complex’ and ‘interwoven’, and are not meant to be measured and displayed by numerical forms (Mason, 1996: 4). Furthermore, it is important to know how the policies have been formulated, implemented and evaluated by insiders such as the policy makers, policy executors and researchers.

This research examines and analyses the causes, processes and the results presented in different data. It also assesses social interaction related to the formulation, implementation and evaluation of art and cultural policies. However, this research is not studied through ‘causal explanation’, the cause-and-effect relationship, neither does it aim at making predictions. Its aim is to allow a better understanding of the contextual interpretations and the perspectives of the participants. It is indeed an ‘exploratory and descriptive focus’ (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Maykut and Morehouse, 1994) which involves primarily ‘the understandings of the complexity, detail and context’ (Mason, 1996: 4) of art and cultural policies and the political, economic, social phenomena. Furthermore, it also aims to make comparisons and even offers suggestions for the ways in which the policies could be made more sensible, applicable and beneficial. I have investigated a number of documents, regulations and policies that have already been published and implemented, yet this research is still an ‘ongoing inductive data analysis’ (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994) which intends to be examined and explained by the ‘predispositions’ and ‘theories’ related to it.

After all, qualitative data typically consist of words while quantitative data is comprised of numbers. This research collects many textual materials and undertakes several face-to-face

interviews, and those data are all credited to qualitative assumptions, purposes and approaches. As a researcher who undertakes the study to seek ways in which a government can help the sustenance and development of fine arts museums, I have already taken a partial stance. As Schwandt (1989) elaborated:

Our constructions of the world, our values, and our ideas about how to inquire into those constructions, are mutually self-reinforcing. We conduct inquiry via a particular paradigm because it embodies assumptions about the world that we believe and values that we hold, and because we hold those assumptions and values we conduct inquiry according to the precepts of that paradigm.

Schwandt (1989: 399)

Concluding from the statement above and the two tables of the characteristics of different research assumptions and predispositions, it is believed that this project should be more satisfactory if conducted under qualitative methods.

2.1.2 Policy Research and Theoretical Research

The primary purpose of this research is to find out how Taiwan's government might help the sustenance and development of fine arts museums. However, this research does not aim to formulate an art or cultural policy itself, but to examine alternative policy models, including the comparison of systems applied in other fields or in other countries, to provide more information and to improve the basis for policy decisions by means of empirical research. It can help identify the problems, discern the causes of these problems, and suggest potential solutions. The methods this research has employed are not the techniques which are usually applied for policy analysis, such as analysis of the costs and benefits, risk managements, or negotiations. The approach of this research is to collect published documents, especially the arts and cultural policies of certain countries, and analyse them in the light of on existing political, economic and social theories.

According to some definitions and categorisations (Bulmer, 1986; Hakim 1987; Hogwood and Gunn, 1984; Lindblom, 1980; Wainwright, 1994), policy research contrasts significantly with theoretical research in many aspects. Catherine Hakim (1987) has compared the characteristics of policy research and theoretical research in the following way:

1. *Differences of principles: policy research aims to produce knowledge for action, whereas theoretical research produces knowledge for understanding.*
2. *Contingent differences: that is, differences which, as a matter of fact, tend to distinguish policy research from theoretical research.*
3. *The role of explanation and causes: these matter less in policy research than in theoretical research.*
4. *The types of findings which the two sorts of research produce.*
5. *The inescapably political character of policy research.*

This comparison presents us with several sharp distinctions between policy research and theoretical research. Some further explanations have been provided by Bechhofer and Paterson (2000), who state that policy research is engaged more with description and prediction than in explaining social policy. Theoretical research focuses more on the processes and explanations of the causes of social actions. Most cases of policy research are commissioned by the government or in the favour of some interest groups, therefore, the results of this study must be readily 'generalisable' and openly applicable so that they would be able to at least make recommendations for the social groups which commission the research to make use of in a social context. For this reason, they require a higher degree of 'internal validity' than other types of social research (2000: 127). Comparatively, theoretical research, on the other hand, is relatively adhesive to academic disciplines; however, such research is generally not obliged to project straightforward or effective recommendations in a certain period of time.

Social policy research basically aims at formulating a set of substantive strategies or action plans to solve social problems or to bring forth social progress, developments or benefits to the research sponsors. 'The policy makers derive their ideas from common sense, from unsystematic observation, and from thoughtful speculation' (2000: 123), so social policy research relies as much on the general public's 'ordinary knowledge' as on the policy maker's 'common sense' (Lindblom and Cohen, 1979; Wainwright, 1994). The findings of the social policy research are more 'selective' and 'congenial' than 'conclusive' (Bechhofer and Paterson, 2000: 123). Policy research associates more with 'pluralism', for it is supposed to serve the public, and it requires 'collaboration', partnership between a government, researchers and beneficiaries of the research (2000: 130). From this point of view, this 'policy' research shares the perceptions of different levels of governments, the policy makers and the policy executors. If policies were defined or decided only by a single entity, then the research would have been proposed and analysed in another manner (2000: 129) that might affect the objectiveness of the researcher and the results might not be able to reflect reality.

Theoretical research is perhaps more independent from the political and social authorities or interest groups, and it focuses on the study of the complexities and relationships of the variables which might be conducted under certain academic disciplines. Conversely, policy research aims at changing, improving or solving the practical problems of our society; it has to be based on the social science studies to investigate, interpret and evaluate changeable, complicated and interwoven social phenomena. Furthermore, it aims to recognise, verify and analyse the knots and the cores of social problems, and moreover to testify, explore and formulate a set of effective procedures to be realised in practice. This research delves into the governmental policies, including the political, economic,

social, art related and cultural policies which affect the personnel and finance administration of the public fine arts museums. Although the title of this piece of research includes the word 'policy', from the discussions of the distinctive characteristics between policy research and theoretical research, the nature of this research is theoretical. As a matter of fact the formulation of effective policies relies on better interpretations and applications of social theories.

2.2 Data Collection Methods

In the beginning phase, I intend to conduct my research mainly through the collection of documents and theory analysis, because I believe that most of the policies which have been examined are essentially based on what already 'happened'. Therefore, basically, I am dealing with the 'historical', 'official' documents. Moreover, the main bodies involved in this research are the governments of different levels, the governmental agencies, the cultural bureaux and the public museums. However, usually those organisations are regarded as tools of the governments for propaganda purposes or to regulate social routines and performances (Bennett, 1995). In other words, I already engage myself in a rather 'selected' and 'biased' situation. Therefore, I assume that it will not be objective enough to analyse or evaluate information obtained from the governors, policy makers, and directors of these 'bureaucratic', 'selected' organisations. I would have preferred to collect the information from 'documents' and make judgments and evaluations according to the theories related to this subject.

Nevertheless, as I collect more documents and investigate the potential research methodologies I become more convinced that it is important to have 'interaction' in qualitative research and even in the policy study. The perspectives of governors, policy

makers and policy executors cannot be fully investigated merely through published documents. Therefore, I collect data through face-to-face, in-depth interviews instead of through ‘inventories’, ‘questionnaires’, or ‘machines’ (Merriam, 1988), because in-depth interviews provide information which is unavailable in the published documents. The interviewees are carefully selected with the possibility in mind that each participant might expand the variability of the discussion (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994), especially when I examine the relationship among different levels of governmental offices and the museums. This research adopts complex, multiple-sourced approaches (Mason, 1996) including document analysis and in-depth interviews which are ‘qualitative’ methods of data collection (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994). Creswell (1994) introduces the options, advantages and limitations of four major qualitative data collection methods: observations, interviews, documents and audiovisual materials. However, only ‘documents’ and ‘interviews’ have been applied in this research (see Table 2.3).

Table 2.3 Qualitative Data Collection Types, Options, Advantages, and Limitations

Data Collection Types	Options Within Types	Advantages of the Type	Limitations of the Type
Documents	Public documents such as minutes of meetings, newspapers Private documents such as journal or diary, letter	Enable a researcher to obtain the language and words of informants Can be accessed at a time convenient to researcher—an unobtrusive source of information. Represents data that are thoughtful in that informants have given attention to compiling. As written evidence, it saves a researcher the time and expense of transcribing.	Maybe protected information unavailable to public or private access. Requires the researcher to search out the information in hard-to-find places. Requires transcribing or optically scanning for computer entry Materials may be incomplete The documents may not be authentic or accurate.
Interviews	Face-to-face—one on one, in-person interview Telephone-researcher interviews by phone Group-researcher interviews informants in a group	Useful when informants cannot be directly observed. Informants can provide historical information. Allows researcher “control” over the line of questioning.	Provides “indirect” information filtered through the views of interviewees. Provides information in a designated “place,” rather than the natural field setting. Researcher’s presence may bias responses. Not all people are equally articulated and perceptive.

NOTE: 1. This table includes material taken from Merriam (1988) and Bogdan & Biklen (1992).
2. There are only two data types, the documents and interviews, presented in this table.

In accordance with Creswell's methods, I have collected many public documents and conducted face-to-face, one-on-one interviews for this research.

2.2.1 Document Data Collection

Documents not only cover a broad array of sources that deal with how the concepts and events are constructed, they also provide the researcher with evidence of the concepts and events related to the research, and allow them to make comparisons with their own findings (May, 2001). Basically, there are two categories of documentary data: text-based documents and non-text-based documents. Text-based documents are among the major qualitative resources for social research and include Acts of Parliament, Congressional papers, written policies, bank statements, company reports, minutes of meetings, handbooks, guidelines, manuals, archival materials, computer files and documents, newspapers and magazines, newsletters, memoranda, rough notes and scribbles, advertisements, charts, tables and lists (Glesne and Peshkin, 1992; Mason, 1996). The non-text-based documents include 'photographs; films; video and television; music; display; graphic representations; sculptures; drawings and pictures; visual arts and artefacts; style and fashion; diagrams and maps' (1992: 54; 1996: 71). For using documents as sources of research, John Scott's (1990) four criteria for assessing the quality of documents are the 'authenticity', 'credibility', 'representativeness' and 'meaning'. These are the decisive factors that should be taken into consideration (Scott, 1990); especially nowadays we use a lot of information from the internet which brings about some particular and problematic issues with regard to reliability and validity (Stein, 1999).

This research covers the study of political, economic, social, art and cultural policies, and the institutional objectives and regulations imposed mainly by the central governments, which have an impact upon fine arts museums. The resources include documents produced in the conventions, conferences, symposiums, and special and regular meetings of the international organisations. They also include the tax relief and tax deduction laws for the art and cultural, educational, and non-profitable organisations, the rules, the regulations, and plans of government departments, their subordinate agencies and the museums of Taiwan (see Table 2.4).

Table 2.4 Different Types of Documents

International organisations	UNESCO, ICOM....
Taxation Laws	The Statute for Sponsorship of Culture and the Arts; The Statute Establishing the National Culture and Foundation
Rules	The Cultural Development Rules of Taiwan
Regulations	The Regulation of Appointments of Civil Servant and Educator; The Law for Autonomy of Local Governments
Plans	The Plan to Enhance the Software and Hardware of Provincial, County, Rural and Urban Township, and the Community Cultural Facilities; The Cultural White Paper

From these ‘documents’, we can carefully examine the various changes surrounding the museum sector, the changing roles of the museums in society, the transactions and shifts of the administrative authorities, and how museums cope with and react to these changes and shifts. These documents exemplify the relationship between different types and different levels of governmental departments, between the governmental departments and their subordinate agencies, and between the cultural bureaux and the public fine arts museums.

The data collected for this research is composed of text-based documents, including both public (official) documents and private documents. Most of the official documents

(historical records) are published or sponsored by authorities (such as the UNESCO, AAM, DCMS, GLLAM, CCA). On the one hand, they receive superior legitimate credibility; on the other hand, they are the results of 'selection bias' themselves, which means the work is generally conducted to benefit authorities, including governments, interest groups, and the 'winners, the powers that emerge from some conflicts' (Bechhofer and Paterson, 2000: 139; May, 2001: 197). Therefore, the data needed for this research should not be restricted to the official documents but also must include information from newspapers, magazines and journals in order to procure a legitimate body of information for research analysis.

Newspapers, magazines and journals are good resources of research data. Though they might not possess any visible or valuable theoretical attributions and their research may not follow any methodological procedures, 'their insights, information and analyses are frequently more penetrating, enlightening and infinitely better written than the more pedestrian efforts of "real" social scientists' (Bechhofer and Paterson, 2000: 140).

Newspapers, magazines and journals with a high circulation are relatively important and influential, because they have a wide readership and therefore they have a wide impact on the perceptions, values and ideas of the public. Some of the issues may originally come from the academic discussions, but the main focuses in the newspapers and magazines tend to be closer to daily life, and therefore more representative than other literature as a source of information to reveal the 'reality' of a society (2000: 134, 136). In all of the text-based resources the information is, obviously, written, which makes it more convenient and comprehensible than other visual materials.¹ Nevertheless, it is important that the researchers find and select text-based documents related to the research questions.

Alongside other research methods, 'documentary research' helps to yield more valuable

¹ According to Mason (1996: 71), 'the non-text-based forms of data includes film, video and television, displays, graphic representations, sculptures, drawings and pictures, visual arts and artefacts, style and fashion, diagrams, photographs and so on'.

insights into the workings of the real world, and the ‘theoretical approach’ in the documents is also very important for the data analysis of this research (May, 2001: 198).

2.2.2 In-depth Interview Data Collection

A. Justification of using in-depth interview

Interviewing people is a widely used qualitative research method used to generate data. Here, people can be seen ‘as data sources in the sense that they are repositories of knowledge, evidence, experience or their believe, think or feel, which is relevant to the research’ (Bechhofer and Paterson, 2000: 56; Mason, 1996: 35). Through the ‘qualitative’, ‘informal’ and ‘semi-structured’ interviews (Mason, 1996), which Burgess calls ‘conversations with a purpose’ (Burgess, 1984:102; Kvale, 1996: 6); we can understand and interpret the art and cultural policies from not only authoritative perspectives but also from the perspectives of museum professionals. Moreover, the information acquired from the conversational discussions might cover more themes or issues, and reveal more veracious opinions and phenomena than published documents do. For this research, it is important to know the format, implementation and evaluation of the policies from the text-based documents and from the persons and organisations that are involved. The interviews I conducted are ‘elite interviews’ which focus on interviewing the ‘elite individuals (who) are considered to be the influential, the prominent, and the well-informed people in an organisation or community and are selected for interviews on the basis of their expertise in areas relevant to the research’ (Marshall and Rossman, 1995: 83). For this research, I apply in-depth interviews to collect the elite individuals’ (museum directors’) perceptions, judgments, facts and forecasts, as well as their opinions about the existing problems and possible solutions.

B. Pilot study

(1) Justification of pilot study

Before the interviews, I conduct a pilot study to learn about the research process, and interview techniques to ensure a successful 'formal' interview. The research interview is a highly artificial process of interaction. It can never be conducted like a normal conversation even under the most unstructured conditions. Many researchers presume that everyone talks and therefore it will not be difficult to collect or generate qualitative data from interviewing individuals or groups. In practice, however, interviews are among the most challenging and un-anticipative forms of qualitative research. They require personal sensitivity (both from the interviewer and the interviewees), adaptability and the ability to stay within the bounds of the designed protocol (Bechhofer and Paterson, 2000). The interviewer has to be prepared and also has to be able to motivate the respondents in order to conduct successful interviews.

The pilot participants should be informed that they are participating in a pilot study instead of an actual piece of research. From the interaction with the pilot participants, the researcher will also know how to perform as an interviewer. By speaking with the pilot participants, the interviewer can test if the research questions are understandable and clear, if they related to the research, and if they are open-ended questions. The pilot study can help the interviewer's techniques in communicating with the interviewees and enable them to learn how to establish mutual trust with the interviewees (Glesne and Peshkin, 1992), as well as how to take field notes whilst interviewing. A pilot study also helps the interviewer to improve the interview questions, to revise the research plan if necessary, and most of all; it prepares the interviewer for the real research.

(2) Conducting pilot study

For this research, I actually conduct two different kinds of pilot study with the same person, Mr. Wu, Chine-fong, director of Taipei County Yingko Ceramics Museum.²

Before undertaking the pilot study, I emailed my questionnaire and conducted a brief telephone interview to explain my research project and the purpose of the pilot study.

Afterwards, I prepared the original questionnaire, notebook, and tape recorder to undertake the face-to-face interview. During the pilot study, the interview questions were checked individually to make sure that they were understandable. At the same time, Director Wu also helped me in selecting the questions that were more directly related to this research and modifying them to be open-ended questions if they were not (see Appendix 2.1). With Director Wu's help, most of the questions are modified into open-ended questions³ which can encourage the interviewees to address more details than the closed questions can generate. The interview questions were modified not only according to Director Wu's advice during the pilot study, but also were adjusted by deleting or specifying the questions through the experiences after I had carried out several interviews.

After the pilot study and the experiences accumulated from the interviews, I acknowledge that my research actually deals with written policies, regulations and documents rather than the opinions, values and judgements of the interviewees, or the patterns of behaviour, emotions or interactions between the interviewer and interviewees. However, this research requires not necessarily a structured questionnaire but rather some well-defined, thematic, topic-centred qualitative interviewing questions that I need to discuss with the government officers, directors of art museums and bureaux of cultural affairs.

² Wu Chine-fong, Taipei County Yingko Ceramics Museum director, passed away in early October, 2004 after bravely fighting a losing battle with cancer.

³ Sue Jones in her "Depth Interviewing", said that 'open-ended questions are used in depth interviews because they give greater freedom for respondents to answer in their own terms rather than within the tramlines of set alternatives in "closed" questions' (Walker, 1985: 48).

C. The selection of the interviewees

The criteria for selecting the interviewees for this research is based on ‘geographical’ and ‘organizational’ factors (Mason, 1996: 89). For this research, I would like to select those both with greater ‘generalisability’ and ‘representativeness’ (Bechhofer and Paterson, 2000: 31-42)⁴ who would provide the most relevant information with regard to my research questions and to ‘test and develop theoretical propositions’ (Mason, 1996: 93). The interviewees are carefully selected with the possibility in mind that each participant might expand the variability of the discussion (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994), especially when I examine the relationship among different levels of governmental offices and museums.

Taiwan is a small island yet it is commonly divided into east and west (including north, middle and south) regions. The west part of Taiwan is much more developed and the population is much denser than it in the east and most of the cultural resources are allocated in the west. Therefore, for this research within the thirteen interviewees, twelve are also chosen from the cultural bureaux and museums in the west and one from the east. In addition to the geographic factor, the organizational factor is also a major concern in selecting the interviewees. There are three administrative strata, the organisations of central, city (municipal) and county (local) governments. I have conducted in-depth qualitative interviews with thirteen museum directors and policy makers in total from these three administrative strata. Therefore, the interviewees for this research are selected from different geographical regions and different governmental administrative strata

⁴ ‘Sometimes generalisability is called “external validity”. The aim is to allow valid comparisons between the sample and the population from it which came by controlling any differences between the sample and that population’ (Bechhofer and Paterson, 2000: 31). ‘But what do we mean generalisability? We mean precisely this and only this: if the sample has been chosen in one of the ways that we have looked at, then we can infer that a description of the sample is also a description of the population, with the relatively minor caveat that there will be some measurable uncertainty’ (2000: 39).

which enable us to have a panoramic perception of the art and cultural development in Taiwan (see Table 2.5).

Table 2.5 The Interviewees

Central Government	Municipal Government (City Government)	Local Government (County Government)
Council for the Cultural Affairs (north) -Wu, Mi-cha, vice director -June 11, 2002 (17:30-18:30)	Cultural Affairs Bureau of Taipei (north) -Deng, Tsung-de, researcher -June 13, 2002 (11:00-12:00)	Cultural Affairs Bureau of Taipei County (north) -Pan, Wen-chung, director -June 7, 2002 (13:30-14:30)
National Museum of History (north) -Huang, Guang-nan, director -May 13, 2002 (9:30-11:00)	Taipei Fine Arts Museum (north) -Huang, Tzai-lang, director -June 12, 2002 (15:00-17:00)	Cultural Affairs Bureau of Taichung County (middle) -Hong, Ching-feng, director -May 17, 2002 (12:30-1:15)
Taiwan Museum of Art (middle) -Lee, Wuh-kuen, director -May 15, 2002 (14:00-17:00)	Taichung City Government (middle) -Hsiao, Chia-chi, vice mayor -May 21, 2002 (12:00-13:30)	Cultural Bureau of Kaohsiung County Government (south) -Huang, Chu-chi, director -May 29, 2002 (10:45-12:15)
	Taichung City Cultural Affairs Bureau (middle) -Lin, Huei-tang, director -May 18, 2002 (11:00-12:00)	Cultural Bureau of Hualien County, Performing Arts Department and Hualien Stone Sculpture Museum -Chen, Hsiu-jean director -June 14, 2002 (9:00-16:30)
	Kaohsiung City Chiang Kai- Shek Cultural Centre (south) -Lin Cho-hao, director -May 28, 2000 (10:30-17:00)	
	Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts (south) -Tsiao, Tsung-huang, director -May 27, 2002 (14:00-17:00)	

Choosing the museums of different governmental levels (central, municipal and local), in different geographical locations (north, middle and south), I intend to understand the relationship between central, municipal and local governments, and the relationship between governmental offices and museums. Most of all, this investigates the difficulties and problems that the museums have encountered in dealing with the policies and regulations imposed by governments, and what they need from governments in order to maintain and develop their resources. Therefore, we can be better informed about the current phenomena of the arts and culture of Taiwan through interviews with both the policy makers and the policy executors.

2.2.3 The research question, research objective and interview question

The main purpose of this research is to find out why and how the Taiwanese government can help the sustenance and development of fine arts museums to ensure the preservation and promotion of the arts and culture. Moreover, this research explores and defines the relationship between different governmental departments of different levels in the administrative system, the relationship between those departments and their subordinate agencies, and also with the public fine arts museums. Therefore, the research questions and the research objectives are proposed in order to undertake this research (see Table 2.6).

Table 2.6 The Research Questions and the Research Objectives

Research Questions	Research Objectives
1. Why should the government support fine arts museums?	1. To justify the responsibility of the government in the art and cultural development. 2. To justify the importance of having art and cultural policies. 3. To address the values of fine arts museums in the development of art and culture.
2. In what ways have the government policies impacted upon the roles and functions of fine arts museums in Taiwan?	1. To identify the changing role of the fine arts museums in society. 2. To address the main trends of art and cultural changing and developments manifested in Taiwan. 3. To identify the main impacts of government policies on fine arts museums in Taiwan.
3. What are the main problems experienced by the fine art museums in Taiwan and in what form of relationship that government might help to ameliorate them?	1. To identify the main problems faced by fine arts museums in Taiwan. 2. To address the relationships among governments of different levels, the subordinate agencies and the fine arts museums. 3. To identify the ways that the government can help to ameliorate the problems of public fine arts museums in Taiwan. 4. To use the findings to make recommendations for possible solutions, including learning from other countries.

Besides the main research questions, I also identify many important related questions not only through the theory study, and then in the pilot study, but also during the interviews in the very early stages of this research. I have studied many articles about censorship which I assume to be one of the main themes related to the issue of government intervention and museum autonomy. However, I found during the pilot study and the subsequent interviews that after the lifting of the Martial Law in 1987, censorship has no longer been one of the main debates. Furthermore, it was confirmed by several interviewees (directors) that the

main problems their institutions face concern institutional administration in personnel and finance. Therefore, I removed or amended some of the interview questions to sharpen the focus of the research.

2.3 Data Analysis Methods

For this research, the qualitative data was collected from documents and in-depth interviews. Therefore the methods I apply for the data analysis are also qualitative methods of data analysis. I apply many qualitative analysis methods from Steinar Kvale (1996) which illustrates the 'seven stages' of the interview research, including thematising, designing, interviewing, transcribing, analysing, verifying, and reporting as well as the 'five approaches' to interview analysis, including meaning condensation, meaning categorisation, meaning structuring through narratives, meaning interpretation, and meaning generation through ad hoc methods. In addition, Anselm L. Strauss (1987) emphasises the importance of coding, analytic memos and the requirement for formulating social theory. Jennifer Mason (1996) also introduces the processes and skills of sorting, organising and indexing qualitative data. The methods help significantly in the collecting, analysing and interpreting of data collected from the documents and the in-depth interviews for this research.

2.3.1 Document Analysis- the Coding Method

The documents collected for this research are all text-based and include official documents, books, journals, magazines, newspapers, newsletters, handbooks, guidelines, and material taken from the Internet. I have taken notes or make photocopies from them in order to do the 'sorting', 'organising' and 'indexing' of the data (Mason, 1996: 107-134) of the main themes related to the discussion of relationships among governments, governmental

subordinate agencies, art and cultural institutions and museums. The coding method is introduced almost in every piece of qualitative and quantitative data analysis. Denzin and Lincoln (2000), Miles and Huberman (1994) and Colin Robson (1993) all emphasise the importance of coding as an analysis which conceptualises and classifies the collected data. The function of coding 'includes raising questions and giving provisional answers (hypotheses) about categories and about their relations' (Strauss, 1987: 20-21). Strauss (1987) has introduced three types of coding which are actually the three procedures that the researcher would follow in dealing with the codes found in the texts: open coding, axial coding and selective coding. The open coding that I choose for my data is the preliminary type of coding which 'forces the analysts to fracture, break the data apart analytically' and 'quickly gets them to think in terms of explicit concepts and their relationships' (1987: 29). I construct the table of coding qualitative data to include the codes generated from the documents data and the qualitative interview transcriptions.

In view of the fact that I am aware of what may be counted as subject matter for my research, I set three core categories, 'art and culture', 'museums' and 'government', and dividing each core category into three subcategories, which are put respectively into the three different boxes before finishing data collection and analysis. Then, I use different coloured highlighters to distinguish the codes and put them into different coloured boxes. For the interview transcriptions, I also find the codes that match the ones accumulated from the documentary analysis, and mark them down with the same colour system which would be discussed, analysed and interpreted together on a certain issue. In this research, I use open coding to locate the key themes, issues, and debates that I find in the documents and in-depth interviews. Those themes are discussed in different chapters, and are based on the political, economic and social theories, examples of specific policies, regulations

and rules, opinions of museums directors and policy makers, findings and the comparisons between different countries. Alternatively, they could become the subjects of future research.

2.3.2 In-depth Interviews Data Analysis- Data Transcribing and Analysing

For this research, I conduct thirteen in-depth qualitative interviews with policy makers, directors of cultural affairs bureaux and fine arts museums of governmental levels and different geographic locations (see Table 2.4). From these, I intend to better understand the relationships between central, municipal and local governments, as well as the relationship between governments and museums. Most of all, I try to explore the difficulties and problems that the museums encounter when dealing with the policies and regulations imposed by governments, and what do they need from governments to aid their sustenance and development. The aim is to be better informed about the current phenomena concerning art and culture in Taiwan and then figure out possible solutions from the discussions based on the theories involved.

A. Interview data transcribing

The data is collected from face-to-face conversations with interviewees recorded on tapes and in the fieldwork notes. The interviews I conduct are ‘research interviews’ not the spontaneous exchange of views, feelings or personal experiences as in daily life conversations, but structured or semi-structured conversations which involve a ‘careful questioning and listening approach’ (Kvale, 1996: 6) and have ‘the purpose of obtaining thoroughly tested knowledge’ (1996: 6). It has been noted by May (2001: 145) that an interview is ‘a means of analysing’.

Before analysing the data, I have to transcribe the interview conversations. The difference between oral and written language is well discussed by many socio-linguists (Ong, 1982; Poland, 1995; Tannen, 1990; Tedlock, 1983). The qualitative interviews I conducted are designed as semi-structured interviews though I have a list of questions they are not standardised questionnaires but are comprised of 'open ended questions' (Mason, 1996: 38).⁵ Furthermore, I do not always follow the sequence of the questions on the list, or ask all the interviewees the same questions (because they work at different governmental levels, some of the questions asked differed for logical reasons). Neither do I confine the interviews to certain locations (most of the interviews are undertaken in the office, and also in the museum café or museum park), to a specific time frame (the interviews last from thirty-five minutes to almost seven hours) or to a set methodology (some interviews are more formalised whilst others are more relaxed, almost like an informal chat). Therefore, with the 'semi-structured interview' method, on one hand, the interviewees are given more freedom to answer the questions in their own terms and on the other hand it gives the interviewer more chance to look into the meanings and implications beyond the answers than a 'standardised questionnaire' would allow (May, 2001: 123).

When I transcribe the verbal materials into written texts to make them accessible for analysis, I choose the formal interpretative written style because though there is definitely human interaction during the interviews, I acquire more knowledge, ideas and interpretations than the linguistic constitution and emotional expressions (Mason, 1996). Therefore, when I transcribe the interview conversations, I already make judgements and selections to overlook the 'contextuality' of meaning, the digressions, the ruptures of communication and even the discontinuities of meaning all seen to have latent meaning

⁵ According to Mason (1996: 38), qualitative interviews are characterised by 'a thematic, topic-centred, biographical or narrative approach, for example where the researcher does not have a structured list of questions, but does usually have a range of topics, themes or issues which s/he wishes to cover.'

which are important elements for sociolinguistic or psychological analysis (Kvale, 1996; Mishler, 1991). The knowledge, facts, evidences and objectivities are much more important than the interaction of personal emotions for my research purposes. Therefore, far from the verbatim transcriptions, I do occasionally rephrase, condense and edit the transcripts to make them more readable for close analysis.

B. Interview data analysing

After transcribing the recorded interview conversations into written texts, they become forms of 'document' as well. Thus, I basically follow the procedures as I do with the document analysis for the interview data analysis, which means I also apply the coloured open coding method to mark down the codes that match the ones accumulated from the document analysis to be discussed, analysed and interpreted together on a certain issue. After the interview texts, field notes and documented data has been carefully selected, sorted, organized and coded into core categories, subcategories, or under some specific topics and headings, the most important tasks are the integrations and the comparisons of different sources of data information through the application of theoretical points to analyse, explore and interpret the relationships among them. On one hand, this will ensure that the research 'moves toward ultimate integration of the entire analysis', and on the other hand it 'yields the desired conceptual density' for presenting theories (Strauss, 1987: 55).

2.3.3 Theory Analysis

The use of a theory differs in the quantitative and qualitative research. In research, one can apply a pure form of the theories or a combination of different approaches. The theory can be formulated and applied before, during or after the empirical research. Both Kerlinger

(1979) and Denzin (1989) define a theory as an interrelated set of 'variables', 'definitions', and 'propositions' which is applied in a deductive way to explain and specify the relationships among variables, to predict phenomena, and to 'develop universal laws of human behaviour and societal functioning' (Creswell, 1994: 82; Glesne & Peshkin, 1992: 19). Usually, the hypotheses and theoretical propositions are generated in advance of the empirical, quantitative research. Nevertheless, in most qualitative research, according to Glaser and Strauss's (1967) 'grounded theory', a theory is generated from the 'constant comparative analysis' of data, and therefore the 'theory comes last'. In addition, Geertz (1973) and Denzin (1989) introduce an interpretivist paradigm in which the theory is not an explanation or prediction, 'it is interpretation, or the act of making sense out of a social interaction' (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992: 19). Blaikie (1993) also follows the interpretive tradition and from his viewpoint 'the theory, data generation and data analysis are produced simultaneously in a dialectical process' which is characterised by 'abductive reasoning' and 'retroductive reasoning' (Mason, 1996: 141-142). Actually, though this research combines different methods at different phases, on different issues, it follows a primarily qualitative approach.

The viewpoints in my research are evaluated, chosen and delivered mostly by myself alone. Nevertheless, they are substantially based on the study of theories from political science, economic theory, cultural studies, aesthetics, sociology and museum literature. Those theoretical frameworks are important for analysing the formulation, implementation and evaluation of government policies of arts and culture. This research substantiates the reasons and the consequences of why and how the policies are discussed and evaluated through the theories, as well as how the theories have been put into practice. Sometimes a theory used in my research was not originally designed to fit into my discussions, such as

Weber's theory of bureaucracy, however, I find such a work useful when discussing the relationship between governments and museums, and also museum personnel and museum finance issues. Furthermore, most of my interview questions are actually originated and developed from key themes such as intervention and autonomy, centralisation and decentralisation, bureaucracy and laissez-faire ideologies. The interview questions also exemplify the justifications of the importance of art and cultures, the values of fine arts museum and the responsibility of the government. They also tackle the issues concerned with the relationships among the governments, the subordinate agencies and the museums, the management of museum personnel and museum finance. Therefore, the interview data can reflect and be discussed by the political, social, cultural and economic theories that are applied in this research.

2.3.4 Comparative Method- an Auxiliary Approach

The purpose of this thesis is to search for more feasible and commendable art and cultural policies for Taiwan through the policy and theory study, and to enable a grounding to put ideological theories into practice by making concrete suggestions. The cross-national study of policies allows me to generate a more comprehensive insight into the inner substances of a particular nation as well as the outer features that distinguish one nation from another (Ashford, 1978). Moreover, through the comparative policy study, a greater understanding of the new approaches and alternatives, the anticipated and the unanticipated consequences will be enabled. Then it will be possible to construct more appropriate and beneficial policies. The main reason that I undertake the general study of the policies of different countries is to examine the issue thoroughly the products from more than one entity to enable the most productive answers possible. By doing this, it allows me to broaden the arguments of the formulation and the implementation of policies

from both vertical and horizontal points of view, for instance, from cross-national, cross-cultural, cross-system researches, from different levels of government (central, municipal, local), in different issue areas (personnel, funding), and at different times. This research employs an auxiliary approach by examining and comparing the different art and cultural policies, regulations and managerial techniques applied in Japan, France, Canada, Australia, the UK and the USA. The policies of these countries will be used as references for developing more appropriate and constructive art and cultural policies for the Taiwanese Government.

The data collected from the documents and in-depth interviews will all be categorised into the three main subject matters of this research: the definition and the demand for arts and culture, the function and the challenge of museums, and the roles and rules of a government. These issues will be fully discussed in the following chapters.

PART II. DEFINITION, HISTORY AND THEORY

CHAPTER 3

THE DEFINITION AND DEMAND OF ARTS AND CULTURE

Introduction

This thesis aims to explore the ways in which the Government can help the art museums to preserve and promote arts and culture for the society. Therefore, the major subjects are the Government, museums, arts and culture. This chapter focuses on the discussions about arts and culture, their definitions, importance and the institutions in charge. Through the introduction of the definitions, it explores the meanings, dimensions and the functions of arts and culture. At the same time, it addresses the importance of arts and culture to our lives and therefore it justifies the reason why the Government should be responsible for the sustenance and development of arts for society. The second part of this chapter discusses the necessity of having an art and cultural policy. The last section introduces the art and cultural institutions which are basically in charge of policy formulation, policy implementation and funding.

3.1 The Definition of Art and Culture

3.1.1 The definition of art

When we ask, ‘What is art?’ actually, we are not only asking the literal or the philosophical meaning of it, but we are also asking ‘what does it encompass?’ (the

dimension) and ‘for what purpose does it exist?’ (its function). Despite the word’s extensive use by artists, art historians, art critics and philosophers, it is almost impossible to have a satisfactory or a clear-cut definition of ‘art’. Nevertheless, the definition and dimension of art keep expanding and changing along with its position, function and value in society. In recent decades, the invention, promotion and prevailing usage of high-tech information technology has lead to the provision and exploration of even wider forms, contents and scopes of the definition and dimension of art, and has broadened, deepened and multiplied the meanings, functions and values of art.

In the discussion of the definition of art, I will apply the stipulations introduced by Ben Enwonwu (1949) that art includes the ‘utilitarian’ or the ‘skilled’ aspects, the outer form of art, and ‘the artist’s beliefs, his feelings, meanings or significances, and volitions’.¹ Art includes both tangible, utilitarian, material aspects and the intangible, spiritual, emotional parts of the artefacts and artists. Some definitions of art may perhaps emphasise one side, but in effect art could be and should be viewed as the interplay of both.

A. The dimension of art

The American Heritage (2000) defined art as follows:

1. *Human effort to imitate, supplement, alter, or counteract the work of nature.*
2.
 - a. *The conscious production or arrangement of sounds, colours, forms, movements, or other elements in a manner that affects the sense of beauty, specifically the production of the beautiful in a graphic or plastic medium.*
 - b. *The study of these activities.*
 - c. *The product of these activities; human works of beauty considered as a group.*
3. *High quality of conception or execution, as found in works of beauty; aesthetic value.*
4. *A field or category of art, such as music, ballet, or literature.*

¹ Ben Enwonwu (1949), “The Evolution, History and Definition of Fine Art”, *Ijele: Art eJournal of the African World*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (first published in *West African Pilot*, May 5, 6, 11, 1949) (<http://www.ijele.com/ijele/vol1.2/index1.2.htm>).

The four definitions above describe art from its outer side, the skill or the production, instead of the psychological or emotional influences of art on the artists or the audiences. Furthermore, in those definitions, art seems essentially concerned with purely aesthetic consummations, the production of something aesthetic, though that may not be its true function. By and large, many forms of artwork are actually the combination of aesthetic concerns and utilitarian functions such as art crafts, commercial designs and works of architecture. Another traditional system of classification has categorized fine art as literature (including poetry, drama, story, etc.), the visual arts (painting, drawing, sculpture, photography, etc.), the graphic arts (painting, drawing, design), the plastic arts (sculpture, modelling, installation), the decorative arts (enamelwork, furniture design, mosaic, etc.), the performing arts (film, theatre, dance, music) and architecture (including interior design). In addition, there is a very short yet very clear and more inclusive definition of 'fine art' provided by Webster's Dictionary: 'a visual art created primarily for aesthetic (concerned with emotion and sensation as opposed to intellectuality) purposes and valued for its beauty or expressiveness...' This definition includes different forms of fine art, and it also specifies the abstract components of art, such as emotion and sensation.

B. The function of art

Art has often been defined by its utilitarian function: for example, art can be a storyteller, because it is a record of the history of human being's 'intellectual' and 'mental' development in time and space (Enwonwu, 1949). To Plato and Aristotle, art must represent 'what the eyes have seen'. By the same token, in Vasari's biographies of Renaissance artists, the ability to imitate nature with great similarity had been highly praised (Adorno, 1991). The conception that art should be seen as the copy or representation of nature prevailed throughout a long period of western art history

(Enwonwu, 1949). According to this view, art has a descriptive character in which 'resemblance' is a very important quality. Whether art should be seen as a storyteller, a record, a tool or a skill of imitation this seems only to emphasise the utterly utilitarian function of art.

According to some definitions, art is seen as a medium or an instrument for cultural 'communication' (Fowles, 1968; Mithen, 1996); political 'propaganda' and 'control', or social 'manipulation', 'civilisation', 'reformation' and 'education' (Dissanayake, 1995; Foucault, 1978; Gramsci, 1971; Karp, 1992). The words (letters), images (including the lines, colours, forms, light...), movements, sounds (music or language) and substances of art are used to 'educate', 'subjugate', 'subvert' and 'convert' people's 'thinking, beliefs, and behaviour'.² These are the contents, forms and functions of art, which describe art as not only a physical tool but also consider the psychological changes that it can bring forth. Art is a unique instrument to integrate the 'physical' and 'psychological' aspects of human life to a harmonious and abundant existence. In addition, Ellen Dissanayake (1988) defines the 'art' as:

... The product of conscious intention, a self rewarding activity, a tendency to unite dissimilar things, a concern with change and variety, the aesthetic exploitation of familiarity vs. surprise, the aesthetic exploitation of tension vs. release, the imposition of order on disorder, the creation of illusions, an indulgence in sensuousness, the exhibition of skill, a desire to convey meanings, an indulgence in fantasy, the aggrandizement of self or others, illustration, the heightening of existence, revelation, personal adornment or embellishment, therapy, the giving of meaning to life, the generation of unselfconscious experience, the provision of paradigms of order and/or disorder, training in the perception of reality, and so on... [The basic functions of art are] to adorn, to beautify, to express, to illustrate, to mediate, to persuade, to record, to redefine reality, and to redefine art.

(Dissanayake, 1988)

² Bart Rosier (2003) "What is Art?" (<http://www.geocities.com/SoHo/Coffeehouse/6831/whatsart.html>).

The function of art defined here not only comprises both the ‘outer’ and the ‘inner’ influences, but also transcends the traditional concept of art as merely something to be valued for its aesthetic merit.

3.1.2 The definition of culture

Similar aspects and contexts can also be used when defining culture. It is not an easy task to specify its definition and dimension, which is increasingly inclusive and disparate and it has always been reconstructed. As Mahatma Gandhi said, ‘no culture can live, if it attempts to be exclusive (Bodley, 1994). Furthermore, through modern media and advanced information technology, we can be informed and even experience different ‘virtualised’ cultures of the whole world, including many of those which were formerly ‘secluded’ and ‘suppressed’ (1994). Today’s culture is under a unique, radical yet precious process of democratisation, liberalisation and globalisation that has never been experienced in the past.

A. The dimension of culture

I would like to introduce two tables with regard to the definition of culture, which are based upon anthropologists’ definitions. The first one is compiled by John H. Bodley (1994) based on his study of the American anthropologists, Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn’s list of 160 different definitions of culture published in 1952 (see Table 3.1). The definition of culture introduced by Clifford Geertz (1977) is based on his study at Clyde Kluckhohn’s definition of culture published in 1971 (see Table 3.2). Both Bodley and Geertz’s interpretations of culture are basically rooted in the anthropological perspectives and all emphasise the importance of heritage, history and the relationship of individuals in ‘society’.

Table 3.1 Diverse Definitions of Culture

Topical	Culture consists of everything on a list of topics, or categories, such as social organization, religion, or economy.
Historical	Culture is social heritage, or tradition, that is passed on to future generations.
Behavioural	Culture is shared, learned human behaviour, a way of life.
Normative	Culture is ideals, values, or rules for living.
Functional	Culture is the way humans solve problems of adapting to the environment or living together.
Mental	Culture is a complex of ideas, or learned habits, that inhibit impulses and distinguish people from animals.
Structural	Culture consists of patterned and interrelated ideas, symbols, or behaviours.
Symbolic	Culture is based on arbitrarily assigned meanings that are shared by a society.

Source: John H. Bodley (1994) *Cultural Anthropology*.

Table 3.2 The Definition of Culture

1.	"the total way of life of a people"
2.	"the social legacy the individual acquires from his group"
3.	"a way of thinking, feeling, and believing"
4.	"an abstraction from behaviour"
5.	a theory on the part of the anthropologist about the way in which a group of people in fact behave
6.	a "storehouse of pooled learning"
7.	"a set of standardized orientations to recurrent problems"
8.	"learned behaviour"
9.	a mechanism for the normative regulation of behaviour
10.	"a set of techniques for adjusting both to the external environment and to other men"
11.	"a precipitate of history"
12.	a behavioural map, sieve, or matrix

Based on Clifford Geertz (1977) 'Emphasizing Interpretation' from *The Interpretation of Cultures*.

To Bodley and Geertz, 'culture' is the collective property of a group that can be shared with other people and transmitted to future generations. As Robert Murphy (1986) states:

Culture means the total body of tradition borne by a society and transmitted from generation to generation. It thus refers to the norms, values, standards by which people act, and it includes the ways distinctive in each society of ordering the world and rendering it intelligible. Culture is...a set of mechanisms for survival, but it provides us also with a definition of reality. It is the matrix into which we are born; it is the anvil upon which our persons and destinies are forged.

(Murphy 1986: 14)

In those anthropologists' point of view, the relationship between individuals and their society is one of the most important concerns when defining the definition of culture. According to Bodley and Geertz, 'culture' concerns socially patterned ideals, beliefs and learned behaviours. The emphasis on the 'patterned', 'social' significance in definitions of culture is also seen in the work of Edward B. Tylor:

Culture or Civilisation, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.

(Tylor, 1874: 1, cited in Bennett, 1998: 93)

In this sense, according to the social definition of culture, it is assumed that those individuals' abstract thoughts and concrete behaviour patterns are not only inherited but also learned. In other words, they could have been formed and ruled under the influences of other people (his group) or under the supervision of some social mechanisms, such as religious systems and social organisations. Raymond William (1965) also introduces the 'social' definition of culture, in which 'culture' seen to describe a particular 'way of life'³, which 'expresses certain meanings and values not only in art and learning but also in institutions and ordinary behaviour' (Cited in Bennett, 1998: 23).

The concept of culture as 'the whole way of life' has been described by Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson (1976) as:

The 'culture' of a group or class is the peculiar and distinctive 'way of life' of the group or class, the meanings, values and ideas embodied in institutions, in social relations, in systems of beliefs, in mores and customs, in the uses of objects and material life. Culture is the distinctive shape in which this material and social organisation of life expresses itself. A culture includes the 'maps of meaning' which make things intelligible to its members.

³ The concept of culture as 'the whole way of life' was brought up by Edward B. Tylor and had been manifested by many scholars and sociologists, such as, John H. Bodley, Clifford Geertz, Alfred Kroeber, Clyde Kluckhohn, and Raymond William (see Bennett, 1998).

These 'maps of meaning' are not simply carried around in the head: they are objectivated in the patterns of social organisation and relationship through which the individual becomes a 'social individual'. Culture is the way the social relations of a group are structured and shaped: but it is also the way those shapes are experienced, understood and interpreted.

(Hall and Jefferson, 1976: 10-11, cited in Bennett, 1998:23)

In this context, 'culture' belongs to individuals, as well as to the groups and organisations.

'Culture' encompasses not only a broad range of intangible elements, such as thoughts, values and behaviour patterns, but also the material objects produced for our daily life, including tools, and of course even the artworks. In *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1989), 'culture' is defined as 'the integrated pattern of human knowledge, belief, and behaviour... language, ideas, beliefs, customs, taboos, codes, institutions, tools, techniques, works of art, rituals, ceremonies, and other related components...'. Culture is neither a truly abstract nor transcendental concept. It is a state of being, a combination of diverse activities and states, a unity of differences, a collection of ideas, manners, codes of conduct, hopes and fears, activities and social bonds. Culture can be the property of an individual as well as the property of a group, a nation, an alliance, and can also be the unity of various cultures in a global context...' as Phil John notes.⁴

B. The debate between the anthropologists and the Arnoldians

From most anthropologists, culture as 'a way of life' refers to the 'ordinary life', every aspect of our everyday activities, including our eating, drinking, dressing, mode of learning and working and our lifestyle. However, the term - 'popular culture' denotes the aspects of a culture shared by a great number of people from different political,

⁴ Phil John (Philipp Kneis), *The Scope of Culture*, http://www.philjohn.com/papers/pjkd_ga14.html

economical and social backgrounds and statuses. Popular culture does definitely not belong to the elite, and in some cases it even implies 'low' culture or a sub-culture. However, in western society, culture is commonly regarded as something highbrow, beautiful and exquisite, something for luxurious purposes rather than a necessity, highly refined and special instead of raw and ordinary. Therefore, certain objects and activities are deemed to constitute culture, while others are excluded. It is in this respect that Matthew Arnold (1971) distinguishes high culture as the best that has been thought and said in the world. This point of view is also shared by Henry van Dyke, who states that 'culture is the habit of being pleased with the best and knowing why' (Bodley 1994). Furthermore, Arnold reckons that culture includes 'beauty', 'intelligence', and 'perfection'. The study of perfection, the love of perfection and the pursuit of perfection evoke, encourage and empower people to enjoy, create and elevate the 'beauty' in both aesthetic and moral aspect and to acquire and enhance our knowledge and 'intelligence'. It may be true, as George W. Stocking has acknowledged, that this 'perfection' concept is the evolutionary process of social development, which may be attributed to the Arnoldian conception of culture as 'a conscious striving toward progress or perfection' (Stocking, 1968: 84, cited in Bennett, 1998: 93).

In earlier studies, culture has often been used as a synonym for 'civilisation' (Tylor, 1874: 1, cited in Bennett, 1998: 93), as well as for 'art'. Indeed, art can be a component and even a representative of culture, and unquestionably an important agent in the transmission of culture. In the 'White Paper' released by the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology in South Africa in 1996, not only the definition and the significance of culture were expansively illustrated. This paper also points out that 'art' is regarded as an integral part of a culture:

Culture refers to the dynamic totality of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features which characterise a society or social group. It includes the art and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions, heritage and beliefs developed over time and subject to change.
(Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, 1996:10, cited in Bennett, 1998: 90)

Among these theoretical perspectives on the definition of culture illustrated in this section, I personally favour the arguments and concepts of Raymond Williams (1965). He introduces three different definitions of culture, including the 'idea', 'documentary' and 'social' definitions in which 'each definition has its value' and 'each has a role to play in the analysis of culture as a whole' (Bennett, 1998: 95-96). A brief summary of Raymond Williams' definitions of culture helps to place his work in the middle ground between the Arnoldians and the anthropologists' concept of culture. However, on one hand, he admits that 'a state or process of human perfection' bears and represents some 'certain absolute or universal values' (Williams, 1965: 57), which undoubtedly reflects Matthew Arnold's view of culture. On the other hand, he also acknowledges the anthropologists' view of 'culture as a way of life'. In addition, he believes and suggests that certain meanings, values and behaviours should be guided under certain 'laws' or 'trends' by the institutions in order to realise and promote social and cultural evolution (1965: 58). In these respects, then, I would like to investigate and indicate which institutions (government, museums, art and cultural institutions), for what reasons, and in what ways (policies, rules, and regulations) they are able to ensure the preservation and development of the arts and culture of the country. All of the above arguments and manifestations about the definition, the dimension and the function of arts and culture are aimed at addressing the meanings, values and significance of arts and culture to the individuals and the societies for now and for the future. In the next section, I would like to confirm the government's necessity for art and cultural policies if they are to preserve and develop arts and culture.

3.2 The Necessity of Art and Cultural Policy

The definitions and the dimensions of culture are considerably indiscriminate and inclusive and tend to cover almost every aspect of human life. Therefore, the draft of the cultural policy of the African National Congress (1996, cited in Bennett, 1998: 90), introduces a general idea of the domain of art and cultural policy:

Arts and cultural policy deals with custom and tradition, belief, religion, language, identity, popular history, crafts, as well as all of the art forms including music, theatre, dance, creative writing, the fine arts, the plastic arts, photography, film, and, in general is the sum of the results of human endeavour.

(African National Congress, 1996:1, cited in Bennett, 1998: 90)

In most definitions, art is usually included as a very important component in culture; therefore, most countries work on cultural policy instead of only on an arts policy. In this research, however, I use 'art and cultural policies' to refer to art and/or cultural policies.

There are always debates over the relationship between arts and culture and governmental policy despite the fact that 'whoever speaks of culture speaks of administration as well, whether this is his intention or not' (Adorno, 1991: 93). 'Culture suffers damage when it is planned and administered', yet, 'when it left to itself... threatens to not only lose its possibility of effect, but its very existence as well' (1991: 94). This is Adorno's interpretation of the paradoxical relationship between arts, culture and administration. Eduard Steuermann also argues that 'the more that is done for culture, the worse it fares' (cited in Adorno, 1991: 94). Arts and culture, on the one hand, are opposed to everything 'institutional' and 'official' (1991: 102), but on the other hand, they are dependent on 'administrative' and 'bureaucratic' support (Bennett, 1998: 198), which is reckoned to be the antinomy between arts (culture) and administration.

Zygmunt Bauman (1992), one of the twentieth century's great social theorists and the world's foremost sociologist of postmodernism notes that:

The intellectual ideology of culture was launched as a militant, uncompromising and self-confident manifesto of universally binding principles of social organization and individual conduct. It expressed not only the exuberant administrative vigour of the time, but also a resounding certainty as to the direction of anticipated social change. Indeed, forms of life conceived as obstacles to change and thus condemned to destruction have been relativised; the form of life that was called to replace them was seen, however, as universal, inscribed in the essence and the destination of the human species as a whole.

(Bauman, 1992: 11)

From the above statement, Bauman notes the inevitable characteristic of perpetual change that affects the destination of human society. This is the same as 'reforming' in Bennett's concept (1998). Nevertheless, he by no means approves it as a subject for administration or management, as he argues that 'culture does not appear as something to be "made" or "remade" as an object for practice; it is indeed a reality in its own right and beyond control, an object for study, something to be mastered only cognitively, as a meaning, and not practically, as a task' (Bauman, 1992: 23). Bauman also notes that 'the problem of the postmodern world is not how to globalise superior culture, but how to secure communication and mutual understanding between cultures' (1992: 102). To Bauman, culture should be under a spontaneous process and we should respect the diversity of culture. However, Bennett (1998) points out that it is possible to secure 'communication and mutual understanding between cultures' and 'mutual interpretation of cultures' through 'institutional spaces' and 'organisational frameworks' (1998: 103). Here, the 'institutional spaces', in my assumption, refer to both the physical entities and the intangible relationships between government, museums and art and cultural institutions, while the 'organisational frameworks' can be regarded as the art and cultural policies and regulations. Only with the provision and application of art and cultural policies can the

institutions ensure the sound preservation and development of the arts and culture of a country (1998). In this respect, cultural policy plays an indispensable role 'in the configuration of the relations between government and culture' (1998: 4). As Simon Mundy states, 'cultural policy is constituted to help the cultural sector do its job not to limit it for the sake of government tidiness' (2000: 19).

Art and cultural policies are needed to create a better environment and ensure a culture's sustenance and development. The connections and communication between the policy-making and policy-executing institutions are therefore important for policy formulating and implementing. The following section will introduce the major institutions of different governmental levels that are in charge of such policy-making, funding appropriation and policy execution.

3.3 Art and Cultural Institutions in Taiwan

This section introduces the major art and cultural institutions in Taiwan. It outlines the administrative structure and the cultural responsibility of each institution, and also the complex relationships between them. It explores the difficulties, challenges and problems that each institution encounters, and argues against the conflict, juxtaposition, overlapping and obscurity of their functions and domains in operation. Moreover, how they deal with these problematic situations and how they should cooperate with each other will be discussed in Chapter Five where I assess the key themes of bureaucracy.

There are three administrative levels of government in Taiwan, the Central, Municipal (city) and Local (county) Governments, since the provincial government was disbanded in 1999. The institutions discussed below include the Council for Cultural Affairs (CCA),

belonging to the Executive Yuan, the Central Government; the National Endowment for Culture and Arts (NECA) and the National Culture and Arts Foundation (NCAF) subordinated to the Council; and the Bureaux of Cultural Affairs belonging to the municipal (city) governments or the local (county) governments. The fine arts museums, one of the most important agencies in transmitting, preserving and developing arts and culture, will be discussed in the following chapter.

3.3.1 The Council for Cultural Affairs

As early as 1967, a Bureau of Culture was established for the purpose of making Taiwan 'a foundation for the recovery of Chinese culture and to enhance the root of Chinese culture' (Sia, 2000:28). It mainly deals with the tasks of 'the recovery of culture, the development of arts and culture, the guiding of the broadcast and television enterprises, and the censorship and the guiding of film'.⁵ The Council for Cultural Affairs has taken charge of the national art and cultural affairs since 1981. Together with its affiliated institutions and subordinate agencies, their duties are 'to plan, organise, promote and evaluate all the affairs related to the cultural development', 'to coordinate and guide the various ministries and councils of the Executive Yuan' (the highest executive administrative department of the country), 'to promote the national culture' and 'to enrich the meaning of life and raise the quality of life of Taiwan's people'.⁶

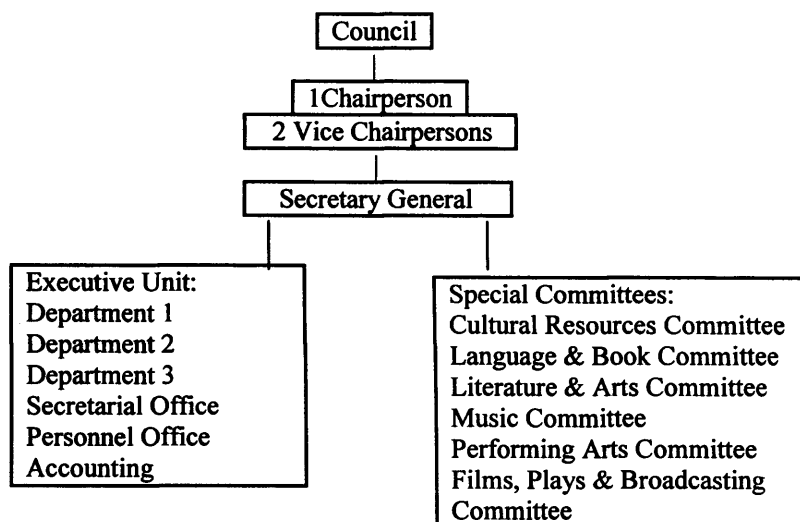
The Council is under the direct control of the Executive Yuan. This means its position is parallel to the Ministry of Education, and it is regarded as the highest policy-making

⁵ According to Sia (2000), 'after the abolition of the Bureau in 1973, the works related to broadcast, television and film were appointed back to the Bureau of Information; moreover, the rests of the tasks were handed over to the Ministry of Education.'

⁶ See The Council for Cultural Affairs, *Introduction* (<http://www.cca.gov.tw/intro/index-e.html>).

organisation for the country's cultural development. The structure and main duties of the CCA are outlined below (see Figure 3.1 and Table 3.3):

Figure 3.1 The Structure of the Council for Cultural Affairs, Taiwan



(Source: The Council for Cultural Affairs)

Table 3.3 The Principle Responsibilities of the Council for Cultural Affairs, Taiwan

1.	Review and provide cultural rules and regulations, cultural development policies, basic guidelines and overall plans;
2.	Preserve and promote culture heritages;
3.	Cultivating and encouraging cultural development and administration personnel; (The foregoing are principally carried out by the First Department)
4.	Disseminating cultural, coordinating and promoting literature;
5.	Promoting living culture and Integrated Community Development; (The foregoing are principally carried out by the Second Department)
6.	Planning and deliberating international and cross-strait cultural exchanges
7.	Promoting music, dance and drama;
8.	Promoting the fine arts and environmental art; and (The foregoing are principally carried out by the Third Department)
9.	Subsidizing cultural and artistic activities.

Source: Council for Cultural Affairs, *Introduction*, 'Establishment and Reform of the Council' (http://www.cca.gov.tw/intro/index_e.html)

The Council is now confronted with six major challenges which must be overcome as follow:

- The cultural administrative authority has not been unified. All the art and cultural institutions should be clearly informed about their responsibilities and authorities to enable the institutions to perform effectively, as well as to be able to communicate and cooperate with each other to facilitate the implementation of art and cultural policies.
- The cultural bill has not been treated seriously. Many important art and cultural bills, regulations and rules concerned with heritage preservation, personnel and funding have been delayed for many years and many of them are still under the tedious, complicated bureaucratic process of legislation.
- The art and cultural budget has not been reviewed specifically. At present, the cultural budget is funded by more than twenty governmental departments. Therefore, the lack of integration of the art and cultural resources makes the appropriation and utilisation of them neither effective nor efficient.
- The division of responsibility between the central and local governments is not clear. The upper authority should render the local governments autonomous, allowing them to provide guidance and assistance. In Taiwan, the local governments are requested to appropriate 5% of the total budget to the art and cultural activities and development, but many local authorities do not take the cultural administration and development as an important responsibility and the art and cultural funding is appropriated for other usages. Therefore, on one hand, the decentralisation of the responsibility and authorities to the local governments to take charge of their art and cultural development is necessary, but on the other hand the central Government should supervise and evaluate the performance of the local governments.

- The lack of cultural index and statistics. The Council should conduct the art and cultural censuses and construct a database to provide sufficient and updated information for the art and cultural development.
- The cultural creativity industry environment still needs to be reorganised and enforced. The Council has announced the Year 2003 as the 'Cultural Industry Year'. This policy requires much related legislation and cooperation between different governmental departments, corporations and cultural institutions. These include the provision of intellectual property right, a financial arrangement, managerial and marketing concepts and skills, the development and production of creativity products, the information concerning the product value and market are all needed to create a better environment for the development of a cultural creativity industry. This does not only generate financial benefits, stimulating creativeness, but also promotes the country in the globalised world (The Council for Cultural Affairs, 2004).

3.3.2 Establishing a Ministry of Culture

The Council for Cultural Affairs was founded in 1981 to take charge of almost all the culture-related affairs. However, there were many other ministries and departments in the Government dealing with cultural affairs before the establishment of the Council. These include: the Ministry of the Interior, responsible for the preservation of cultural sites, historical buildings and monuments, folk art relics, religious affairs and rituals; The Ministry of Education, in charge of art education, art activities, exhibitions, performing art tasks, the preservation of ancient artefacts, folk arts, public libraries, museums, the international arts and cultural exchanges and liaisons; and the Government Information Office, engaged with the matters related to the promotion of the nation, news, publications,

films, videotapes, broadcasting and television.⁷ There is also the Bureau of Tourism, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and even the Council of Agriculture, which are all involved in cultural matters. Furthermore, some work has been transferred to the CCA. Nevertheless, the lack of consent, communication and coordination, and especially the lack of legislation, has made the transferring process very difficult and the results not very satisfactory. On one hand, this has been seen as the consequence of the restless dispute over the power concerning the distribution of cultural resources. However, the art and cultural resources have been misused by politicians and the political parties for the purposes of awarding, compensation or bonuses (Lin, 1999; Lin, 2000). On the other hand, even the Council itself is not capable of dealing with so many tasks because of the lack of manpower and professionals, as most of the staff are recruited from the educational and broadcasting systems, and less than ten of the staff members are officially qualified as cultural administrators (Chou, 1999).

Therefore, the idea of establishing a Ministry of Culture as the foremost in the Cabinet as well as the ROC's supreme governmental agency for overseeing the cultural affairs has been discussed and proposed repeatedly for more than a decade, and the Council has set up the objectives and frames to adjust its mission and organisation as the Ministry-to-be. Most Taiwanese people anticipate that the new Ministry with the highest administrative authority will oppose the marginalisation by other ministries and increase the horizontal communication and coordination with them in dealing with cultural affairs.⁸ After all, the problems of overlooking the importance of arts and culture by most of the people and the Government, the deficiencies in funding for the preservation and renovation of cultural

⁷ See 21st Century Foundation (1994), *The Preliminary Research of Cultural Development*, and Council for Cultural Affairs, *Introduction* (http://www.cca.gov.tw/intro/index_e.html)

⁸ In the speech delivered by Su-ming Cheng on "The Cultural Policy of the ROC", on June 26, 1995, in The Asia Society in New York.

heritage, the diminishing numbers of art and cultural groups and activities, the difficulties in attracting personnel, financing and the operating of museums and cultural institutions will not be solved by making the CCA the Ministry of Culture. Neither can art and cultural affairs be taken good care of if the authorities and duties of various ministries and organisations have not been well defined, the regulations and procedures of public subsidy and private sponsorship systems have not been set up or legitimated, or the importance of professionalism for undertaking the cultural affairs have not been recognised (Wu, 2000).

Among the directors of fine arts museums I have interviewed with, Guang-nan Huang, director of the National Museum of History, is the only one not very enthusiastic about the idea of establishing a Ministry of Culture. He claims that at present he can get more funds and subsidies from the Government Information Office, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Education and other departments, but after the implementation of the Ministry of Culture, he believes that they might cut the spending for supporting projects and activities related to arts and culture (interview on 13th May, 2002). Therefore, he does not think a Ministry will be much helpful with regard to increasing the funds through diverse methods. However, most of the interviewees are in favour of having a Ministry which does not only separate art and cultural affairs from education and science but also promotes them to a higher position. They believe that a Ministry of Culture will enhance the communication and coordination of cultural organisations with other departments, and also increase the funds and subsidies for art and cultural projects and activities. Therefore, the cultural responsibilities, manpower, facilities and funding can be logically adjusted to precisely benefit different organisations, enabling all the agencies to work effectively and cooperatively in the formulation and implementation of cultural policies.⁹

⁹ See Council for the Cultural Affairs, *Introduction* (http://www.cca.gov.tw/intro/index_e.html).

3.3.3 The National Culture and Arts Foundation and the National Endowment for Culture and Arts

The two subsidiary foundations to the Council are the National Endowment for Culture and Arts (NECA) and the National Culture and Arts Foundation (NCAF). Both foundations aim at creating a favourable environment for the exhibitions and performances, the business, and promoting the standards of arts and culture. They assist artists, groups and institutions in improving their systems and functions by providing not only money, but also the training and relevant laws to enhance long-term operations. The Endowment was founded in 1988 with NT\$750 million (approximately £15 million) to subsidise the public arts and cultural organisations and promote international and cross-strait exchanges with China. The Endowment is under the governance of a Committee, which is chaired by the Director of the CCA. In addition, a Secretary is appointed to implement the missions assigned by the Committee. The current charges and primary goals of the Endowment are focused on: cultivating cultural professionals, assisting those with artistic talents in the international art sectors, enhancing cross-strait and international cultural exchanges and promoting and publishing art and cultural information.¹⁰ The Endowment will either be dismissed or transformed into a foundation at the end of 2005 because it is founded by the Council and its function overlaps that of the Council itself.

The National Culture and Arts Foundation came into existence in 1996. It is a non-profit organisation which is primarily organized to subsidize groups and individual activities¹¹, while the public institutions and schools are sponsored by the NECA. Nonetheless, in practice, the functions, responsibilities and subsidized targets are not clearly defined and there is considerable overlapping between these three institutions and other central

¹⁰ See The National Endowment for Culture and Arts (<http://www.neca.gov.tw/about/index-a01-06.htm>).

¹¹ See The National Culture and Arts Foundation (<http://www.ncafro.org.tw>).

ministries and local governments. Furthermore, the incomes of NCAF mainly come from the annual fund appropriated by the Council, accumulated interests and private contributions. The initial fund is NT\$2,000 million (approximately £40 million) and the target is NT\$10,000 million (approximately £200 million). It was originally proposed by professionals the art and cultural fields that the Government should provide sixty percent of the anticipative amount and the other forty percent should depend on private contributions. However, disappointingly the Government has rendered the promised NT\$6,000 million (approximately £120 million) while private contributions have only fetched NT\$100 million (approximately £2 million), only ten percent of the hoped-for amount. This is compounded by the fact that the interest rate is almost down to zero because of a bad economy. The subsidiary function of the NCAF has been crippled and this has caused a lot of art and cultural groups and individuals to suffer from the deficiency of subsidies. Therefore, the function and the sustenance of this institution is under scrutiny and debate (Liao, 2001).

According to the Director of the Foundation, Man-li Lin, the three tasks of the Foundation now are integrating and expanding the public resources, introducing and activating the private resources and confirming the future role of the Foundation. For the first task, under the circumstance that the demand for the public support asked by the artistic and cultural groups and individual artists is increasing despite the deficiency of the Government budget and the decrease in interest rates, the Foundation should work more vigorously on finding different ways to raise the fund as well as on integrating different resources and subsidies for different governmental departments.¹²

¹² See The National Endowment for Culture and Arts (<http://www.neca.gov.tw/about/index-a01-06.htm>).

As for the second task, according to the information provided by the Council for Cultural Affairs, there were about one hundred cultural and arts foundations in total before the end of 2000, in which more than seventy percent of which were founded before 1996 (see Appendix 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3). Based on the statistics, it seems that the bad economic condition contributed to a decrease in supporting arts and culture. The Friends of Arts and Culture of the Foundation, originated for fundraising purposes was renamed The Friends of National Culture in May 2000 and its structure was also reorganised to attract more private enterprises to cooperate with the art and cultural institutions for the mutual benefits of exchanging their techniques and creative ideas.¹³ It has changed the approach to not just asking the private enterprises to donate money to the arts and cultural sectors, but also asking the arts and cultural sectors to provide their creativeness and originality to help the enterprises promote their products and images in return. This requires art and business to work together. Furthermore, the Foundation claims its role as the agent is to enable the cooperation between the enterprises and the arts and cultural fields, and also act as a professional consultant for both entities.¹⁴ In 2002, the Foundation joined the International Federation of Arts Councils and Cultural Agencies (IFACCA) and through participation in this international organisation, it exchanges recent information and debates the development of arts and culture with different countries on a global scale.

The good of the Foundation is to play a leading role in coordination with other non-profit private foundations. However, although it is theoretically meant to be an independent, non-political organisation working at 'arm's-length', as a matter of fact the Government has always intervened in the process of the election of its director, and therefore the offering of this position is more the result of a designation than an election. In addition,

¹³ *ibid.*

¹⁴ *ibid.*

the chief executive in charge of the daily operation is supposed to be employed, invited or decided by the board of directors, but quite often it is also through the arrangement of higher authority. Nevertheless, on occasion, when the designated director meets the outside executive employed by the board there are arguments, which gives a negative image of the Foundation. At the same time, this may cause some confusion to the staff and also weaken the functions of the Foundation. It can be a 'negative example' for other institutions as they consider setting up a foundation, but on the other hand, it can provide an example from which to learn, so that the same mistakes are not repeated in future (Yu, 2003).¹⁵ It would be more effective and efficient for an institution to have total autonomy in its administration under the supervision of upper authorities instead of being open to direct intervention from the authority.

3.3.4 Bureau of Cultural Affairs

Since 1980, the Cultural Centre of each city and county has had a music hall, library and museum to provide the people with many different art exhibitions, operas, concerts, dances, films, lectures and leisure activities. This was founded originally to be responsible for not only providing spaces for those activities, but also to coordinate the local resources, to strengthen people's compassion and commitment to their city or county, to find out the special characters and build the identity of the city or county, and most of all to plan, cultivate and promote the development of art and culture in each city or county (Pan and Shu, 2000). But with very limited funds, manpower and a low administrative position, it is mainly the receiver who takes orders from the higher administrative authorities and executes the assignments in accordance with their wishes.

¹⁵ See Guo-hua Yu's (2003), "National Culture and Arts Foundation in Operation for Seven Years, But a Negative Example"(<http://udnpaper.com/udnpaper/PIF0003/33297/web>).

After the implementation of the Law for Autonomy of Local Governments in 1999 regulated by the Executive Yuan, almost all of the Cultural Centres in every city and county requested to be elevated to Cultural Affairs Bureaux in order to be in the higher level in the governmental administrative system and be able to receive higher budgets and ask for more staff. Keelung and Kaohsiung city still remain as the cultural centres, but Taichung county and Tainan city established new bureaux (still keeping cultural centres as affiliated institutions). Taipei city had no cultural centre at the time, but established the Cultural Affairs Bureau of Taipei in 1999; whilst the cultural centres of other cities and counties were all elevated to the status of cultural affairs bureaux. There are twenty-one cultural affairs bureaux and four cultural centres in total, which are now in charge of the art and cultural affairs of the cities and counties (see Appendix 3.4).

There have been debates about the direct elevation from the cultural centres to cultural affairs bureaux. The advantages are as follows: the transformation was smooth, business can be continuously developed, and the experiences can be accumulated; it is more efficient to integrate cultural affairs and cultural resources; and the establishment of the bureau and the promotion of its administration make the horizontal coordination with other government departments more convenient and effective. Furthermore the director of the cultural affairs bureau can directly partake in the decision-making and address his opinions in the local governmental meetings, which is helpful for defending the necessary budgets, and the elevation of the organisations and their employees to a governmental administrative level is beneficial for the recruitment of the art and cultural professionals.¹⁶ Many people have doubts about how the elevation directly from cultural centres to cultural affairs bureaux is helpful for the development of art and culture in the cities. However, the

¹⁶ Der-hsin Chen and Jen-long Huang in the symposium at Hua-shan Cultural and Art Centre, on December 11, 1999, and the symposium at National Taiwan Normal University, in February 2000.

cultural affairs bureau is designed to be an administrative unit which is responsible for art and cultural policy-making, to guide and to assist different local art and cultural institutions and to coordinate among different governmental departments rather than providing places for exhibitions and performances, which are the main functions of the cultural centres. Furthermore, the staffs of the cultural centres is also directly transplanted to the cultural affairs bureaux which means that although the responsibilities of the bureau have increased the ability and the quality of the staff has not. However, there are only a few positions left for recruiting new professionals to undertake the increasing tasks and responsibilities of the bureau.

There are also arguments about whether the cultural affairs bureaux should be set within the local governments. If the cultural affairs bureaux are part of the local governments, then the directors do not need to take the civil-servant examinations therefore there will be more opportunities to recruit the art and cultural professionals' services. However, some people believe the bureaux with their own command of financial and personnel power will perform more efficiently without the bureaucratic procedures and will have better connections with the art and cultural sectors if they work independently from the city or county governments.¹⁷ The CCA leaves each city (county) to decide whether the cultural affairs bureau should be set in or out of the city or county government. This decision is disputable as it allows two different systems to coexist in the governmental administration, which makes the system more complicated and might result in the inefficiency of government services and miscommunication between different governmental departments. Therefore, besides increasing the flexibility in the personnel system to recruit the art and cultural professionals into the sector, it would be beneficial to establish a Cultural Affairs

¹⁷ Liu Fong-song, the director of Ban-hsien Foundation and Ming-huei Jien, editor of the *Ceramic* made the statement in the symposium at Hua-shan Cultural and Art Centre on December 11, 1999.

Bureau to undertake policy-making and Cultural Centres to be in charge of the policy executing.

This chapter justifies the importance of art and culture in our life and the necessity of art and cultural policies, and finally introduces the major governmental art and cultural institutions and agencies in Taiwan except the fine art museums which will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

THE FUNCTIONS OF AND THE CHALLENGES FACED BY MUSEUMS

Introduction

Within the research of art and cultural policies, this chapter emphasizes the importance of fine art museums by introducing both their tangible and intangible values. On one hand, it reconsiders the values, functions and missions of museums. On the other hand, it might convince the Government to ensure the sustenance and development of museums through legislative processes and financial support. Furthermore, it introduces the changes and shifts in the museum sector in Taiwan. Then it explores the ways in which museums have or should have evolved to meet the new challenges and demands if they are to thrive in the long term, as well as the new roles and functions they play in the society.

The first section of this chapter concerns the different definitions of ‘museum’, as defined by different institutions. Through the contexts defined in different time periods and different countries, we can understand what museums mean to different societies, how and why museums have developed and the priorities, functions and values of the museums. At the same time, it also exemplifies how the political, economic and social milieux have influenced the ways in which museums have been defined in different times and places.

In the second section of this chapter, the functions of museums have been categorized into four main aspects, which are political, economic, social and aesthetic functions. Fine arts museums perform different functions in different times and for different purposes. I take a critical approach in presenting the different theories on certain issues, or showing the paradoxical results when these theories are put into practice. Such an approach does not only recognise and praise the functions and values of the fine arts museums, but also presents the unfavourable by-products or even contradictory comments. It allows us to re-evaluate and to reconsider before we make policies or take actions. For example, debates may concern the different cultural interpretations of objects in colonising and colonised countries, the economic benefits and the possibility of sacrificing art innovation and diversity that the cultural industry may have caused. In addition, the debates about the 'social inclusion' policy and the 'art for art's sake' ideology are also under the discussion of the social and aesthetic agendas respectively. With these deliberately introspective considerations and consciousnesses, we can foresee the difficulties, and therefore avoid the damage they might cause. Above all, we can make the best possible use of the museums.

The last section of this chapter portrays the history, function and role that the fine arts museums of Taiwan have in relation to the political, economic, cultural and social development since the country retreated to Taiwan in 1949. Through the review of what has happened and what is currently happening, this chapter presents and even justifies the reasons and the results of the implementation of certain plans or policies. Moreover, from the information and experiences observed and learned, it is possible to figure out efficient and effective ways to create a better environment to ensure the sustenance and the future

development of fine arts museums which had, still has, and will continue to have an essential place in the art and culture of a country.

4.1 The Definition of Museum

‘Museum’, from Greek *Mouseion*, means ‘the home of the Muses’. In Webster’s and Roget’s definitions, a museum is ‘an institution devoted to the procurement, care and display of objects of lasting interest or value’. Oxford and Collins define a museum as ‘a place or building where objects of historical, artistic, or scientific interest are exhibited, preserved, or studied’. All these ‘traditional’ definitions tell us that museums consist of a building, objects and activities. Nonetheless, open-air museums¹ and ecomuseums have incorporated indoor space and an outdoor environment, human civilisation with nature. Moreover, it is now possible to have access to many artefacts without seeing or touching them because ‘the museum collections are being catalogued on CD ROM and the Internet’ (Macdonald, 1996: 2). It seems the era of ‘the museum beyond its walls’ has arrived. However, most museums still operate under the definition of a museum provided by ICOM:

A museum is a non-profit making, permanent institution in the service of society and of its development, and open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits, for purposes of study, education and enjoyment, material evidence of people and their environment.

(ICOM Statutes, adopted by the Eleventh General Assembly of ICOM, Copenhagen, 1974)

From the different definitions introduced by, for instance, the American Association of Museums (AAM) (see Appendix 4.1), the UK Museum Association of the Great Britain (see Appendix 4.2), the South Africa Museums Association (SAMA) (see Appendix 4.3),

¹ The first open-air museum, the Skansen, near Stockholm, was founded by Arthur Hazelius in 1891 (Bennett, 1995).

we are aware of that museum associations tend to emphasise the social and educational functions of the museum. The AAM emphasises that a museum should be a not-for-profit institution, and the most important function is for the educational purpose. The UK MA describes the museum mainly from its functional aspects as a place that provides not only knowledge but also enjoyment for the public. In South Africa, the SAMA emphasises the understanding of communities with their environments. The South African museums are earnest in assisting the various groups of people to better recognize the value of both their individual and common histories and identities to facilitate better mutual understanding.²

However, Margaret Birtley, Vice-President of Museums Australia, has argued against the ICOM definition adopted by Museums Australia since 1994, the year of its establishment (Birtley, 2002: 5). She notes that the ICOM's definition of 'profit' in 'non-profit making' requires a 'specialised understanding' (2002: 5). Indeed, of the facilities that many museums are offering nowadays, the souvenir store, bookshop and cafeteria, are profit-seeking. Subsequently, she criticises the phrase 'in the service of society and of its development' to be 'reactive' instead of 'pro-active', which suggests that museums are very passive and unable to bring about broad social changes. She has continuously challenged the ICOM's definition of museums as places for 'study, education and enjoyment', which indicates that all museums are obliged to be entertaining. Finally, she criticises the uninspiring ICOM definition for leading people to see a museum as a place that is as 'dreary as a hospital', a 'patent office' or a 'police station' (2002: 5). After the Annual General Meeting of 2002, Museums Australia adopted a new definition of 'museum' in which the purposes, functions and goals of different types of museum are all

² The 'Declaration of Intent' states 'that South African museums actively assist all our various communities better to understand the circumstances of both their separate and common history so as to give them a clearer view of their present relationships and, thereby, of how they can be more harmoniously involved one with the other in the future' (<http://www.sama.museums.org.za/constitution.htm>).

covered. According to Margaret Birtley, 'it (the new definition of museum) brings audiences, objects, collections and associated information to the foreground' (2002: 5). Most of all, it includes the intangible heritage and the virtual domain, the recent area of interest to the museum world (2005:6) (see Appendix 4.4). The recognition of the importance of intangible heritage³ wealth has been an increasingly important issue for the community and the government. ICOM has also included the tangible and intangible heritage resources (living heritage and digital creative activity) in its latest definition (see Appendix 4.5). The utilisation of new digital technology to increase the accessibility of museum collections and related information all reflect the current achievements and future developments of the museum sector.

An ideal definition should be accurate, comprehensible and inclusive. However, the definition of museum inevitably intends to require constant renewal according to the current or potential developments, and adjusts itself to be an appropriate scheme for the features of this sector in different times and different societies. The definition of a museum is not only a sign of its position in society, but also reflects the political, economic, cultural and technological developments of a society. The next two sections endeavour to explore how museums reflect the changing development of a society through the discussion of their functions and their changing roles in Taiwanese society.

4.2 The Function of a Museum

Among different cultural institutes such as libraries, music centres, opera houses, ballet

³ Intangible heritage has been defined by UNESCO (2001) as 'people's learned processes along with the knowledge, skills and creativity that inform and are developed by them, the products they create and the resources, spaces and other aspects of social and natural context necessary to their sustainability. These processes provide living communities with a sense of continuity with previous generations and are important to cultural identity, as well as to the safeguarding of cultural diversity and creativity of humanity' (http://www.unesco.org/culture/heritage/intangible/html_eng/index_ens.html).

companies, broadcasting companies, cinemas, theatres, and so on, museums have been chosen as the subject of this research because they can provide special functions and services that other institutions cannot. Harold Skramstad, the retired president of the Henry Ford Museum and Greenfield Village, has argued that museums can only survive if they are useful to their communities, offering things that other institutions cannot (Weil, 1997). Macdonald and Fyfe (1996) have also pointed out some of the distinctive features of museums:

...especially, their authoritative and legitimising status, their roles as symbols of community, their 'sitedness', the centrality of material culture, the durability and solidity of objects, the non-verbal nature of so many of their messages, and the fact that audiences literally enter and move within them. While museums may not be unusual with respect to each of these features alone, together they constitute a distinctive cultural complex.

(Macdonald and Fyfe, 1996: 5)

Museums are not only buildings for collecting artefacts or cultural objects, but also repositories of the traditions, knowledge, beliefs, taste and values of a culture. They play an important role in expressing, understanding, developing, preserving and transmitting our natural and cultural heritage, and they provide the public with exceptional opportunities for 'learning', 'personal growth' and 'enjoyment' (Karp, 1992: 5; Weil, 1994). According to the general review of museum literature, the functions of a museum are usually defined either in relation to its collections or its relationships to the society. The functions of a museum include collecting, preserving, exhibiting, educating and researching. However, this research deals with the latter conclusion that the function of a museum can be divided into four main categories, though some characteristics may overlap with each other and some may not be totally included. For example, educational and cultural functions are placed under the social function category. These four functions are the political, economic, social and aesthetic perspectives.

4.2.1 The political function of a museum

The museum has been used as a symbol of national identity and national glory (Crook, 2001; Evans and Boswell, 1999; Kaplan, 1994) especially in the 18th and 19th centuries. This is true of the British Museum in London (established in 1753), the Louvre in Paris (established in 1793), National Museum of Ethnology in the Netherlands (Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, established in 1837) and the Ethnologische Museum of Germany (established in 1873). These museums are large and contain not only the artefacts of their own countries but also include a great deal of foreign materials collected or stolen from different colonised or formerly-colonised countries as a result of military invasions or trading. For instance, the British Museum contains collections from Africa, the Americas, Asia, Britain, Egypt, Europe, Greece, Japan, the Near East, Pacific and Ancient Rome. The Rijksmuseum Volkenkunde Leiden (National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden) has collected artefacts from China, Japan, Indonesia, Africa, America, Tibet, Siberia, New Guinea and Greenland. The National Palace Museum in Taiwan, the National Anthropology Museum in Mexico and the National Museum of Japanese History (Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan) all have an abundant collection mainly inherited from ancestors that served for the documentation, preservation and interpretation of the history and culture of the country, and of course with the purpose of demonstrating the importance of their cultural heritages to the world.

A museum can also be a memorial or even act as a political statement about a political event or tragedy, such as the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington DC⁴ (Linenthal,

⁴ The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum 'strives to broaden public understanding of the history of the Holocaust' which includes six million Jews murdered by the Nazis between 1933 and 1945; 'Gypsies, the handicapped, and Poles were also targeted for destruction or decimation for racial, ethnic, or national reasons. Millions more, including homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses, Soviet prisoners of war, and political dissidents also suffered grievous oppression and death under Nazi tyranny' (<http://www.ushmm.org/museum/council/mission.php>).

1997; Milton, 1991; Saidel, 1996; Wetzel, 1996) and the Taipei 228 Memorial Museum of Taiwan.⁵ The primary purpose of these museums 'is to advance and disseminate knowledge about the unprecedented tragedy, to preserve the memory of those who suffered, and to encourage its visitors to reflect upon the moral and spiritual questions raised by the events of the Holocaust as well as their own responsibilities as citizens of a democracy'.⁶

Some governments use arts and museums for propaganda purposes to achieve their political goals or to 'regulate social routines and performances' (Bennett, 1995), but some 'ethnic and racial minorities also began to look to museums to legitimise and validate their claims for inclusion' (Weil, 1997). Following the post-colonial period, by establishing new museum ideologies, new programmes or new interpretations on behalf of the post-colonised countries, museums played a part in enabling marginalized groups to breathe 'the free atmosphere of the new political state' (Taylor, cited in Lee, 1975: 35). The ideology of hegemony, the relationship between the dominants and subordinates, and the complexity of reaction and interaction involving power and resistance are scrutinised by Bennett (1998), de Certeau (1984), Geertz (1973), Hall and Jefferson (1976) and Williams (1976). A study of the relationships of power and resistance is very important for every society. For countries such as the UK, France, the USA, Canada, Australia and Taiwan, issues concerning the relationships between the colonising power and the colonised or concerning aboriginal peoples also fall under this domain.

⁵ The 228 Memorial Museum opened in 1997 as a memorial to the 10,000 to 20,000 Taiwanese people who were killed in a riot on February 28, 1947. The '228 Incident' remained a taboo subject until the 1970s (Kuo, 2001: 5).

⁶ See The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum's 'Mission Statement' (<http://www.ushmm.org/museum/council/mission.php>).

Taiwan had been colonised by Japan from 1895 to 1945. After Chiang, Kai-shek withdrew from China to Taiwan, the Kuomintang (KMT) Party ruled (some people use the word ‘colonised’) the country for another fifty years, from 1949 to 1999, until the peaceful transaction of the political power to the Democratic Progress Party (DPP) in 2000. Under the KMT sovereignty, the government endeavoured to ‘de-Japanise’ and ‘re-Sinicise’ the Taiwanese through the enforcement of the ‘Chinese language’ (kuo-yu) as the national language. In addition, the government also promoted the ‘Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement’ to preserve, revive, and enhance the Chinese traditional culture for the purpose of defending against communism. In 1965, the National Palace Museum was founded in the suburbs of Taipei to accommodate the rich and invaluable art treasures⁷ evacuated from the premises of the former Ching (Qing) court in the Forbidden City in Beijing (Kuo, 2001: 6), which has been transported to Nanking and other southern cities during and after the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945). The reallocation of the Palace Museum treasures to Taiwan in 1949 by the KMT government, in my point of view, was one of the few great contributions that the government ever contributed to the museums and to its people. However, it was deciphered as a symbol of the legitimacy and the orthodoxy of the government by some political critics. Recently (in 2000), some DPP senators suggested that the Government gave the treasures to China in exchange for the independence of Taiwan. Both Chinese and Taiwanese people are of the same ancestry, sharing virtually the same culture, history and religion. There are no issues of colonialism, post-colonialism, history, culture, religion or national identity involved in ‘repatriation’ between China and Taiwan. From this proposal, it is apparent that ‘de-Sinicism’, ‘Taiwanese consciousness’

⁷ According to ‘An Introduction to the National Palace Museum’, there are 645,784 objects in the collection of the Museum in Taipei (<http://202.39.81.6/english/introduction/main1.htm>). The objects in the Taipei NPM come from three separate Ching (Qing) museums, including those in Beijing, Shenyang and at the summer retreat at Rehe (See *Sinorama*, Vol. 25, No. 10, October 2000). Yet, according to the director, Mr. Cheng-sheng Tu, the collection consists of nearly 570,000 books and files, the only about 80,000 artefacts (Tu, 2000: 12).

(Halbeisen, 1991), 'localisation' and the 'independence of Taiwan' are the priorities and ideologies for some of the governors. But we should ask ourselves if any country or we should sacrifice its cultural heritage and historical dignity because of 'political agenda'?

4.2.2 The economic function of a museum

An art museum is not only a symbol of pride, identity or spiritual pleasure, but also a part of the cultural industry, which brings economic benefits. The perception of the contribution of creative industries in GDP (Gross Domestic Product) has moved them 'from the periphery to the centre of policy thinking and development in the UK.'⁸

Creative industries were firstly introduced by the Labour Party in 1997 and the Creative Industries Taskforce was founded in July 1998, aiming at getting the most out of the economic profits and impacts of Britain's software and computer services, publishing, TV and radio, music, film and video, advertising, arts and antiques market, interactive leisure software, designer fashion, architecture, crafts, design and performing arts (see Appendix 4.6). From 1997 to 2000, the economic growth of the UK was 2.8%, and the growth of creative industry was 9%; the average growth of national employment from 1997 to 2001 was 1.5%, whilst the growth of employment in creative industry is 5%.⁹ They bring in about £60 billion each year, provide about 1.4 million jobs (including part time and full time jobs)¹⁰, and account for more than 5% of GDP (they generated 7.9% of the GDP in 2000). Minister of the Regions Hilary Armstrong states that 'the creative industries sector is a vibrant and growing sector of the economy... they can make an important contribution

⁸ In the speech by Arts Minister, Alan Howarth, to the UNESCO Round Table of Ministers of Culture, Paris, 12 December 2000, he stated that 'the creative industries should include sectors such as advertising, architecture, design, designer fashion, software and music in addition to what we would recognise as the more traditional cultural industries' (<http://www.nds.coi.ov.uk/coi/>).

⁹ See the conference report of Yen-siang Shi, minister of the Ministry of Economy, on creative industries, held by National Securities and Finance Group Foundation on 10th July 2003.

¹⁰ See the speech by Arts Minister, Alan Howarth, to UNESCO Round Table of Ministers of Culture, Paris, 12 December 2000 (<http://www.nds.coi.ov.uk/coi/>).

to regional social and economic regeneration and to the Government's drive for an urban renaissance'.¹¹ In the speech to UNESCO Round Table of Ministers of Culture, Arts Minister for the UK, Alan Howarth emphasised that creative industries provide employment and improve the quality of British people's lives, encouraging people to work in partnership, contributing to social inclusion and regional regeneration and increasing the sense of cultural identity and diversity.¹² Museums, of course, as a part of the creative industries are called on to assist with the inclusive agendas and regeneration strategies to fight against unemployment and low incomes problems, to increase the economic growth of communities and to encourage public participation in cultural and leisure activities (DCMS, 2000; GLLAM, 2000). Museums are attractions for tourism and bring in real economic benefits. According to the statistics, around 100 million people visit Britain's 2,500 museums and galleries per year, and approximately 25% of visitors are from foreign countries, in which 59% visitors have mentioned museums as an important cause for their coming to the UK.¹³ One third of British adults visited a museum in the year 2000, and around 20 to 30 percent of these are regular museum visitors (Resource, 2001).

In the USA, according to a report published by the *Americans for the Arts*, non-profitable art industries generate about US\$134 billion and provided 4.85 million full time jobs between 2000 and 2001 (Sia, 2002). Furthermore, in 2000, the tourism industry in the USA generated US\$94 billion and provided 1.7 million employments (Sin, 2002: 8).¹⁴ Furthermore, in 2001, about 9.3 million Americans participated in cultural activities and visited museums, galleries or historical sites and cultural tourists accounted for 20% of all

¹¹ DCMS (2000), 'New Government Report Aims to Boost Creative Jobs and Businesses in English Regions', on 3rd March, 2000 (<http://www.nds.coi.gov.uk/coi/>)

¹² See the speech by Arts Minister, Alan Howarth, to UNESCO Round Table of Ministers of Culture, Paris, 12 December 2000 (<http://www.nds.coi.ov.uk/coi/>).

¹³ 'European Countries' (2003) (<http://www.ylib.com/art/talk/talk.html>)

¹⁴ According to Sin (2002), tourism is the No.3 retail industry in USA and the total expenditure on tourism is US\$541.7 billion.

the tourists (2002: 8). Museums and galleries, part of the non-profitable art industries have had the international appeal to attract tourists from all over the world, and the tourism industry will be the biggest industry in the world (Sin, 2000).¹⁵ In Taiwan's 'Challenge 2008: Six-Year National Development Plan' (see Appendix 4.7), the Government set up the goal to double the number of foreign tourists visiting Taiwan and also put the cultural creativity industry in one of the ten major investment areas.

Following the economic prosperity of the 1970s, the Taiwanese Government established several large-scale national museums and every county and city has a cultural centre with a museum, library and music hall. In the 1990s, owing to an alert concern with local interests, a large quantity of small-scale public and private cultural centres and theme museums were founded to redefine social and cultural identity for the local people and the community. This large amount of investment on art and cultural buildings, related facilities, activities and programmes are evidence of its economical prosperity. However, when the economy is less prosperous and the national deficit rises; some countries including Taiwan have regarded museums as attractions or tools to bring in economic benefits. In the 'Integrated Community Development Plan'¹⁶ (1994) (see Appendix 4.8), the 'Local Cultural Exposition Plan' (2002-2004), and the 'Creative Industry Plan' (2002-2008) proposed by the CCA, as well as in the 'Proposal of the Local Cultural Buildings'¹⁷ (2002-

¹⁵ 'Tourism industry will be the biggest industry in the world and some facts as follows: 1. Tourism Industry generated about 10.2% of the international GDP, the No.1 of all industries. 2. Around 204 million people work for the tourism industry, about 10.6% of the employments of the world. 3. Tourism industry brought in the largest tax revenue that was US\$65 billion. 4. Tourism industry realised US\$340 billion, higher than any other industry. 5. The spending on tourism was 10.9% of the world consumption, 10.7 of the capital investment, and 6.9% of the government spending. 6. In 2005, tourism industry will provide 144 million employments in which 112 million will be among the Asian-Pacific areas' (Sin, 2000).

¹⁶ Chien-ming Lee has categorised the communities under the "Integrated Community Development" plan into seven types according to its function: industry, culture and history, education, ecology, dwelling, health, and reuse of run down site (cited in Hong: 2003).

¹⁷ 'A total of NT\$3.55 billion (more than US\$100 million) will be appropriated in 3 years (2002-2005) to support the local governments in the revitalisation of the local cultural sites and combining with the local industries to promote the employments and bring the financial benefits for the community' (Su, 2002).

2005) approved by the Executive Yuan, local and community museums take a role in the tourist industry and the cultural creativity industry to contribute to economic regeneration for the community and even for the nation. However, Elspeth King has argued that museums have become 'profit making, pleasure-giving enterprises rather than the traditional centres for collecting, conservation, research and interpretation of the things which a particular society or community values' (King, 1991: 126).

The term 'culture industry' is introduced by Adorno and Horkheimer (1947) to replace 'mass culture' (Adorno, 1991). For Adorno and Horkheimer, mass culture is something that occurs naturally from the masses themselves. Culture industry concerns the mass duplication and efficient distribution of cultural products. Art has succumbed to capitalism and become business-oriented which means it aims at making profits instead of nurturing innovation and diversity. Artists also lost their aesthetic interest and autonomy. Moreover, even the consumers have lost the right to choose what they want, as 'producers have done it for them' (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1944). Under the name of liberalism and democratisation, art and culture no longer belong to the wealthy or the erudite, but are for the masses, and the 'art industry' can fulfil the needs of the masses through mass production. However, the needs of the masses are determined by those who possess the technology and the power to provide it.

Compared to film, broadcasting, publishing and the internet, which have categorised themselves as 'industries', museum with their time-honoured history and special collections have tried to maintain distance from the call of 'popular', 'mass' culture for a little longer (1944). Nevertheless, for its own sustenance and for providing a service for the masses, 'industrialising the culture' seems to be an inevitable trend and an instant

solution. The culture industry is not a new business or an independent one. It needs the integration and corporation of different professions to work on contracts between different governmental departments and private industries, the management and marketing of the products, the measurement of cost and revenue, and even to quantify the unquantifiable. How could we expect the Taiwanese museum authorities, comprised of some civil servants and people with art and cultural backgrounds only, to operate and be competitive in the international, cross-cultural and cross-media industry?

In recent years, 'creative industries' have been introduced and been very successful in the UK. They emphasise the 'creativity' of the cultural products. Under the irresistible compulsion of international capitalism, free market and 'globalisation', the Taiwanese Government has set the 'creative industry' as one of the major investments of national development in the current 'Six-Year National Development Plan, 2002-2008'. It has also chosen thirteen categories as the main areas of Taiwan's cultural creative industries, including the visual arts, music and performing arts, cultural exhibitions and performance facilities, crafts, film, TV and radio, publishing, advertising, design, designer fashion, architecture, creative living and digitalised leisure software¹⁸, exactly the same as those in the UK's creative industry. I doubt this is the result of thoughtless coping, instead of choosing under deliberate criteria and analyses. Whilst the 'creative industry' is in fervent discussion and progressing, some critics and art professionals have expressed their suspicions and also made some valuable suggestions. Professor Mu-lan Shu has explained

¹⁸ National Culture and Arts Foundation (2003), 'The Analysis of Current Situation of Cultural Creative Industry', and the 'Amendment of the Sphere of Taiwan's Creative Industry' passed in the third meeting held by the Team for Promoting the Cultural Creative Industry of the Ministry of Economics on 9 July 2003. According to the Amendment, the CCA is responsible for the visual arts industry, music and performing arts industry, cultural exhibition and performance facilities industry and crafts industry. Bureau of Intelligence is in charge of the movie industry, TV and radio industry and publishing industry. Ministry of Economy is in charge of the advertising industry, design industry, designer fashion industry, architecture industry, creative living industry and digitalized leisure industry.

the SWOT (strength, weakness, opportunity and threat) of Taiwan's cultural creative industry¹⁹ (see Appendix 4.9). Mr. Lin, Huai-min, the Chief Director of Cloud Gate Dance Group and director of the National Security and Finance Group Foundation, assumes that the situation in Taiwan is totally different from that in European countries. He suggests that the Taiwanese Government should not decrease the subsidies for arts and culture or lead arts and culture towards 'industrialisation' at present. On the contrary, he believes the Government should increase the investment to solidify the related fundamental industries. In addition, he also states that fine art, elite art and the avant-garde are always unprofitable.²⁰ For many European countries, culture and industry have already established a certain relationship and tradition; therefore when there comes a call for the 'creative industry', all the related units can function accordingly. The Taiwanese Government may on one hand try to catch up with the globalised trend or because of the economic recession, the deficit of national budget and the increase of unemployment. Thus, the Government assumes that art and cultural institutions should be more financially independent and even create economic benefits through 'industrial culturalisation', 'cultural industrialisation' and the 'creative industry'. As mentioned before, the plan would not be brought to fruition without financial sponsorship, extensive research and a well-planned operation system. In addition, the consistent and thorough collaborations of different professions, industries and governmental departments and most of all the participation of local people are all crucial for the successful urban regeneration and community development. Only through these efforts, can Taiwan be expected to be not only a consumer but also a producer in the global creative industry. Museums, especially the local and community museums with distinctive, unique and scarce attributes are

¹⁹ Professor Mu-lan Shu has explained the SWOT (strength, weakness, opportunity and threat) of Taiwan's cultural creative industry in the conference on 'The Related Issues of the Development of Creative Industry' held by the National Securities and Finance Group Foundation on 10 July 2003.

²⁰ In the conference on 'The Related Issues of the Development of Creative Industry' held by the National Securities and Finance Group Foundation on 10 July 2003.

essentially the frontiers, keystones and backups for the tourism and the creative industries. Therefore, the inhabitants of communities and employees of museums can be the providers as well as the beneficiaries of a museum's economic contribution. Nevertheless, we must keep in mind that if arts, museums, and industries collaborate only to maximise production for economic profit or economic hegemony, they would only imperil the substance, stability or seriousness of their value.

4.2.3 The social function of museum

'Museums are institutions intended to serve society and only thus can they continue to exist and function', according to Jan Jelinek (cited in Hudson, 1987: 172). Museums are increasingly asked to fulfil civic responsibilities. The objects in the art museums are no longer a private collection conserved for elite minorities but are for the diverse public. The range of contents associated with the function of museums is very broad. Museums can be political, economic, social, historical, cultural, religious, educational, moral, aesthetic and environmental, reflecting the focal concerns of a society. Furthermore, increasing attention on the research of class, identity, ethnicity, colonialism, gender, racism and feminism are major contemporary social concerns and are frequently the subjects of museum exhibitions.

Museums have been well documented in a huge volume of museum literature as institutions of education (Durbin 1996; Falk and Dierking, 1995; Hein, 1998; Hooper-Greenhill, 1991, 1992, 1994, 1996; Peterman, 1997; Roberts, 1997). In 2000, the DCMS and the DfEE (Department for Education and Employment) published 'The Learning Power of Museums – A Vision for Museum Education', in which the UK Government wanted all museums and galleries to place 'education' at the core of their planning, exhibitions and programmes, and in their mission statements, strategies and forward plans.

According to the ICOM's *Code of Professional Ethics* (1986), 'the museum should take every opportunity to develop its role as an educational resource used by all section of the population or specialised group that the museum is intended to serve'.²¹ There are two main denotations indicated in the passage concerning the educational function of museums: one means 'knowledge' and another is to 'guide', 'conduct' and 'civilise'.

Museums 'deliver' or 'relate' knowledge through both tangible and intangible methods, such as exhibitions, programmes, activities, workshops and IT to schoolchildren, and to the youths and adults by both 'face-to-face' teaching and 'distant learning' methods (Hooper-Greenhill, 1994, 1999- 2nd edition: 3-4). Museums provide a more flexible, comfortable, diverse, inclusive and interactive environment for untraditional, informal and lifelong learning. As to the purposes to 'guide', 'conduct', 'instruct' and 'civilise', to some degree, they are associated with class²², authority and power (Bennett, 1995, 1998; Bourdieu, 1984; Foucault, 1978; Habermas, 1989; Hall and Jefferson, 1976; McGuigan, 1996; Shapiro, 1990; Rose, 1993). Government sees public museums and art galleries as instruments to educate people, to enhance their moral thoughts, to improve their inner life, to reshape their social behaviour and manners, and to develop their aptitude for self-motivation and self-regulation. Therefore, museums are employed as institutions for social management and behaviour management and to bring about social transformation, regulation and evolution. Museums and galleries are now asked to be agents to solve social problems and to bring about social change (DCMS, 2000). Social problems might take disparate forms (crime, poor health, lower educational attainment, racial

²¹ The ICOM Code of Professional Ethics was adopted by the 15th General Assembly of ICOM meeting in Buenos Aires, Argentina on 4 November 1986.

²² According to Bennett (1995: 28), 'in practice, museums, and especially art galleries, have often been effectively appropriated by social elites so that, rather than functioning as institutions of homogenisation, as reforming thought had envisaged, they have continued to play a significant role in differentiating elite from popular social classes.'

discrimination, joblessness, homelessness, etc.)²³ and the scope might range from individuals to families, groups, urban and rural communities, regions, nations and continents. In some regional regeneration projects, museums and galleries with their unique collections, through cultural and leisure activities or special training programmes conducted in partnership with different institutes, help to reduce crimes, to improve self-confidence and self-expression, to develop an individual's relationship with others and the community, and to improve the educational and living environment (GLLAM, 2000; Dodd and Sandell, 2001, Sandell, 1998). Some successful examples are acknowledged by Sandell (1998) such as that the Gallery of Justice, Nottingham works in partnership with the Youth and Social Services to deter young people from criminal behaviour; the Living Museum of the West, Melbourne, Australia develops the Koorie Garden Project to provide horticultural training and employment for local, long-term unemployed indigenous people; and the exhibition concerning contemporary artists' responses to HIV and AIDS at the Walsall Art Gallery does promote people's understanding and awareness of the sexual health (1998: 413-415).

For communities, especially the minority communities, museums offer a public and official version of their histories (Bennett, 1996: 1), and 'give their histories a home' (Weil, 1997: 12) which promotes a sense of cultural and social identity (Duncan, 1995; Kreamer, 1992). Museums aim to elevate the level of an individual's social consciousness concerning what he is and where he came from (Abranches, 1983: 19) and also encourage the individuals' involvement with and respond to the community through visitor programmes, displays and activities. Both the Plymouth City Museum and Art Gallery's Keyham Project and Sheffield City Museum's High Rise Project have successfully

²³ See the Government's Social Exclusion Unit in the Cabinet Office (2000).

brought the museums and communities working together to increase the competence of the individuals and communities (GLLAM, 2000: 27-28). In the research of 'Attitudes to the Arts', conducted by the Research Surveys of Britain in June and July 1991, 80% of 8,000 adults considered that arts and cultural activities help to bring people together in local communities, and 70% of people agree that arts and cultural activities help to enrich their quality of life (see Arts Council of Great Britain, 1993).

Museums and galleries play an important role in providing arts and culture activities. As mentioned earlier, they bring about local community regeneration and can be agents of social change. Hudson (1987) has noted:

... at any given time, certain social problems will appear to have a particularly high priority, and that museums, like any other media for communication, should not ignore them. If it does, it is likely to find its public slipping away. But being aware of a problem does not necessarily mean that one is personally called on by God to try to solve it. Museums seem ill-adapted to be problem-solving agencies, although they may have a useful role to play in illustrating the nature of the problem.

(Hudson, 1987: 173)

However, 'these [social] problems evidently are not solvable by the puny activities of art museums. This is not in any way to suggest that they be ignored by art museums. Quite the contrary, but they should be approached in terms of the vocabulary available to art and the museum' (Lee, 1975: 4). Since 2000, museums and galleries have been asked to respond to the Government's agenda to prioritise the 'social inclusion' policy, and the battle between the Government, museums and other parties have started in the UK. The main controversy lies on two main arguments, the Government's intervention and the legitimacy of museums to tackle social exclusion. Museums are required to be not only the repositories of knowledge, beliefs, taste and values of a culture, the institutions that

‘collect, document, preserve, exhibit and interpret’ the tangible and intangible evidences of a culture, or the places that provide education and entertaining; museums function as storage room, display space, a research institution, library, school and theme park, and also as a vocational training centre and even a ‘therapeutic place’ (Appleton, 2001). To some critics, such as Josie Appleton, museum objects are no longer the evidence, assets and creations of a civilisation, but ‘the props in a counselling session’ (2001: 74). Museum curators and staff are becoming ‘social workers’ (Fox, 2000) and ‘therapists’ (Appleton, 2001: 74). Josie Appleton has pointed out that ‘in the past, people who worked in museums had a professional brief: they were guardians and interpreters of objects, and this formed a solid basis for their work and their relationship with the public’ (2001: 74). ‘The study of objects is not the selfish pursuit (of curators) but something that is of benefit to all society’ (2001: 75).

Every society has ‘excluded’ individuals and disadvantaged groups: ‘people or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health, poverty and family breakdown’ (DCMS, 2000: 7). Taiwan has these social problems, and a lot of museums and cultural organisations, especially those in the local communities, are also holding activities and programmes to deal with the similar problems, but more with the community economic regeneration, the educational courses, and the leisure activities which are not really considering ‘social inclusion’ as a core issue.

4.2.4 The aesthetic function of a museum

The museums that this research refers to are in most cases fine arts museums, which accommodate art objects in their collection. Benjamin Ives Gilman (1923), the assistant

director of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the leading spokesperson for the 'aesthetic' position on the function of an art museum, has insisted that 'because of the special nature of art objects and the significance of their communication at the level of sensation and feeling, they must not be treated as scientific specimens to be dissected, analysed, and interpreted before they are enjoyed' (Shapiro, 1990: 41). This provides a thoughtful defence of the aesthetic function of arts museums: 'Art has its honourable place, not in competition with other and totally different disciplines or needs, but in its own right as a fundamental part of our traditions,' notes Sherman E. Lee (1975: 17). Stephen E. Weil (1995: 64) has also pointed out that 'although art may certainly be at its most patriotic when it glorifies our country or at its most provocative when it challenges us to think, it nevertheless seems to me that the question of when art is at its best as art is one that can only be answered in aesthetic terms, not in terms of what other values it may affirm or seek to question'.

Apart from utilitarian functions, such as political, economic, social, religious, moral or educational purposes for its existence and development, all the statements mentioned above comply with the 'art for art's sake only' ideology, translated from the French *l'art pour l'art*²⁴, which indicates that art needs no justification and is entitled to complete autonomy. As Immanuel Kant claims, art is not constrained by 'function', 'knowledge', 'morality', or 'necessity'²⁵; furthermore, 'art can only be judged by its own criteria and not by anything external to it.'²⁶ In other words, to dissociate art from morality and utility is regarded as a major guideline and the sought-for end in itself.

²⁴ The slogan, '*l'art pour l'art*' was coined in the early 19th century by the French philosopher Victor Cousin. See Encyclopedia Britannica Online Article, 'Art for art's sake' (<http://www.britannica.com/eb/article?eu=137470>).

²⁵ See 'Words of Art: The A_List' (http://www.arts.ouc.bc.ca/fiar/glossary/a_list.html)

²⁶ The idea was developed by the 18th-century German philosopher Immanuel Kant (<http://www.tiscali.co.uk/reference/encyclopaedia/hutchinson/m0040408.html>).

Oscar Wilde once wrote²⁷:

A work of art is the unique result of a unique temperament. Its beauty comes from the fact that the author is what he is. It has nothing to do with the fact that other people want what they want. Indeed, the moment that an artist takes notice of what other want, and tries to supply the demand, he ceases to be an artist, and becomes a dull or an amusing craftsman, an honest or dishonest tradesman. He has no further claim to be as an artist.

(Wilde, 1891)

But, can art be understood and expressed only in terms of colour, light, line, texture, shape, space, or composition? Can artists be entirely disengaged from the everyday life of political, economic, and social activities?

Surely, museums do not perform one function only, and those functions do not contradict each other either. Yet, in different times, different societies and different individuals' opinions, there might be different emphases on the different functions and roles that museums play in society. For John Pick, the value of arts²⁸ lies in their 'social', 'moral' and 'aesthetic' meanings rather than in 'political' or 'economic'²⁹ appeal (Pick, 1989). Obviously, for the former Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport, Chris Smith, and the former Minister for the Arts, Alan Howarth, the economic value of museums is relatively high. In Taiwan, the 'Integrated Community Development Plan' (1994), the 'Local Cultural Exposition Plan' (2002-2004), and the 'Creative Industry Plan' (2002-2008) proposed by the CCA are all mainly focused on the economic value of museums. In the interviews I conducted in Taiwan all of the thirteen interviewees claimed that the public fine arts museums with their artefacts are irrefutably responsible for cultivating and

²⁷ Oscar Wilde in his 1891 essay 'The Soul of Man Under Socialism', cited by Professor Christopher L. C. E. Witcombe in his 'Art & Artists: Art for Art's Sake' (<http://www.arthistory.sbc.edu/artartists/modartsake.html>).

²⁸ I suppose that it also applies to art museums.

²⁹ John Pick has argued that Chris Smith's 'emphasis on what the creative industries might do for a national economy, have permanently damaged Tony Blair's attitude to the arts' (Thorpe, 2000).

elevating the public's aesthetic taste, as well as creativeness in art. Thy also said that the collections and exhibitions in the museums are seldom politically orientated. However, the art critic Mr. Rui-ren Shih has noticed that every time a political election is imminent, some politicians or governments like to use arts and culture for propaganda purposes or try to project, undertake or finish some art and cultural constructions and policies in haste so as to view them as their own cultural contributions. He also points out that some museums hold exhibitions related to the '228 event', which was a taboo subject under the KMT, but now under the DPP seems to have become an issue that must be talked about.³⁰

In Taiwan, cultural centres and museums are the most important institutions which are responsible for social education, especially for the adults and the elderly citizens who are illiterate or cannot understand Mandarin because Taiwan was colonised by Japan for fifty years (1895-1945). There are also many recreational and educational programmes designed for schoolchildren in the cultural centres and museums. However, when I interviewed Tzai-lang Huang, director of Taipei Fine Arts Museum, he questioned whether the museum was there to 'deliver' or 'impose' art education. According to him, a museum is a place for lifelong learning and the activities and educational programmes should be mutually interactive. Museum visitors should be active participants in the shaping of knowledge, but in Taiwan museums mostly provide services for artists and art exhibitions (interview on 12th June, 2002). After the lifting of the Martial Law in 1987, following intensive social movements, art and cultural institutions then took on additional missions, such as the recognition of different ethnical identities and the improvement of the relationships between different ethnical groups, which is now a very serious issue on the island. The changing role of museums will be discussed in the following sub section.

³⁰ In a speech of Mr. Rui-ren Shih, the host of the 'When Art Met Politics' conference on 4 September 1998.

4.3 The Changing Role of Museums in Taiwan

Changing the societal role of museums is not unconditionally objective or one-dimensional, though it seems that in the aristocratic eras of totalitarian countries, governments used arts and culture more for political purposes. I will assess these developments chronologically. In capitalist society, the prospect of making profits through the cultural industries is a major theme that covers policy. Now, particularly in social welfare countries, governments utilise museums and galleries to increase social equity or bring about social changes. The role of museums in society and the art and cultural policies are actually tied to political, economic, and social movements and developments, and museums are important to cultural policy. Therefore, this section provides a manifesto of the changing societal roles that the Taiwan's public museums play by examining the development of its cultural policy from a historical hierarchy associated with mainstream political, economic and social developments.

According to the 'Cultural Statistics' provided by the CCA, there were 149 museums (including both public and private museums) in Taiwan before 1997 (see Appendix 4.10). However, according to the director of National Palace Museum, Mr. Tu, Cheng-sheng, there were around 450 museums before 2002.³¹ Under the Japanese colonial period, from 1895 to 1945, there were a total of fourteen museums or displaying centres in Taiwan (HU, 1998). The Japanese exploited Taiwan's natural resources and historical materials and at the same time studied local art in order to better understand the culture and thereby increase their ability to control the population. This could be one of the reasons why the oldest museum, Taiwan Museum established in 1908 by the Japanese, focused on the

³¹ See Rita Fang's 'Museum in Taiwan Seek Direction after Recession' (<http://publish.gio.gov.tw/FCJ/past/02110871.html>).

collections of the fields of anthropology, earth sciences, zoology and botany.³²

After the KMT government (Republic of China) was defeated by Chinese Communist Party (People's Republic of China) in 1949, Chiang, Kai-shek retreated with his troops and their families to Taiwan. The treasures of the Palace Museum in Beijing were relocated to Taiwan as well. Initially, the Government made considerable efforts to 'de-Japanise' and 're-Sinicise' the Taiwanese. Therefore, the resurrection of Chinese culture and the reassurance of KMT's sovereignty were the principal guidelines during the 1950s and 1960s. However, in addition to the Palace Museum being relocated from China, Taiwan built five more public museums in the 1950s in Taipei, including the National Museum of History (1955) which accommodates the collection taken from Honan Museum in China and the treasures repatriated from Japan after the Second World Wars. The National Taiwan Science Education Centre (1956) aims at improving the science education of school students. The National Taiwan Arts Education Centre (1957) provides exhibition or performance space for film, drama, music, dance and art works (Hu, 1998). Even as early as the 1950s and 1960s, the Government had not only set its sights on the island itself but also attended the international exhibitions vigorously.

In the 1950s, with assistances from UNESCO and other museum associations from the UK and USA, the collection of the National Museum of History in Taiwan had been exhibited in fifty-six museums in twenty countries. It also participated the 1964 World's Fair in New York. The Palace Museum open on 25 March 1957 for the first time since being moved to Taiwan, and then its collection were presented in the National Gallery in Washington, D. C., the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, the

³² See the 'Introduction of the Taiwan Museum' by James K. An, Director of Taiwan Museum (<http://www.tpm.gov.tw/new2/english/page1-1.htm>).

Art Institute of Chicago, and the M. H. De Young Memorial Museum in San Francisco in 1961. In those international exhibitions, the museums shouldered the responsibility of delivering a message of the national glory for political and propagandist purposes.

By the 1970s, Taiwan had transformed its economic foundation from an agriculture-based economy to a labour-intensive industry, and then from light to heavy industries (Yu, 1998). This was the first period of rapid economic growth in the history of Taiwan's economic development. The GNP per capita was US\$389 in 1970, and increased to US\$1,920 in 1979, almost five times as much (see Appendix 1.1). Following the prosperity in economy, the government started to pay attention to cultural development. According to the 'Twelve Construction Projects' proposed in 1977, every city and county should have a cultural centre including a library, music hall and museum. This was the first time that cultural development was included in government policy. Museums at this time were the instruments for providing and improving social education for the citizens. Therefore, with the intention of incorporating more local people to participate in the social educational programmes and activities in order to preserve and disseminate the traditional arts and cultures, the Government had planned to build some traditional folk arts museums and crafts museums, which were certainly closer to the interests of the local people. In 1978 and 1979 respectively, the Government had come up with the 'Scheme for Enhancing Cultural, Educational and Leisured Activity' and the 'Scheme for Promoting Educational Activities of Arts and Culture' from which the people were lead to believe the Government had incorporated cultural activities with educational and leisure activities and had put arts and culture under the educational category. However, though the Government had recognised the importance of art and culture, it put more efforts into the construction of hardware more than software.

The 1980s was a prosperous decade for Taiwan's museums. There were fifty-eight new museums (including twenty-two private museums and thirty-six public museums) and twenty-three cultural centres founded during this decade, including some important museums with national or even international features and standards. One was the Taipei Fine Arts Museum established in 1983, aimed at collecting and introducing 'modern' artworks to audiences. The Taiwan Museum of Art opened in 1988, and focused on collecting the Taiwanese local arts. It now owns the biggest collection of the three major public arts museums in Taiwan.³³ Other large public museums opened during the 1980s including the National Museum of Natural Science in Taichung, the National Science and Technology Museum in Kaohsiung and the National Taiwan Prehistoric Culture Museum in Taitung. Most of the small-scale public museums or art centres were affiliated to the cultural centres (see Appendix 4.11). In addition, there were also a few open-air museums³⁴ and children's museums. Not only the quantity and the quality of museums increased significantly, but the most distinguished achievement was the abundant vitality and diversity they brought forth.

According to the 'Social Education Law' of 1980, every city and county must have a cultural centre to provide its citizens with a space for art exhibitions and performances to promote local art and cultural development. The Council for Cultural Affairs, the first specialised department in the Government was established in 1981 to be in charge of art and cultural development on a national scale. Moreover, in view of the constitution and

³³ The three major arts museums of Taiwan are the Taipei Fine Arts Museum opened in 1983 in Taipei City (in northern Taiwan); the Taiwan Museum of Art opened in 1988 in Taichung City (central Taiwan); and the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts opened to the public in 1994 in Kaohsiung City (southern Taiwan).

³⁴ In Taiwan the open-air museums appeared in the 1980s and most of them were set out to preserve and celebrate the disappearing aboriginal and indigenous crafts and traditions, such as the 'Taiwan Aboriginal Cultural District' and the 'Taiwan Folk Village' which demonstrate the conventional life style of the nine different aboriginal tribes in Taiwan, including the A-mei, Ya-mei, Bei-nan, Pai-wan, Bu-non, Lu-kai, Tai-ya, Sai-sia and Shau tribes (Council for Cultural Affairs's 'White Book').

revision of laws and regulations regarding the protection and preservation of historical and cultural heritage in 1981, one must consider the inclusion of art and educational provisions in 'the Plan for City and County Synthetic Development' in 1987. In addition, in 1990, the Executive Yuan (the highest executive department in the Government) stated that the cultural, political, economic and social developments were the 'Four Major Developments' of the country. Obviously that Government considered the cultural sector to be of central importance to national policy and national development. The most noteworthy was the lifting of the Martial Law in 1987. The ban on the formation of new media organizations, civic associations and opposition parties had been removed, as had the restrictions on free speech and publishing. The society has become more open and needless to say, artists have enjoyed much more freedom in their artistic expression. There are almost no taboos and political 'censorship' is no longer an issue in the discussion of the art and cultural sector.

Following the prosperity of the economy, the democratisation in politics and the diversification of the society, art and cultural development has also converted to a 'bottom-up' oriented guidance or strategy. Since the early 1990s, Government has put emphasis on promoting international art and cultural exchanges. For instance, the Monet exhibition and the Louvre collection are exhibited in the National Palace Museum. The Impressionist exhibition is in the National Museum of History. The Taipei Fine Arts Museum shows the works of Miró (1992), Rodin (1993) and Warhol (1994). These international 'blockbuster' exhibitions have attracted lots of visitors to the museums and have broadened people's knowledge and interests in western arts. On the other hand, the central Government has also delegated its power to the local governments to ensure against unbalanced developments in rural and urban areas. Above all, 'localisation' has been one of the uppermost concerns in policy-making at every level of government.

By the same token, the CCA has accomplished 'The Community Cultural Activity Development Plan', 'The Plan for Enhancing Township Exposition and Performance Facilities', 'The Plan for Assisting the Establishment of Venues for County (Municipal) Theme Expositions and Enhancing Cultural Artefact Collection' and 'The Plan for Beautifying Local Traditional Cultural Sites' for promoting 'The Plan for Integrating Community Development' (1994), to prompt the awareness of community grassroots and identities, as well as vitalise cultural dynamics and diversity.³⁵ In addition, the 'Extending Art to the Countryside' project has enabled artistic and cultural activities and products to pervade at every level of society, especially in rural or the developing areas, so everyone can enjoy and be inspired by them.³⁶ Museums such as the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts (opened in 1993) and National Taiwan Museum of Historical Artefacts (expected to be opened in 2006) set up their missions to 'collect, organise, preserve, and safeguard artefacts and information relating to Taiwan's history'.³⁷

It is not surprising that local museums and community museums in Taiwan have boomed in the 1980s, and especially in the 1990s. On one hand this can be attributed to the processing of political 'decentralisation' and social reformation, the seeking of cultural and community identity. On the other hand, because of the economic recession, the Government has utilised local or community museums for community 'regeneration' and they have played an important role in cultural industry. The concept and progression of the 'community museum' existed before 1970 in America and Europe. In 1994, the CCA (Taiwan) proposed 'The Plan for Integrating Community Development', in which museums including local history museums, local natural history museums, local art

³⁵ Council for Cultural Affairs, *Introduction* (http://www.cca.gov.tw/intro/index_e.html)

³⁶ *ibid.*

³⁷ The National Museum of Taiwan History which will be renamed the National Taiwan Museum of Historical Artefacts has set up its preparatory office in 1999 and the museum is expected to be open to the public in 2006 (http://www.cca.gov.tw/intro/index_e.html and <http://www.nmth.gov.tw>).

museums, local cultural industry museums, local heritage museums and many theme museums were supposed to serve as 'community museums' (Chen, 1999). However, the term- 'community museum' shows up for the first time in 1998 in the 'Root Seeking Activities of Community Museum Project' launched by the CCA and the Provincial Cultural Department. In addition, there are about forty public and private museums joining this activity which aims at 'increasing the recognition of the existence and values of community museums, bringing various communities and community inhabitants participating in museum activities, and promoting community values and community identities' (Council for Cultural Affairs, 1998).

The CCA has set up five main target categories to be completed before the end of 2004: the unification of cultural administrative authority; the healing project following the September 21, 1999 earthquake; the balance of urban and suburban development; the promotion of international and cross-strait cultural exchanges; and the promotion of preservation, safeguarding and re-utilisation of cultural assets and the implementation of cultural rooting tasks.³⁸ Both local and community museums are the prerequisite and influential agents in accomplishing the main missions of these tasks, including the provision of art and cultural facilities, activities, exhibitions and performances; urban regeneration; the community regeneration; the cultural creativity industry; the leisure industry; theme museums; spiritual healing (after the 921 earthquake); cultivating art and cultural talents and recruiting volunteers and administrators; art and cultural resources data collection and digitalisation; art and cultural education through the Internet; art and cultural workshops; the preservation of indigenous (aboriginal) and minority (Hakka) arts and cultures; the promotion of cultural diversity; the preservation of cultural heritage; the

³⁸ See Council for Cultural Affairs (<http://www.cca.gov.tw/important/index.htm>)

project of re-utilising the unoccupied spaces (railway storage house, wine factory, tobacco factory) to supply space for art and cultural exhibitions and activities; tourism and economy development; and the promotion of cross-strait and international art and cultural exchanges.

In recent years, owing to free trade, the growth of tourism and the prevalence of electronic communications, the 'globalisation movement' has been the common phenomenon. Dr. Shirley L. Thomson mentioned that 'trade, travel and technology have always been cross-fertilizers of cultures and the arts'.³⁹ Taiwanese Government also acknowledges this trend and projects several plans to cope with and to examine its influences. In 1994, the term 'cultural industry' was brought up with the 'Integrated Community Development' plan launched by the CCA to connect art with business. In 2002, the CCA introduced 'creative industry' to confront with the stimulating phenomenon of 'globalisation' which on one hand 'has raised innumerable hopes' and on the other 'has also triggered a great deal of reexamination'.⁴⁰ In theory, through globalisation even the marginalized groups have opportunities to reach out to the world and every member of the global village can be a beneficiary and creator of cultural diversity. However, some critics point out that most of the beneficiaries of this movement are the economically strong countries which control the production and distribution of cultural goods. However, globalisation has been recognised as a dominant force in the international community of the 21st century. In view of this trend, the Taiwanese Government also tries to maximize the benefits by introducing 'creative industry' (National Culture and Arts Foundation, 2003), and promoting the tourism industry in the 'Challenge 2008: Six-Year National Development Plan'. According

³⁹ Dr. Shirley L. Thomson's speech on 'The Power of Culture', in Paris, on February 28, 2002 (<http://www.canadacouncil.ca/news/pressreleases/sp0201-e.asp>).

⁴⁰ Milagros del Corral, UNESCO's Deputy Assistant Director General for Culture, has a speech on 'Cultural Diversity: A Coalition of the Willing' (<http://ifacca.org/en/files/020710UnescoEn.doc>).

to Milagros del Corral, UNESCO's Deputy Assistant Director General for Culture, 'globalisation has spurred a renewed interest for the "local" and captivated us by its vast "global" prospects'.⁴¹ Either 'globalised localisation' or 'localised globalisation', culture is seen as a driving force in the global economy of the 21st century. Museums are one of the most important components in representing culture and therefore they also play a significant role in the global economic domain.⁴²

On the whole, the changing role of museums in Taiwan actually follows the political, economic, and social movements and developments of the society. In the 1950s and 1960s, museums mainly served to revitalise Chinese culture and sustain the KMT Government's orthodoxy in Taiwan. In the 1970s, following economic prosperity, the majority of people lived above the poverty line for the first time, and sought a better life, which required art and cultural facilities and activities. In the 1980s, Taiwanese society enjoyed a much more free atmosphere and a large number of cultural centres, theme museums and large-scale museums were established by the Government to present and preserve 'real' Taiwanese arts and culture. In the 1990s, the 'top-down' policy became a 'bottom-up' policy and the museums focused on people rather than on objects, especially the local museums and community museums. In the new century, under the wake of globalisation, museums are not only important for the local and national economy but also as a part of the global economy. Whilst the public fine arts museums exist and serve for the political, economic, social or aesthetic functions, they nevertheless need aid and guidance from the Government. At the same time, they need respect and autonomy to carry out their missions and to fulfil the needs of the public. However, the public fine arts museums have to

⁴¹ Milagros del Corral's speech on 'Cultural Diversity: A Coalition of the Willing' (<http://ifacca.org/en/files/020710UnescoEn.doc>).

⁴² Klaus Müller (2003) mentions that 'according to a 2001 survey conducted by the Travel Industry Association, U.S. travelers listed visiting museums or historic sites as number three among their reasons for travel.'

collaborate with other art and cultural institutions, and even institutions in other fields, to deliver their political, economic, social and aesthetic functions as fully as possible. Therefore, they need to be conducted under the rational and feasible policies and regulations formulated by the Government (see Chapter Five).

CHAPTER 5

THE ROLE AND RULE OF GOVERNMENT

Introduction

This chapter consists of discussions about the responsibility and justification of the Government in intervening with art and cultural affairs, government intervention and museum autonomy, and the regulations and rules that the Government has formulated and implemented to improve or guarantee the sustenance and development of art and culture. The main discussions include: Why do we need a government to be responsible for art and culture? What are the main impacts of government policies on fine arts museums? What form might the relationship among governments, subordinate agencies and public-funded art museums take? What role might the Government play in nurturing art museums? What kind of administrative structure could the Government undertake? What regulations and rules should the Government apply to the art museums?

Through these discussions, this research tries to present different opinions concerning the Government's responsibility in art and cultural development. It also seeks to identify the advantages and disadvantages of the Government's direct and indirect intervention in the arts and to recognise the responsibilities and relationships among governments of different levels, subordinate agencies, art and cultural institutions and fine arts museums.

Interventionist and laissez-faire ideologies, centralisation and decentralisation, and bureaucracy are important issues for this discussion. Finally, this chapter also addresses the importance and influence of regulations, rules and policies to the art and cultural sectors.

5.1 The Responsibility of Government in the Arts and Culture

In 1992 The Department of Arts, Sports, Environment, Tourism and Territories (DASETT) issued an article on *The Role of the Commonwealth in Australia's Cultural Development*:

The Government encourages and supports culture in its more specific sense (the practice and appreciation of music, the visual arts, literature, theatre, cinema, the preservation of our history and heritage) because of its fundamental importance to culture in a broader sense—that is, because of its importance to our whole way of life.

(DASETT, 1992: 1)

This statement does not only offer a broad definition of culture, but also indicates that because of the importance of culture to our 'whole way of life', the Government has the responsibility to 'preserve', 'encourage' and 'support' it. Culture is important and it is innately bound with the political, economic, social, educational, aesthetic, leisure, technological, environmental and ethical aspects of our lives. Basically, the term 'culture' here in this paper overlaps with 'art' in terms of meaning as well as the activities involved. In order to secure the preservation and development of arts and culture, to further its impact and to ensure that everybody can benefit from it, the art and cultural sector needs a consistent and powerful leadership. Government, the legislative, executive and auditing body with different departments and the highest power to make and enforce laws for the community and the public, is assumed to be responsible for the formulation of 'good' cultural policies to distribute art and cultural resources. The Government should also be

able to respond to major international cultural issues and developments such as globalisation, cultural diversity and new technology. Therefore, a government and its agencies are not only in charge of the mechanisms for coordination among different public departments and private sectors within the domestic domain, they should be able to establish relationships with other countries. As addressed in the previous discussions about the necessity of cultural policies and the functions of art and culture, it is undeniable that art and culture are symbols of national glory and civilisation. At the same time, they are the sources for cultivating social and cultural identity, the means for improving individuals' skills of self-expression, aesthetic taste and creative capability, and even tools for generating economic benefit. They indeed enhance the quality of our spiritual, intellectual and material life. According to John Cunningham (1996), the French and Irish have successfully revitalized their economy by investing in the arts and this task can only be achieved under the leadership of a 'charismatic' and 'powerful' Ministry of Culture, a government department.

Arts and culture are just as important as politics and economics, and they deserve to be one of the core businesses that a government should take care of. However, whilst the benefits of art and culture to individuals, the society and the country have been recognised, they are still not effortlessly upheld. On the contrary, in most cases, the prices fixed by the market for keeping or enjoying arts and culture are much higher than people are able or willing to pay. If we leave the fate of art and cultural heritage to be decided by the market, then most of the valuable indigenous art and cultural heritage will disappear forever because they will not bring profit to the private sectors. Therefore, art and cultural heritage are regarded as 'merit goods' for most of the population, which gives them the right to claim close attention and support from the general public and the Government. As John D. Rockefeller

III states, 'just as society has accepted responsibility for health, welfare and education, it must support the arts. Today creative development is as important to man's well-being and happiness as his need for physical health was fifty years ago' (Arts Council of Great Britain (1993: 8)).

The Arts Council of Great Britain (1993), publishes 'A Creative Future', which states the 'weak' and the 'strong' arguments (that arts can bring benefits, and that a lack of art can damage society) about the Government taking part in the art and cultural sector under three main grounds: for collective benefit, equality of access and argument of preference distortion. Society is now enjoying and benefiting from the finest products and achievements of arts and culture inherited from the past and to be passed down to future generations. But if the arts and culture are set aside thoroughly to the free market or private philanthropy, then they could be much less accessible to the general public geographically as well as socially (Arts Council of Great Britain, 1993; Centre for Arts and Culture, 2001). Furthermore, there are some people who are just not informed enough about arts to make choices; however, by means of the Government's involvement they would be provided with information about the range of the arts in more ways (Arts Council of Great Britain, 1993).

5.1.1 Justification of government intervention

A. Market failure

Annette Zimmer and Stefan Toepler (1999) have investigated and proposed many different rationales concerning governments involving and supporting art and cultural affairs which help considerably in understanding the justifications in theories and the policies in practice that different countries have applied to analyse governmental intervention in the art and

cultural field. According to Netzer (1978), the two main justifications for a government to interfere in the arts are 'market failure' and 'welfare state doctrine'. The former is from an economic perspective while the latter is from a social viewpoint. When the market does not efficiently provide what the consumers want, the economists call it a 'failure'.

Basically, there are at least four main market failures: public goods, market control, externalities, and imperfect information (1978). Those 'failures' are essentially the rationales and the areas that call for Government support.

Once public goods are available to one person, it is hard or impossible to exclude others from sampling their benefits. In addition, once public goods are provided, there will be no additional costs if additional individuals or groups wish to make use of them, including national defence, public education, public arts, and art and cultural heritage.¹ The public goods are both non-excludable and non-rival.² Since the increase of consumers does not add to the profits of the producers, they do not provide incentives for private investment, so they are always underprovided by the market. In view of public benefit, Government support is much welcomed by the people.

Markets cannot make profits by producing public goods. The producers tend to control the production of goods or provision of services and increase prices to maximise profits. If the producers have the power to control operations of the natural market, and if the market is under the operation of laissez-faire policy which has a preference for a free market with no intervention from the government, this will probably lead to a monopolised market

¹ See This Nation's, 'Why Do We Need Government? The Economic Perspective' (<http://www.thisnation.com/whygovt-economic-market.html>).

² According to Wood Green School, (1) 'non-rival' means an individual's consumption of the good does not reduce the amount of the product available to other consumers. (2) 'Non-excludable' means once the good is provided; others cannot be excluded (stopped) from benefiting from the product (http://test.woodgreen.oxon.sch.uk/economics/public_good.htm).

because without other competitions the monopolists will therefore interrupt the free operation of the market and the consumers will neither get what they want or have to pay the higher price that they should. Justin Lewis (1994) has argued the free market capitalism tends to act inevitably towards monopoly. This is the reason why Government intervention is justified, despite the worry of its potential risk to the free market. In some cases, the market failure somehow needs social regulation and Government intervention to correct it.³

The third common reason for market failure is the externalities. When some individuals or companies make investments to gain profit, they do not pay all the costs for the benefits they enjoy.⁴ They generate not only benefits and products, but also by-products, negative ‘externalities’, such as air, water and noise pollution that might endanger the environment and the populace. Therefore, the Government has a responsibility to regulate or penalise those that produce negative externalities to reduce them. On the other hand, the Government should encourage individuals or firms who bring in positive externalities with tax benefits. By doing this, the Government can promote a more efficient and reasonable distribution of benefits and costs. For example, the cultural industry differs from other industries in that it does not gain its profits by abusing natural resources or polluting the environment; on the contrary, it attempts to preserve art and cultural heritage, to improve local natural and artistic environments and to enrich the quality of our material and spiritual life. Hence it deserves Government encouragement by investing more manpower, money and favourable regulations to those who provide art and cultural products and services.

³ See Shou-bang Jian’s ‘Moral Consequence of Market Failure’ (<http://shoubang.hypermart.net/files/Gauthier-morality-20010518.htm>).

⁴ See This Nation’s, ‘Why Do We Need Government? The Economic Perspective’, <http://www.thisnation.com/whygovt-economic-market.html> and Wood Green School (http://test.woodgreen.oxon.sch.uk/economics/public_good.htm).

Market failure might be caused by information failures that customers did not or cannot afford to do more research or get enough information about products before consumption. The Government often requires individuals or firms to provide detailed information about their products or services to the customers to enable them to make good decisions.⁵ The lack of information concerning art and cultural activities, programmes and goods definitely affects the participation and consumption of art and cultural products. Therefore, the Government should do all it can to assist and to encourage the availability and dissemination of information that the public needs. Especially in rural and poor areas, people have no access or ability to be informed or benefit from those services. It is the Government's responsibility, at least, to let these people and communities know where they can go, what resources are available to them and how to access to these art and cultural products and services.

B. The social welfare policy

In addition to the four main market failures from an economic perspective, another important underlying principle that justifies government involvement in the arts and culture, according to Netzer (1978), concerns the welfare state policies, which emphasises the 'equality' and 'democratisation' of the arts (Zimmer and Toepler, 1999). 'Welfare state' means that the government undertakes the chief obligation for providing welfare for its citizens.⁶ 'Egalitarianism' means people should get or be treated the same, or be treated as equals, in some respect. The areas covered by social welfare comprise food and nutrition, physical and mental health services, education and housing, and many issues relating to economic development, the environment, human rights, technology assistance

⁵ See This Nation's, 'Why Do We Need Government? The Economic Perspective' (<http://www.thisnation.com/whygovt-economic-market.html>).

⁶ See The Robert Gordon University's 'An Introduction to Social Policy' (<http://www2.rgu.ac.uk/public-policy/introduction/society.htm>).

and community participation. Egalitarianism includes ‘material or economic egalitarianism, moral egalitarianism, democratic egalitarianism, political egalitarianism, and opportunity egalitarianism.’⁷ Nevertheless, social and cultural egalitarian theory was applied in many Western European countries as the justification for governmental support mainly between the 1960s and the 1980s.

However, Zimmer and Toepler (1999) and Frey (2000) all argue that ‘market failure by itself is not sufficient to explain what action a government will take’ (2000) and ‘it does not explain when, on whose behalf (other than for the art’s sake), and to what extent governments actually do intervene’ (Zimmer and Toepler, 1999: 34). Moreover, in the 1990s, the global economy dropped steeply and the recession continuously impaired the Government’s capability to provide enough financial support for cultural welfare. ‘The social and cultural egalitarianism has largely been discarded as a primary rationale for government support for the arts and culture in the 1990s’ (1999: 35).

C. The neo-institutional perspective

Zimmer and Toepler (1999) argue that the rationale for Government support for art and culture is not the result of ‘market failure’ or ‘social-democratic doctrine’, but depends on the ‘tradition’ of the country (1999: 35). They introduce and compare the specific characteristics of style, structure, intent and strategy of three representative countries, France, Sweden and the United States (see Appendix 5.1), which represent the different degrees of government intervention in the art and cultural sector. France has a well-built, centralised, bureaucratic top-down administrative system. The formation and

⁷ Wikipedia, “Egalitarianism”, <http://en2.wikipedia.org/wiki/>

implementation of art and cultural policies are directed by the Ministry.⁸ Most of the museums and art galleries are directly owned and operated either by the Ministry or by local state authorities (1999:37). Therefore, the Ministry does not only set the agenda and policies but also provides almost all the expenses for the art and cultural institutions. A similar approach can also be found in Italy, Austria and Japan.

The Swedish art and cultural sector is not only supported by the Government but also by many different kinds of social associations, such as churches, trade unions and non-profit organisations. This is a 'corporatist' approach (1999:39). Though compared to France, the formation and implementation of cultural policy in Sweden rests upon the 'arm's length principle' and 'decentralisation'. However, it designates responsibility mainly to local governments⁹ instead of private corporations (1999: 39-41). Moreover, following the 'popular movements' in the late 19th century and the 'New Cultural Policy' of 1974, the 'social-democratic' doctrine, 'welfare state policies', 'cultural democracy' and 'cultural equity' become the major principles. Both the number of people who are able to access arts and culture increased and the types of art and culture sponsored by the Government funds also flourished. Not only high art but also the folk and popular arts are subsidised by public money and Government spending is therefore high (1999).

The 'arm's length principle' in art and cultural administration can be found in Britain and Australia, though these have Ministers for Arts speaking in Parliament. As a matter of fact, the arts councils,¹⁰ non-departmental public bodies (NDPBs) (Appendix 5.2), or 'quangos'

⁸ Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication (Ministry of Culture and Communication) of France was founded in 1959.

⁹ According to Zimmer and Toepler (1999: 40), 'up until the early 1990s, about 60% of total public funding was provided by the local level.'

¹⁰ The Arts Councils in Great Britain include The Arts Council of England, The Scottish Arts Council, The Welsh Arts Council and The Arts Council of Northern Ireland.

(quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisations) those are responsible for the distribution of Government fundings and the National Lottery funds to artists and arts organisations. After all, the most important funding body for the arts and culture in the UK is the Arts Council, founded in 1945, and the history of the Arts Council is the best representative of the relationship between politics and culture, the government and the arts institutions. In earlier times, the Arts Council served mainly to promote arts to the social elite. In the 1960s and 1970s, its focus became more democratic, accessible and popular. During the 1980s and 1990s arts and culture became the main forces behind the leisure industries, tourism, cultural industries and creative industries, which generate considerable economic benefits and contribute to the GNP (Collini, 2000). However, the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) was founded in 1997, a Government department to be directly responsible for the policy-making and the funding.

The United States does not have a ministry for culture and does not even have a cultural policy. However, Stan Katz (1984) has argued that ‘the U.S. does not have a singular cultural policy; it has cultural “policies”.’ According to Zimmer and Toepler (1999), owing to the Republican tradition, United States is basically not in favour of ‘big government’, therefore, the implementation of its public policy relies greatly on the ‘third-party’¹¹ government agencies or even private institutions (1999). The National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), and the Office of Museum Services (OMS) within the Institute of Museum and Library Services (IMLS) are the major federal agencies that are accountable for distributing federal funding for the arts and humanities programmes and activities. However, their subsidies only cover up to fifty percent of the needed costs, and the other half relies mainly on fundraising from

¹¹ The third party is ‘a political party organized in opposition to the major parties in a two-party system’ (<http://www.hyperdictionary.com/dictionary/third+party>).

private foundations, corporations, and individuals. Otherwise, the art and cultural organisations have to try to find ways to increase earned income themselves. Compared to most the western European countries, art and cultural patronage in the United States is widely considered as a private rather than a public responsibility (1999).¹²

However, the Centre for Arts and Culture (2001: 1) has published a paper, entitled ‘America’s Cultural Capital: Recommendations for Structuring the Federal Role’ in which it has recommended:

1. *The President establishes a mechanism to advice and coordinate cultural affairs in the Executive Office of the President.*
2. *The Department of State establishes an Under Secretary for Cultural Affairs.*
3. *Congress develops more comprehensive and integrated approaches to policies affecting cultural affairs.*
4. *Congress and the President create a National Forum on Creativity and Cultural Heritage.*

These four proposals, the requests by the Centre to the Government, indicate and suggest that it is the Government’s responsibility to take charge of the arts, humanities and cultural affairs through the establishment of operative mechanisms, specific department and effective policies (2001). Yet, compared to western European countries, the formation and implementation of art and cultural policies in the United States is more decentralised and market-orientated.

To conclude from Zimmer and Toepler’s ‘neo-institutionalist’ perspectives, the characteristics of cultural policies in France, Sweden and the United States are displayed as follows (see Table 5.1):

¹² According to Zimmer and Toepler (1999: 42), ‘among the reasons for the traditionally low involvement of government are the lack of a feudal-aristocratic heritage of cultural institutions, puritanical beliefs which regarded the arts as unnecessary luxury, and a strong republican tradition of limited government.’

Table 5.1 Cultural Policies in France, Sweden and the United States

Country	France	Sweden	United States
Cultural policy			
Department in Charge	Ministry of Culture (1959)	National Cultural Council (1974)	NEA and NEH (1965)
Cultural Policy Approach	Bureaucratic top-down approach	Corporatist approach	Third-party approach
Tradition and Rationale	National pride: absolutism	Social-democratic doctrine; egalitarianism	Republican tradition of limited government
	Centralised	Decentralised- local government	Decentralised- private institutions
Arts Patronage	High public spending; no interference from the business community	High public spending; rejecting private support	Public support (tax deduction, exemption) and private support

Zimmer and Toepler's (1999) analysis on the relationship between governments and the arts is not only based on historical and institutional features, but also on the cross-national, cross-cultural and cross-system comparative studies which provide justifications for government support for the arts. It demonstrates the degree of Government intervention; and exemplifies the formation, implementation and the development of art and cultural policies in different countries at different times. The discussion is based on market failure (economic), social welfare doctrine (social) or tradition (historical) supposition; the most important theme is the relationships between governments and the arts.

5.2 Government Intervention and Museum Autonomy

The previous part explores the justification for a government's intervention in the art and cultural affairs. The main concern of this section is to give an overview of the relationship among governments, subordinate agencies and museums. The general direction of the discussion about the relationship of government intervention and museum autonomy in this part is not intended to view these institutions as total opponents who vie for power. Indeed, the opposite is illustrated. The general perception is that Government intervention in the arts perhaps suggest that the upper authorities who own the resources and power use

some administrative and financial mechanisms, such as cutting funds, appointing members of the board and, indirectly, changing the funding patterns, and delivering messages implicitly through the official reports to control the subordinates and to achieve their own institutional objectives. On the other hand, in response to that or against it, the subordinates also have their own agendas and want to maintain their self-administered authority. The whole issue actually concerns the degree of control and resistance. Nevertheless, in this thesis, intervention does not necessarily refer to only negative effects. Actually, in practice, the upper authorities also provide the direct managerial, financial and technical aids, or through the formulation and implementation of some policies and laws, such as the tax incentives and the intellectual property right, enhance the sustenance and development of arts and culture.

However, many people are opposed to the idea of regarding arts and culture as concerns of the state because there is a fear of governmental intervention in artistic expressions. They do not think the state could assist in the provision of cultural opportunities without imposing an official cultural policy, and believe that a strong state government can use arts and culture in political engineering to manipulate and incorporate sovereignty and exert total control over the population. For Bennett (1998), culture is an arm of government and a 'reformer's science' (Barker, 2000: 380). A governmental administration in modern democratic society would not exercise political oppression, but can deliberately neglect the freedom of artistic expression.

A. USA

The most famous case that involved government intervention and artist's freedom of expression was the Mapplethorpe retrospective exhibition between 1989 and 1992. 'The

Perfect Moment' had been arranged on a tour exhibition in the seven cities of Philadelphia, Chicago, Washington D. C., Hartford, Berkeley, Cincinnati, and Boston (Dubin, 1998). This photography exhibition had not been considered controversial until it was abruptly cancelled by the Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington, D. C. in the summer of 1989, under the pressure of more than one hundred Congress members (Wallis, Weems and Yenawine, 1999). Congressman Dick Armey tried to call for a review of the NEA funding process, and the North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms proposed an amendment that prohibited the use of Government funds to support any artists or institutes which 'promote, disseminate, or produce obscene or indecent materials, including but not limited to depictions of sadomasochism, homoeroticism, the exploitation of children, or individuals engaged in sex acts; or material which denigrates the objects or beliefs of the adherents of a particular religion or no religion' (Childs, 1998: 22; Dubin, 1992: 180 and 1998: 373; Heins, 1998: 131; Serra, 1992: 231). Helms also unsuccessfully asked for a five-year ban on the Southeastern Centre for Contemporary Art (SECCA) and the Institute of Contemporary Art (ICA) which supported the exhibition.¹³ Nevertheless the NEA was asked not to provide Government funds to art that could be considered 'obscene'.¹⁴ Therefore, the NEA even asked the artists to pledge that they would not create any obscene works.¹⁵ 'The NEA was no longer politically independent' (Serra, 1992: 233), and the politicians could judge and determine what kind of art forms could be awarded

¹³ Though SECCA and ICA had not been banned the NEA was required to notify Congress before awarding any future grants to either institution (Dubin, 1998).

¹⁴ 'Three conditions must be met to satisfy a legal definition of obscenity. First, 'the average person, applying contemporary community standards, would find that the work, taken as a whole, appeals to the prurient interest (in sex)'. Second, 'the work depicts or describes, in a patently offensive way, sexual conduct specifically defined by the applicable state (or federal) law'. Third, 'the work, taken as a whole, lacks serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value' (Dubin, 1998: 378, 387, and note 37).

¹⁵ 'The NEA implemented the terms of the Helms amendment by requiring that artists sign a pledge affirming that they would not create obscene work. All recipients of NEA grants during the fiscal year ending October 1, 1990, were required to endorse this anti-obscenity 'loyalty oath' as a condition of receiving Government support. It was struck down in a successful legal challenge by the Bella Lewitsky Dance Company and the Newport Harbor Art Museum, both based in California' (Dubin, 1998: 386-387, note 25).

government funds, and which should be censored.¹⁶ The Congress required that the NEA considered 'general standards of decency and respect for the diverse beliefs and values of the American public' (Wallis, Weems and Yenawine, 1999: 311). It was the first time that the Endowment was required to set restrictions on art funded by the Federal Government since the NEA's commencement in 1965 (Childs, 1998).

When the exhibition moved to the Contemporary Art Centre (CAC) in Cincinnati, the Director Dennis Barrie and the institute were sued for 'pandering obscenity and illegal use of a child in nudity-related materials' (Dubin, 1998:377). Dennis Barrie was the first museum director to be brought to the court and sued for showing 'obscene' works. Before the exhibition arrived at the gallery, the Citizen for Community Values (CCV)¹⁷, a grassroots organization founded in 1983 to promote Judeo-Christian moral values and to address the pornography problem in Greater Cincinnati, had organised an anti-Mapplethorpe campaign. On the other hand, the CAC also received support from a large group of adversaries including artists and museum curators (1998). All the controversies were concluded after the hearing, in which the jury cleared all the charges against Barrie and the CAC. This victory was celebrated as a success of the American justice system and of freedom of artistic expression.

However, though the Helms amendment was struck down in 1992, the NEA had always suffered pressure from both sides. One did not want it to fund 'indecent' and 'obscenity' whilst the other asked it to protect artists' freedom of expression. Not only because of such

¹⁶ Censorship is 'a process by which works of art that have entered the public sphere are controlled, repressed, or even destroyed by the representatives of political, religious, or moral authority' (Childs, 1998: 4).

¹⁷ CCV is officially associated with a focus on the family as a family policy council in Ohio. Citizens for Community Values (CCV) exist to promote Judeo-Christian moral values, and to reduce destructive behaviour contrary to those values, through education, active community partnership, and individual empowerment at local, state and national levels (http://www.ccv.org/About_CCV.htm).

pressure, the NEA's budget had dropped constantly since 1992, and in 1996 the fund was even cut by forty percent from the previous fiscal year and almost all the grants to individual artists were eliminated (Childs, 1998; Dubin, 1998; Wallis, Weems and Yenawine, 1999).¹⁸ Worst of all, several conservative members even suggested that both NEA and NEH should be discharged, but fortunately this attempt failed.¹⁹

B. Taiwan

In Taiwan, concerns that the National Palace Museum (NPM) was collecting 'fakes' in their collections were aroused by the Legislator Chin-jun Chen (Lin, 2000). He accused the NPM of bringing in about hundred questionable 'faked' jades and also paid more than the works were worth to acquire them (Han, 2001). Furthermore, he asserted that the NPM had bought in less than 10 valuable pieces since 1986 (Lin, 2000). He also criticised the collection process and the collection committees, claiming that 'the internal evaluation of the accession of collection was very rough and hasty; the externals invited for acquisition evaluation were not real art or antique professionals' (2000: 46). Chen's accusation was based on speculation and might have been hearsay from the antique dealers, because he could not provide any proof. These accusations were not built upon any evidences. But nevertheless damaged the NPM's reputation. The Legislation Yuan even decided to freeze its collection budget for the next fiscal year, about \$136.4 million, unless the NPM could provide that the evidence to prove the collected objects were not 'faked' and also presented an amendment of its collecting policy and procedures. This accusation was very obviously a political intervention on art and museum professionalism, as a legislator was able to convict the museum on his speculation (Han, 2001). Actually, prior to the official

¹⁸ 'In 1996 both Endowments saw eviscerating cutbacks from the previous fiscal year, as the NEA budget fell from \$162.4 million to \$99.5 million, and NEH's dropped from \$172 million to \$110.5 million' (Childs, 1998: 24).

¹⁹ 'Recommendations were passed in 1996 by the House Committee on Economic and Educational Opportunity to dismantle, or "zero-out" the NEA in 1998, and the NEH in 1999' (Childs, 1998: 24).

acquisition, the museum had to arrange internal and external committees and board meetings. Through the appraisals, price negotiations and many bureaucratic procedures the museum was able to affirm the acquisitions were all under the supervision of the administrators from the accounting and ethics departments (Lin, 2000). Mr. Pao-deh Han was disappointed to discover that the judgement of antique businessmen could affect the museum operation through the power of political authority (Han, 2001). Without a certain professional knowledge and training in art, the politicians should not abuse their right to be exempt from responsibility. On the other hand, politicians and the Government should respect the expertise of art and museum professionals and grant museums more autonomy in museum acquisition, collection and operation (Han, 2001; Lin, 2000).

5.2.1 Intervention and laissez-faire

In French, *laissez-faire* means, 'let things alone', and it stresses non-interference by a government in individual or industrial monetary affairs. However, in dealing with the art and cultural affairs, the government cannot and will not leave them totally alone. The different degrees of government intervention on the arts and culture have been thoroughly explored by Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey (1989) who have categorised the public support of fine arts into four alternative modes: the facilitator model, the patron model, the architect model and the engineer model. They use four national case studies which are the USA (the facilitator model), the UK (the patron model), France (the architect model) and the former Soviet Union (the engineer model) to present the mechanism of funding, policy dynamics, policy dynamic, artistic standards, the economic status of artists and the strengths and weaknesses of each model (see Table 5.2).

Table 5.2 Models for Supporting the Arts

Models for Supporting the Arts							
ROLE	Model COUNTRY	POLICY OBJECTIVE	FUNDING	POLICY DYNAMIC	ARTISTIC STANDARDS	STATUS OF THE ARTIST	STRENGTHS & WEAKNESS
Facilitator	USA	Diversity	tax expenditures	Random	random	box office appeal; taste & financial condition of private patrons	S: diversity of funding sources W: excellence not necessarily supported; valuation of private donations; question benefits; calculation of tax cost
Patron	United Kingdom	Excellence	arm's length arts councils	evolutionary	professional	box office appeal; taste & financial condition of private patrons; grants	S: support of excellence W: elitism
Architect	France	social welfare	ministry of culture	revolutionary	community	membership in artists' union; direct public funding	S: relief from box office, dependence; the affluence gap W: creative stagnation
Engineer	Soviet Union	political education	ownership of artistic means of production	Revisionary	political	membership in official artists' union; party approval	S: focus creative energy to attain official political goals W: subservience; underground; counter-intuitive outcomes

Source: Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey (1989)

A facilitator state, such as the United States, funds arts and culture mainly by providing tax incentives to private supporters. The Government, as the channel and promoter, uses regulations and rules to encourage and engage the diversity of funding sources. Individual and corporate donors support the arts and culture according to their 'taste and financial condition'. And yet, the 'standards of excellence' are not effectively sustained; therefore if the art and cultural institutions cannot attract the private donors they might cease to exist. On the other hand, the Government is unable to formulate a specific art policy to support the activities of national importance which perhaps only the Government is able to know and do. It seems that the arts and cultural institutions enjoy the most freedom without Government intervention, but as a matter of fact, intervention just shifts from Government to private hands.

Most of the patron states fund the arts and culture on an 'arm's length principle' through the commissioned art councils who acquire funds from the Government's fiscal budget (such as the Arts Council of Great Britain and most of the Commonwealth countries) or from both Government and private endowments (such as the Canada Council). They are basically independent from Government intervention in making decisions and distributing funds. The arts councils work under the system of a board of trustees who also take advices from 'peer evaluation' to certify that their financing of the arts and cultural institutions is based upon professional assessments and thereby ensure the support of 'excellence'. However, this practice is criticised for being too distant from direct political interference, and at the same time, far from the needs of the public.

In France, Italy, Sweden, Netherlands and many European continental countries, the Ministry or Department of Culture is in charge of the arts and cultural affairs. This is called the architect system. As mentioned by Zimmer and Toepler (1999), the direct Government subsidiary system is basically the tradition of these countries which regard arts and culture as a governments' responsibility. Basically, the policy is formulated on the 'egalitarian' principle that every citizen is entitled to have the right to benefit from arts and culture. Art and cultural services and resources in most of these cases are offered by private donors to the wealthy people in the facilitator states. Especially the increasing of large-scaled arts and cultural organisations requires more funding and even operational aid which cannot be sufficiently supplied by arm's length assistance; therefore they ask for direct public funding. Though the architect system is under centralised guidance and aims at fulfilling the needs of the community and the public, it does in a sense neglect or stagnate the dynamic, innovative and inspiring qualities in arts and culture which are bizarre, overwhelming and even outrageous for most of the common people.

The last mode introduced by Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey (1989) is the engineer state which owns all the artistic resources and products as well as the power to distribute them. The primary criterion for the engineer states to foster arts and culture is for 'political' purposes instead of 'artistic excellence'. This totally centralised and politically orientated concept and practice is commonly found in the communist countries. By the same token, the engineer role is also welcomed by the economic-orientated 'capitalist realism'. Some western countries which are developing an art industry with commercial and profit motivations want to build up the centralised operational system in order to summon the 'subservience' and cooperation of all the subsidiary organisations. Under this engineer mode, artistic creativeness is totally replaced by 'political or commercial objectives'. These four models seem to be exclusive to each other in theory, but actually in practice most countries combine some or all of them on the funding and administration of the arts and cultural institutions. The convergence of these four alternative roles in the public supporting of art is elaborately illustrated by Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey (1989). In countries such as the USA, not only tax expenditure (the facilitator) funds the arts and culture, but also the NEA and NEH provide federal grants at 'arm's length' (as the patron). The UK, which introduced the first 'arm's length' arts council has established The Department of Heritage in 1992, which is renamed The Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) by the Labour Party in 1997 (the architect). France (the architect) also provides tax expenditure to the private donors (the facilitator).

However, this research focuses more on the discussion of the 'arm's length' principle. In practice, the principle guideline of 'arm's length' administration is a system which avoids distributing the public funds directly by a government department, but allocates them to intermediary bodies which are responsible for fulfilling certain public obligations (Collini,

2000). These bodies include the Arts Council and Museum, Library and Archive Council of the UK; National Endowment for the Arts and National Endowment for the Humanities of the USA; and the National Culture and Arts Foundation of Taiwan, all working at 'arm's length' from the Government system. They are all supported by and support the Government in policy making, funds distribution, and helping to build up partnerships between political institutions and the private sector. However, the principle has also been accused of being a disguise and excuse for the Government's unresponsiveness and negligence to the arts and cultural policies (Kawashima, 1997). Alongside the increasing governmental demands for greater public accountability in the administration of museums, the 'arm's length' principle has been challenged.

National museums and galleries are chiefly subsidized by government funds and grants. In addition to the direct financial support, government also encourage the preservation and collection of artistic heritage by means of tax deduction or tax relief. Recently, governments also encourage the industrial and commercial enterprises to give priority to supporting art and cultural development. Both museums and private supporters are encouraged by government policies to build up a closer relationship. This is especially true in the USA where most of the museums are run by private foundations. Museums are no longer purely non-profitable organisations. However, they still can hardly be dependent only on income from admission fees, membership fares, profits from a bookshop or cafeteria, or from renting out their space. Therefore, museums also turn to seek charitable donations and corporate sponsorship. In earlier times, such as in the 1970s, the motivation for corporations to give funds to art and cultural activities might be totally altruistic or to improve the image of the corporation. But nowadays, more and more art institutions and businesses are building a 'partnership' relationship, aimed at making profits for both

entities (Andreoni, 1990; Fry, Keim and Meiners, 1982; Leclair and Gordon, 2000). Up to now, though, the art and cultural institutions in both the USA and UK have not heavily relied on corporate giving for their operations (Wu, 2002). It will be very likely that in order to secure the sustenance of 'donation' or 'investment' from corporations, the art and cultural institutions might be inclined to have the exhibitions, projects or activities that fit the taste and need of the corporations. It is logical to say that political intervention by governments might shift to financial interventions by corporations. However, how can governments develop effective policies to promote the diversity of funding sources, artistic creativeness and the excellence to fulfil both the political and economical values in the arts all at the same time (Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey, 1989)? These are very difficult yet important tasks for both governments and the art world.

5.2.2 Centralisation and decentralisation

Almost every country has different levels of government in its administrative system.²⁰ A positive relationship between the different levels of government is imperative for the effectiveness and efficiency of policy formulation and implementation. Within the different levels of government there is a ministry, department, and government subordinate cultural institute or government funded agency in charge of the art and cultural affairs, such as the Ministry of Culture in France, Italy and Sweden, the Department for Culture Media and Sport (DCMS), Arts Councils, the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA, also known as Resource)²¹ in the UK, the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) and the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) in

²⁰ The three different layers of government are the central government (the federal government of the USA), sub-national governments (the provincial government of Taiwan, the regional government of the UK, the state government of USA), and the local governments (the city government and county government).

²¹ The Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA) replaced the Museums and Galleries Commission (MGC) and the Library and Information Commission (LIC) in April 2000 (<http://www.mla.gov.uk/home/00about.asphttp>).

the USA, and the Council for Cultural Affairs (CCA), National Culture and Arts Foundation of Taiwan. All the government departments and the subordinate agencies above deal with art and cultural affairs and the institutions related, including the national museums, the municipal museums, the local museums and the art centres. Those relationships are actually a network concerned with the strata of power and governance, the formation and implementation of arts and cultural policies, and the distribution of public funds and resources to the art and cultural institutions and activities. The relationships of power vs. resistance and intervention vs. autonomy among different levels of government, the subordinate institutes and the cultural organisations, in other words, the 'centralisation' or 'decentralisation' (democratisation) of cultural administration might be strengthened or weakened because of a change of the presidency or inter-relationship. However, the better the relationship and communication among those institutions, the more people and communities can benefit from arts and culture.

In the last decade we have seen a significant impact on museums as a result of the concept of community empowerment. This community-centred approach embodies the similar concepts of localism or regionalism (Bogle, 1988), and those concerns are linked to the issues of multiculturalism, communitarianism (Trotter, 1996) and even to its counterpoint, globalisation. Globalisation emphasises the global spheres of that which is 'multi-national' or 'non-national', and the heart of globalisation lies in the recognition of and respect for the dynamic, diverse and distinct individual identity of every culture (Work, 1998). Therefore, globalisation, a central, national and international mission, could be realised only if it starts from the bottom sub-national and local levels. In other words, the centralised administration must be decentralised. According to Robertson Work, 'decentralisation' is a process of 'democratisation', a mixture of 'administrative', 'fiscal'

and 'political' functions and relationships. It is also a new form of communication between each 'geographical area', 'societal actor' and 'social sector'²², enabling a society to achieve more 'sustainable' and 'people-centred' development, at the sub-national and local levels. Indeed, whether under a policy of centralisation or decentralisation, the core consideration should not only be the governance, efficiency and accountability of the mechanisms and the institutions, but should also include the most important components, the community, the individual people. It is believed that the lower levels of government (regional and local) are better than central government in fulfilling a citizen's preferences and demands concerning public goods and services (Oates, 1972). Therefore, in order to know the citizen's 'interests and needs', every cultural decentralisation policy and project should always be preceded by a consultation with the local people and local government.

In effect, decentralisation needs the full participation and partnership of governments, subordinate agencies, institutions, committees, foundations, corporations, communities and individuals either from the national, sub-national or local domain. All the participants have to understand each other's strengths and weaknesses, trusting and making commitments to each other. Through training and professional guidance they can know more about the best practices and how to form consolidated methodologies. Through collaboration they can create a good atmosphere for constructive dialogue between different levels of government, and can then build up a legitimate environment and an effective network for the public authorities and private sectors for policy formulation,

²² According to Robertson Work (1998), the geographic entities include the international, national, sub-national, and local. The societal entities include government, the private sector and civil society. The social sectors include all development themes - political, social, cultural and environmental (<http://magnet.undp.org/docs/dec/DECEN923/Factors1.htm>)

resource management and service provision²³ (Byrnes, 2003; Crane, Kawashima and Kawasaki, 2002).

Centralisation is a top-down administration; decentralisation is bottom-up. However, they are not exclusive alternatives to each other. Most of the time, it takes two to work things out. In cultural administration, especially when building the collaborative relationship or partnership among institutions of the same level in the administrative strata, or with other related areas, such as the education, tourism and social affairs, the central government has to provide a platform for creating dialogues and negotiations, and then find a compromising solution. Sometimes, a government has to be the guide who gives orders to get things done, and yet, the arts and cultural sector always claims 'autonomy' from political intervention. However, from time to time, the art and cultural affairs and their institutions are actually left alone or have been treated as minor concerns by the policy makers and even the public. If arts and culture are to play a stronger part in our life, they have to stand out for themselves, making their voices heard, and engage themselves in more public policies. Especially the less known, minor or local art and cultural communities should take action together to form an advocate group to encourage the upper administrative departments to empower them with more political and economic resources (Byrnes, 2003; Crane, Kawashima and Kawasaki, 2002).

Decentralisation has a direct connection to local development, as the economic issues are a very big challenge for both the central and local governments. Local government and agencies need financial support for the local cultural development, to regenerate cultural heritage, increase community participation and tourism, develop citizenship, enhance

²³ See also Jordi Pascual's (2003) 'Local cultural strategy development in South-East Europe' (http://www.ecumest.ro/pdf/PfC_May2003_workshop_report.pdf).

community identity and unity, organize social and educational activities, and foster artistic creativity and innovation. For financing the development of arts and culture, the local government and cultural organisations try to expand the financial resources both from public provision and private support, through grants, subsidies, funds, loans, lotteries, and income from products, activities or services. Central governments and agencies also try to allocate more funds to local government and cultural organisations through a fiscal budget, co-funding, matching funding and cross funding. For the development of arts and culture no matter whether it is on a local, national or international scale, centralisation and decentralisation are both needed to create 'a win-win situation'²⁴ (Byrnes, 2003; Crane, Kawashima and Kawasaki, 2002).

In most of the countries, both central government and local authorities take an active part in preserving and promoting arts and culture by giving substantial financial aid and providing efficient and effective art and cultural policies, rules and regulations to help the sustenance and development of these institutions, which include museums. Owing to the growth of regional and community ideology, more and more people are conscious and care about the equality of the provision and development of arts and culture at a local level. Therefore, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), the International Council of Museums, the European Union (EU) and the Committee of Regions and other international arts, heritage and cultural organisations are all contributing to the dissemination and promotion of arts and culture through research, publications, conferences and activities based on the democratic spirit. They make every effort to make arts and cultural heritage available, diverse and prosperous not only at national levels, but for a regions and communities as well. The same attitude and practises

²⁴ *ibid.*

are adopted by the Arts Councils, the Regional Arts Boards and the local authorities in the UK (Arts Council of Great Britain, 1993). 'The arts (and media) should be viewed in an international as well as a local, regional and national context' (1993: 29). The local authorities have played a major part in the development of arts and culture in the UK since the war.

In Taiwan, the project for establishing the large, national museums of the 1980s has been replaced by the boom of the local and community museums in the 1990s, which also represents the increasing importance of local and community museums in the preservation and development of arts and culture (Lin, 2003; Mu, 1998; Wei, 1999). After the implementation of the Law for Autonomy of Local Governments in 1999, almost all the cultural centres have been elevated to the status of cultural affairs bureaux. They are entrusted with more funding and more staff directly and indirectly as a result of the Central Government's 'decentralisation' regulation. At the same time, cultural affairs bureaux get funds from local governments for local art and cultural development by proposing and presenting different kinds of art and cultural festivals and programmes which are closely connected to local industries. They generate financial benefits, most of all, by giving the community greater exposure and a stronger social and cultural identity, and give the local people a sense of pride and unity.

There is a good example of successful decentralisation of art and cultural administration at Yilan, a small county with a population of about 466 thousands, situated in north-east Taiwan. There are fifteen museums in total in this small county including Taiwan Theatre Museum, the first public museum of folk drama founded in 1990, and the Baimi Wooden Clog Museum founded in 1998, a good example of museum helping the regeneration of an

old community. There are still nine more museums under construction, including museums concerning the seasoning of sweets, kites, and the Taiya Tribal Museum. Promoting a good industrial environment and revitalizing local industries are the goals of the Yilan County Government. The most successful case is the 'International Children's Folklore & Folkgame Festival', held every summer since 1996, except in 1998 because of the enterovirus and in 2003 because of SARS. It is now one of the most important local, national and international festivals in Taiwan which is in alliance with The International Council of Organizations of Folklore Festivals and Folk Art (CIOFF)²⁵ (Shang, 1999). When it began in 1996, it attracted nine foreign countries to participate. Recently there are more than twenty countries anticipating this joyful event. This Festival presents the films, toys, magic, folk dances and music from almost twenty countries, and does not only improve the relations with several countries which do not have a formal diplomatic relationship with Taiwan (Shang, 1999), but also incorporates art and cultural activities with tourism and industrial development for the community which gives culture a strong role at the local level. It brings financial benefits from the entrance tickets, transportation, hotels, food and souvenirs, and increases community identity and unity. There are also generational benefits for the local children who grow up in the international community fostered by this festival.

Undoubtedly, a successful decentralised art and cultural administration depends on good communications and negotiations between the civil society, the executive and the legislature in the policy-making process, along with the corporations and networks of different levels of administrative organisations and cross-field departments, sufficient

²⁵ The International Council of Organizations of Folklore Festivals and Folk Art (CIOFF) is an international non-governmental organisation founded in 1970, maintains formal consultative relations with UNESCO. CIOFF aims at defending the cultural diversity and promoting an intercultural dialogue to serve the cause of peace and non-violence (<http://www.africa-cioff.org/cioff/en/index.asp>).

sponsorships and partnerships from both public and private sectors, and especially the participation of every member of the community. As Robertson Work has stated, 'decentralisation is not an alternative to centralisation. Both are needed. The complementary roles of national and sub-national actors should be determined by analysing the most effective ways and means of achieving a desired objective'.²⁶ Tsung-huang Hsiao, director of Kaohsiung Museum of Art, also assumes that the success of the 'International Children's Folklore & Folkgame Festival' and the achievements of the art and cultural administration of Yilan County are actually based on a 'centralised' cultural administration (Interview on 25th May, 2002). The local government is entrusted with full authority by the Central Government and it can order the police authority, the transportation department and other related organisations to be fully cooperated. It looks like a bottom-up administration, but is essentially a top-down one. Furthermore, Mi-cha Wu, assistant director of Council for Cultural Affairs, and Tsung-de Deng, senior researcher for the Cultural Affairs Bureau of Taipei City, are both looking forward to seeing more and more local and private involvements in art and cultural affairs, such as from cultural pressure groups, advocate associations, advisory committees and lobbyist organisations which are all important for the 'decentralisation' of the cultural administration (Interview: Mi-cha Wu on 11th June 2002; Tsung-de Deng on 13th June 2002).

However, there are shortcomings in these decentralised local cultural festivals. Because of the increasing numbers of different kinds of festivals, local government and cultural affairs bureaux have to seek help from private art and cultural companies or local private cultural and historical studios. The cultural budget is controlled by local government and the art

²⁶ See Robertson Work's (1998) 'Factors to Consider in Designing Decentralised Governance Policies and Programmes to Achieve Sustainable People-Centred Development' (<http://magnet.undp.org/docs/dec/DECEN923/Factors1.htm>).

and cultural festivals and activities become the best ways for some ‘misbehaving’ politicians to channel the benefits to their affiliated groups or individuals (Chen, 1996; Chen, 2003). On the other hand, since the implementation of the Purchasing Law in 2002, if a project costs more than \$30, 000 it is open to competition from companies. Most small art, cultural or historical studios are either not legitimately allowed to register as companies or cannot afford the fare to enter the open competition. Therefore, most of the bids of local arts and cultural activities and programmes fall into the hands of a few big private foundations. Though they are big in size and perhaps more experienced, diversity, creativity and new forces are nevertheless always welcomed and have been always claimed by the arts and cultural fields.

Art festivals and cultural activities contribute positively to cultural and spiritual improvements for the community people. The art and cultural administrative experiences and skills can be accumulated and refined as more and more art and cultural activities have been introduced. Reforming the funding system, making transparent the subsidies programmes and the competition processes, establishing a neutral assessing mechanism and introducing strategies for efficient governance are all the essential tasks of local government in art and cultural administration. However, Cas Smithuijsen, Director of Boekman Foundation in Amsterdam, has warned that if the systems of funding culture and the arts are too ‘strong’ or ‘rational’, cultural and artistic innovation will be hindered by the ‘bureaucracy’.²⁷ The following section therefore explores the relationship between arts and bureaucracy.

²⁷ See Jordi Pascual’s (2003) ‘Local cultural strategy development in South-East Europe’ (http://www.ecumest.ro/pdf/PfC_May2003_workshop_report.pdf).

5.2.3 Bureaucracy

In sociological theories, bureaucracy is an organizational structure of both governmental or non-governmental organizations characterized by regularised procedures and rules ordered by laws or administrative regulations, the division of responsibility and labour, a hierarchical system of authority, and impersonal relationships.²⁸ Bureaucratic administration is the result of large-scale enterprises in both public and private sectors of a modern, capitalist society (Aron, 1970; Coser, 1977). The two main subjects of this research, the government and fine arts museums, can both be characterised as large-scale enterprises operated under bureaucracy. Therefore, it could be very helpful to look into the characteristics of bureaucratic administration systems. If this administrative system can work then it means both government and museums can.

The word 'bureaucracy' tends to have negative connotations and usually implies rigidity, inefficiency and inflexibility. Bureaucratic administration is marked by diffusion of authority, obsession with regulations and adherence to 'red tape' (Merton, 1952).

Criticism and objections about government bureaucracy has probably been customary at every period of history and in every country (Weiss and Barton, 1979). However, Weber regards bureaucracy as the most feasible system of administration, because the development and the prevalence of the bureaucratic structure of administration are due to its rationality and efficiency²⁹ (Barker, 2000; Marsh, 1996). 'It [bureaucracy] is superior to any other form in precision, in stability, in the stringency of its discipline, and in its reliability', notes Weber (1921/1968, p: 233).

²⁸ Based on the definition supplied by *Collins Dictionary of the English Language* (1979).

²⁹ 'From a purely technical point of view, a bureaucracy is capable of attaining the highest degree of efficiency' (Weber, 1921/1968, p: 233).

The discussion in this section not only introduces Weber's 'ideal type' model of bureaucracy (see Table 5.3), but also draws upon the theories and comments of other sociologists to manifest or implicate some good features or imperfections in this system and to provide possible solutions with a more objective point of view. This prototype not only conveys Weber's perception of bureaucratic administration, but rather it has the purpose of trying to amend and to fortify its structure while confronting with the arguments of some counterparts, as well as to construct and to utilize a better concept of bureaucratic administration. As a matter of fact, Weber's 'ideal type' of bureaucracy is rather a faithful description of the growth in power and scope of the large-scale enterprises in modern society compared to a real 'ideal' administrative system (Elwell, 1996).

Table 5.3 Characteristics of Max Weber's 'Ideal Type' of Bureaucracy

Characteristics	Description
Hierarchy	there is an ordered system of superordination and subordination; every position or office is accountable to and supervised by a higher office
Rules	there are clearly established, general rules which govern the management of the office
Specialisation	official tasks and positions are clearly divided; each covers a distinct and separate area of competence
Officials	they are (a) selected and appointed on the basis of technical qualification (on some clearly recognised criteria); (b) full-time appointments, in that the particular post is the sole or major occupation of the individual; (c) subject to a formal career structure with a system of promotion according to either seniority or merit (in other words, there are objective criteria for promotions)
Impersonality	everyone within the organization is subjected to formal equality of treatment
Public-private division	there is a clear separation between official activity and private life (the resources of the organization, for instance, are quite distinct from those officials as private individuals)

(Source: Based on Marsh, 1996: 69)

According to Weber, bureaucracy is a particular type of administrative structure based upon rationalisation in order to attain the highest degree of efficiency in achieving goals. The rational approach includes hierarchy of authority, written rules of conduct, specialised divisions of labour, full time work of officials, impersonality in human relations and a clear separation of official activity and private life.

A. Hierarchy

The principles of hierarchical office authority are in evidence in every large-scale organisation, with the appointment of officials, the payment of salaries, the flow of 'information' and 'command' all following the rank of hierarchical orders.³⁰ Weber defines the three types of authority based on three different types of legitimacy: traditional authority, charismatic authority and rational-legal authority. The traditional authority is based on the inheritance or custom which has 'always been so'; the charismatic authority is based on the 'commitment' and 'loyalty' to a leader who possesses remarkable 'ethical', 'heroic' or 'religious' virtuosity; and the rational-legal authority emphasises the legality of normative 'rules' and the system of 'super- and subordination' (Marsh, 1996: 68; Weber, 1946/1958: 197). According to Weber (1946/1958), authority has become increasingly rational-legal in the modern democratic society in which levels of authority are designated by a yet higher authority or enacted through electorate votes under a set of formal, impersonal rules.

The appointment or recruitment of a museum director and staff seems to follow the rational-legal path as well. In France, museum directors are designated by the Government to the regional museums at first and then can be promoted to the metropolitan ones depending on their performance. In Germany, the recruitment of museum directors is through selection by a museum committee. In Taiwan, public museum directors are usually designated by the political authorities, but according to the new regulations, they have to pass national civil examinations, or through the Regulation of Appointments of Educator system.

³⁰ See Frank W. Elwell's 'Max Weber's Home Page' (<http://www.faculty.rsu.edu/~felwell/Theorists/Weber/Whome.htm#Bureaucracy>).

B. Rules

The operation of bureaucratic administration follows written rules, laws and regulations that clearly define the duties, responsibilities, obligations, procedures and conduct of office holders (Aron, 1970; Coser, 1977). The normative rules are 'stable', 'exhaustive' and impersonal which can be learned and used to conduct 'decisions' and 'actions'.³¹

Bureaucratic systems emphasise the 'rule of law' rather than the 'rule of man' in order to achieve the maximum level of efficiency. Museum workers also have to abide by certain procedures and regulations for daily operation, registration, documentation, and care of collection, in order to accomplish their assignments or projects according to the standards of museum professionalism.

C. Specialisation

In modern, complex society, there is a tendency towards the division of labour as well as the specialisation and expertise of knowledge and skills. Most large-scale organizations consist of different departments which take responsibility for different tasks. In this way, the tasks can be accomplished not merely efficiently but to perfection. The division of labour and the specialisation of competence encourage individualism which requires the stronger interdepartmental managerial skills of the organization (Marsh, 1996).

Specialisation means that certain people with certain knowledge, in certain positions, are responsible for certain tasks. For individuals, the division of labour or the specialisation of the task offers an opportunity to develop individual talent or become proficient in their own workmanship. As a museum enjoys more and more popularity, it becomes more and more important and complicated. Not only the number of art museums grows, the roles of art museums in society are also multiplied. Therefore, in addition to the general

³¹ See Keith Rollag's 'Bureaucracy' (http://faculty.babson.edu/krollag/org_site/encyclop/bureaucracy.html).

administrative sections there are many different specialised departments in the museum in charge of museum collection, exhibition, education and research.

However, the process of the division of labour or specialising in a specific area of occupation leads to two opposed outcomes that make some employees skilled or unskilled. During the process of the division of labour, the tasks have to be broken down into smaller, easier pieces of work to be carried out more efficiently. At the same time, this may cause the 'deskilling' of the employees who might be subjected to be replaced at any time by the employers (Braverman, 1974; Marsh, 1996). The modern large-scaled bureaucratic organisations have many specialised divisions and have to accomplish many specialised tasks and duties. Therefore, the appointments of the officials are made according to their specialised qualifications, such as their specific expertise, knowledge and competence acknowledged as a result of their education, experiences or examinations for employment. Furthermore, the maintenance and the improvement of specialised techniques and specialised office management require continuous on-the-job expert training and the measurement of performance.

Especially for the museums, many employees and administrators are not from the art administration, educational, or related background. The provision of education such as the long-term or short-term on-the-job training, seminars, conferences or workshops to encourage and promote their relevant professional knowledge and techniques are very important for achieving excellence. Those programmes are not only helpful for the achievement of personal competence but also helpful for the better public service provision.

D. Officials

Once a person comes into the bureaucratic system and becomes an official who is selected or appointed for his or her specialised qualification, this usually results in the provision of a full-time vocation and very possibly permanent employment. The official may benefit from a high social status and salary depending on the performance or the rank of his or her position. Furthermore, the promotion is based on experience, achievement or seniority, and there is a pension after retirement. It is a committed, stable and life-long career in which one does not have to worry about arbitrary removal from office or dissatisfying any superior individuals.³² In Taiwan, public museum employees who pass the National Civil-Service Examinations are civil servants and this means that they have a life-long occupation and receive a pension after retirement.

Under current civil service rule, the officials are well protected from being fired or laid off, which result in the 'bureaucratic personality': the bureaucrat is identified as 'Public Enemy No. 1'.³³ Therefore, in order to keep the officials' qualification as being paid as experts with specialised knowledge and skills, they should be provided with opportunities to improve their competence and performance by undertaking on-the-job professional training and then their positions should be reviewed and assessed with regard to their standards of achievement. Museums nowadays are increasingly asked to assume civic responsibilities and to fulfil the increasing demands for public accountability in their administration. The performance measurements, an accountability system including the qualitative and quantitative measurement, are used for assessing the performance of the museums and museum workers (Matarasso, 1997), in order to avoid the rigidity,

³² See Keith Rollag's 'Bureaucracy' (http://faculty.babson.edu/krollag/org_site/encyclop/bureaucracy.html).

³³ See Sauvik Chakraverti's 'Management Mentras: Make Way for New Public Administration' (<http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/articleshow/776848.cms>).

inefficiency, unresponsiveness, incompetence and non-innovativeness caused by the official's 'bureaucratic personality'³⁴, as has been noted by Merton (1940, 1952).

E. Impersonality

Bureaucratic administration is also characterized by the impersonality in the performance of each employee, the exercise of authority and the implementation of tasks. All the tasks and assignments are operated according to rational calculation, mechanised measurement, formal rule and impersonal order. Each office holder functions as a little 'cog' in the bureaucratic machine and works strictly under official commands and written regulations. With this impersonal characteristic demanded by the bureaucratic organisation, human relations and the evaluation of individual achievement are based on rationality and equality instead of personal favouritism or bias.

Alvin W. Gouldner (1954) has criticized Weber's emphasis of the rational and impersonal characteristics of bureaucracy. The mathematical calculations and mechanised management led to dehumanisation and depersonalisation which resulted in the incompetence of bureaucratic organisations and the staff in dealing with 'non-routine', 'individual' or 'interpersonal' problems. Techniques in managerial strategies and systematic methods are important to overcome the workers' resistance and to incorporate the workforce (Burawoy, 1985; Clarke, 1979; Edwards, 1979; Grint, 1991; Littler, 1982; Marsh, 1996; Westwood 1983). In the museum codes of ethics, museum workers are encouraged to build up good relationships with the general public, colleagues, and commercial organisations. Museums have to be 'well-co-ordinated' with different levels of authorities such as 'national, regional, and local organisations' (Weil, 1994: 253). On

³⁴ About the 'dysfunctional aspects of bureaucracy' and the 'bureaucratic personality', see Marsh (1996: 70).

one hand, museums and museum workers should build good relationships among museum membership, different cultural institutes or even organisations from different fields. On the other hand, they should conduct all the acts and activities in accordance with rationality instead of personal preference in order to do things efficiently and effectively.

F. Public-private division

In the modern bureaucratic system, there is a clear-cut separation between the public and the private sphere of life, activity, duty, interest and property. The officials, employees and administrators do not own the 'means of production' or administration. Public resources including money, equipment and even the position itself do not belong to any private individuals. The complete segregation between the organisational and private sphere is a sign of ethics which proves that the individual will not use the 'means of production' or administrative power to work for their own or the associates' interests or benefits under the guise of working for the public. The ethic codes of conduct for museum professionals³⁵ also define personal activities and personal responsibility to the public, professional colleagues and even to the business-related organisations. The ICOM (1987) has specifically pointed out the potential conflicts of interest including all the activities or opportunities offered because of knowledge or experience. Museum workers are not supposed to accept the 'advisory and consultancy service, teaching, writing and broadcasting opportunities, or requests for valuations, in a personal capacity' and 'in no circumstance shall individual or institutional membership be accorded to anyone who, for reasons of commercial profit, buys or sell cultural property' (Kavanagh, 1994: 290-291).

³⁵ According to Gaynor Kavanagh (1994) (ed.), there are four ethical codes: 1. American Association of Museum (1925) *Code of Ethics for Museum Workers* (pp.265-270). 2. American Association of Museum (1991) *Code of Ethics for Museums* (pp.271-276). 3. ICOM (1987) *Code of Professional Ethics* (pp.277-292). 4. Museum Association (1991) *Code of Conduct for Museum Professionals* (pp.293-304). However, Museum Association has published the recent *Code of Ethics for Museums* in 2002.

However, the hierarchy of authority, the written rules of conduct, the distinct division of labour, the full time work of the officials, the impersonality in human relations and the clear separation of official activity and private life which are developed by bureaucracy in order to achieve the superior efficiency of the service could become fragmented and uncoordinated without a strong managerial leadership to communicate and incorporate different departments of different levels in the bureaucratic system (Weiss, 1979). Strong managerial leadership has a new definition in the concept of 'The Servant-Leader' (DeGraaf, Tilley and Neal, 2001) which emphasises that today's managers and official leaders should be willing to 'listen' and to 'empower' (Fuller, 1998; Joyce, 1999; Kotter and Cohen, 2002; Stone and Sachs, 1995) and also be able to understand both human 'intellectual' and 'emotional' diversity. They must know how to make the most of 'motivation' and an 'emotionally driven reaction' to engage the employees' commitment and corporation, as well as to improve the interpersonal relationships in a more rational and efficient yet humanised way (Coffman and Gonzalez-Molina, 2002; Kreitner and Kinicki, 1995). New management concepts and methods have been researched, analysed and proposed by many sociologists and economists in order to amend the mistakes or solve the problems of a bureaucratic system (DeGraaf, Tilley and Neal, 2001; Fuller, 1998; Kotter and Cohen, 2002; Marshall, 2000).

The characteristics, problems and possible solutions of the bureaucratic system discussed above can all be observed and associated with the organisational structure and administration of fine arts museums. On the subject of museum bureaucracy, considering bureaucratic characteristics, hierarchy, rules, specialisation, officials, impersonality and the public-private division discussions arise concerning the appointment or the recruitment of museum professionals, the standards of museum professionalism, on-the-job training,

the measurement of performances, the accountability system, the codes of ethics and museum management. These issues will be fully discussed in the next two chapters, which concern the personnel and financial issues related to public art museums.

5.2.4 Policy and regulation

‘Policy’ means the plan or the ‘programme of action adopted to further some purposes, or to deal with some particular problems’ (Moodie, 1984: 23), but without the legislative power of a regulation. However, some government policies discussed in this thesis also have the legislative power to the museum funding and museum administration. The distribution of the financial and physical resources of the arts requires planning and the implementation of policies and strategies. Governments should play an administrative role to provide and promote the relevant projects and policies to integrate different institutions and departments and to utilise new technology and new information. Furthermore, the study of the changing policies provides the opportunity to examine the current situation and the future development of the society in its social and political contexts. Through the diversity of perspectives on different public policies, we can acquire a better understanding of how those policies influence each other and how they can be corporate with each other. The following two chapters will exemplify the political, economic and other social policies and regulations related to museum personnel and museum funding that affect the operation, the sustenance and development of the arts and culture.

PART III. PRACTICE, PROBLEM AND SOLUTION

CHAPTER 6

THE PERSONNEL PROBLEM OF FINE ARTS MUSEUMS

6.1 THE PERSONNEL PROBLEM

In recent years, Taiwan's Government has invested a large amount of money in building museums, cultural centres and exhibition houses, but it seems that the public always complains about the incompetence of those cultural institutions in providing satisfactory cultural services and their performances fall short anticipated targets. According to the surveys conducted by Jeng-hong Lin and Pei-hua Chang (1995), the most serious problem with museum operation in Taiwan concerns the difficulty of recruiting museum professionals. This is because the current personnel system and regulation cannot attract professionals to join or remain at the museums, and the educational system does not cultivate personnel that can serve the museums' needs. The challenge of recruiting staff emerges as a strong theme from my empirical interviews with the governors, directors of museums and bureaux of cultural affairs (see Table 2.5). The first part of this chapter examines issues related to the recruitment and selection of museum directors and staff. The second part explores the definitions and the standards of museum professionalism, as well as the practical strategies that museums have applied to achieve museum professionalisation.

6.1.1 The Designation of Museum Directors

A. The designation of museum director- in western countries

In some countries, administrative professionals that work in the arts are not less famous or influential than artists or even movie stars. 'As an American living in Europe, I have always been impressed by the importance the Dutch place on their museum directors, elevating them to near-Hollywood status. In the U.S., it's the rare citizen who can name the heads of the Museum of Modern Art, the Guggenheim, the Met. In Holland, almost everyone is familiar with the people who run the major museums' says Abigail R. Esman, an American art journalist and critic.¹ The Art News of March 1988 introduced a selection of the most admirable European art administrative professionals, including Harald Szeemann, Jean-Christopher Ammann, Rudi Fuchs and others. These people are now travelling between museums in charge of exhibitions, or are museum curators. They are all forward-thinking art historians and experts in planning art exhibitions and operating art organisations. Therefore, there are lots of museums eager to engage their services.

For example, Harald Szeemann became the director of the Kunsthalle in Bern at the young age of twenty-eight. He has made his name by organising numerous important exhibitions in many European countries in the late 1960s and early 1970s.² In the 1980s he became an independent curator and also worked very actively in Venice, Paris and Berlin. He declined four offers within a month in 1987, including the invitations of the Pompidou and the Contemporary Art Museum at Frankfurt. In the 1990s, he expressed his interest in social and historical events by presenting historical documents and art objects in an

¹ See Abigail R. Esman's 'To This Far' in *Artnet* (<http://www.artnet.com/Magazine/features/esman/esman5-12-03.asp?C=1>).

² Harald Szeemann (1997), 'Harald Szeemann: Biographical Sketch' for The 4th Lyon Biennial of Contemporary Art' (<http://www.biennale-de-lyon.org/biac97/eng/szeembio.htm>).

exhibition. Today, he is still an independent curator³ whose artistic taste and administrative ability are very much admired in the art field. Jean-Christopher Ammann, once an assistant of Harald Szeemann at Bern Kunsthalle, was the director of Lucerne Kunstmuseum (1968-1977) and Basle Kunsthalle (1978-1988). In 1987 he was appointed preliminary director of the Museum für Moderne Kunst, Frankfurt/Main. Not only a museum director, he obtained the position of Professor at Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, Frankfurt/Main in 1998.⁴

According to Rudi Fuchs, director of Amsterdam's Stedelijk Museum of Modern Art since 1993, the job of a museum director or curator is not to fill up the exhibit space or to schedule dates for exhibitions, but to 'create' a museum.⁵ Therefore, administrative experience and ability is a necessary skill for an art museum director to have.

Nevertheless, knowledge in art is also indispensable. The directors of most major European art museums are art historians who have a strong academic and research background and years of administrative experience. As noted in chapter five, in France, museum directors are initially designated by the Government to the regional museums and then are promoted to the metropolitan ones if their performance merits it (Huang, 1991). In Germany, recruitment of museum directors is through selection from the directors of the whole nation by the museum committee of the state and federal governments, and then the list of possible candidates is reviewed and shortened again by the original director before being decided by the museum's committee members (1991).

³ Harald Szeemann is the curator of the 49th Venetian Biennale (in 2001) of contemporary art.

⁴ See Jean-Christopher Ammann's (2000) 'Curriculum Vitae', *The Henna and Pertti Niemistö Art Foundation ARS FENNICA* (<http://www.arsfennica.fi/2000/ammcv-e.html>).

⁵ See Abigail R. Esman's 'To This Far' in *Artnet* (<http://www.artnet.com/Magazine/features/esman/esman5-12-03.asp?C=1>).

In contrast, most of the public museum directors in Taiwan are second grade Government officials who must be the Taiwanese citizens (Chen, 2000). Public museum directors are either directly appointed by the minister of the Central Government or chosen by a committee formed of Government officers. On the contrary, most American museums are run by the Board of Trustees and the committee hires the director after communicating with a professional recruitment agency to discover the qualifications and preferences of the candidates that they are looking for. Therefore, the chosen candidate has actually passed many criteria of selection. The requirements could be an appreciation of art and maybe a special knowledge in a certain type of art or in a certain period of art history. In addition, the degree or experience in art administration or other related fields and the ability to recognise and introduce international art movements to the public are all welcomed. Nowadays having the necessary skills to raise more funds for a museum is often greatly appreciated. However, the prerequisites seldom concern where the candidate comes from or if he or she has a solid art related background. For example, Mr. Philippe de Montebello was born in France, and has been the Director of The Metropolitan Museum of Art since 1978,⁶ and Dr. Maxwell L. Anderson, director of the Whitney Museum of American Art since 1998, was previously director of Toronto's Art Gallery of Ontario (1995-1998). He has a Ph.D. in art history⁷ and is fluent in five languages. He is a museum director, a university teacher⁸ and also the founding chairman of the Art Museum Image Consortium (AMICO)⁹ and the director of the Art Museum Network.¹⁰ He has

⁶ Philippe de Montebello is the eighth Director of the Metropolitan. He became Acting Director in July 1977, and Director in May 1978. See 'Philippe De Montebello, Director, The Metropolitan Museum of Art' (<http://pages.stern.nyu.edu/~gdaly/Philippe.html>).

⁷ Dr. Anderson received his PhD in art history from Harvard University. See 'Library of Congress Bicentennial, Symposia, biography of Maxwell L. Anderson' (<http://lcweb.loc.gov/bicentennial/bios/preserve/anderson.html>).

⁸ Dr. Maxwell L. Anderson has taught at Princeton University and the University of Rome. See 'Speakers: International Cultural Heritage Informatics Meeting, September 3-7, 2001' (http://www.archimuse.com/ichim2001/bios/au_4883.html).

⁹ The Art Museum Image Consortium (AMICO) (www.amico.org) is a group of 30 of the leading art museums in North America, established to create a single database for use in higher education to allow them

engaged himself in the new technology of digital communication, museum architecture and international art law. Similarly, Dr. Emily Santo has been director of the San Francisco Asian Art Museum since 1995, and is an expert in Japanese ceramic art and Buddhist sculptures. She is indeed of a Japanese origin.¹¹ According to Maura Morey, president of the Asian Art Museum Foundation, Dr. Santo 'has the eye of the connoisseur and the intellect of a scholar' and 'the most incredible vision for the institution... she so clearly understands the incredible role that Asian art and culture play in the world.'¹² These directors all have a wide breadth of knowledge about art and are very capable in art administration; nevertheless they are all originally from other countries.

Some directors are good at raising funds and some are good at reducing expenses. Especially since the late 1990s, the Government has decreased the subsidies steeply for museums. Therefore one of the most urgent tasks for museum directors is to increase the income to keep the museum operating and developing. Lawrence M. Small, before becoming the Smithsonian Institution's chief executive, worked at Citibank for twenty-seven years and was the president and chief operating officer of Fannie Mae, the world's largest housing finance company for nine years.¹³ Before Glenn D. Lowry was

to share high quality multimedia information with scholars and students around the world. See "Library of Congress Bicentennial, Symposia, biography of Maxwell L. Anderson" (<http://lcweb.loc.gov/bicentennial/bios/preserve/anderson.html>).

¹⁰ The Art Museum Network (www.artmuseumnetwork.org) is a database of exhibition information to permit anyone in the world to follow the primary offerings of over 200 of the world's leading art museums. See "Speakers: International Cultural Heritage Informatics Meeting, September 3-7, 2001" (http://www.archimuse.com/ichim2001/bios/au_4883.html).

¹¹ Emily Santo's mother was born in Southern California, the child of Japanese immigrants. Her father was born in Japan and jumped ship in America when he was 16. See 'Obsessed With Success: In Emily Santo, the Asian Art Museum has found a powerful, passionate advocate who suffers no fools' (<http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?file=/chronicle/archive/2003/03/09/>).

¹² See 'Obsessed With Success: In Emily Santo, the Asian Art Museum has found a powerful, passionate advocate who suffers no fools' (<http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?file=/chronicle/archive/2003/03/09/>).

¹³ See 'Lawrence M. Small, Secretary of Smithsonian Institution' (<http://newsdesk.si.edu/Secretary/Smallbio.pdf>).

introduced¹⁴ to the Museum of Modern Art of New York, his dismissal of employees at his previous post in Toronto won him fame as a cost-cutter.¹⁵ The Museum of Fine Art in Boston recruited Malcolm Rogers from the Britain as a director who saves in the region of two million dollars per year by discharging eighty-five employees from the payroll (Chen, 2000). He once raised about one million dollars by holding a dancing party and a fashion show over two nights (2000). He has not only reduced overhead costs but also increased the income of the museum. In earlier times, art museum directors were usually scholars, art historians, art connoisseurs or art educators with considerable art-related knowledge or a degree in art, and with the enthusiasm and ability to educate and improve the involvement between the public and the arts. As museums enjoy more and more popularity, they become more and more important and complicated. Not only the number of art museums grows, the functions and roles of art museums in society are also multiplied, including as a depository and displaying space for the art objects, a research centre for scholars, a pilgrimage site for art admirers to appreciate art or for people who need a quiet place to contemplate. They also serve as a learning or leisure centre for the public, and a vocational training centre for the jobless people in the communities. In addition, most of them contain a library, a conference room, a performing stage and even museum shop, cafeteria or catering hall. The size, the collection, the attendance and the missions of museums are also increasing. Therefore, a museum director is expected to be not only a professional and a respectful scholar, but an educator, a tour guide, a social worker, a legal guardian, a public relations executive, a lobbyist, a businessman, an investment analyst, a fund raiser, a corporate CEO, and perhaps even a proficient communicator and a psychoanalyst (Dimaggio, 1994; Phillips, 1994).

¹⁴ According to Charlie Finch, the Whitney hired Maxwell Anderson as director because he was recommended by the same recruitment agency that successfully pitched Lowry to MoMA. See *Artnet* (<http://www.artnet.com/Magazine/features/finch/finch6-5-00.asp>).

¹⁵ See Charlie Finch's 'MoMA Shits PASTA' in *Artnet* (<http://www.artnet.com/Magazine/features/finch/finch6-5-00.asp>).

B. The designation of museum directors in Taiwan

Following the progress recent of Taiwanese society, many occupations favour and respect professional administration, but when we talk about art administration, it seems it is believed that anyone can do it. This is an incorrect assumption that obstructs the planning and development of cultural affairs. According to a survey conducted by the Hsiung Shih Art Monthly (1988) on sixty-one art professionals in Taiwan, including art critics, museum curators, theatre directors, painters, sculptors, architects, ceramists and photographers about their perceptions of the ideal qualifications of a museum curator, more than half of the respondents considered a good museum curator should have the ability to understand and appreciate art, and to accept the development of contemporary arts. They should have a degree or experiences in art administration and be aware of the international art movements. Furthermore, they should have the ability to raise more funds for the museums and use them appropriately. Forty-two percent of the respondents considered it important that such people have good command of other languages in order to help foreigners understand the art and cultural development of Taiwan. Twenty-five percent considered a degree in art or related fields to be a requirement and eight percent thought a good museum curator in Taiwan should understand and promote Chinese tradition. Seven percent of the respondents believed a good curator should also be able to bridge the gulf between the important international art movements in order to achieve the goals of cultural interchange with other countries. Only two persons considered it important to pass the civil-service examination in order to be a good museum curator.¹⁶ However, these statistics do not change the regulations governing the appointment of museum curators.

¹⁶ See *Hsiung Shih Art Monthly*, Vol. 208, June 1988.

In the past in Taiwan, most directors of public art museums or cultural centres were assigned by the political authorities and some of them even lacked any real art related knowledge. Therefore, they were under the leadership of amateurs. 'For politicians, museums have become the most desirable civic status symbol' (Schubert, 2000: 95), especially during the election campaign, and they 'are relatively cheap to build and inexpensive to run' (2000: 95) compared to other cultural institutions. But discerning who was suitable to run museums did not seem to be a governmental concern. Therefore, the director of an art museum or cultural centre could be a school principal or professor, a civil servant from another field, a retired general or a party man who has a good relationship with the political authority in power. The appointed position in museums and cultural centres was regarded as a political reward. One might reasonably believe that under the leadership of a layman, the function, mission and the responsibility of museums might be ignored or even misdirected. Later, the 'formal' employees of public museums had to pass national civil examinations, and the directors had to take the National Civil Special Examination (Wu-kuen Lee, interview on 15th May, 2002).¹⁷ Ching-feng Hong, director of the Cultural Affairs Bureau in Taichung County, believes that the use of the examination system to recruit public museum workers is reasonable and impartial and it helps the stability of museum personnel (interview on 17th May, 2002). Without the qualification or the civil official system, museum or cultural professionals are often removed when different political authority comes to power. Art and culture needs time and professionals in order to be accumulated and a deeply rooted artistic tradition to develop (Guang-nan Huang, interview on 13th May, 2002). Though recruiting people through examination seems fair, many people in the art world do think the examination

¹⁷ Tsai-lang Huang, director of Taipei Fine Arts Museum; Wu-kuen Lee, director of Taiwan Museum of Art; and Tsung-huang Hsiao, director of Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts passed the National Civil Higher Examination in 1985, 1985, 1987 respectively; and Guang-nan Huang, director of National Museum of History passed the National Civil Special Examination in 1987.

requirement keeps lots of art professionals out of the public museum field. Since 1995, the regulation for recruitment has become more flexible and effective. It combines the National Civil Examination system and the Regulation of Appointments of Educator system in order to engage more art professionals' participation in the public art museums and cultural institutions.

For Mr. Pao-de Han¹⁸, an ideal museum director should have a 'smooth public relationship, ideals, and educator's mind' (Huang, 1995). This suggests that an ideal museum director in Taiwan should be a mediator who has a very sociable and mature personality to be able to associate with politicians, artists and the public, as well as an idealist who values morality, principles and insists on pursuing perfection and, moreover, an educator who is enthusiastic and capable of promoting the educational functions of art museums, cultivating the public's fondness for art, elevating the public's artistic taste and bringing arts and the public together. In Taiwan, though the directors of public museums are not obliged to commit to fundraising, they must have the social aptitude and negotiation skills to make connections with the Government and politicians in order to secure more funds for the museums. From the perspective of Mr. Po-de Han, many artists are idealists who make great contributions to the art field and their persistence in art is very much admirable, but they are sometimes too subjective and lack administrative experiences. Therefore, they are not flexible enough to deal with this complicated and yet meticulous daily operation, and perhaps are unable to compromise administrative doctrines with their ideologies (Huang, 1995). A good artist is not necessarily a good museum administrator or director. Indeed, in 1996 and 1997, the former director of Taipei Fine Art Museum, Jen-yu Chang and the former director of the Taiwan Museum of Art, Zai-ching Nee, both showed they

¹⁸ Mr. Han, Pao-de is an architect and the counsellor of national policy, director of Museum of World Religions, Taipei county, former director of National Museum of Natural Science, Taichung, and former principal of Tainan National College of the Arts.

are artists with passionate and novel ideas who nonetheless lack administrative experience. Furthermore, they did not build good interpersonal relationships with some other artists, political authorities or the media. Therefore, their attitudes, viewpoints and some of their administrative operations and policies caused mistakes and controversies. At the same time, they were accused of being self-opinionated and even suspected of being involved with some interest groups, though such allegations are unproven. In the end, both of them resigned (Huang, 2000; Wang, 2000). This exemplifies that talented artists might not be experts in administrative affairs and it is far from an easy task to find ideal museum directors.

The regulations governing the designation of museum directors in Taiwan have been modified several times. In earlier times, museum directors were assigned directly by the political authorities, and they were labelled as 'black officials' which meant that they lacked qualifications acquired get the position by being approached specifically to fill the role. Later, the directors were asked to take the National Civil Examinations which kept some art professionals out of the museum field. For this reason, the Regulation of Appointments of Educator was then introduced in 1995 to engage the services of professionals from the educational system in 1995. It commenced the participation and contribution of art professors in running the art museums. According to the regulation, the associate professors who have three years experience in teaching and three years in administration work, or have been teaching for six years, do not require the qualification. Since 1998, the necessary qualification has been reduced to accommodate those who are associate professors or who get a master's degree, and those who have worked in the profession for four years and passed the paper examination or artworks examination (Huang, 2000). All of these changes, they are modified to suit certain cases or certain

candidates, on the whole, reveal the fact that standards have been lowered in order to allow more art related professionals to work for the art museum field. In the near future in Taiwan, there could possibly not be any specific requirements for art related qualifications and people of different backgrounds will be able to contribute their knowledge and services. According to Yu-jie Chin (1994), under current regulation governing the recruitment of museum professionals, the museum directors of Taiwan's public museums are either scholars or educators from the educational system, or social educational administrators from the examination system. The directors from either system usually do not have sufficient knowledge or training in museum management. Since public museums are mostly subsidised by a governmental budget, the directors do not have the financial pressure; therefore, they do not necessarily have fundraising or marketing skills. Unfortunately, this may result in the public museums being less competitive compared to other leisure institutions, and may also barricade the museums' development.

The most important tasks that all the museums have to confront in the new century concern the increasing need of multiple methods of fundraising, because of competition from other cultural institutions or leisure institutions, pressure from globalisation, and also the expansion of the physical sizes, of museums and collections, increased numbers of employees, new techniques, and the increased social responsibilities of museums. Museum directors have to deal with the 'people and properties within and without the museums,' notes Ann Temkin, the Muriel and Philip Berman curator of modern and contemporary art at the Philadelphia Museum of Art (Wallash, 2003). In addition, Mr. Philippe de Montebello also points out that directors and curators are under pressure to 'tend to budgets, fund-raising, and other administrative tasks that now include coping with a number of legal and ethical issues' (2003). Therefore, the roles and responsibilities of

museums and museum directors are increasingly more complicated and wide-ranging. It would be exceedingly important and challenging to find competent directors to lead the museums into a new era.

6.1.2 The Recruitment of Museum Staff in Taiwan

A. The National Civil Examination

In Taiwan, anyone who wants to become a formal administrative member of staff in a public museum has to pass the civil-service examination held by the Government including either the National Civil Higher Examination which requires the examinees to have a college or university degree or the National Civil Ordinary Examination which requires the examinees to possess a senior high graduate diploma. Since 1984, there have been two new categories, 'museum' and 'art administration', in the National Civil Higher Examination, to take people into a museum-related occupation.¹⁹ But, both the subjects of the exams and the limitation on the qualification of examinees are very disappointing and unreasonable. Examinees who enrol in the 'museum' category must have graduated with a degree in literature, history, education or philosophy, and the exam subjects all concern about history and archaeology. The subjects under the 'art administration' category all concern art theory and art history, and there is nothing specifically related to art administration. The art collections in the museum are considered by most people more as historic objects than art objects; thus, even the national institution which is in charge of the exams assume that all the museums should be involved with historic and archaeological objects and museum staff should all be competent in archaeology. From this phenomenon we realise how ignorant and misleading the authorities can be. Actually, there are a lot of

(here) ¹⁹ The first time that The National Civil Higher Examination included the museum related exam was in 1962. Museum related exam was only available on 10 occasions between 1962 and 1996 and only 22 people were recruited. The National Civil Ordinary Examination commenced the museum related exam even later in 1975. It was only available on 5 occasions between 1975 and 1996 and 29 people passed the examinations (Hsueh, 1997).

people who are working for some existing science museums as well as for the natural science museums which are still under construction or in the preliminary stages are all urgently in need of large numbers of staffs with a background in science (Chin, 1984). Unfortunately, those people are not even qualified to take the examinations.

Since 1996, the National Civil Higher Examination has been comprised of three levels. An examinee who enrolls in the first level must have acquired a PhD degree or have passed the second level test for at least four years. To enrol at the second level one must have a Master degree or have passed the third level test for at least two years. The third level requires a college or university degree or the candidate who have passed the National Civil Ordinary Examination for at least three years. Every year, lots of people take the examinations; in fact, the competition is even tougher than for the university entrance examination, especially when the economy is in recession, as many people prefer to get a stable job in the Government (see Appendix 6.1 and Appendix 6.2). People who want to work as formal members of museum staff often complain that not only the vacancies are in short supply, but also that the two stages of the exams are complicated and some of the subjects of the examinations were not taught to them at school before or are irrelevant (see Appendix 6.3 and Appendix 6.4). Therefore, most of them are not interested in or even afraid of taking the exams.

B. The Regulation of Appointments of Educator

As well as through the examination system, another approach is to follow the Regulation of Appointments of Educator that the researcher or the editor in the public museum has to be a professor or an associate professor with a PhD degree. As a matter of fact, it is not easy to find a professor or an associate professor in an art department who has a PhD

degree. On the other hand, the high qualification required for a low-paid position in the museum does not make the role very attractive. The phenomenon of low payment for museum professionals is not only an issue in Taiwan. The CLR Global's (UK) statistics on employment in the museum and gallery sector show that museum professionals are paid twenty percent less than employees in comparable professions such as teaching (Duckworth, 2002). In Taiwan's museums, a certain number of museum employees have master's degree in fine arts or art history and have worked in the art administration field for many years. However, without the necessary qualification they work as temporary employees who have to renew a contract every year, which means there is no guarantee that they can keep their jobs in the long term. They have no prospects of promotion and neither can they benefit from the retirement project. Owing to such unreasonable treatment, museums can hardly find and engage the services of the best professionals.

As a matter of fact, in the annual meetings, many directors of museums, cultural bureaux and social educational centres constantly complain about the lack of related professionals, and it becomes a factor or even an excuse for the inefficiency and ineffectiveness of the daily administration and the future development of the organisation. Although they complain every year, only a few report the vacancies. It is commonly assumed that the curators who have never reported the vacancies probably prefer to use temporary employees in order to control the power in personnel affairs. Sometimes museum directors are under the pressure of their official's superiors, such as the congressmen, senators or municipal representatives who hold the political or administrative power in approving and appropriating the budget to the cultural institutions. At the same time, some directors assume that they would benefit by offering the jobs to people who are recommended by those influential people. However, under this inflexible and inefficient bureaucratic system,

the function and mission of the museum can hardly be achieved. Furthermore, the professionals and scholarly personnel of a museum cannot be promoted unless the personnel problem is solved.

C. The professional, administrator, and temporary employee

In the interviews, I asked the directors about the personnel problems in their institutions, and they all indicated the difficulty of recruiting the professionals' services. Most of the formal employees selected from the civil examination system are administrative members. This is about 80 percent of the personnel in the museum and except for those who are recruited from the museum administration examination, most might know nothing about art or museums. On the other hand, the so-called 'museum professionals', curators and researchers, the experts in arts, might not be familiar with the administrative procedures or regulations. Indeed, it is ideal if the museum administrative workers are interested in or have some knowledge of the arts and the professional researchers are aware of some policies and rules. Both the administrative and professional members are equally important and therefore they should understand and respect each other's specific roles. Most of all, they should work cooperatively and supportively to fulfil the missions and responsibilities of the museums efficiently and effectively.

However, in the beginning, the 'Regulation of Appointments of Educator' was formulated and applied to compensate for the deficiencies of the examination system in engaging the services of art and museum professionals. But, the employees who come from these two different systems are paid differently, despite working under the same title and doing the same job, as those from the educational system are given extra research fees (interview: Guang-nan Huang on 13th May, 2002; Tsai-lang Huang on 12th June, 2002; Hsiu-jean

Chen on 14 th June, 2002). This implies that people from the educational system are considered superior to employees recruited from the examination system. Thus, there exists bitterness between them because of the unequal payment, not to mention the different backgrounds and experiences they have. According to Ping-hai Hsueh (1997), once there was a museum guide with only a college degree and no civil servant qualification who was employed in accordance to a teaching assistant position through the educational system. However he was paid better than some members of the exhibition and educational staff with undergraduate qualifications or even master's degrees who had also passed the civil examination. Such unfair and unreasonable treatment in the personnel system not only encourages a discordant atmosphere in the working environment, but also brings about despondency among the museum staff. As a result, it affects the operation of museum personnel management and hinders the development of museum professionalism.

There does still exist some improper phenomena in the museum personnel regulations. As mentioned above, the formal administrative employees are those who take either the general administration, educational administration or museum administration examination. Nevertheless, according to the regulations, anyone who works as a administrator in a museum for over two years, can register as a museum administrator even he or she still knows nothing about museology, cultural or natural science history, art history or science and technology history or museum administration (Tsai-lang Huang, interview on 12th June, 2002).

No matter whether employees come from the civil examination system or the regulation of appointments of educator system, they are all formal employees of the museums. However, there are still a large number of temporary employees who have no proper qualifications

or related knowledge but have been working for longer than anybody else in museums. Many of them are introduced by powerful people even when the museum is not in need of additional employees. This is not to suggest that they do not do anything, but simply that they are superfluous personnel. Recently, though the Council of Cultural Affairs and some major public museums have arranged various training programmes at irregular intervals, most of them are provided for the formal employees. On the one hand, they have few opportunities to get professional on-job trainings, but on the other hand, some of them are just waiting for retirement (interview: Wuh-kuen Lee on 15th May, 2002; Tsung-huang Hsiao on 27th May, 2002; Chu-chi Huang on 29th May, 2002).

The problems in the recruitment of museum professionals and the museum personnel management may be improved or solved through a change to the rules stipulating the need for specific educational qualification, the modification of the subjects and systems of the national civil examination, and the improvement of relationships among the professional, administrative and temporary employees. These all determine the success or failure of museum personnel management and the degree of efficiency and effectiveness in realising a museums' goals and responsibilities. These are the main concerns of the following section.

6.2 THE POSSIBLE SOLUTION

The role of an art museum in society is becoming complicated and diverse. It serves not only as a depository or a shrine for artistic and historical treasures, but also as an educational or research institute, a training centre, a playground or a cultural touring spot. A museum has the function of a school, library, theme park and other cultural institutes. It has to deal with conservation, reservation, registration, exhibition, interpretation,

researching, collecting and deaccessioning of collections. In addition, it is involved with daily administration, facility management, policy-making, strategy-planning, mission formulation and implementation, educational and leisure services, as well as budget scheming, resource development, fund raising, finance and marketing (Cavanaugh, Hagan and Pierson, 1995). Knowledge in areas of law, skills in negotiating and communicating with external liaisons, and the ability to build a relationship with the public and communities are also crucial to a museum's success. All these tasks and challenges can only be well fulfilled by 'an organized, dedicated, enthusiastic and energetic group of capable, well-trained, enthusiastic and talented individuals with specialised knowledge who work together in a non-threatening environment and have mutual respect for each other'.²⁰ In summary, we need efficient, effective and dedicated professionals in the museum profession. Therefore, the discussions of the first section include the introduction of museum professions, the qualifications and responsibilities of museum professionals, and the standards and guidelines for museum professionalisation. The second part concentrates on how to cultivate the museum professionals through a formal educational system and on-the-job training. The final section exemplifies the purpose, the importance and methods of assessing museum performance in order to achieve museum professionalism.

6.2.1 The Introduction of Profession, Museum Professionals and Professionalisation

Stephen Weil (1994: 252) quotes *Weber's Third New International Dictionary* definition of 'profession' which emphasises on continued study and high standards of achievement and he also applies the sociologists' definition of 'professionalisation' as follows:

²⁰ See Hanna Regev's 'Museum Governance: Is It a Career Option? Visions for Excellence', *MINERVA Online*, Vol. I/1: Spring/Summer 1998 (<http://www.sfsu.edu/~museumst/minerva/regev.html>).

A calling requiring specialised knowledge and often long and intensive preparation including instruction in skills and methods as well as in the scientific, historical, or scholarly principles underlying such skills and methods, maintaining by force of organisation or concentered opinion high standards of achievement and conduct, and committing its members to continued study and to a kind of work which has for its prime purpose the rendering of a public service.

(Weber's Third New International Dictionary)

It was a process by which a group of workers who were engaged in a common occupation could, though their work constituted a distinct 'profession' and that each of them- as a practitioner of that profession- was entitled to the special respect that is due a 'professional'.

(Weil, 1994: 251)

Museums actually made efforts on the processing towards museum 'professionalisation' as early as the 19th century (Cossons, 1994; Weil, 1994). The museum professional associations are founded to declare the mission, meaning and value of museums in order to get recognition and support from society, to build up a channel for the museum professionals to communicate with each other directly, to exchange their experiences, to promote their professional knowledge in order to solve problems and provide better services to the public, and to unify the museum professionals to secure their own rights (Han, 1993:1). The Museum Association (MA) of the UK, founded in 1889, is the first one of its kind. The American Association of Museums (AAM) was established in 1906. Though the International Council of Museums (ICOM) was founded in 1946, as a matter of fact, it evolved from International Office of Museums, which was established as early as 1927.

According to the ICOM's definition, museum professionals are those 'who receive a specialised technical or academic training or who possess an equivalent practical experience, and who respect a fundamental code of professional ethics' (Kavanagh, 1994: 278). Weil (1994) also points out that the museum workers in the United States have earned themselves a prominent reputation and distinguished the museum profession as unique and beneficial to society for four special reasons: their work attitude, their professional concerns, their high standards of achievement and their adherence to ethical codes. Most museum workers dedicate themselves to the museum profession not for the wages but because they regard their works as 'the rendering of a public service' (1994: 252). As the missions of a museum become more and more diverse and complicated, they have to be 'well-co-ordinated' with different levels of authorities such as 'national, regional, and local organisations' (1994: 253). Besides, building good relationships with their vertical associates, museums also have to develop the horizontal relationships with different cultural institutes or even with organisations in different fields in order to construct an all-encompassing network to get things done efficiently and effectively. A process of 'self-examination', resulting from the introduction of the 'institutional accreditation programme', helps museums to achieve 'high standards of quality and professionalism' (1994: 253). The main functions of museums are to 'collect', 'preserve', and 'exhibit' objects; nevertheless, those assignments require special knowledge and skills (1994: 255). Therefore, the creation of an accreditation programme helps to monitor the performances of employees and those 'attainable professional standards' are the foundations both for evaluating and enhancing the professionalism of museum employees and museum operations in order to establish and maintain the organization's competitive advantage for attaining greater public recognition of the museum profession as well as to get more financial support from individuals, governments and corporations.

The increasing changes that the museums encounter today, such as with new technologies, new resources of funding and new political forces²¹ all bring about new experiences, new perceptions, new issues and new debates in the museum world. Under this circumstance, what the museum is, what the museum should do and how to do these things correctly are all reviewed and redefined to meet not only the current requirements but also to prepare the museum to face future challenges. The constitution of the standards of conduct of the museum workers enforces both the individuals and institutions to advance the pursuit of professionalism in order to provide the communities with a better service.

Gaynor Kavanagh (1994) introduces four different ethical codes to the museums and museum professionals, including the American Association of Museum's (1925) *Code of Ethics for Museum Workers*; the American Association of Museum's (1991) *Code of Ethics for Museums*; the ICOM's (1987) *Code of Professional Ethics*; and the Museum Association's (1991) *Code of Conduct for Museum Professionals*. In 2002, Museums Association has published a recent *Code of Ethics for Museums*. These ethical codes provide the rules and guidelines that both the institutions and the workers should adhere to in the principles of museum governance, museum administration, care of collections, exhibition, education programmes and the accessibility of information. Moreover, the ethical codes also define the personal activities, responsibilities and relationships with the public, professional colleagues and the business-related organisations. All these definitions and codes are essentially concerned with the 'training', 'standards' and 'ethics' involved in museum objects, personnel, finance, operations and services which are important issues towards museum professionalism (Cossons, 1994: 232).

²¹ The 'new political forces included women, minorities, homosexuals, environmentalists, and religious fundamentalists' (MacDonald, 1994: 258).

6.2.2 The Cultivation of Museum Professional

Generally, there are two main subjects in the discussion of 'professionalisation'. One is concerned with museum collections and the other the skills of management. This thesis concentrates on the personnel-related issues more than on collections or data. The preceding part of this chapter explores problems concerning museum personnel, mainly on the difficulties of recruiting museum professionals. The latter part reviews the different ways of cultivating museum professionals through formal education and on-the-job training, and finally the ways in which to assess museum performance to enhance museum professionalism, including the introduction of different measurements and different models of assessment.

Ping-hai Liu (2002) has suggested six ways to cultivate Taiwanese museum professionals. These are: establishing Museum Studies departments (including master and PhD programmes); increasing on-the-job trainings; improving opportunities for overseas study; setting up professional training institutions; encouraging and subsidising the publications of museology; and realising the function of museum professional organisations. Of these, four are directly concerned with education and the training of museum professionals. According to the formal director of the Council for Cultural Affairs, Yu-siu Chen, the cultivation of art talents and professionals needs an overall plan because manpower is the most important element and linkage in promoting arts and culture from planning to realisation, from individuals to communities, from metropolitan areas to the suburbs and rural locations. Furthermore, an effective evaluation system is also needed for inspecting, assessing and improving the mechanism of cultivation concerning the art and museum professionals (Yu, 2003).

A. Educational system

The museum profession has increasingly required different specialised knowledge and advanced management skills to ensure high standards of achievement and conduct.

Therefore, the recruitment of superior museum and museum-related professionals is important for the museum development, and also for the provision of a better service to the public. However, the fundamental scheme should be concerned with producing the museum professionals. By all means, the most common way of cultivating, training or preparing the specialists is through long-term formal education, though this might not be the best method, despite the fact that a certain number of people are questioning whether museum work is a legitimate profession, and museum studies a discipline²², or whether museum studies programmes are the prerequisite or adequacy for working in a museum (Weil, 1994). According to Patrick J. Boylan, in some European countries, such as Norway, Sweden, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Spain and Portugal, a relevant university degree that takes between five and seven years is the minimum entry requirement to most of the larger national, regional and local authority museums, and some also have to pass the competitive examination held by the government (Boylan, 1994). For appointment or promotion to higher museum positions, such as to a senior curatorship and directorship, a relevant doctorate with a superior credit in research and publication is expected (1994). In France, almost all museum employees are graduates from the Ecole Nationale du Patrimoine, the Ecole du Louvre and the national archive school (1994). After a brief overview of the museum system in the European Community, Professor Boylan criticises museum professionals in the UK for being 'undereducated and underqualified' (1994: 151). Paul DiMaggio (1994: 156) also mentions that 'advanced

²² Suzanne MacLeod (2001) introduced a conceptual model for thinking about museum studies which contributes and identifies museum studies as an area of enquiry and the profession as a whole (note 10). This conceptual model is based on the understanding of museum studies as an integration of training, education, research and practice.

degrees are not legally required for art museum directors in the United States'. Actually, in 1994 it was still possible to state that in British museums not many museum employees have a formal academic education in museology; yet, by 2000 it would be very rare to apply for working in a British regional museum without a formal qualification in museum studies. There are indeed many programmes offer a BA, MA or even a PhD degree in museum studies²³ and on related subjects, such as art history, museum education, arts collection, arts conservation, cultural heritage administration, museum science, community, arts management, curatorial studies and museum exhibition planning and design (see Appendix 6.5 and Appendix 6.6).

In Taiwan, there has been a rapid growth in the number of public art museums, community art centres and college art centres in the last two decades. According to the statistics, the total number is over 230 (Private Museums Association, 1998: 194), which has resulted in the serious shortage of art and cultural talents, specialists and administrators. People in the art field, scholars and even the legislators all appeal to the Government to consider the importance of cultivating the art talents (see Appendix 6.7 and Appendix 6.8) and museum professionals.²⁴ The Ministry of Education, the Council of Cultural Affairs, the Chinese Association of Museums, the major art museums and cultural centres have provided short-term training, seminars, symposiums, conferences, workshops and even some special programmes such as the visiting, observation and emulation groups, international cultural

²³ According to Speiss (1997), in the United States, a Museum Studies Department was started at the John E. Kennedy University in 1974, George Washington University in 1976, and the New York University in 1978. Actually, the first museum studies department was founded in 1966 in England, at the University of Leicester.

²⁴ The Council for Cultural Affairs has set the year 2004 as the 'Year of Cultural Talent', and it has appropriated about \$13.9 million for the cultivation of talents and professionals, including in visual arts, performing arts, literature, international affairs, integrated community development, cultural heritage, traditional arts, cultural creative industry, library and museum, art and culture management and administration (http://www.ic975.com/m/m3_news.php?sn=24).

exchanging cooperated with foreign countries.²⁵ However, the cultivation of museum professionals needs long-term, integrated and systematic courses. Basically, Taiwan's Government follows the system implemented in the UK and USA. Since 1996, there have been more than a dozen graduate institutes of museum studies, museology²⁶, cultural heritage conservation, historical preservation, and arts management established one after another in Taiwan²⁷ (see Appendix 6.9). With different emphases, these institutes provide courses which cover a very diverse fields of learning, such as art, culture, communication, archaeology, history, art criticism, art education, policy, politics, economics, management, science and technology. The courses encompass both occidental and oriental cultures, Chinese and Taiwanese, international and local, traditional and contemporary, tangible and intangible, scholarly and managerial, specialised and interdisciplinary, theoretical and practical²⁸, and conceptual and skill-based, and prepare the students to confront the increasingly complicated, competitive and ever-changing demands of the field.

²⁵ Since 2000, the Planning Office of Taiwan International Artists' Village of the Council of Cultural Affairs has selected many outstanding art talents to art villages in America and European countries (<http://www.cca.gov.tw>).

²⁶ Lynne Teather, Assoc. Professor of Museum Studies at the University of Toronto, explains the differences between museology and museum studies that 'museology study represents a human process: it originates with the activity of identifying and collecting certain objects or their symbols from our material world, whether natural or human productions, as representations of some value, which may be aesthetics, religious, curiosity, entertainment or scientific. It may add on the function of housing this objectified reality in a custodial institution and representing the object or its symbol for viewing by an audience, again to communicate values in encapsulated within the museum meaning system. But it is also about the translation of these processes into action, into professional skills and the problem-solving expertise necessary for handling the everyday responsible techniques of museum work. It is this combination of the museum process and museum skills that frames the field of Museum Studies' (cited in MacLeod, 2001: 52).

²⁷ Actually Taiwan started the museology study research programme in very early on. In 1957, following the order of the Minister of the Ministry of Education, Mr. Chung, Siao-feng, with the help and cooperation of the National History Museum and the National Palace Museum, Taiwan Provincial Normal University (later renamed the National Taiwan Normal University) was asked to include the museology study course in its postgraduate programme, and the Department of Adult & Continuing Education started a museology course in 1961. The Chinese Culture College (now the Chinese Culture University) has set up a 'library and museum' group in the Graduate Institute of History in 1976; in 1975 and 1978 respectively, the Department of History and the Graduate Institute of Arts also set up museology courses (Liu, 2002).

²⁸ According to MacLeod (2001), museum studies includes museum training and education, museum research and museum practice, which indicates that practical knowledge and experience is as important as theoretical research. 'Museum practice is something which evolves over time through the shifting relationship between participation and reification' (MacLeod, 2001: 57). Therefore, 'internship' in a museum is a requirement for graduation in many museum studies programmes.

Recently, Taiwanese museums have taken on some employees with graduate degrees in museum studies and arts management from foreign countries. According to Wuh-kuen Lee, director of the Taiwan Museum of Art, it is hard for some of them to apply or develop specialised knowledge and professional skills because of the new working environment, different museum cultures and different systems. However, he presumes that the museum studies graduates will have a broad influence on the museum world though this is still not very noticeable (interview on 15th May, 2002). After all, not enough of the museum studies graduates are entering this field. He also mentions that the personality, knowledge and skill of a worker is more important than where he or she graduates from. From personal experience, Ching-feng Hong, director of Cultural Affairs Bureau of Taichung County, also comments that it might be harder for the employees who studied abroad to adapt to the museum society and the museum operation system in Taiwan. Therefore, sometimes, they complain more than they accomplish (interview on 17th May, 2002). After all, it is important to learn experiences from other countries in order to be more flexible and capable of transferring theoretical knowledge into real practice to deal with different situations and problems. Tsai-lang Huang, director of Taipei Fine Art Museum, prefers to take on professional employees with a first degree in arts and a graduate degree in management (or vice versa). He has very high expectations of museum studies graduates, who he believes will bring a broader perspective, innovative energy and evolutionary ideas to the museum field (interview, 12th June, 2002).

B. On-the-job training

Training underpins the future development and continued success of the museums by helping to cultivate skilled administrators (Friedman, 1994). It should sustain, refresh and develop each individual practitioner during his or her career and ensure the best practice in

all aspects of employment. Museum employees should be provided with adequate resources, vocational education and training to promote their knowledge and skills, which is helpful to achieve not only better personal ability but for the service of the public (Kahn and Garden, 1994). Museum workers are encouraged to undertake self-analysis, make plans to achieve professional competence, skills and techniques to help them respond to the rapid changes of the museum community. However, David Turner (1989) points out that training should concern 'aptitudes', 'temperament', and 'personal qualities' as well as 'skills' and 'knowledge' (cited in Leishman, 1994: 214). The Clore Leadership Programme of the UK also undertakes the training programmes to help to train and develop the leadership skills and experience of leaders for the cultural sector.²⁹

There are a lot of preparatory and on-the-job training programmes and courses designed by museum associations and schools for anyone who is interested, and for museum workers including directors, curators, researchers, administrative staffs and even volunteers. For example, the American Association of Museums (AAM) often invites specialists and museum professionals to discuss and exchange their opinions, experiences and expertise on issues of collection management, museum administration and new technology in conferences and symposiums. The International Council of Museums (ICOM) passed the ICOM Basic Syllabus for professional museum training in 1971 which covers a broad and thorough range of museum-related topics including the introduction of museology, the organisation, operation and management of a museum, the architecture and equipment of a museum, the preservation, exhibition and interpretation of museum collections, the cultural and educational activities of a museum, and the relationships between museums and the public (ICOM, 1971, revised 1979 & 1981). There are also

²⁹ See the website of the Clore Leadership Programme (<http://www.cloreleadership.org/>).

several books introducing prospective museum professionals to the museum workforce, museum careers, museum training and occupational standards of competence (Baeker and Oliver, 1996; Danilov, 1994; Edson, 1995; Glaser and Zentou, 1996; Mensch, 1995, 1997; Senge, 1990). Furthermore, the Canadian Museums Association (CMA), the Netherlands Museums Association (NMV) and the Museum Training Institute (MTI)³⁰ have edited and applied the outlines and strategies for the professional competence of museum professional career development and prepare museum professionals for future transformation and evolution in museum knowledge and practice.

What are the best areas of expertise for museum individuals to acquire, and how can they be achieved? How can museum workers be inspired and encouraged to wish to expand their professional competence and achieve excellence? How and where can museum workers acquire the career guidance in career growth, increasing job satisfaction and facilitating professional competence to improve the standards of achievement? How can they take control of and enhance their own development and be accredited by their colleagues, peers and the public? How can they adopt themselves to the ever-changing museum world and be prepared for the future workforce? How do professional training organisations meet the requirements of individual workers and different museums? Is it possible to compile museum career guidelines that can be adopted internationally and also adapt to the continuous changes in the cultural world?³¹ The International Committee for the Training of Personnel (ICTOP) of ICOM has been established 'to encourage and promote relevant professional or technical education and training, to appropriate standards,

³⁰ According to Professor Simon Roodhouse's 'The Development of Museum Training in the United Kingdom', 'The Museum Training Institute is a government funded agency which is devoted to introducing a competence-based approach to professional development using standards of competence and a national vocational qualification system' (<http://www.hec.ca/ijam/115.htm>).

³¹ See Dr. Lynne Teather, Dr. Peter van Mensch and Sara Faulkner-Fayle's paper presented to the ICTOP 1999 Annual Meeting in London (<http://www.city.ac.uk/ictop/teather-1999.html>).

for all people working in museums and related areas, including students in museum-related pre-entry training programmes'.³² The ICOM-ICTOP Curricula Guidelines have categorised professional competencies into the following areas: general work requirements, museology, management, public programming, and information and collections management and care (see Appendix 6.10).³³ Museum employers are increasingly utilising these guidelines as a mechanism for planning and developing personal career goals, as a tool for increasing the employee's competencies to meet the future needs, and as the standard for assessing the performance of the museum professionals. The main purpose of curricula guidelines is to respond to the continuous learning needs of the museum workforce.³⁴

Besides learning from these guidelines, museum workers can also acquire the knowledge and skills from their own experiences, no matter whether they are successful. They can also learn from their colleagues, leaders and the experts in related areas, as well as from the projects, activities and workshops within the museum or from the networking and cooperation with other cultural institutions.³⁵ The museum workers should set themselves career goals and development priorities to enhance their professional competency in dealing with museum collections, interpersonal relationships and dynamic transformations within the museum community and other cultural sectors. The present training programmes emphasise building up an entrepreneurial and business attitude, developing the managerial and administrative knowledge and skills, utilising the new technology and

³² ICTOP, *Information* (<http://www.city.ac.uk/ictop/>).

³³ ICOM, *Curricula Guidelines for Museum Professional Development* (<http://museumstudies.si.edu/ICOM-ICTOP/about.htm>).

³⁴ According to ICOM's 'About the ICOM Curricula Guidelines', 'the purpose of the ICOM Curricula Guidelines is twofold: to serve as a framework for developing sound, comprehensive training syllabi, and to provide a tool for managing institutional development and/or shaping individual career paths' (<http://museumstudies.si.edu/ICOM-ICTOP/about.htm>).

³⁵ See Dr. Lynne Teather, Dr. Peter van Mensch and Sara Faulkner-Fayle's paper presented to the ICTOP 1999 Annual Meeting in London (<http://www.city.ac.uk/ictop/teather-1999.html>).

techniques and fabricating the human resource and public relationship than learning and researching the museum objects (Kahn and Garden, 1994; DiMaggio, 1994). Nevertheless, there are some academics presume that museum professionals should enhance their knowledge in aesthetics or art history; as to other knowledge and skills, they can learn them on the job according to the institution's needs (Thompson, 1984). However, this new managerial emphasis now is not only a vital prerequisite for acquiring private support and government subsidies, but also renders a new definition of 'professionalism'. The on-the-job training does not only improve the competence and confidence of museum workers but, moreover, it creates an opportunity and an environment for museum workers to understand and respect each other, to know each other's responsibilities and to improve communication and cooperation with each other in order to provide their services to the public. Therefore, on-the-job training is indeed one of the requirements for successful museum personnel management.

6.2.3 The Assessment of Museum Professionalism

The first two parts introduce museum professionalism and ways to find and cultivate the professionals. This part explores the importance of museum assessment and different assessing programmes and the approaches proposed by different institutions. Museums are increasingly asked to assume their civic responsibilities and to fulfil the increasing demands for public accountability in their administration since they have accepted the Government subsidies. What have the museums contributed to the society and the public? How efficient are the museums in using their resources? How effective are their performances? Museums have been asked to demonstrate not only the 'inputs' they own

but also the 'outputs' that they can contribute.³⁶ To sum up, museums have to show not what resources they have, but how efficiently and effectively they use them (Cossons, 1988; Scott, 2002; Weil, 1994).

The Museum Assessment Programme (MAP) proposed by The American Association of Museums covers four types of assessment, including the 'institutional assessment', 'collection management assessment', 'public dimension assessment' and 'governance assessment'.³⁷ This programme helps museums to understand the importance of museum assessment, how the professional museum practice can be implemented, how good or poor their performance is compared to other museums and how to improve their performance. At the same time, it helps the museum staff to know the importance of self-examination and self-study, and it also helps them to develop leadership skills and an increased understanding of the profession.

In 1989, the Museum Association in the UK produced a policy statement on using both quantitative and qualitative measurements in assessing museum performance in three key areas: 'curation', 'communication' and 'operation' (Walden, 1991: 28).³⁸ In addition, Carol Scott (2002) explores both the positive and negative effects of using measurements to assess museum performance (for the positive effect see Appendix 6.11). The performance measurement is an accountability system for assessing the performance of the museum. Though it helps to point out the right direction and to monitor the professional

³⁶ 'Inputs: the human, financial and technological resources put into a service'. 'Outputs: the results achieved by the service' (Spencer et al. and Marson, 1994: 347).

³⁷ See American Association of Museums' 'Museum Assessment Programme' (http://www.aam-us.org/programs/map/MAP_overview.cfm).

³⁸ 'Curation relates to the acquisition, care, conservation, documentation and storage of the collections and the research and scholarly output relating to those collections and the wider role of the museums. Communication is the presentation of the collection to the public through education, exhibition, information and publication services. It is also the outreach of the museum into the community. Operation is the management of the museum's resources including buildings, visitor facilities, finance and staff. It also includes services provided by the museum to any outside bodies' (Walden, 1991: 28).

activities, it is still a contentious proposition, a target of international debates. However, it actually tries to use the quantitative measurements, the 'short term' 'tangible numerical facts' to evaluate the 'intangible' 'long term' contribution of museum performance which needs a much more complex and meaningful qualitative assessment (Ames 1992; Bud, Cave and Haney 1991; Scott, 2002; Walden 1991; Weil, 1995). Therefore, it might be an obligation for Government-funded museums to prove their accountability to the public; it is also a task for Government or Government-commissioned bodies to provide better assessing instruments.

Weil (1995) also points out the shortcomings and dangers of using performance indicators as some indicators try to 'measure the immeasurable' and to 'compare the incomparable' (1995: 22, 29). Furthermore, museums and museums staff may come under great pressure and inevitably or intentionally over-emphasise and may be in favour of giving more attention to quantifiable areas to attain higher levels or scores in the performance measurements instead of making efforts on the 'unquantifiable' museum values and goals (Mundy, 2000; Weil, 1995). By the same token, it may mislead the Government and private supporters to allocate their resources and funding to some specific areas according to these indicators. Performance indicators can only reflect some specific parts of museum performance (1995: 29) and 'the real utility of performance indicators is as diagnostic or investigative tools, not as measurements of evaluation or assessment' (1995: 28).

As a matter of fact, the assessment of museum performance may cover as many items as proposed by the Advancement and Excellence Accreditation Programme (2005) of the American Association of Museums, which includes public trust and accountability, mission and planning, leadership and organisational structure, collections stewardship,

education and interpretation, financial stability, facilities and risk management.³⁹

However, this chapter concentrates on the museum personnel issues, and especially problems concerning the recruitment of museum professionals, and also on finding possible solutions based on the discussions of Weber's 'ideal type' of bureaucracy and investigations of museum professionalism. The last part of this chapter introduces the assessment of museums professionalism which increases the accountability of museum to its stakeholders. Finance is also a primary concern in assessments, and this is the subject matter for the next chapter.

³⁹ See American Association of Museums (2005), 'Accreditation Programme Standards: Characteristics of an Accreditation Museum' (<http://www.aam-us.org/museumresources/accred/upload/Characteristics%20of%20an%20Accreditable%20Museum%201-1-05.pdf>).

CHAPTER 7

THE FINANCE PROBLEM OF FINE ARTS MUSEUMS

7.1 THE FINANCE PROBLEM

There is no doubt that ‘all museums need money for displays and exhibitions, for remedial and preventive conservation, for marketing, for staffing, for equipment, for building maintenance, for training, for shop supplies, for catering supplies, for research programmes, for travel, for office supplies, for the hundred and one tasks which have to be carried out to meet the range of responsibilities which comes with running museums’ (Ambrose 1991:5). Museums need a substantial amount of money not only for daily operation costs, for payment of employees, and also for providing new programmes and facilities to maintain repeat museum visitor numbers and to attract new visitors (Bradburne, 2001). ‘To meet challenge we [the museums] are obliged to think deeply about the ways in which a public institution can be sustained, developed, and protected from unwelcome fluctuations in income’ (2001: 80-81). The long-term financial sustainability of museums is crucial for museum management. Simon Mundy has stated that ‘culture [art], like health and education, can be a bottomless pit for resources. It is never satisfied. There is never money enough to do everything and frequently too little to do anything really well’ (Mundy, 2000: 10). However, the shortage of budget is one of the main problems of most museums. Though many statistics have proved that government

has already increased the budget for the arts and culture over the years in most countries, most public art and cultural organizations including museums and galleries still suffer from insufficient budgets. For many museums and galleries, after deducting expenses for personnel affairs, the rest of the budget is insufficient even to afford a large exhibition, needlessly to think of increasing its collection or holding international art exhibitions (Guang-nan Huang, interview on 13th May, 2002).¹ Therefore, the major discussion of this chapter concerns the financial resources of public art museums and galleries, including public subsidy and private sponsorship and the most important issue is how governments, businesses and museums should work together to face the financial challenges.

Though public support is unable to finance the increasing sizes and numbers of art and cultural institutions, activities, projects, services and audiences, it can definitely create a favourable environment to engage the much-needed help of private sponsorship. The Government can provide incentives such as tax deduction, tax relief or through legalised processes to encourage industrial and commercial enterprises to give priority to support arts and culture. All members of society, individuals, communities, arts and cultural organisations, public institutions, non-profit organisations, foundations, associations and private corporations are important contributors. Patronage and sponsorship from the public and private are both indispensable to the sustenance and development of arts and culture. In particular, following the increasing demand for art and cultural services, those institutions need extra funding from both private individuals and corporate sources to supplement their traditional support from the public sector.

¹ In the interview, Dr. Guang-nan Huang, Director of the National Museum of History, has mentioned that the museum needs sufficient money to have international exhibitions, to provide enough reference for art researchers, to expand art collections and to promote art education with the goal of encouraging people to work in art related activities which may increase their ability to appreciate art and show how art and life are interwoven. And, the museum can get rid of the image of being an art gallery.

Some major questions need to be reviewed and debated in order to go in to the core of financial problems and challenges to find possible solutions for them. Should government subsidise the arts? In what forms have and should the government subsidise museums? How should art subsidies be spent? What incentives can government provide to encourage individuals, corporations, foundations, industrial and commercial enterprises to give priority to support arts and culture groups? Why should corporations and businesses support arts and culture? In what ways have corporations and businesses worked with arts and cultural institutions? What are the advantages and disadvantages of corporations and businesses supporting arts and culture? How can a museum fulfil its missions and carry out its plans when public subsidy decreases or been eliminated? How can a museum attract more funding and increase its income? Is 'foundation' or 'privatisation' the best form to solve the financial problems of museums? How do museums incorporate marketing and managerial skills to solve finance problems? Such questions lead us to explore the characteristics of patronage and sponsorship, to examine the advantages and disadvantages of public patronage and private sponsorship, and also to deliberate if the museum finance problems can be solved by incorporating the strategies including 'plural funding', 'partnership', 'privatisation', and 'marketing and management'.

7.1.1 Patronage and Sponsorship

This section explores the differences between 'patronage' and 'sponsorship'. Basically, the support to art and cultural institutions can be 'financial', 'material' and 'moral' (the common good).² It consists of two different types of initiative; one being patronage which is more of a 'voluntary' and 'altruistic' ideology, while sponsorship is more from a 'reciprocal' and 'mutual-beneficiary' basis (Amato, 1990; Cohen, 1978; Galaskiewicz,

² See 'Cultural Sponsorship and Patronage- Reports and Papers of a European Union Seminar, 2002' (<http://www.mecenas-eu.net>).

1989; Kuzma, Shanklin, and MaCally, 1993). Furthermore, patronage often aims at supporting long-term projects, while sponsorship tends to support physical projects which are usually a 'one-off' and discontinuous.³ Therefore, in most cases private corporations support arts with the purpose of improving their image as a strategy for selling its products or services (Kotler, 1986; Varadarajan, and Anil, 1988; Useem, 1988; Wu, 2003). Though the initiatives, purposes and even the beneficiaries of patronage and sponsorship are different (see Table 7.1), both of them facilitate the accessibility of more and better art and cultural activities and services for the public.

Table 7.1 Sponsorship and Charitable Contribution

	Sponsorship	Charitable Contribution
Publicity	Highly public	Usually little widespread fanfare
Source	Typically from marketing, advertising, or communications budgets	From charitable donations or philanthropy budgets
Accounting	Written off as a full business expense, like promotional printing expenses or media placement expenses	Write off is limited to 75% of net income. As a result, accounting/tax considerations are less likely to influence the way a corporation designates funding of a not-for-profit organization.
Objectives	To sell more products/ services; to increase positive awareness in markets and amongst distant stakeholders (customers, potential customers, geographic community)	To be a good corporate citizen; to enhance the corporate image with closest stakeholders (i.e. employees, shareholders, suppliers)
Partner/ recipient	Events; teams; arts or cultural organizations, projects, programs. A cause is sometimes associated with the undertaking.	Larger donations are typically cause-related (education, health, diseases, disasters, environmental), but can also be cultural, artistic, or sports related. At times funding is specifically designated for a project or program; at times it is provided for operating budgets
Where most funding goes	Sport gets the lion's share of sponsorship dollars likely more than 50%.	Education, social services, and health sector get 75% of charitable donations.

Source: 'The Sponsorship Report' (<http://www.sponsorship.ca/p-issues-callit.html>)

³ See Luis Monreal's 'The Large European Cultural Centres and the Development of a Common Cultural Space' (http://www.mecenas-eu.net/comun/ponencia_monreal_en.doc), and Arts & Business, 'Arts and Museums Introductory Guide to Business Sponsorship' (<http://www.aandb.org.uk/asp/uploads/uploadfiles/1/143/introsponsorship.pfd>).

The table above basically reflects sponsorship and charitable contributions in Canada, though accounting regulations, and proportions of where funding goes, both differ from country to country. Yet the narratives of other categories such as publicity, sources and objectives are very much similar in most of countries (Lin, 2000).

Generally, patronage provides support without asking for a return, and is an act of donation or charitable contribution, while sponsorship usually offers support in exchange for publicity or other commercial benefits. In modern times there has been a decline of individual art patronage whether it be from individual 'piety, prestige and pleasure' or purely philanthropic and altruistic. However, private 'patronage' is sometimes regarded as an act of the 'elite' or of higher classes which perhaps does not correspond with a modern 'political' approach (Hollingsworth, 1995). Therefore, instead, government is now expected to take most of responsibility for patronising art activities, organisations and artists for public good. Despite the fact that still certain individuals, non-profit organisations and corporations provide their services, financial support and other resources to arts and culture on a philanthropic basis. However, nowadays 'sponsorship', the businesslike approach, is adopted by most private industries and corporations (Wu, 2003).

7.1.2 Public Subsidy

The main discussion of the previous chapter (chapter 5) concerns 'why' and 'how' of government's intervention in the arts and culture. The major rationales for governments supporting art and cultural affairs include 'market failure', which is the economic perspective, 'social welfare policy', with emphasis on social 'egalitarianism' and 'democratisation', as well as the 'neo-institutional perspective', which points out the 'tradition' of each country deciding the relationship and the attitude of government

towards the arts and cultural institutions (Heilbrun and Gray, 1993; Netzer, 1978; Zimmer and Toepler, 1999). In conclusion, the previous discussions have addressed the main reasons for government support of the arts and culture as follows:

- Arts and culture are important to our whole way of life.
- Government has the legitimate power to coordinate different organisations in supporting arts.
- It is for the merit goods (public goods).
- It is for the preservation of non-profitable art and cultural heritages for future generations.
- It is because of market failure.
- Art and culture are too expensive for individuals without government support.
- To increase the accessibility of the arts and culture to the public.

Furthermore, Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey (1989) categorise public support for the arts and culture into four alternative modes: the facilitator (USA), patron (United Kingdom), architect (France) and engineer (Soviet Union), according to the roles that different governments have played (see chapter five). Nevertheless, this chapter emphasises what the Government has done and has to do to enforce the sustenance and development of the arts and culture with respect to financial issues. Though government's subsidising arts does not aim at getting financial benefit back from the recipients, it still does not conform to the requirement or achieve the anticipated target because of the deficiency of budget and the disproportion of distribution.

A. The shortage of government budget

The economy has been declining since the 1990s in the US, and the provision of Government subsidy to art and cultural institutions, the National Endowment for the Arts

(NEA), and the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), has been cut accordingly (see Table 7.2).

Table 7.2 Appropriation Histories of the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities, FY 1994-2004, USA

	(millions of dollars)										
Year	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
NEA	170.2	162.3	99.5	99.5	98.0	98.0	97.6	104.8	115.2	115.7	121.0
NEH	177.5	172.0	110.0	110.0	110.7	110.7	115.3	120.0	124.5	124.9	135.3

Source: Based on National Endowment for the Arts (<http://www.nea.gov/about/Facts/AppropriationsHistory.html>) and National Endowment for the Humanities (<http://www.nhalliance.org/neh/2002/nehdoc.pdf>).

From the statistics shown above, in 1996 the appropriation of the NEA has dropped almost 40% compared to the previous fiscal year, from \$162.3 million to \$99.5 million, and NEH's dropped more than 36%, from \$172 million to \$110 million. The dramatic cutback of the budget to the NEA though was assumed to be mainly because of the 'obscurity' debate arising from its subsidy for the Mapplethorpe Retrospective Exhibition 1989-1992. However, from the statistics of the NEH it verifies that the decrease of budget from the Government is not only caused by the censorship of the controversial exhibition, but it is also influenced by the declining economy during that period.

The shortage of government funds is a worldwide problem. Though subsidy amounts seem to be increasing slightly in most countries every year, actually after adjustment for inflation the budget does not increase accordingly, making it hard for art and cultural institutions to maintain ongoing projects and even harder for them to develop new ideas and projects. This is the reason that so many art and cultural institutions are always complaining about budget shortage and attempting to allocate more funds from other resources. The shortage of government budget for the arts and culture though has not been reflected completely in Taiwan; however, it is still very unstable (see Appendix 7.1 and Appendix 7.2). According to the statistics, the average expenditure of Central

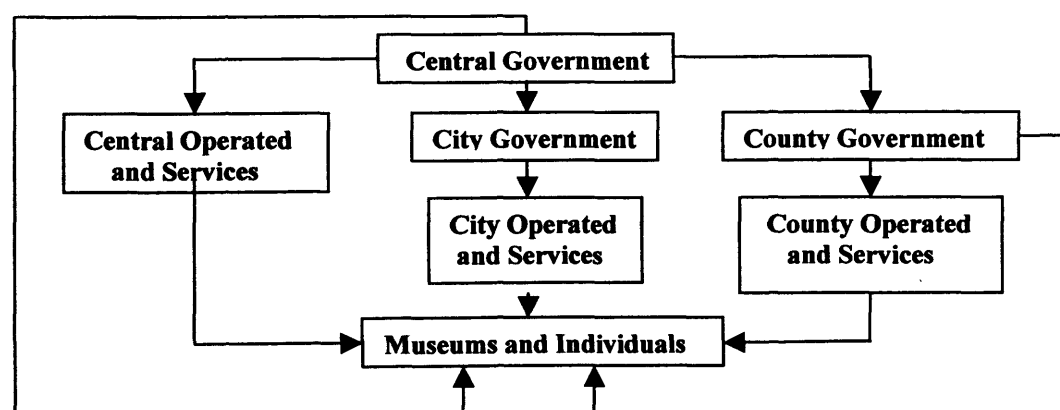
Government on arts and culture in Taiwan reached more than 1.3% of the total budget in 1999 and 2000, and even surpassed 1.4% in 2001 and 2003. However, since 2000, the new government, led by the Democratic Progress Party (DDP), has never apportioned less than 1.1% of the total budget to arts and culture, though it is not always increasing. As to local government, except in 1991 because of the building of the Taipei stadium which itself brings up expenditure to almost 9% of its total budget, the average percentage that it spent on arts and culture is about 2.5% before 1995, and it never reaches to 2% since then. Mr. Mi-cha Wu, Vice Director of the Council for the Cultural Affairs, has pointed out that local government in Taiwan seems to depend more and more on aid from Central Government. Actually, the cultural budget of France is just above 1% of the total budget in 2000, and Taiwan has once surpassed 1.4%, states Mr. Wu. In Wu's opinion Central Government has provided funds for arts and culture no less than in other countries, but local government and the public should share the responsibility. However, the preservation and promotion of arts and culture are important to the everyday life of all citizens (interview on 11th June, 2002).

Indeed, the endowment from central government should not substitute for the subsidy from local government or private funding. Each level of government should be responsible for its appointed assignments and chosen tasks with self-raised funds (Heilbrun & Gray, 1993). 'Each function should be carried out by the level of government whose geographic area most nearly coincides with the area over which the benefits of the service extend' (1993: 257). Citizens who benefit from a public service should pay for it, it is called the principle of 'fiscal equivalence' (Olson, 1969). 'Each public service should be provided by the jurisdiction having control over the minimum geographic area that would internalise benefits and costs from such provision' (Oates, 1972: 55); it is called the principle of

‘subsidiary’. Normally, Central Government deals with the issues concerned with common interests, such as the development of the arts and culture of the whole country and how to promote its arts and culture to the international stage. The Central government may not be particularly knowledgeable of, or interested in, projects that benefit only the people of a small area. In this case, it is more proper to delegate responsibility to local governments and that they should not be inaccessible from, or indifferent to, local issues. The projects which are proposed for the sake of economic prosperity, tourist attraction, or even to tackle the problems in the local community, are supposed to be carried out by local government with money collected by the local government and the community. Crucial consideration to decide which level of government can best deliver which services depends on how public goods and services can be provided most efficiently and effectively (Heilbrun & Gray, 1993; Oates, 1972).

In Taiwan, art and cultural subsidies are distributed by central, city and county governments directly or through agencies, foundations or non-profit organisations (see Figure 7.1).

Figure 7.1 The Strata of Public Subsidy in Taiwan



Though individual artists, art groups and art institutions can acquire funds from many resources to substantiate their needs, yet without certain criteria or restriction, the subsidies and funds often been awarded to some particular or repeated applicants who are already renowned. This is not helpful for bringing the lesser famous or novices in to enrich the art and cultural environment which is one of the essential elements that balances and vitalises the development of arts and culture.

In Taiwan, the distribution of central cultural budget is mainly carried out by the Council for Cultural Affairs. The amount of Council budget has basically reflected the mode of cultural budget of Central Government though it is not the only receiver. From 1995 to 2004, in ten years, the amount of the annual budget of the Council has grown by more than 2.5 times and accounts for approximately 27% of cultural disbursement, 0.2 to 0.4% of the total budget (see Appendix 7.3). According to the Council, the budget has been spent in two main categories, one on administration expenses including personnel expenses, operating costs and cultural activities and projects, the other on cultural construction. On one hand the numbers of art and cultural activities and projects are increasing, on the other hand, the subsidising mode has been changed, and they all affect the amount and effectiveness of the Council's subsidy and service. Since 2001 the ratio of expenditures on 'frequent items', which are allocated mostly to the 'software' and 'capital items' which spend mainly on the 'hardware' has been changed from 3:1 to 2:1 that makes it more difficult for the Council to continuously support or expand the cultural activities and projects (Council for Cultural Affairs, 2004). However, the Council receives about 27% of the cultural budget from Central Government, which is much higher compared with the 14% that the Ministère de Culture et de la Communication of France obtains from its

cultural budget. Therefore, it is important for the Council to spend its budget with awareness and appropriate plans.

The Government funding system of Taiwan also attempts to imitate the arm's length system of the UK. Therefore, the Council for Cultural Affairs subsidises art and cultural activities and institutions through its subsidiary foundations, the National Endowment for Culture and Arts (NECA) and the National Culture and Arts Foundation (NCAF). The NECA was founded in 1988 with NT\$750 million (approximately £15 million) to start mainly on subsidising public institutions and schools. The NCAF was founded in 1996 with an initial fund of NT\$2,000 million (approximately £40 million) appropriated by the Council for Cultural Affairs, and with a target of NT\$10,000 million (approximately £200 million). The original proposal was that Government provide 60% while another 40% depends on private contributions. In the end, Government has rendered the promised NT\$6,000 million (approximately £120 million) but private contributions have only amounted to NT\$100 million (approximately £2 million). Because of insufficient funds and low interest rates, a lot of arts and cultural groups and individuals have suffered from the deficiency of subsidiaries (Liao, 2001).

Actually according to the Council for Cultural Affairs' '1998 White Book', Taiwanese Government spending on the arts and culture is about 1.21% on average compared to France's 1.78%, Great Britain's 1.38% and the USA's 0.91%. It has reached the standard of the advanced countries. In the '2004 White Book', the Council has proposed to increase cultural expenditure to 2% of the total budget. Nevertheless, from 1990 to 1995, the per capita expenditure on public support for the arts increases from \$25.48 in 1990 to \$40.55 in 1995 in Taiwan, from \$84.99 to over \$100 in the USA, and it exceeds \$200 in France.

In Great Britain though, it drops from \$138.45 to \$115.38, but is still higher than the USA average (Council for Cultural Affairs, 1998). Therefore, though in Taiwan the cultural budget has increased in the long run, per capita expenditure on the arts is actually low compared to those of the advanced countries, and there is still a prospect and necessity for the Taiwanese Government to increase public spending on the arts and culture.

In the interviews, some museum and cultural bureau directors confirm that this decrease of government funding does affect the number and maybe even the quality of museum exhibitions, collections and activities (interview: Huei-tang Lin on 18th May, 2002; Tsung-huang Tsiao on 27th May, 2002; Chu-chi Huang on 29th May, 2002; Wen-chung Pan on 7th June, 2002). On the other hand, however, some directors have observed that actually the amount of funding has not decreased much and it has even increased in some years. According to them, the political bias of different parties and the subsidised favourites of different items which cause the disproportionate distribution of the funding is as critical as the shortage of budget (interview: Wuh-kuen Lee on 15th May, 2002; Chia-chi, Hsiao on 21st May, 2002; Tzai-lang Huang on 12th June, 2002; Tsung-de Deng on 13th June, 2002; Hsiu-jean Chen on 14th June, 2002).

B. The disproportionate distribution of the funding

The proper distribution of funding and relevant resources is important for the balanced development of arts and culture. It concerns issues of geographical distribution and the distribution (subsidies) on different organisations and categories. Under what criterion and principle should funding and resources be distributed by different levels of government? How can the sustenance of the subsidized organisations be upheld without being over protective? In what ways should the government expand and provide support to small or

newly established arts and cultural groups? These issues are all important when formulating policy for funding and resource distribution.

In Taiwan, the geographically disproportionate distributions of financial appropriation and resources cause the imbalanced development of the arts and culture in the north and south, west and east. According to statistics provided by the Council for Cultural affairs on the distribution of the cultural expenditure of city and county governments, between 1995 and 1998, the average expenditures are 48.44% in the north, 15.14% in the middle, 31.40% in the south and only 2.76% in the east. It's very obvious that almost half of the budget goes to the north of Taiwan, and especially to Taipei city, which accounts for more than 35% of the budget (see Appendix 7.4). The local governments which spend the most budget on culture are Kimmen county at 4.3%, Tainan county at 3.9% and Taipei county at 3.0% (see Appendix 7.5). From these two statistics, we find that the DDP Government has paid more attention to the cultural development of the south.

According to Hsiu-jean Chen, Director of the Performing Arts Department of Cultural Bureau of Hualien and former Director of Hualien Stone Sculpture Museum, in the east of Taiwan, the Stone Sculpture Museum received the public subsidies from the Provincial Government, the Council for Cultural Affairs and the County Government. The subsidies from the Provincial Government are relatively stable which account for NT\$ 5 million annually (about US\$0.152 million); nevertheless since the Provincial Government has been discharged from the governmental system in 2001, the Council has taken over the responsibility to distribute cultural subsidies on behalf of Central Government. However, the subsidies from the Council to the Museum dropped from NT\$15 million (about US\$0.47 million) in 1997 to NT\$12 million (about US\$0.375 million) in 1999 and even to

NT\$5 million (about US\$0.152 million) in 2001. Therefore, the total public subsidies to the Museum from the Provincial Government and the Council reduced suddenly and considerably from NT\$20 million (about US\$0.625 million) to NT\$5 million (about US\$0.152 million) in four years, from 1997 to 2001. Director Chen also states that the County Government's yearly subsidy is NT\$500,000 (about US\$ 15,625) which can be evidence for the lack of concern of the local government on its arts and culture in the east of Taiwan. The statistics also shows that among the local governments the cultural expenditure is the lowest in the east which only accounts for 0.85% of total budget of local government (see Appendix 7.5) (interview on 13th June, 2002).

Not only is the geographic distribution imbalanced, but different art activities also get different attention from government (see Appendix 7.6). While the number of activities didn't increase much, or even dropped, the number of participants increased hugely; in most cases it was because of huge participation in folklore activities, including traditional religious activities, such as in 1996, 2001 and 2003. According to Guang-nan Huang, Director of the National Museum of History, folklore activity is the most dominant part of 'cultural industry' and religious ceremony is the major event of folklore activity in Taiwan (interview on 13th May, 2002). Cho-hao Lin, Director of Kaohsiung City Chiang Kai-shek Cultural Centre, also mentions the open space in the front of the Centre which is available for renting out to any kind of activity. Yet, most of the applicants are the frequent attendants of groups of folklore fairs which look more like travelling markets. They care much more about commercial benefits than the preservation or promotion of traditional arts and techniques (interview on 28th May, 2002). From these statistics we notice that there are disproportionate distributions of funding and resources in supporting arts and culture resulting from different geographical locations and different artistic favourites and

these biases need to be reviewed and corrected by a strong subsidising and assessing system.

Usually, government funding is more abundant and stable which is a very important and reliable resource for big or long-term projects. Basically government subsidy functions as a contribution instead of investment. Only government has the source, power and will to have the whole picture; it even has the ability to direct and promote the arts and cultural development of a country in every aspect. Schuster (1985: 56) has pointed out that one of the most important responsibilities and functions of government funding is to 'combat the negative effects of commercialism in the cultural sector'. But government subsidy is not always welcomed in the arts and cultural fields because it is commonly seen as a threat to the freedom of artistic expression. The advantage of making museums less dependent on public funds is to give museums greater autonomy to develop new programmes and activities and to reach new goals and address new issues (Bradburne, 2001). Though in many countries government funding for arts is distributed by a semi-independent agency, under the arm's length principle, censorship of the arts still exists. Therefore, private sponsorship is another choice, and especially corporate sponsorship is increasingly becoming a vital new-force for the arts and culture.

7.1.3 Private Sponsorship

A tendency towards private sector participation in cultural activities has developed and its importance has been continuously growing since the 1980s (Tweedy, 2000). Government funding has not risen fast enough to finance the increasing competition among different art forms, the costs acquired for new technology to preserve and develop art and cultural heritage, the costs for the increasing demands of the provision of artists, art and cultural

objects and services, as well as the costs for promoting its art and culture to the phase of globalisation (Nugent, 2000). Furthermore, art and cultural institutions that are supported by public subsidies though enjoy ‘stability’ and the ‘national consciousness’; however, they are less independent and are more intervened by governmental bureaucracies and public authorities (Mundy, 2000). On the contrary, ‘the private sector allows culture to develop through the energy of the individual, rather than the planning of officialdom’ (2000: 30) and with more diverse and flexible forms of sponsorship and patronage, private financing is also an indispensable source of funding. Private support for arts and culture comes from individuals, private foundations and especially from corporations. Corporate sponsorship has become one of the most important financial resources for art and cultural institutions worldwide, though not really for the operation and survival of the institutions; however, it is crucial for audience development and special projects. In the United States especially, according to Volker Kirchberg (2003), the annual corporate contribution to the arts grows from about \$160 millions in 1977, to near \$500 millions in 1987, and to almost \$1200 millions in 2000, and this is higher than in other countries (see Table 7.3).

Table 7.3 Corporate arts contributions in the United States, 1977–2000

Year	1977	1979	1981	1984	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
Current million\$	160.7	227.0	299.0	434.0	547.4	495.5	538.5	553.2	599.5	558.0
Real million\$	456.6	538.4	566.4	719.3	860.1	751.1	783.9	768.2	789.9	705.5
Year	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	-
Current million\$	570.0	600.0	580.5	740.0	765.0	779.0	916.8	1046.9	1194.6	-
Real million\$	699.6	715.0	674.5	836.1	839.6	835.8	968.5	1082.1	1194.6	-

Note: Own calculations of data provided by AAFRC Trust for Philanthropy (1977-2001); real dollars calculated by CPI-U (Consumer Price Index for Urban Consumers).

Source: Volker Kirchberg’s ‘Corporate Arts Sponsorship’ (2003: 144) in *A Handbook of Cultural Economics*.

In Taiwan, the Government also seeks the ways to encourage and attract private support of arts and culture. In 1998, the 'Wenxin Prize' was set by the Council for Cultural Affairs to commend and award individuals and corporations who have contributed to art and cultural affairs (see Table 7.4). The bronze prize which is awarded to one who contributes more than NT\$ 1 million comprises the average around 40% almost every year except in 2004. In 2004, there are 38 (47%) winners, almost double the numbers in 2002 and 2003, are awarded the gold prize who contributes over NT\$ 10 millions respectively. However, compared to government subsidies, private sponsorships are not so reliable and steady such that in Taiwan corporate contributions dropped more than 50% in 2002 and 2003. In this case, Government might have to propose more awarding methods or apply tax deduction systems to further encourage and attract more private supports for the art and cultural development.

Table 7.4 The Wenxin Award 1998-2003, Council for Cultural Affairs

Item \ Year	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Recommended	116	118	131	139	106	147	-
Rewarded	111	108	119	127	72	77	81
Special contribution	8	6	9	8	3	4	3
Gold prize	30	26	32	34	20	20	38
Silver prize	9	15	12	10	9	9	8
Bronze prize	42	47	51	55	27	34	27
Citation	22	14	24	20	13	10	8
Total amount of contribution (NT\$)	1,150 millions	1,330 millions	1,110 millions	1,110 millions	500 millions	600 millions	810 millions

Source: Council for Cultural Affairs, *The Wenxin Award* (<http://www.cca.gov.tw/faq/wenxin.htm>).

Gold prize: over NT\$ 10 millions; Silver prize: over NT\$ 5 millions; Bronze prize: over NT\$ 1 million;

Citation: over NT\$ 0.5 million (1 US\$= 34 NT\$)

It is believed that most corporate sponsorships favour renowned, traditional and bigger art and cultural institutions, because their fame has more advertising effect for the business. Following an increasing dependence on private sponsorships, there might be the same argument about its influence and interference, on the arts and culture. Sue Kirby has given

us some examples of sponsors' interferences with art exhibitions by inspecting the text of exhibition panels, avoiding negative descriptions (Nuclear Physics/Nuclear Power Gallery at the Science Museum of the UK in 1982), or turning the exhibition into a 'showcase' for commercial purposes (Coca Cola's centenary show at the Victorian and Albert Museum in 1986), in her discussion of the negative side of sponsorship (Kirby, 1988). On one hand, government should encourage private sponsorship in support of arts and culture; on the other hand, arts and culture should also be free from commercial control.

7.2 THE POSSIBLE SOLUTION

When central government restrains or slashes public expenditures to balance the national deficit or to invest in other areas, they tend to reduce expenditure on arts and culture first. Therefore, the task of this section is to search for possible sustainable financial models that will allocate more funding and facilitate partnership among governments, corporations and museums. It also aims to propose possible effective strategies to solve the problems caused by budget deficiency and disproportionate distribution of resources in order to ensure the long-term growth and comprehensive development of museums. Therefore, facing the shortage of public subsidies and an increasing desire for autonomy, museums attempt to allocate more funds through the plural funding strategy. In Taiwan, Government has also approved and encouraged more and more private participation in public projects in form of BOT (Building-Operate-Transfer) and OT (Operate-Transfer) projects to incorporate the financial aid and managerial ability from private corporations (Ger, 2000). Furthermore, they also emphasise the exploration of new ways and managerial techniques to create the best value for their users, partners and society. Such considerations lead us to review the advantages and disadvantages of plural funding,

partnership, privatisation and the application of marketing and management skills to museums in the following discussions.

7.2.1 Plural Funding

Though private support also diminished, most of the directors I have interviewed still agree that even the public museums should be more financially independent from the government. Richard Luce, former Minister of State for the Arts (1985-1990) of the Office of Arts and Libraries of the UK, once stated that art organisations should get rid of their ‘welfare state mentality’ in a public speech (Kawashima, 1997). In recent years there has been an increasing dependence on profits through products, bookshops, bars, catering, services, activities, renting out their space, fund-raising events, membership fees, donations, industrial sponsorship loans and lotteries (Pick, 1980). Plural funding is helpful towards the autonomy and ‘innovation’ of museums, and Tim Renton, former Minister of State for the Arts (1990-1992) of the Office of Arts and Libraries of the UK, also notes that ‘the greater degree you [museums] are dependent on central or local authority funding, the greater degree to which you [museums] lose independence’ (Kawashima, 1997: 27; Wright, 1992).

However, plural funding is not applicable to some small or local museums with smaller ‘organisational capacity’ or ‘income structure’ which are unable to handle the complicated plural funding resources and the plural ‘external constituencies’ (Kawashima, 1997). On the other hand, it has ignored whether the museum has the institutional and managerial ability to deal with the complicated system of plural fundraising, especially for the small-scaled local museums, which might not even have enough staff to work on it. However, some private resources are not as secure as public subsidy. Government has sometimes

over emphasized the advantages of plural sources of funding, and encouraged museums to explore and locate as many as they can hold on to. Therefore, it is important that museums examine their organisational capacity and income structure first or maybe they can get assistance through the development of partnerships with other institutions as an alternative.

7.2.2 Partnership

There are some renowned organisations, such as the Business Committee for the Arts (BCA) of the USA, the Association for Business Sponsorship of Arts (ABSA) of the UK, the Association pour le Développement du Mécénat Industriel et Commercial (ADMICAL) of France and the Comité Européen pour le Rapprochement de l'Economie et de la Culture (CEREC) mainly founded by business field to support art and cultural organisations in grant making, consultancy services or technical assistance. They provide financial assistance for advertising, exhibitions, education programmes, special activities and projects as well as for the maintenance of adequate facilities and equipment. They also offer consulting services for museum management, museum investment and art loans, marketing skills, legal and tax regulations as well as technical and personnel assistance. In addition, they also purchase artworks and related products, thus providing regular contributions as members of museum friends to support the museums (Taylor, 2000; Tweedy, 2000).

The Business Committee for the Arts, Inc. (BCA), founded by David Rockefeller, Chairman of Chase Manhattan Bank, in 1967 in New York, is the first national not-for-profit organization in the world that brings business and the arts together. The Committee has incorporated many big corporations in granting financial assistance to arts and cultural organisations. It has also recognised that 'arts could offer serious business benefits in

terms of marketing, profile and public relation' (Tweedy, 2000: 117). The BCA presents 'A Forum for New Ideas: Break the Rules – Think Differently about Business and the Arts' in 2003 which attempts to explore the new, non-traditional ways to enable business and the arts to work together. The new 'art@work' programme brings the 'skills', 'techniques' and 'values' of the arts into the workplace (2000: 125). It sets up an art collection and art gallery in the company and even introduces an 'artists in residence' programme. Those programmes not only develop employee talents, providing a more enjoyable, inclusive and creative environment to relieve stress, but also create opportunities for employees to interact with colleagues and people from the art field to develop skills for team work and operation planning which bring about an increase of productivity and profit for the business. Therefore, they bring mutual benefits for both the business and arts world.

The Association for Business Sponsorship of Arts (ABSA) of the UK, also known as the Arts & Business, was established in 1976 by some business leaders. This association helps to build up a network for businesses, entrepreneurs and creative individuals and created a new system in which business could work better with the arts. It has introduced the 'matching funding' scheme and engaged business executives' services for the arts. It also launches campaigns to increase tax incentives for businesses and to encourage other organisations to support arts events. Furthermore, the Association pour le Développement du Mécénat Industriel et Commercial (ADMICAL) was inaugurated in France in 1979 and works corporately with ABSA. The Comité Européen pour le Rapprochement de l'Economie et de la Culture (CEREC) (the European Committee for Business, Arts and Culture) was co-founded by ABSA in 1991, and the Sponsors Club was also affiliated to ABSA in the same year. With 19 offices in the UK and international collaborative links,

Arts & Business has witnessed, and contributed to, UK business sponsorship of arts organisations seeing an increase from £30 million in 1989, to £48 million in 1991, to £80 million in 1996 and to over £1 billion in 2003.⁴

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the French Government does not enthusiastically welcome the sponsorship of a private corporation. As a matter of fact, the Association pour le Développement du Mécénat Industriel et Commercial (ADMICAL), founded in 1979, was not recognized by the French authorities until 1992. One of the most important contributions of the ADMICAL is its involvement in the legislation of legal and tax regulations for corporate sponsorship in France.⁵ ADMICAL also provides guidance kits, information resources and training skills for businesses and corporations to promote their involvement in sponsorship of the arts and culture. The association has built up networks and partnerships with its affiliates and with business sponsorship organisations in regional and local spheres in France, Europe and other countries⁶, so as the Comité Européen pour le Rapprochement de l'Economie et de la Culture (CEREC) which also has a more international focus that covers the whole of Europe including the Mediterranean area.⁷

In return, the arts help businesses to fulfil their objectives and responsibilities, to build up and communicate their image to the community and the public, and to develop good relationships with their clients and target markets to increase profits from product and service sales. Art can be a tax-deducted item. Art also attracts employees, enhancing their

⁴ See Arts & Business, 'Arts & Business Timeline - 27 years of Arts & Business (1976-2003)' (<http://www.aandb.org.uk/asp/uploads/uploadedfiles/1/290/timeline2003.pdf>).

⁵ See ADMICAL's 'Tax and Legal- Preamble' (<http://www.admical.asso.fr/default.asp?contentid=145>).

⁶ See The Association pour le Développement du Mécénat Industriel et Commercial (ADMICAL) (<http://www.admical.org/default.asp?contentid=137>).

⁷ See European Committee for Business, Arts and Culture, Comité Européen pour le Rapprochement de l'Economie et de la Culture (CEREC). (<http://195.167.181.214/Asp/templateManager/render/sites/1/render.aspx?siteID=1&sID=2>).

bond to a company and increasing teamwork (Pick, 1980). 'A key difference between sponsorship and partnership is that partnerships are based on shared values. The partner and the museum must share certain core values if they are to work together to develop programmes and products without compromising the museum privileged position in society on the one hand, or the partner's interests on the other' (Bradburne, 2001: 81). Therefore, the relationship between business and the arts does not focus on 'sponsorship' but on 'partnership' (Tweedy, 2000).

In Taiwan, the 'Friend of NCAF' is a foundation built by the National Culture and Arts Foundation in May of 2003 as a platform to build up the relationship between business and the arts by holding regular meetings, conferences, visiting activities, training courses, publications and annual fraternity. These frequent activities are helpful in increasing communication and understanding between businesses and other businesses, businesses and art groups, as well as among art groups, so that they can attain substantial knowledge, techniques and experiences from each other and share resources in order to create mutually beneficial results.

I-heng Chen conducted a survey on corporate sponsorship of arts and culture in Taiwan, in which he attempted to investigate top 300 corporations in manufacturing industry, top 100 in service industry and top 100 in financing industry. There are 242 corporations replied. In addition, he also interviewed 8 winners of Wenxin Award. He employed Andreasen's (1990) 'Six-Stage Model' to study the different stages of the corporate sponsorship adoption process, in which 47 (19%) corporations are not interested and 70 (29%) have confirmed their participation in supporting arts. There were 67% corporations had ever sponsored arts and culture. Other major findings in his study include: the top executives

deciding the participation and the amount of sponsorship; 50% corporations never have the budget for supporting arts and culture; only about 3% corporations hope to develop long-term relationship whilst 53.7% corporations prefer to sponsor the individual cases and about 78.5% corporations didn't have sponsor regulations. On one hand, the corporations had not make commitment to support arts; on the other hand, art and cultural groups did not present any project for developing long-term relationship with the corporations (Chen, 2000; Cheng; 1998; Lin, 1999). However, foreseeably building up partnership between business and arts becomes more and more popular and important to acquire mutual benefits.

7.2.3 Privatisation- BOT and OT

Privatisation here does not refer to the building of private museums, but to private participation in public projects. This section introduces two main types of private involvement in public museums in Taiwan: BOT (Build-Operate-Transfer) and OT (Operate-and-Transfer). Under BOT the private sector first invests in building and operating a museum for a period of time and then transfers it to the public sector. While under OT the government provides the building, but the museum will be operated by the private sector for a certain period time and then transferred back to government. The most successful BOT museum in Taiwan, the National Museum of Marine Biology & Aquarium, opened in 2000 with educational, research and entertaining functions. Basically, the Aquarium is totally responsible for its own profits and losses and it has to pay a fixed annual fee of NT\$50 millions to the Government for the first 5 years, while the fee for the further 20 years must be paid according as a proportion of 3% to 8% of its total income.

The Museum of Contemporary Art opened in 2001 at the building which was previously the Taipei Government City Hall. 'The foundation of MOCA sets records in several aspects: It is the first museum in Taiwan to focus exclusively on contemporary art. It is the first museum in Taiwan to be housed in an historic building, and it is the first museum in Taiwan to be jointly funded by a city and the private sector'⁸ under the OT mode. The City Bureau and Taipei Fine Art Museum were responsible for the opening exhibition in May 2001 and then it was handed over to the Foundation for subsequent operation. The land and building are exempt from the local property tax. The Cultural Affairs Bureau of Taipei City has subsidised NT\$24 millions in 2002 and the Foundation of MOCA has received a total NT\$25 millions from five private corporations⁹ annually during the contracted 5 years. This is a 'matching grant' in which the private sector has to provide more than half of the grant in this case in order to prevent government control. According to Mark Schuster, 'matching grants' do not have to be dollar-for-dollar; the ratio of the recipient's funds to the government's can be any ratio, and the one-for-one setting should be called 'cofinancing'.¹⁰

Museums must have clear targets and plans which have to be monitored and assessed by accounting and auditing systems as well as performance evaluations. Many BOT and OT museums are operated by a non-profit foundation which is in charge of fund-raising, policy making and even operating. Basically, the foundation, no matter whether public or private sector, functions more efficiently because it is run similar to a profit-seeking business and applies similar managerial and administrative concepts and techniques, while it also has more autonomy compared to the public sector and it receives a certain amount

⁸ The Museum of Contemporary Taipei, 'History' (http://www.mocataipei.org.tw/english/01_about/02_about.html)

⁹ The five companies are Quanta Computer Inc., Taiwan Cellular Corp., Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Company Limited and Ming Sheng Daily.

¹⁰ The meaning of 'cofinancing', 'matching grant' and 'reverse matching grant' see Schuster (1989).

of more secure financial backing from the government. Therefore, it would not be handicapped by complicated regulations, lengthy processes and inefficient bureaucracies. In recent years, because of an insufficient budget, government has attempted to encourage and incorporate private resources, including finances and techniques, to create mutual benefit. However, some public art and cultural institutions which were formerly owned and operated by the government are opposed to a hand over to operation by a foundation because most of the employees are civil servants who are concerned a great deal about their terms of service and retirement. Therefore, most civil servants are resistant to the reform of public art and cultural institutions and the introduction of BOT or OT modes. On the other hand, under the BOT or OT modes employees are also worried about layoffs or pay decreases, when profits do not reach targets, and about uncertainties following termination of contracts between the public and private sectors.

According to the interviews with the museum directors, most of them welcome the contribution and sponsorship of businesses and corporations; nevertheless, they do not think 'privatisation' (BOT or OT) is the best way forward because there are no existing legal regulations to oversee or regulate the operation, and neither is there any available example to be followed or learned from. There are a lot of conditions that have to be taken into consideration in advance, including: To what degree should the public sector get involved? To what degree can museums keep their autonomy? How much is the total budget? What are the proportions of budget that the public and private sector should provide? Should the budget provided by the public sector also include fees for operating, maintenance, utilities, administration and promotion or for collection, preservation, exhibition, research and education? Should the private sector be supervised and evaluated

by the public sector? And what are the standards? Could the museums aim at profit seeking? And what are the limitations? (Huang, 2000)

More and more public museums now adopt the contracting-out policy as well. Guang-nan Huang, Director of the National Museum of History, has stated that art and culture are highly desired by the public these days and that their provision is very pricey; and yet, the public are not charged an equal monetary fee then and there. Therefore, government should conduct art and cultural activities as sincerely as if they were religious or charitable activities for the public, whereas the private sector are concerned more about profits more than the quality of them (Lee, 1998). Mi-cha Wu, Vice Director of Council for the Cultural Affairs, assumes that though BOT or OT is not a panacea, it is an alternative for public museums to become more independent from government subsidy (interview on 11th June, 2002). Wuh-kuen Lee, Director of Taiwan Museum of Art, agrees to contract certain projects or jobs out, such as cleaning, security, the cafeteria and the museum shop; even he is not against holding commercial exhibitions with proper re-interpretations (interview on 15th May, 2002). Tsai-lang Huang, Director of Taipei Fine Art Museum, has presumed that if museums have been asked to be totally responsible for their own profits and losses then museums must have total autonomy; in that case, government might not have the authority or entitlement to interfere in or concern itself with the administration and activities of the museum (interview on 12th June, 2002). Cho-hao Lin, Director of Kaohsiung City Chiang Kai-Shek Cultural Centre, insists that exhibitions or performances should be mainly conducted and produced by museums to ensure quality (interview on 28th May, 2002). Tsung-huang Hsiao, Director of Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts, also points out that the National Theatre and the National Concert Hall are officially restructured as the 'National CKS Cultural Centre, the Executive Juridical Body' because

government funds had been insufficient for years, and that both centres will now be operated under the OT mode and that their main business might simply become that of renting out the space to performing groups (interview on 27th May, 2002). Chu-chi Huang, Director of the Cultural Bureau of Kaohsiung County Government, also agrees to contract out some labour services, activities and even research projects to the private sector in order to reduce the workload and incorporate more participation from private professions, but he insists that the collection business should be kept within the museum (interview on 29th May, 2002).

Whether under the BOT or OT mode of private participation in public projects, the public and the private sector are actually partners and it is important for both sides to recognise their own rights and obligations, and to play their own role according to regulations and contracts. Government should not make use of private resources simply as a quick way of reducing its financial burden or as a channel to transfer benefits to certain private interest groups. By the same token, museums run by private foundations under BOT or OT should not concern themselves only with monetary earnings. As a matter of fact museums should consider themselves to be primarily non-profit-oriented, educational and cultural organisations that will serve the public and enrich peoples' life. This does not mean that museums cannot be profitable or should only lose money; on the contrary, they need abundant resources to enable collection, preservation, exhibition, research and education. Therefore, with a strong orchestrating ability, the experience of the government, and the highly efficient managerial techniques and performance of private enterprises, the public and private sectors should cooperate in order to sustain arts and cultural institutions and to foster a more dynamic and creative art and cultural environment.

7.2.4 Museum Marketing and Management

The term 'marketing' and the concept of 'management' in the museum sector developed strongly in the late twentieth century (Davies, 1994; Kawashima, 1997). As Sir Roy Strong commented in 1988, 'museums have stood outside the main stream of management professionalism' (1988: 20) because 'throughout the 1980s, museum workers on the whole remained distrustful of management' (Moore, 1997: 3), 'even into the 1990s, many curators and administrators remain sceptical about the motivation behind' (Allen and Ellis 1990: 35). However, as early as in 1895, G. Brown Goode, Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, had already pointed out the five direction for 'managing' a museum: 'a stable organisation and adequate means of support; a definite plan, wisely framed in accordance with the opportunities of the institution and the needs of the community for whose benefit it is to be maintain; good collection or facilities for creating them; a staff of competent curators; a suitable building; proper accessories, installation materials, tools, and mechanical assistance' (Good, 1895: 79, cited in Moore, 1997). This statement has already concluded the main concerns of current management: organisation, plan, money, collection, staff, building, and appliance. The Museum Management Institute and UCLA at Berkley held a conference about museum management in the late 1970s, the main subjects including human resource development, financial management, audience study, public relations, marketing and the application of computer systems in museum management. In the 1980s, many museums accepted the concept of regarding museums as entrepreneurial bodies and applied marketing strategies and managerial techniques. The Museum of Science and Industry in Chicago was the first museum to have a marketing department, while the Science Museum in London established the first marketing department in the UK. In 1985, the Ministry of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs of the Netherlands noted in 'The Museum Policy Memorandum' that all the national museums

should enhance museum marketing in order to develop the museum business (Chin, 1999).

In 1988, Scottish Museum Council has stated in a policy statement that:

'each museum needs to identify for itself its distinctive purpose or "mission" and to prepare a master plan which maps out its future programme in five areas: conservation, research, interpretation, marketing and financial planning'.

(Scottish Museum Council, 1988:7)

Marketing, to museums, does not only mean trying to sell a product or increase income, but also putting the customer at the centre and finding out what they want in order to improve quality of service. The American Marketing Association has defined that 'marketing is an organizational function and a set of processes for creating, communicating, and delivering value to customers and for managing customer relationships in ways that benefit the organization and its stakeholders'.¹¹ The British Institute of Marketing suggests, 'the management process responsible for identifying, anticipating and satisfying customer requirements profitably' (Wilmshurst, 1984).

Basically, 'objects', 'people' and 'money' are the three main subjects of museum management; therefore the issues of collection management, personnel management and financial management are all important for the sustenance and development of museums. Research of the Bay Group International, Support Centre, Arts Council of England ('Pilot Stabilisation Programme Evaluation Report') and Cleveland Foundation Civic Study Commission on the Performing Arts, the National Arts Stabilisation (NAS) has developed a management system in which the 'Characteristics of Sustainable Organisation' have identified three targets to examine to ensure the sustenance of arts and cultural organisations (Taylor, 2000):

¹¹ See American Marketing Association, 'Definition of Marketing' (<http://www.marketingpower.com/content4620.php>).

1. *Programme and audience: mission statement and the arrangement of exhibitions; art and cultural environment and quality; the degree of audience participation and composition of audience.*
2. *Administrative and Organisational stability: leaders, administrators and staff; comprehension of the external environment, competition and the power of the market; plans, strategies and targets; the degree of internal participation; equipments.*
3. *Financial stability: financial system; income increasing and fund-raising; the strength of financial status.*

In the past, museums emphasised the understanding of their collections rather than the importance of their audiences. Phillips has noted that ‘collect it and they will come’ should be replaced with ‘know them and they will come’ (Phillips, 1994). Customer satisfaction becomes a primary focus when museums want to attract more visitors. Moreover, the study of museum audiences, including museum members, donors, staff and volunteers, helps museums understand more about people rather than objects in order to provide better services to the public. It also emphasises the importance of ‘financial stability’ in the museum financial management.

In September 2003, Jim Rosenberg and Russell Willis Taylor published an article ‘Learning from the Community: Effective Financial Management Practices in the Arts Summary Findings and a Framework for Self-Assessment’ for the National Arts Strategies, with funding from The James Irvine Foundation. They interviewed many museum leaders to understand the effectiveness of their financial management practices at leading museums, and also provided a framework for arts and cultural institutions to set up the financial strategy, financial planning and the performance measurement to evaluate their approach to financial management. Performance measurement has become a key issue in museum management. ‘The development of performance statistics and corporate business plans, and the emphasis placed on self-generated income for the national museums, is

evidence of the fact that quantitative assessments of sound business practice are increasingly being placed alongside qualitative assessments of curatorship and scholarship as key indicators of a museum's success' (Eckstein, 1993:60) (see Table 7.5).

Table 7.5 A Framework for Assessing Financial Management Practice

Financial Strategy	1. What is the financial management culture of the organization? 2. What are the 'natural bounds' on income for this organization? 3. What are the fundamental drivers of financial risk and performance?
Financial Planning	4. How does the organization finance its operations? 5. How does the organization choose projects and investments? 6. How are income forecasts created, and from them, annual budgets?
Performance Evaluation	7. How is financial performance tracked to support decision-making? 8. How is long-term performance tracked and compared to peers? 9. How do board structure and processes impact financial governance?

(Source: <http://www.artstrategies.org/assets/Cornerstone%20Finh%20--%202-3-04.pdf>)

In Taiwan, the Chinese Association of Museums, the Taiwan Museum Association and the Council for Cultural Affairs, also held a conference on 'The Strategy of Museum Management' in 2002. This aimed to provide arts and cultural professionals, groups, institutions, and even corporations, the concepts, experiences and techniques for arts and cultural sustenance and development. 'As museums continue to confront the challenge of financial survivals, they will increasingly have to find ways to both fulfil their principal missions and generate earned incomes' (Henry, 1992) through effective and efficient museum marketing and management. Indeed, the application of assessment of museum performance and the development of museum marketing and management skills become increasingly important for a 'successful' museum.

PART IV. FINDING, CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION AND FURTHER RESEARCH

8.1 SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH

The main purpose of this research is to find out in what ways government can help the public fine arts museums in their personnel and financial managements. This research takes the perspective that the government and fine arts museums are not ‘two separate realms but, rather, the articulations between the two institutions, each of which is deeply involved in the management of [arts] and culture’ (Bennett, 1998: 6). After examining the relationship of government, museums and culture, the findings are consistent with the conundrum as stated by Adorno, that ‘culture suffers damage when it is planned and administered’, yet, ‘when it is left to itself... it threatens to not only to lose its possibility of effect, but its very existence as well’ (Adorno, 1991: 94). There is still a paradoxical supposition that it would be more appropriate for the state to take a relatively passive stance in relation to the arts and culture. However, it could be true that an entirely *laissez-faire* approach could have overlooked the importance of culture policy or left out the minority and the poor in the cultural policy making. As criticised by Christine Mundy, ‘a policy which has no room for culture will be missing a vital component’ (Mundy, 2000: 23). In fact, even if there is no ‘official’ administrative agency, it is impossible for a government to stay totally indifferent in dealing with art and cultural affairs.

The intervention of governmental authority has played a significant role in preserving, disseminating, researching and educating arts and culture in most of the countries, including Taiwan. After the lifting of the Martial Law in 1987, along with economic prosperity, Taiwan has encountered a drastic political and social transformation and booming development from 1987 to 2000. Besides the transition of political power from KMT to DDP, the GNP (per capita) has almost tripled from \$5,298 to \$14,118. The economic achievements have facilitated the craving of Taiwanese people, society and government for improvement of their spiritual life through the respect and the care of its art and cultural heritages. Therefore, the Council for Cultural Affairs (soon to be elevated to the Ministry of Culture) has made an effort to promote the cultural construction through a series of declarations, '2001, Year of Cultural Heritages', '2002, Year of Cultural Environments', '2003, Year of Cultural Industries' and '2004, Year of Cultural Talents'. Under these declarations, there are a lot of cultural hardware and software involved or realised, including the provision of facilities and the buildings, the promulgation of laws and regulations, the founding of cultural endowments, the enhancement of social relationships and the performance of cultural institutions, the encouragement of participation in art and cultural activities, the integration of culture and education, culture and industry. These plans and policies launched by the government indicate the ambition and eagerness of the Taiwanese government in its dealing with the preservation and development of art and culture, which serves as a great example of how government manage its relationship with art and cultural activities.

8.2 REVIEW OF THE RESEARCH METHODS

The theoretical explorations in this research are not exactly grounded or deduced from specific theories; in stead, this research has applied a number of political, social and

economic theories in the discussions which seems overly ambitious. However, the attempt is not to introduce as many theories as it can; rather, through the discussions based on all these theories, it is to explore and to explain the relationship between government, government subordinate agencies and fine arts museums.

In this research, all the subject matters including the roles, values and functions of fine arts museums, the main personnel and financial problems, and the governmental intervention through policies and legislations are 'socially constructed'. The parameters are 'complex', 'interwoven' and are not meant to be measured and displayed by numerical forms (Mason, 1996: 4). Moreover, it is important to know how the policies have been formulated, implemented and evaluated by the policy makers and policy executors. This research focuses on getting better understanding in the contextual interpretations and the perspectives of the participants (the policy makers and policy executors). It also involves 'the understandings of the complexity, detail and context' (Mason, 1996: 4) of arts and cultural policies and the political, or economic, or social phenomenon. Therefore, the best approach is to study the complexity is the qualitative one, using the methods of documents analyses and in-depth interviews.

Prior to in-depth interviews with the thirteen directors from government agencies, cultural bureaux and fine arts museum, I have conducted a pilot study to validate and to refine the interview instruments. This research follows the principles recommended by Mason (1996) and Strauss (1987) and uses open coding to locate the key themes in document analyses; for interview data analysis, it follows the suggestion made by Kvale (1996) and Mason (1996). After the interview texts, notes taken in the field and the documents data have been carefully sorted and coded.

During the analysis, this research discusses the key themes emerging in the data and evaluates them against political, social and economic theories. Finally, I apply the comparative method as an auxiliary approach to draw up the policies, regulations or projects performed by different countries as references. From the results of comparisons, the research identifies the strengths and weaknesses of the policies and programmes versus their original purposes, and it attempts to provide possible and better solutions to them.

8.3 REVIEW OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

The principal claim of this research is to find out how art and culture can be preserved and promoted through government's supports, by means of art and cultural policies, for the sustenance and development of fine arts museums. Therefore, firstly, we would like to know 'What is art or culture?' 'What is the value of art or culture in life?' Secondly, 'Through what ways can art and culture be preserved and developed?' 'Is it necessary to have art and cultural policies?' This research introduces the debates of the anthropologists and the Adornoians on the definition of culture. According to the anthropologists, culture is 'the whole way of life' (Hall and Jefferson, 1976: 10-11), while the Adornoians regard culture as the pursuit of 'perfection' (Stocking, 1968). This research reckons the statement made by Raymond Williams (1965: 58) who accepts the anthropologists' 'culture as a way of life', but also believes that culture should to be guided under certain 'laws' by institutions (such as governments and museums). This statement acknowledges the necessity of art and cultural policies and of the necessity of social institutions to be responsible for the realisation and promotion of social and cultural evolution.

The second subject matter of this research is the public fine art museum, one of the most prominent institutions in the activities of preserving and promoting art and culture for the

public. This research, on one hand emphasises the importance of fine art museum by describing its functions; on the other hand it exposes the shady parts when it struggles to achieve its objectives. For example, in 2002, Taiwan has transplanted the 'creative industry' (cultural industry) project with an attempt to create economic benefits. But without supporting infrastructures such as the protection of intellectual property, managerial and marketing concepts and skills, sufficient financial resources, industry supply chain, this project may become merely an unfeasible slogan. Although Adorno and Horkheimer (1944) had denounced the cultural industry as the means of 'standardisation' and 'mass production', the industry has been very successful in countries other than Taiwan. In UK the industry brings in approximately £60 billion each year and provides about 1.4 million jobs, in the United States it generates about US\$134 billion and provides 4.85 million full time employments in 2000-2001.

There are a lot of controversial issues while exploring the role that the government plays in the art and cultural activities and the representative entities such as governmental agencies and fine arts museums, as discussed in Chapter Five. While justifying government intervention in arts and culture, from an economic and social perspective, Netzer (1978) considers 'market failure' and 'welfare state policy' as the two main reasons. In contrast, Zimmer and Toepler (1999) argue that the rationale should be the 'neo-institutional perspective' which depends on the 'tradition' of the country. In discussing the government intervention and museum autonomy, Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey (1989) classify the public support of fine arts into four alternative models, namely, the 'facilitator' (USA), the 'patron' (UK), the 'architect' (France) and the 'engineer' (former Soviet Union). In the 'facilitator' states such as the United States, art and culture are supported through tax incentives and lack of content restrictions; and the art and cultural

institutions can enjoy the most freedom of expression. The 'patron' states such as in the United Kingdom and Canada fund arts and culture on an 'arm's length principle' through the commissioned non-governmental art councils. In France, Italy, Sweden and Netherlands, Ministry or Department of Culture works as an 'architect' who is put in charge of the art and cultural systems with objectives to preserve the cultural heritages from political and social impacts, as opposed to the 'engineer' state which has entirely centralised cultural policies for political purposes, such as in the former Soviet Union. Although theoretically distinctive within each one, these four models are not mutually exclusive in their practice. The relationship among governments, subordinated agencies and museums can be examined by the centralisation or decentralisation systems. Excessive centralisation can be harmful to museum autonomy and artistic innovation. It is believed that the lower levels of government intervention the better it can provide services to the local people and the community (Oates, 1972). However, there are also harms in the decentralisation system, such as in Taiwan, in that local art and cultural activities and programmes are always under the control of a small number of influential private foundations, local privileged groups or individuals.

In the discussion of museum personnel and finance problems of Taiwan's fine arts museums. It does not only manifest the problems but also provide the possible solutions through the investigation of related policies and programmes proceeded and promoted by the museums or art and cultural institutions of other countries. For example, the personnel problem in Taiwan museums is mainly the recruitment of professionals and which might be improved by re-examine the recruiting system, cultivating museum professionals and enhancing museum professionalism. In order to tackle the museum finance problems including the shortages of government budget and the disproportionate distribution of the

funding, this research introduces the strategies such as plural funding, partnership and privatisation. Finally, it emphasises the importance of using museum performance assessment and skills in museum marketing and management to overcome the problems in order to enhance the sustenance and development of arts and culture.

8.4 LIMITATION, CONTRIBUTION AND RECOMMENDATION OF THE RESEARCH

The research is limited in its lack of perfect correspondence between primary data and statistics collected from other sources. The reliability also suffers from the lack of consistent methods of assessment, which makes it difficult to draw strong conclusions from the comparisons of policies or programmes with anticipated accuracy. Furthermore, although this research discusses the impacts of government policies on public fine arts museums in Taiwan, seldom do the policies pinpoint fine arts museums as the only or the most important targets. The number of arts museums that could provide sufficient, recent and reliable information to assist in this research is also small.

In terms of theoretical contributions, there are a lot of academic researches devoted to the museum personnel or museum finance respectively. This research represents a pioneering effort to include both these areas, as they are deeply involved in the formation of government policies. This research explores the importance of art and culture in our daily lives, the function of fine arts museums, and the role the government has played and the policies the government has applied. This research also highlights the relationship between government intervention and museum autonomy. The thesis does not focus on the contradictory aspects between them, rather it introduces the different or opposite perspectives of theories to stretch the range of perspectives and to deepen the thoughts

while making decisions. This research also shows both the positive and negative results while examining policies or programmes that were put into practice. This approach goes beyond collecting and interpreting data to lend support to certain theories; it offers the policy makers and museum directors a prospect to recognize both positive and negative effects of policy making, in the hope that they can make proper judgements in their attempts to improve cultural environments through policy formulation and implementation.

In addition, this research provides a clear picture of recent development in the arts and cultural fields in Taiwan. To be in line with the developed countries, Taiwan adopts and promotes policies such as the ‘community regeneration’, ‘cultural creativity industry’ and ‘globalisation’ that are familiar concepts in the western countries that had led to prosperous results. These research findings corroborate the efforts and achievements, and in the meanwhile point out some unexpected side effects and imperfections (cf. 5.2.2). Policy makers, evaluators and executors should be reminded of the downside of the intervention while they are make their decisions and assessment, especially when the cultural policies are transplanted from other countries.

To conclude, art is an important part of our life. ‘Art elevates the human mind, sublimates his base emotions, and cultivates his sense to be more sensitive to the finer things of life. Art gives peace and vitality to the human mind and soul’, says Friedrich Schiller (cited in Enwonwu, 2000). Fine arts museum plays a vital role in preserving, transmitting and promoting arts and culture for us and for our future generations. Government has the responsibility to create a better and healthier environment through effective legislations and policies, such as re-recognising the values and new roles of fine arts museums in the society, establishing a department to be responsible for providing information, guidance

and consultation to the museums, publishing the museum law, increasing the museum subsidies, recruiting and cultivating the museum professionals, promoting the collaboration between museums and other organisations, and enhancing the international cultural interactions, in order to ensure the sustenance and the future development of fine arts museums.

This research employs a new approach which presents both the advantages and disadvantages, the positive and negative results in order to provide a broader perspective and a deeper insight for the policy makers, museum directors and researchers while making, executing and evaluating a policy or a programme. Though this research covers the governments, subordinated agencies and museums of three different governmental levels; however, it discusses the relationship between governments and the public fine arts museums basically because the 'public' fine arts museums are more closely bounded with governments through the administrative and financial correlations. Nevertheless, the increasing numbers and influences of 'private' fine arts museums which are not included in this research also offer a great deal of contributions in the preservation and promotion of arts and culture and also deserve some credits, attentions and studies in the similar research contexts. Moreover, the interviewees selected are confined to 'directors' of the government departments, the cultural bureaus and the fine arts museums particularly, though they are unquestionably the core members who are in charge, yet, the opinions of other government administrators, museum workers, scholars, or even the volunteers who are also closely associated with the formulation, implementation and evaluation of the art and cultural policies are worthy of further investigation. In addition, there are some themes mentioned in this research, concerning museum personnel and finance, which have not been fully explored because of the limitation of time and resources available, such as the

issues about privatisation, plural funding, taxation, accountability, measurements of performances and museum management are all important topics worthy of advanced researches for the government to formulate effective art and cultural policies to ensure the sustenance and development of fine arts museums in order to preserve and promote the essence of human being's creation—art and culture.

APPENDIX: Chapter One

1.1 Indicators of the Taiwan Economy

Period	Economic Growth Rate at 1996 Prices (%)	GNP		
		GNP in US\$ Million at Current Prices	Per Capita GNP	
			NT\$	US\$
1952	12.0	1,674	2,019	196
1955	8.1	1,928	3,162	203
1960	6.3	1,717	5,601	154
1965	11.1	2,811	8,679	217
1970	11.4	5,660	15,544	389
1974	1.2	14,458	34,974	920
1975	4.9	15,429	36,642	964
1976	13.9	18,492	43,033	1,132
1977	10.2	21,681	49,449	1,301
1978	13.6	26,836	58,282	1,577
1979	8.2	33,229	69,115	1,920
1980	7.3	41,360	84,398	2,344
1981	6.2	47,955	98,179	2,669
1982	3.6	48,550	103,803	2,653
1983	8.4	52,503	113,103	2,823
1984	10.6	59,780	125,496	3,167
1985	5.0	63,097	131,430	3,297
1986	11.6	77,299	151,148	3,993
1987	12.7	103,641	168,832	5,298
1988	7.8	126,233	182,511	6,379
1989	8.2	152,565	201,402	7,626
1990	5.4	164,076	218,092	8,111
1991	7.6	183,736	240,909	8,982
1992	7.5	217,004	264,338	10,502
1993	7.0	228,578	289,337	10,964
1994	7.1	248,377	312,386	11,806
1995	6.4	269,125	336,042	12,686
1996	6.1	283,599	364,115	13,260
1997	6.7	293,289	390,103	13,592
1998	4.6	269,176	413,582	12,360
1999	5.4	290,544	427,097	13,235
2000	5.9	313,908	443,087	14,188
2001	-2.2	286,840	435,321	12,876
2002	3.5	288,872	446,094	12,900

Source: Council for Planning and Development, R.O.C. (2003), "Taiwan Statistical Data Book".

APPENDIX: Chapter Two

2.1 Interview Questions Before and After the Pilot Study

1. Why it is the responsibility of the government for the development of its arts and culture?
Who should be responsible for the development of arts and culture? Do you think it is the government's responsibility for the development of its arts and culture?
2. What do you think about the relationship of government intervention and museum autonomy?
Should government leave the museums alone?
3. Why do we need art and cultural policies for the cultural development of Taiwan?
Do we need arts and cultural policies for the cultural development of Taiwan?
4. Why do we need a Ministry of Culture (or Ministry of Culture and Sports)? What's your opinion about combining the arts and culture with sports in a ministry?
Do we need a Ministry of Culture (or Ministry of Culture and Sports)? Do you think it is a good idea to combine the arts and culture with sports in a ministry?
5. Why fine arts museums are important in the development of art and culture? What are the functions of the fine art museums?
6. What are the main trends of art and cultural changing and developments influenced the role and the function that your institution plays in the development of the culture?
What are the role and the function that your institution plays in the changing and development of art and culture? What is the most important feature of your institution among political, economics, social and aesthetic attributions in the form of percentage (%)?
7. What are the main impacts of government policies on your institution?
8. What are the main problems of your institution in personnel? How to solve the problems?
9. Why professionalism is important for the museum profession?
Is professionalism important for the museum profession?
10. What are the main problems of your institution in finance? How to solve the problems?
11. What is the reasonable percentage of the budget for the arts and culture?
12. What do you think our public subsidiary system?
Does our subsidiary system work well?
13. What do you think about the privatisation or corporation models such as the BOT (Building-Operate-Transfer) and OT (Operate-Transfer) of the public museums?
Are BOT and OT good models of museum management and of support?
14. What are the relationships between your institutions with other related institutions of different governmental levels?
Does your institution have a good relationship with other related institutions of different governmental levels?
15. How can government help the sustenance and development of the fine arts museums through the regulations and policies?
In what ways the government can help the sustenance and development of the public fine arts museums?
16. What can the government and the museums learn from other countries?
Can Taiwan government learn from other countries?

APPENDIX: Chapter Three

3.1 The Distribution of the Cultural and Arts Foundations- According to the Years, Taiwan

Approved Year	Number
Total	100
Before 1981	4
1982-1986	11
1987-1991	29
1992-1996	28
1997	5
1998	9
1999	6
2000	1
Uncertain	7

Source: Council for Cultural Affairs, 2000.

3.2 The Distribution of the Cultural and Arts Foundations- According to the Locale, Taiwan

Locale	Total	Cultural Exchange	Cultural Heritage	Cultural Communication	Literature
Total	100	10	8	1	1
Taipei City	78	9	6	1	-
Kaohsiung City	3	-	-	-	1
Taiwan Province	19	1	2	-	-

Locale	Living Culture	Community Culture	Visual Arts	Performing Arts	Varieties
Total	8	1	7	16	48
Taipei City	7	1	3	13	38
Kaohsiung City	1	-	-	-	1
Taiwan Province	-	-	4	3	9

Source: Council for Cultural Affairs, 2000.

3.3 The Distribution of Cultural and Arts Foundation- According to the Sum of the Fund, Taiwan

(Currency: Taiwan Dollars)

The Sum of the Funds	Number	Total Funds	Average Funds
Total	100	4,941,640,000	49,416,000
1,000,000-less than 3,000,000	17	211,000,000	1,241,000
3,000,000-less than 10,000,000	13	61,490,000	4,730,000
10,000,000-less than 30,000,000	46	580,210,000	12,671,000
30,000,000-less than 50,000,000	7	258,970,000	36,996,000
50,000,000-100,000,000	9	630,030,000	70,003,000
More than 100,000,000	8	3,389,840,000	423,730,000

Source: Council for Cultural Affairs, 2000.

3.4 Cultural Affairs Bureaux and Cultural Centres in Taiwan

No.	Name and Location	Founding Date	Out	In
1.	Cultural Affairs Bureau of Taipei County	2000.01.03	*	
2.	Cultural Affairs Bureau of Yilan County	2000.01.27	*	
3.	Cultural Affairs Bureau of Taoyuan County	2000.11.01	*	
4.	Tsinchu County Cultural Bureau	2000.01.27	*	
5.	Cultural Affairs Bureau of Miaoli County	2000.01.31	*	
6.	Cultural Affairs Bureau of Taichung County	2000.03.01	*	
7.	Cultural Affairs Bureau of Chunghua County	2000.03.01	*	
8.	Cultural Bureau of Nantou County Government	2000.07.29	*	
9.	Cultural Affairs Bureau of Yunlin County	1999.12.03	*	
10.	Cultural Affairs Bureau of Chiayi County	2000.05.08	*	
11.	Cultural Affairs Bureau of Tainan County Government	2000.01.23	*	
12.	Cultural Bureau of Kaohsiung County Government	1999.12.30	*	
13.	Cultural Affairs Bureau of Pingtung County	2000.10.02		*
14.	Taitung County Government Bureau of Cultural Affairs	2000.01.13		*
15.	Cultural Affairs Bureau of Hualien County	2000.04.14	*	
16.	Bureau of Culture Peng-hu County	2000.01.01	*	
17.	Bureau of Culture Hsin-chu City	2000.01.01		*
18.	Taichung City Cultural Affairs Bureau	1999.12.30		*
19.	Cultural Affairs Bureau of Chiayi City	1999.12.02	*	
20.	Cultural Affairs Bureau of Tainan City	2000.01.01		*
21.	Cultural Affairs Bureau of Taipei City	1999.11.06		*
22.	Cultural Centre of Keelung City			
23.	Kaohsiung City Chiang Kai-Shek Cultural Centre			
24.	Cultural Centre of Lien-jiang County	2001.01.01		
25.	Cultural Centre of Kim-men County	2000.01.01		

Source: Cultural Centre and Cultural Affairs Bureau of the City and County

*Out: the bureau is not under the city/county government,

*In: the bureau is in the city/county government

APPENDIX: Chapter Four

4.1 Museum Definition- American Association of Museums

To participate in the AAM Accreditation Programme, a museum must meet the following definition of a museum:

- Be a legally organised not-for-profit institution or part of a not-for-profit institution or government entity
- Be essentially educational in nature
- Have a formally stated mission
- Have one full-time paid professional staff member who has museum knowledge and experience and is delegated authority and allocated financial resources sufficient to operate the museum effectively
- Present regularly scheduled programs of documentation, care, and use of collections and/or tangible objects
- Have a formal and appropriate program of presentation and maintenance of exhibits

4.2 Museum Definition- UK Museums Association, 2002

Museums enable people to explore collections for inspiration, learning and enjoyment. They are institutions that collect, safeguard and make accessible artefacts and specimens, which they hold in trust for society.

4.3 Museum Definitions- South Africa Museums Association, 1999

Museums are dynamic and accountable public institutions which both shape and manifest the consciousness, identities and understanding of communities and individuals in relation to their natural, historical and cultural environments, through collection, documentation, conservation, research and communication programmes that are responsive to the needs of society.

(Source: Museum Definitions- City University Arts and Museum Policy Statements, [http:// www.city.ac.uk/artpol/mus-def.html](http://www.city.ac.uk/artpol/mus-def.html))

4.4 Museum Definition- Australia Definition, 2002

Contributed by Margaret Birtley, Museum Studies Program, Deakin University,
Australia

After lengthy discussion amongst the museum community in Australia, Museums Australia revised its definition of 'museum'. The following new definition, through amendment of Article 5.3 of the Museum Australia Constitution, was formally adopted at the Annual General Meeting of Museums Australia on 22 March 2002.

Museums Australia defines “museum” as an institution with the following characteristics:

A museum helps people understand the world by using objects and ideas to interpret the past and present and explore the future. A museum preserves and researches collections, and makes objects and information accessible in actual and virtual environments.

Museums are established in the public interest as permanent, not-for-profit organisations that contribute long-term value to communities.

Museums Australia recognises that museums of science, history and art may be designated by many other names (including gallery and Keeping Place). In addition, the following may qualify as museums for the purposes of this definition:

- (a) natural, archaeological and ethnographic monuments and sites and historical monuments and sites of a museum nature that acquire, conserve and communicate material evidence of people and their environment;
- (b) institutions holding collections of and displaying specimens of plants and animals, such as botanical and zoological gardens, herbaria, aquaria and vivaria;
- (c) science centres
- (d) cultural centres and other entities that facilitate the preservation, continuation and management of tangible or intangible heritage resources (living heritage and digital creative activity);
- (e) such other institutions as the Council considers as having some or all of the characteristics of a museum.

(Source: Museum Definitions- City University Arts and Museum Policy Statements,
[http:// www.city.ac.uk/artpol/mus-def.html](http://www.city.ac.uk/artpol/mus-def.html))

4.5 The Definition of Museum According to ICOM Statutes 2001- Article 2

The ICOM Statutes will be revised during the Triennial period 2001 – 2004

Adopted by the 16th General Assembly of ICOM (The Hague, The Netherlands, 5 September 1989) and amended by the 18th General Assembly of ICOM (Stavanger, Norway, 7 July 1995) and by the 20th General Assembly (Barcelona, Spain, 6 July 2001).

Modifications of the ICOM Statutes adopted by the General Assembly in Barcelona on Friday 6 July 2001 are underlined and in bold.

1. A museum is a non-profit making, permanent institution in the service of society and of its development, and open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits, for purposes of study, education and enjoyment, material evidence of people and their environment.

- a. The above definition of a museum shall be applied without any limitation arising from the nature of the governing body, the territorial character, the functional structure of the orientation of the collections of the institution concerned.
- b. In addition to institutions designated as “museums” the following qualify as museums for the purposes of this definition:
 - i. natural, archaeological and ethnographic monuments and sites and historical monuments and sites of a museum nature that acquire, conserve and communicate material evidence of people and their environment;
 - ii. institutions holding collections of and displaying live specimens of plants and animals, such as botanical and zoological gardens, aquaria and vivaria;
 - iii. science centres and planetaria;
 - iv. non-profit art exhibition galleries;
 - v. nature reserves;
 - vi. international or national or regional or local museum organisations, ministries or departments or public agencies responsible for museums as per the definition given under this article;
 - vii. non-profit institutions or organisations undertaking conservation, research, education, training, documentation and other activities relating to museums and museology;
 - viii. cultural centres and other entities that facilitate the preservation, continuation and management of tangible or intangible heritage resources (living heritage and digital creative activity);
 - ix. such other institutions as the Executive Council, after seeking the advice of the Advisory Committee, considers as having some or all of the characteristics of a museum, or as supporting museums and professional museum personnel through museological research, education or training.

2. Professional museum workers include all the personnel of museums or institutions qualifying as museums in accordance with the definition in Article 2, para. 1, having received specialised training, or possessing an equivalent practical experience, in any field relevant to the management and operation of a museum, and independent persons respecting the *ICOM Code of Professional Ethics* and working for museums as defined above, either in a professional or advisory capacity, but not promoting or dealing with any commercial products and equipment required for museums and services.

(Source: Museum Definitions- City University Arts and Museum Policy Statements, <http://www.city.ac.uk/artpol/mus-def.html>)

4.6 UK's Creative Industries- 1998

- Software and Computer Services- Revenue £36.4bn, employment 555,000, exports £2.8bn
- Publishing- Revenue £18.5bn, employment 141,000, exports £1.7bn
- TV and Radio- Revenue £12.1bn, employment 102,000, exports £440m
- Music- Revenue £4.6bn, employment 122,000, exports £1.3bn
- Film and Video- Revenue £3.6bn, employment 44,500, exports £653m
- Advertising- Revenue £3bn, employment 93,000, exports £774m
- Arts and Antiques Market- Revenue £3.5bn, employment 37,000, exports £629m
- Interactive Leisure Software- Revenue £1bn, employment 21,500, exports £503m
- Designer Fashion- Revenue £600m, employment 11,500, exports £350m
- Architecture- Revenue £1.7bn, employment 21,000, exports £68m
- Crafts- Revenue £400m; Design- Revenue £26.7bn, employment 76,000, exports £1bn
- Performing Arts- Revenue £500m, employment 74,000, exports £80m

(Source: "UK's Creative Industries" (1998), http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/entertainment/newsid_1218000/1218095.stm.)

4.7 Challenge 2008: Six-Year National Development Plan, Taiwan

- The comprehensive six-year national development plan is designed to foster the creativity and talent Taiwan needs to transform itself into a "green silicon island."
- Total expenditure under the plan will be NT\$2.6 trillion (approximately US\$75 billion.)
- The major goals of the plan are:
 1. To develop at least 15 products or technologies that rank among the world's best
 2. To double the number of foreign tourists visiting Taiwan
 3. To increase R&D expenditures to 3% of GDP
 4. To reduce the unemployment rate to less than 4%
 5. To boost the economic growth rate to over 5%
 6. To expand the number of broadband Internet users to over 6 million
 7. To create 700 thousand jobs
- The plan includes three major reforms, of government, banking and public finance, and ten major investment areas as follows:
 1. Cultivate talent for the E-generation
 2. Develop the cultural creativity industry
 3. Develop an international base for R&D and innovation
 4. Develop high value-added industries
 5. Double the number of tourists visiting Taiwan
 6. Develop a digital Taiwan
 7. Develop Taiwan as an operations headquarters
 8. Improve the transportation infrastructure
 9. Conserve water resources and ecology
 10. Construct new hometown communities

Source: Council for Economic Planning and Development (2002)

4.8 The Number and the Type of Integrated Community in Taiwan

Type City & County	Industry	Culture & History	Education	Ecology	Dwelling	Health	Reuse of Run Down Site	Total
Pingtung County	5	7	6	1	3	1	2	25
Kaohsiung County	3	12	10	1	10	1	0	37
Kaohsiung City	0	5	17	0	29	0	0	51
Tainan County	5	7	8	1	4	0	0	25
Tainan City	1	3	16	0	4	0	0	24
Chiayi County	1	3	5	1	3	0	1	14
Chiayi City	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	4
Yunlin County	2	2	5	1	26	0	0	36
Changhua County	6	10	19	1	9	1	0	46
Taichung County	4	5	10	1	9	0	0	29
Taichung City	1	3	19	3	21	1	0	48
Miaoli County	1	5	7	1	6	2	0	22
Hsinchu County	1	3	4	0	6	0	0	14
Hsinchu City	0	1	3	2	8	0	0	14
Taoyuan County	2	2	18	0	39	1	0	62
Taipei County	5	9	41	1	64	1	0	121
Taipei City	1	15	42	3	21	1	0	83
Keelung City	1	4	4	0	5	0	0	14
Yilan County	3	2	6	2	8	0	0	21
Hualien County	7	6	1	0	3	0	0	17
Taitung County	1	3	1	0	0	1	0	6
Nantou County	7	3	8	0	0	0	0	18
Total	57	110	252	19	279	10	4	731

Source: National Culture and Arts Foundation (2003)

4.9 The SWOT of Taiwan's Cultural Creative Industry

Strength ▶ Abundant private resource ▶ Cultural diversity ▶ Abundant creativeness	Weakness ▶ Lack of professional personnel ▶ Lack of promoting system
Opportunity ▶ Government promotes the cultural creative industry ▶ Hardware industry transfers to software industry	Threat ▶ The prosperity of cultural creative industry in Japan and South Korea ▶ The promotion of cultural creative industry in the developed countries of the world

Source: Mu-lan Shu (2003) for the Conference on the "Development of Cultural Creative Industry" held by the National Securities and Finance Group Foundation.

4.10 The Number and the Ratio of the Public and Private Museums, 1989-1997, Taiwan

Year	Public		Private		Total Number
	number	percentage	Number	percentage	
1989	80	80.80%	19	19.20%	99
1991	83	79.80%	21	20.20%	104
1993	89	73.55%	32	26.45%	121
1994	90	69.77%	39	30.23%	129
1996	92	69.17%	41	30.83%	133
1997	99	66.44%	50	33.56%	149

Source: Council for Cultural Affairs, "Cultural Statistics", 1997.

4.11 Cultural Centre and Specialised Museum, Taiwan

Cultural Centre	Specialised Museum
Cultural Centre of Taipei County	Museum of Modern Ceramic Art
Cultural Centre of Yilan County	Taiwan Theatre Museum
Cultural Centre of Taoyuan County	Chinese Furniture Museum
Cultural Centre of Hsinchu County	Hakka Cultural Relics Museum
Cultural Centre of Miaoli County	Museum of Wood Sculpture
Cultural Centre of Taichung County	Museum of Weaving and Knitting Handicraft
Cultural Centre of Chunghua County	Traditional Nan Bei Music and Theatre Museum
Cultural Centre of Nantou County	Museum of Bamboo Art and Craft
Cultural Centre of Yunlin County	Taiwan Temple and Shrine Art Museum
Cultural Centre of Tainan County	Museum of Traditional Taiwanese Parades
Cultural Centre of Kaohsiung County	Museum of Shadow Puppets
Cultural Centre of Pingtung County	Taiwan Paiwan Tribe Sculpture Museum
Cultural Centre of Taitung County	Museum of Aboriginal Cultural Relics
Cultural Centre of Hualien County	Museum of Stone Sculpture
Cultural Centre of Penghu County	Marine Museum
Cultural Centre of Keelung City	Local Relics Museum
Cultural Centre of Hsinchu City	Municipal Glass Museum
Cultural Centre of Chiayi City	Chiaochi Ceramics Museum
Cultural Centre of Tainan City	Museum of Taiwanese Folk Arts and Crafts

Source: Based on Council for Cultural Affairs, "Cultural Statistics", 1997.

APPENDIX: Chapter Five

5.1 The Specific Features of French, Swedish and the United States Cultural Policy

A. France

1. Since the *Ancien Régime*, cultural policy has always been highly operationalised for the sake of underlying purposes, stressing the importance and grandeur of the French nation, thus using the term “culture” as a synonym of nationhood as well as of a specific expression of the statehood;
2. Due to this historical legacy, the government and its centralised state-bureaucracy have played a dominant role particularly in the production of high culture, resulting in high levels of public spending for the arts and culture. However, cultural production and consumption are concentrated in Paris leaving little room for artistic development in the provinces;
3. With almost no interference from the business community or other societal actors, the powerful bureaucracy of the Ministry of Culture is responsible for agenda setting as well as for implementation of cultural policy.

B. Sweden

1. Government support for the arts and culture is guided by the New Cultural Policy which is closely linked to the social-democratic doctrine of equity and egalitarianism.
2. While aiming to maintain a universal, egalitarian approach through encouragement from the central level, the funding system for arts and culture is largely decentralised guaranteeing communities a high degree of self-rule.
3. In accordance with Swedish public policy, funding patterns for the arts and culture are based on a broad consensus backed by the political parties, the labour unions, and other corporate actors representing the various strata of Swedish society.
4. Due to the neo-corporate embeddedness of cultural policy (cf. Osland and Mangset, as cited in Irjala, 1996), popular and grass-roots cultural activities are treated on an equal footing with high culture institutions, resulting in high levels of spending with the government retaining almost exclusively the financial responsibility for the arts and culture.

C. United States of America

1. A dominance of the private nonprofit sector both in the delivery and financing of arts and culture, with government only playing a support role;
2. A decentralised and dispersed net of private and public funding, in which the federal government has performed a stimulating function, which, however, still leaves the need for a stronger market-orientation even in the nonprofit sector; and
3. The lack of a clear and unambiguous overall agenda for the cultural policy process beyond the initial market failure justification.

(Source: Zimmer and Toepler (1999), “The Subsidised Muse: Government and the Arts in Western Europe and the United States”, *Journal of Cultural Economics*, Vol. 23, pp. 38, 41, 44.)

5.2 NDPBs: Non-departmental Public Bodies

Executive NDPBs:

- are normally established by statute such as an Act of Parliament or Royal Charter.
- carry out administrative, commercial, executive or regulatory functions on behalf of Government.
- provide specialist advice to Ministers and others.
- have a national remit.
- have a board whose members are appointed by Ministers or by the Queen on behalf of Ministers, and which meets at least quarterly.
- employ their own staff, who are not civil servants.
- manage their own budgets.

(Source: The Scottish Arts Council, <http://www.scottisharts.org.uk/whoweare/> #Executive NDPBs)

APPENDIX: Chapter Six

6.1 The Number and Percentage of the Examinees and the Passers of the Third Stage of the National Civil Higher Examination, 1996-2003, Taiwan

Year		Number of Examinee	Number of Passer	Percentage (%)
1996		45,063	1,506	6.27
1997		39,886	1,643	4.12
1998	Preliminary	34,220	17,733	51.82
	Final	14,493	1,347	9.29
1999	Preliminary	31,474	16,537	52.54
	Final	13,252	1,436	10.84
2000	Preliminary	29,351	14,848	52.59
	Final	11,900	1,181	9.92
2001	Preliminary	31,048	15,730	50.66
	Final	12,758	1,269	9.95
2002	Preliminary	26,757	13,476	50.4
	Final	10,447	628	6.01
2003	Preliminary	24,254	12,222	50.39
	Final	9,769	1,082	11.08

Source: Based on the chart offered by the Golden Sun Institute National Placement Test (<http://www.get.com.tw/goldensun/>)

6.2 The Number and Percentage of the Examinees and the Passers of the Third Stage of the National Civil Ordinary Examination, 1996-2003, Taiwan

Year		Number of Examinee	Number of Passer	Percentage (%)
1996		76,945	1,305	2.31
1997		71,648	1,349	2.72
1998	Preliminary	53,440	20,793	50.40
	Final	20,793	1,033	6.18
1999	Preliminary	47,342	18,419	50.38
	Final	18,419	1,179	7.79
2000	Preliminary	53,033	21,165	50.46
	Final	21,165	1,231	6.98
2001	Preliminary	56,646	22,248	50.45
	Final	22,248	1,195	6.50
2002	Preliminary	51,668	20,071	50.27
	Final	20,071	675	4.19
2003	Preliminary	32,781	13,214	50.22
	Final	13,214	628	6.02

Source: Based on the chart offered by the Golden Sun Institute National Placement Test (<http://www.get.com.tw/goldensun/>)

6.3 The Third Stage of National Civil Higher Examination, Taiwan

The Preliminary Test								The Second Test			
General Knowledge 50%								Specialised Knowledge 50%	Common Subject	Specialised Subject	
Subject	Constitution Law of R.O.C.	Intro. to Law	Mathematical Inference	National History	Geoscience	English	Total	Intro. of Museology & Chinese Cultural History (or Intro. of Natural Science)	Chinese (including composition, reading, official document)	6 subjects * (including the two in the preliminary test)	
Percentage	20	15	15	15	15	20	100				
Number of items	40	30	30	30	30	40	200				80
Time	90 minutes			90 minutes				90 minutes			
Type	Multiple choice									Thesis	
Note	General knowledge is separated into two sections but the scores will be combined as one item. * For 'museum administration', the 6 subjects are: Introductory of Museology, Chinese Cultural History (or Introductory to Natural Science), Museum Administration, Theory and Practice of Social Education, Western and Chinese Art History (or Science and Technology History) and Foreign Language (English, French, German, Japanese or Spanish, including writing, translation and reading).										

Source: Based on the chart and information offered by http://hydraulic.org.tw/exam/exam1_2_3_1.htm and <http://wwwdata.fy.edu.tw/practice/%E9%AB%98%E6%99%AE%E8%80%83%E8%A9%A6%E7%B0%A1%E4%BB%8B.html>

6.4 The Third Stage of the National Civil Ordinary Examination, Taiwan

The Preliminary Test							The Second Test			
General Knowledge 50%							Specialised Knowledge 50%	Common Subject	Specialised Subject	
Subject	Constitution Law of R.O.C.	Intro. to Law	Mathematical Inference	National History	Geoscience	Total	Intro. of Museology & Chinese Cultural History (or Intro. of Natural Science)	Chinese (including composition, reading, official document)	4 subjects * (including the two in the preliminary test)	
Percentage	20	20	20	20	20	100				
Number of items	40	40	40	40	40	200				80
Time	110 minutes			70 minutes						90 minutes
Type	Multiple choice							Thesis		
Note	General knowledge is separated into two sections but the scores will be combined as one item. * For 'museum administration', the 4 subjects are: the Introductory of Museology, the Introductory of Social Education, the Introductory of Museum Administration and the Introductory of Chinese Cultural History (or the Introductory of Natural Science).									

Source: Based on the chart and information offered by http://hydraulic.org.tw/exam/exam1_2_3_1.htm and <http://wwwdata.fy.edu.tw/practice/%E9%AB%98%E6%99%AE%E8%80%83%E8%A9%A6%E7%B0%A1%E4%BB%8B.html>

6.5 University and other Educational and Professional Training Courses and Centres- United Kingdom

Cambridge: University of Cambridge Department of Archaeology: MPhil. (taught) and PhD (by research) in Archaeological Heritage and Museums

Ironbridge: University of Birmingham's Ironbridge Institute: MA in Heritage Management (Recognised by the Museums Association and the Cultural Heritage National Training Organisation)

Leicester: University of Leicester Department of Museum Studies: MA, MSc, Graduate Certificate and PhD in Museum Studies (Recognised by the Museums Association and the Cultural Heritage National Training Organisation)

Lincoln: Bishop Grosseteste College: BA degree in Heritage Studies

London: City University Department of Arts Policy and Management: MA, MPhil. & PhD degrees in Museum & Gallery Management, Arts Management, and Arts Criticism, Postgraduate Diploma in Cultural Management (full-time, part-time and modular) (Recognised by the Museums Association and the Cultural Heritage National Training Organisation)

London: Institute of Romance Studies, University of London: MA in Cultural Memory

London: University College, London, Institute of Archaeology: MA degrees in Cultural Heritage Studies, Museum Studies and Public Archaeology, and a range of Conservation MSc degrees (Recognised by the Museums Association and the Cultural Heritage National Training Organisation)

Manchester: University of Manchester Department of Art History: MA in Art Gallery and Museum Studies (Recognised by the Museums Association and the Cultural Heritage National Training Organisation)

Newcastle-upon-Tyne: University of Newcastle, International Centre for Cultural Heritage Studies: MA degrees, Postgraduate Diplomas and Postgraduate Certificates in Museum Studies, Gallery Studies, and Heritage Education & Interpretation (Recognised by the Museums Association and the Cultural Heritage National Training Organisation)

Newcastle-upon-Tyne: University of Northumbria: School of Arts and Social Sciences: MA degree in Cultural Management

Norwich: University of East Anglia School of World Art Studies and Museology: MA in Museology; MPhil. & PhD by Research in Museology

Nottingham: Nottingham Trent University: MA in Heritage Management (Recognised by the Museums Association and the Cultural Heritage National Training Organisation)

St. Andrews, Scotland: University of St. Andrews: MA in Museum and Gallery Studies (Recognised by the Museums Association and the Cultural Heritage National Training Organisation)

Salford: University of Salford, Centre for Heritage Studies: MAs and Postgraduate Diplomas in Arts & Museum Management, Heritage Interpretation, Presentation & Design, and Museum & Heritage Exhibition Design

Southampton: University of Southampton, Winchester Campus: MA Museum Studies: Culture, Collections & Communication

Source: ICOM, 'Web sites of Museum Training Courses and Centres and of Useful Resources in Museum Studies and related subjects' (<http://www.city.ac.uk/ictop/courses.html>).

6.6 University and other Educational and Professional Training Courses and Centres- United States

Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Extension School: Museum Studies Certificate program

Cooperstown, NY: Cooperstown Graduate Program (co-sponsored by the New York State Historical Association and the State University of New York College at Oneonta) MA in History Museum Studies

Chicago, IL: Northwestern University School of Continuing Studies: Professional Development Program in Museum Studies

Greensboro, NC: University of North Carolina at Greensboro: Historic Preservation and Museum Studies: M.A. in History, concentration in Historic Preservation or Museum Studies, M.S. in Interior Design, concentration in Historic Preservation or Museum Studies

Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas: Master's in Historical Administration and Museum Studies, with tracks in American Studies, Anthropology, Geology, History, and Natural History.

Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska-Lincoln: Interdisciplinary M.A. or M.S. Museum Studies Program

Lubbock, TX: Museum of Texas Tech University: Graduate courses in Museum Studies

New York, NY: New York University: Graduate School of Arts & Science: MA and Advanced Certificate Programs in Museum Studies

Philadelphia, PA: University of the Arts: MA Program in Museum Education; MA in Museum Communication; MFA Program in Museum Exhibition Planning and Design)

Raleigh, NC: North Carolina State University: M.A. in Public History [archives, manuscripts, museums, editing, or historic preservation specialisations]

Reno, NV: University of Nevada, Reno: Heritage Resources Management: programme of short courses [with or without Graduate-level University credit]

San Francisco, Cal: San Francisco State University: MA Museum Studies Program

San Francisco, Cal: John F. Kennedy University: Museum Studies Program

Seattle, WA: University of Washington: Graduate School: MA in Museology & Certificate in Museum Studies

South Orange, NJ: Seton Hall University Department of Art and Music: MA in Museum Professions

Tallahassee, FL: Florida State University: Certificate in Museum Studies (Interdepartmental program for Graduate Students in various art, design and humanities specialisations; also Information Studies and Consumer Science).

Waco, TX: Baylor University: Undergraduate and Graduate Programs in Museum Studies

Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution: Centre for Museum Studies

Washington D.C.: George Washington University: Museum Studies Program

Source: Based on ICOM, 'Web sites of Museum Training Courses and Centres and of Useful Resources in Museum Studies and related subjects' (<http://www.city.ac.uk/ictop/courses.html>).

6.7 The Number of Graduates of Art Related Departments of College and University, Taiwan

Department	1998			1999			2000		
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
Total	3997	997	3000	4232	1102	3130	4750	1219	3458
Master	224	94	130	327	136	191	428	191	237
Department of Fine Arts	34	20	14	43	15	28	41	21	20
Department of Music	54	9	45	80	15	65	81	15	66
Department of Drama and Theatre	11	5	6	14	6	8	16	8	8
Department of Dance	2	1	1	-	-	-	5	1	4
Graduate School of Fine Arts	42	17	25	54	20	34	33	14	19
Graduate School of Art History	4	-	4	3	-	3	5	1	4
Department of Theatrical Design and Technology	-	-	-	3	1	2	9	3	6
Graduate Institute of Sound and Image Studies in Documentary	3	2	1	6	4	2	15	9	6
Department of Interior Design	19	12	7	13	8	5	6	1	5
Graduate School of Applied Arts	21	9	12	13	8	5	32	15	17
Grad. School of Folk Cultural and Arts	7	1	6	1	1	-	8	1	7
Department and Graduate School of Visual Communication Design	9	7	2	8	3	5	11	6	5
Grad. Inst. of Art History and Criticism	3	-	3	6	2	4	8	2	6
Graduate Institute of Plastic Arts	15	11	4	18	13	5	41	31	10
Graduate Institute of Visual Arts	-	-	-	11	6	5	20	7	13
Graduate Institute of Design	-	-	-	35	27	8	77	46	31
Graduate Institute of Aesthetic and Art Management	-	-	-	4	1	3	8	3	5
Graduate School of Animation	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	3	3
Department of Design Management	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	2
Grad. Inst. of Environment and Arts	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	-

Source: Ministry of Education, 'The Education Statistics' (<http://www4.cca.gov.tw/artsquery/xls90/>).

6.8 The Number of Students Awarded the Government Scholarship to Study Abroad in Art Related Programmes, Taiwan

Year	Total Number			Art			Percentage %
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1991	103	83	20	2	-	2	1.8
1992	111	81	30	6	3	3	5.4
1993	148	96	52	12	3	9	8.1
1994	125	78	47	10	5	5	8.0
1995	108	60	48	7	3	4	6.5
1996	89	52	37	7	2	5	7.9
1997	97	67	30	7	2	5	7.2
1998	85	58	27	9	5	4	11.0
1999	59	29	30	8	2	6	13.5
2000	103	54	49	7	2	5	6.8
2001	94	50	44	12	3	9	12.7

Source: Ministry of Education, 'The Education Statistics, (<http://www4.cca.gov.tw/artsquery/xls90/>)

6.9 Departments and Graduate Schools of Museology, Museums Studies and Arts Management in Taiwan

N0. / Name	Year	Specialty
1. Graduate Institute of Museology, Tainan National College of the Arts	1996	museum management, exhibition technique, collection science....
2. Graduate Institute of Aesthetic and Art Management, Nan Hua University	1997	arts management, heritage preservation, museology, current issues (community aesthetics...)
3. Graduate School of Visual Arts Management, Yuan Ze University	1999	art history, arts management, arts and technology, museum fieldtrip
4. Department and Graduation School of Cultural Heritage Conservation, National Yunlin University of Science & Technology	1999	cultural heritage conservation, culture and technology, arts management, fieldwork, community, art and law....
5. Graduate School of Arts Administration and Management, Taipei National University of the Arts	2000	arts management, art policy, art and politics, art and business, audience study....
6. Institute of Arts Management, National Sun Yat-Sen University	2001	arts management, cultural policy, marketing, performing arts....
7. Department of Architecture and Historic Preservation, Shu-Te University	2001	heritage conservation, art and technology, archaeology....
8. Graduate Institute of Museum Studies, Fu Jen Catholic University	2002	museum management, art history, museology, museum internship...
9. Graduate Institute of History and Cultural Heritage Management, Feng Chia University	2002	museology, local history, heritage management, cultural objects forgery investigation, appraisal and valuation of works of art

6.10 ICOM Curricula Guidelines for Museum Professional Development

I. General competencies: All museum staff should be able to demonstrate skills in and knowledge of

Communications; Environmentalism and its impact; Evaluation methods; Financial management; Information Technology; Interpersonal relationships; Museums and society; Nature of work; Professionalism; Project Management; Research; Resources in the field

II. Museology Competencies: Knowledge of and skills in the application of the intellectual foundations of museum work

Community museology; Development of the museum profession; Roles and functions of museums; Vision; Governance; Issues in museum practices; Legal context for practice; Research activities, both discipline-based and museological

III. Management Competencies: Knowledge of and skills in the theory and practice of museum operations

Accreditation; Advisory bodies; Architecture; Business and operational management; Community relations; Financial planning and management; Formal structure fund raising and grant development (income-generation); Human resource planning and management; Income producing activities; Information management; Insurance / indemnity; Law; Marketing; Membership / "friends" organizations; Physical plant and site management; Public affairs; Media relations; Organizational Theory

IV. Public programming competencies: Knowledge of and skills in serving the museum's communities

Communications; Exhibitions; Education and interpretation; Publications and products; Visitor service and public relationships

V. Information and collections management and care competencies: Knowledge of and skills in creating, preserving and sharing museum resources

Archives; Collections

(Source: Based on ICOM's "Curricula Guidelines for Museum Professional Development", <http://museumstudies.si.edu/ICOM-ICTOP/comp.htm>)

6.11 The Positive Effects of the Introduction of Performance Measurement

1. The information about resource usage within a given period can be used to effect economies or apply for increased resources on the basis of programme needs;
2. The quantitative data produced can be used to identify emergent trends across museum;
3. The process of developing indicators to assess performance can achieve clarity of mission and purpose through collective objectives setting (Ames, 1992);
4. The necessity of providing data for accountability and reporting can result in improved management information systems;
5. Performance measurement is a management tool that provides information for decision makers; and
6. Goal setting for performance targets can give museums a clear and corporate direction at which to aim.

Source: Carol Scott (2002) 'Measuring Social Value', pp. 102.

APPENDIX: Chapter Seven

7.1 Cultural Budgets, FY 1989-2003, Taiwan

(NT\$ 100, 000, 000)

Year	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
Amount	54.76	78.16	78.41	95.15	113.27	124.42	94.17	104.68
% of total budget	1.06	1.15	0.95	0.97	1.06	1.17	0.96	0.95
Year	1997	1998	1999	*2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Amount	131.83	115.02	178.48	304.00	242.67	178.21	235.07	192.17
% of total budget	1.10	0.94	1.36	1.31	1.48	1.12	1.42	1.21

Source: Based on the Council for the Cultural Affairs (1998/2004) "White Book", figure 7-3-1, p. 294/figure 1-10, p. 40.

* The budget of 2000 is a total of 18 months.

7.2 Cultural Budget of City and County Government, FY 1989-2003, Taiwan

(NT\$ 100, 000, 000)

Year	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Amount	59.06	62.74	335.28	103.88	125.42	132.08	146.29
% of total budget of city and county government	2.24	2.07	8.95	2.45	2.58	2.52	1.69
Year	1996	1997	1998	*2000	2001	2002	2003
Amount	163.5	166.48	187.91	145.94	110.91	122.32	113.68
% of total budget of city and county government	1.67	1.57	1.82	1.50	1.64	1.81	1.66

Source: based on the Council for the Cultural Affairs (1998/2004) 'White Book', figure 7-3-5, p. 294/figure 1-14, p. 42.

* The budget of 2000 is a total of 18 months.

7.3 Budget of Council for Cultural Affairs, FY 1995-2004, Taiwan

(NT\$ 100,000,000)

Year	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	*2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Amount	20.47	33.34	33.57	32.24	39.65	74.71	60.15	52.66	71.60	51.88
% of cultural budget	21.73	31.85	25.47	28.03	22.33	24.57	24.73	29.55	30.46	27
% of total budget	0.20	0.29	0.28	0.26	0.30	0.32	0.37	0.33	0.43	0.33

Source: Based on the Council for the Cultural Affairs (2004) 'White Book', Figure 1-11, pp. 41.

* The budget of 2000 is a total of 18 months.

**7.4 Distribution of Cultural Expenditure to the City and County Governments,
1995-1998, Taiwan— Area**

Year		1995	1996	1997	1998	average
Area	Local Government	%	%	%	%	%
North	Taipei City	43.03	34.77	28.92	36.02	35.69
	Taipei County	4.26	3.32	5.09	4.39	4.27
	Keelung City	0.66	0.64	0.67	0.80	0.69
	Yilan County	1.46	1.49	2.18	1.92	1.76
	Taoyuan County	4.50	3.75	4.62	4.01	4.22
	Hsinchu County	0.44	0.87	0.77	1.68	0.94
	Hsinchu City	0.77	0.70	1.03	1.00	0.88
	Subtotal	55.11	45.55	43.28	49.81	48.44
Middle	Miaoli County	0.61	0.40	0.68	0.69	0.60
	Taichung City	7.49	6.50	6.51	6.09	6.65
	Taichung County	2.87	2.89	2.79	2.43	2.75
	Chunghua County	1.66	1.62	1.43	1.85	1.64
	Nantou County	2.09	1.83	2.82	1.92	2.17
	Yunlin County	1.34	1.58	1.14	1.33	1.35
	Subtotal	16.07	14.82	15.37	14.30	15.14
South	Chiayi County	0.34	0.85	0.68	0.65	0.63
	Chiayi City	1.37	0.81	0.60	1.17	0.98
	Tainan County	2.26	7.39	3.77	2.68	4.02
	Tainan City	4.53	4.37	3.63	3.12	3.91
	Kaohsiung City	8.01	5.82	13.90	10.01	9.44
	Kaohsiung County	4.64	5.13	4.65	5.11	4.88
	Pingtung County	8.01	9.92	8.71	3.80	7.61
	Penghu County	0.76	0.72	0.71	0.80	0.75
	Subtotal	26.59	35.00	36.65	27.34	31.39
East	Hualien County	0.79	1.21	0.99	1.04	1.01
	Taitung County	0.47	2.02	0.77	3.75	1.75
	Subtotal	1.26	3.23	1.76	4.79	2.76
Fukien	Kimmen County	0.70	1.12	2.60	2.81	1.81
	Lienjiang County	0.27	0.28	0.34	0.95	0.46
	Subtotal	0.97	1.40	2.94	3.76	2.27
Total		100	100	100	100	100

Source: Based on the Council for the Cultural Affairs (1998) "White Book", Table 7-3-3, pp. 302.

7.5 Cultural Expenditure of the City and County Governments, 2001-2003, Taiwan

— Area

Year		2001	2002	2003	Average
Area	Local Government	% of city and county government budget			
North	Taipei City	2.7	3.3	2.9	3.0
	Taipei County	1.5	1.6	1.1	1.4
	Keelung City	0.9	0.8	1.0	0.9
	Yilan County	1.9	2.7	1.7	2.1
	Taoyuan County	1.3	0.7	0.9	1.0
	Hsinchu County	0.8	2.8	1.4	1.7
	Hsinchu City	2.0	1.6	1.7	1.8
	Average	1.59	1.93	1.53	1.7
Middle	Miaoli County	0.7	0.7	1.5	1.0
	Taichung City	0.8	0.8	2.1	1.2
	Taichung County	1.2	0.9	1.0	1.0
	Chunghua County	1.2	1.1	1.3	1.2
	Nantou County	0.5	2.0	0.7	1.1
	Yunlin County	0.8	0.6	0.9	0.8
	Average	0.87	1.02	1.25	1.05
South	Chiayi County	0.4	0.7	0.6	0.6
	Chiayi City	1.9	3.4	0.7	2.0
	Tainan County	1.5	0.8	0.9	1.1
	Tainan City	6.3	1.6	3.8	3.9
	Kaohsiung City	1.7	1.4	2.2	1.8
	Kaohsiung County	0.6	0.7	0.5	0.6
	Pingtung County	4.2	1.9	1.7	2.6
	Penghu County	1.4	2.2	2.6	2.1
	Average	2.25	1.59	1.63	1.84
East	Hualien County	0.7	1.0	1.1	0.9
	Taitung County	0.5	0.8	1.1	0.8
	Average	0.6	0.9	1.1	0.85
Fukien	Kimmen County	4.7	5.2	2.9	4.3
	Lienjiang County	4.5	2.1	0.3	2.3
	Average	4.6	3.65	1.6	3.3

Source: Based on the Council for the Cultural Affairs (2004) 'White Book', Table 1-2, pp. 44.

**7.6 Numbers and Persons Participate in Artistic-Literary Activities, 1989-2002,
Taiwan**

Year	Number	Total	Fine Arts	Music	Drama	Dance	Folklore	Film	Course	Others
1994	number	15,185	3,739	2,015	1,117	401	469	2,676	3,904	864
	1000 persons	51,832	39,751	1,499	1,225	528	3,254	282	784	4,509
1995	number	18,228	4,071	2,685	1,156	491	773	3,458	4,320	1,274
	1000 persons	51,667	32,917	2,245	1,264	662	6,898	1,555	887	5,240
1996	number	19,844	4,421	2,975	1,107	570	1,008	3,308	4,871	1,584
	1000 persons	76,009	44,615	2,609	1,278	1,212	15,114	523	870	9,790
1997	number	19,963	4,789	3,207	1,542	749	848	2,435	4,584	1,809
	1000 persons	74,081	41,453	2,726	1,620	1,408	15,738	294	817	10,025
1998	number	18,661	4,632	3,157	1,437	664	808	1,812	4,239	1,912
	1000 persons	70,528	37,628	2,585	1,731	948	18,120	247	663	8,965
1999	number	16,350	4,231	2,810	1,255	598	758	1,357	3,547	1,794
	1000 persons	56,653	31,566	2,315	1,677	1,101	10,445	308	555	8,684
2000	number	17,709	4,443	3,739	1,518	861	837	894	3,628	1,789
	1000 persons	71,547	41,197	3,280	1,432	1,284	9,824	176	856	13,498
2001	number	18,375	4,447	3,390	1,635	865	1,038	805	3,861	1,734
	1000 persons	79,624	41,170	3,003	2,586	1,297	14,443	278	595	16,253
2002	number	21,489	4,809	4,702	1,766	850	1,461	1,172	4,742	1,987
	1000 persons	76,543	30,889	4,497	1,907	1,302	22,278	259	629	14,781
2003	number	20,651	4,137	4,032	1,508	721	1,283	1,802	4,814	2,354
	1000 persons	82,455	32,090	5,692	1,572	1,525	26,305	566	542	14,163

Source: Based on Council for Cultural Affairs (2000) "Cultural Statistics of the Republic of China", pp.162 and "White Book" (2004), Table 1-7 and Table 1-8, pp. 50, 51.

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