SOCIAL INCLUSION AND MUSEUMS: UNDERSTANDING 'SELF' AND 'OTHER' IN THE CONTEXT OF JAPANESE SOCIETY AND VISUALLY IMPAIRED PEOPLE

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Abstract

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This thesis explores museums' social role in supporting an inclusive society, the nature of 'difference' and relationships between 'self' and 'other' in the context of Japanese society and disabled people. My research question is: can museums and galleries contribute to the creation of an inclusive society, enhancing the understanding of difference as well as of self and other? In particular, it considers the relationship between disabled people and non-disabled people with a special interest in visually impaired people. My thesis's objectives are to *think* disability *sociologically*, to investigate the mechanism of exclusion and to develop socio-cultural learning in museums as an inclusion practice. The methodology of this thesis is Symbolic Interactionism.

Fieldwork was conducted in Japan examining attitudes towards people with 'difference'. Qualitative fieldwork research was conducted combining two methods: a 'single-designs' case study and a questionnaire given to participants at gallery workshops, in which sighted and visually impaired people viewed artworks together. Collected data was analysed with theories of communication, Symbolic Interactionism and socio-cultural learning.

The preliminary fieldwork was conducted using the method of semi-structured interviews with key people working in art museums and art organisations (including blind people) aiming to increase knowledge about Japanese museums and disabled (visually impaired) users.

Fieldwork results indicated that participants learned 'we are all the same and different', and demonstrated changes to their attitude.

This thesis contributes to the development of a discourse about disability, exclusion/inclusion, museum and 'self' and 'other'. It brings content from Museum Studies, Disability Studies and Sociology together in the museum and disability contexts. The broad aim of my thesis is to contribute to an improvement in social well-being, understanding, and celebration of difference.

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List of Abbreviations

ACA	Agency of Cultural Affairs (Japan)
BCODP	British Council of Organisations of Disabled People
CAO	Cabinet Office, Government of Japan
CEC	Commission of the European Communities
DCMS	Department for Culture, Media and Sport
DDA	Disability Discrimination Act 1985
DfEE	Department for Education and Employment
DPI	Disabled People's International
GEM	Group for Education in Museums
GLLAM	Group for Large Local Authority Museums
GLOs	Generic Learning Outcomes
ICOM	International Council of Museums
IYDP	International Year of Disabled Persons (United Nations)
JAM	Japanese Association of Museums
JMMA	Japan Museum Management Academy
MA	Museum Association
MAGDA	Museums and Galleries Disability Association
MAR	Museum Approach and Releasing (Museum Access Group, MAR) (Japan)
MEXT	Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (Japan)
MGC	Museum and Gallery Commission
MHW	Ministry of Health and Welfare (Japan)
MLA	Museums, Libraries and Archives Council

MLIT	Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism (Japan)
NBFL	New Barrier-Free Law (Japan)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NMWA	National Museum of Western Art (Japan)
NPO	Non-Profit Organisation
PAT10	Policy Action Team 10
RCMG	Research Centre for Museums and Galleries
RNIB	Royal National Institute for the Blind
SEU	Social Exclusion Unit
SMC	Scottish Museums Council
SOLON	SOLON Consultants
TMAM	Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum
UN	United Nations
UPIAS	Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation
VIEW	Museum Access View
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association (Nagoya)

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Chapter One

Introduction

This thesis demonstrates the importance of the social role of museums and galleries, of promoting the understanding of self, other and disability in the Japanese context. This introductory chapter sets out the key components of my PhD thesis, which comprise: background, nature and brief of methodology, points of focus, aim, research question, definitions, motivation, and thesis structure.

1.1 Background

In recent years, the purpose of museums has been studied as a research topic in western countries, including England, examining which audiences museums are intended for and what their role should be (Macdonald, 1996; Vergo, 1989; Bennett, 1995). Attention has been paid to the social role of museums since they have been open to the public; this role has changed according to society and its requirements (Hein, 1998: 3-4; Hooper-Greenhill, 1992: 133-166; Boylan, 1988: 102; Kaplan, 1995: 41). The society in which we now live is multicultural, global and post-modern due to multi-media communications, progress of transportation, relaxed boundaries between countries and population mobility (Pieterse, 1997; Lyon, 1994; Bauman, 1989; Prösler, 1996). Identifying 'self' as well as 'other' and more importantly how to cope with 'self' and

'other' has become more problematic and difficult as both have become more diverse (Katriel, 1997).

Social inclusion, in other words combating social exclusion or the realisation of a socially inclusive society, is one of the newest additions to the social role of the museum world, and English museums and galleries have paid attention to this goal since the Labour government was elected in 1997 (SEU, 1998; DCMS, 1999a; DCMS, 1999b; DCMS, 2001; Resource, 2001a: 7-8,12). It is not surprising that Japanese museums, and those in other countries, encounter similar pressures by virtue of the fact that they exist in a multicultural world where the negotiation of 'self' and 'other' is necessary. Furthermore, Japanese society faces a turning point because of the current economic crisis. During the recession, the public began to doubt the need for museums and galleries, believing that art and museums were only for the rich (refer to Ōshima, 1995; Iwabuchi, 2003). However, if Japanese museums can learn from the UK's experience, enhancing their social roles, they have a greater chance of surviving. Taking inspiration from the English museum community's support for social inclusion, this thesis will examine attitudes towards disability and people with 'difference' and investigate possible methods of inclusion in pursuing museums' social role.

In recent times, British museums have begun considering disability issues seriously, in particular improving physical access to buildings and exhibits due to the 1995 Disability Discrimination Act (DDA). This effort from museums has begun to extend beyond physical access to other factors, such as intellectual access, staff awareness of disability, rediscovery of disability culture and history from their collections, hosting exhibitions relating to disabled people or culture and development of politically aware approaches using the social model of disability to museum

interpretation (RCMG, 2004; Delin, 2002; MGC, 1993; 1997a; 1997b; 1999; Dodd and Sandell, 2001; RCMG, 2008).

In the Japanese museum world, museums' responsibility towards disabled users is normally considered as physical access. 'Barrier-free' and 'universal design' (which will be fully discussed in Chapter 3) are concepts and practices that museums are keenly developing (JAM, 2005; Able Art Japan, 1998; Kanagawa Prefectural Museum of Natural History, 1999). However, my literature surveys suggest that there are not enough activities within both English and Japanese museums that bring disabled and non-disabled people together (refer to Chapter 2).

1.2 Nature and brief of methodology

My study examines museums' social role in promoting an inclusive society, but more particularly, people's understanding of 'difference'. When there is exclusion in society, it is useful to think sociologically what is 'self' and 'other', as well as how 'difference' and 'similarity' contribute to this relationship. The self may both affect certain groups (and so society) and be affected by these groups through social interaction (O'Donnell, 1997: 2). According to Bauman and May (2001: 5), 'thinking sociologically is a way of understanding the human world that also opens up the possibility for thinking about the same world in different ways'. 'To think sociologically can render us more sensitive and tolerant of diversity' (Bauman and May, 2001: 11). My thesis adopts this idea and propounds the opinion that the understanding of difference sociologically is one of the most important methods of creating inclusion. (A full rationalisation will be explained in Chapter 4).

This thesis uses Symbolic Interactionism (refer to 5.2 and Mead, 1934) as a principal methodology to link my main themes of self and other, inclusion and exclusion, museums and galleries, disability, learning in museums, as well as to analyse my fieldwork results.

> Interactionism as an ethic urges people to engage differences in ways that explore possibilities for productive and positive learning from each other. People can lean *about* others and *from* others, thereby not only learning about them and themselves but also opening up new possibilities for themselves and others in the processes of engagement (Fay, 1960: 234-5).

The methods of my fieldwork are qualitative research (refer to 7.3.1 for the details). My main fieldwork research uses a method of case study research and questionnaire. There are two forms of case study research: one is the 'single-case designs' and the other is the 'multiple-case designs' also called 'comparative or multiple-case designs' (Yin, 1994: 38-53), but my thesis takes the first form of case study design. The questionnaires were given to participants at gallery workshops in which sighted and visually impaired people viewed artworks together. The preliminary fieldwork involves semi-structured interviews with key persons in Japanese museums and voluntary art organisations, which was performed in order to obtain additional information missing from literature. My fieldwork researches museum visitors' socio-cultural learning in the museum environment, as this face-to-face learning with 'other' has a potential to reduce the prejudice or misunderstanding inherent in the narrative method of exhibitions of 'other' (refer to Evans, 1998 for the danger of representation creating prejudice toward 'other' or disabled people).

1.3 Points of focus

One of my main focuses is disability. My thesis looks at museum education programmes for enhancing relationships between people with differences, especially the relationship between disabled and non-disabled people. The reason why the disability issue has been chosen is because discrimination towards disabled people can be seen as a key aspect of exclusion (Resource, 2001a; Sugiyama, 1993; Thomas and Corker, 2002; Hall, 1997; Albrecht et al., 2001). Moreover, as Evans (1998: 383) states, cultural representation and consideration of disabled people 'touches upon our very sense of 'self': who we think we are and what others define us as being, and the relationships between the two'.

The museum world can benefit from a reconsideration of disability issues. It is common that 'access issues' and 'social inclusion' are treated as separate issues in different departments within large museums. When museums consider the needs of disabled people, the department which deals with them is usually concerned with physical access. However, disability should not be discussed or addressed only as an access issue. Ladd (2003: 15) claims that social model legislation is suitable for needs arising out of individual impairment, but it is not specific to disability communities, nor does it address their own deeper needs.[1] Understanding disability culture as well as the mechanism of exclusion towards disabled people would enhance museum practice towards disabled users.

Disability as a subject of my thesis is, however, still too wide-ranging a study so my case study narrows the focus to visually impaired people and their experience in galleries. This combination can be seen as one of the most challenging. It was believed

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[1] Although Ladd (2003) mentions it referring to Deaf community.

that a lack of vision could a critical barrier to understanding art (Hetherington, 2002: 187,196; Bourdieu and Darbel, 1969). Furthermore, the need for tactile experience from visually impaired visitors and the interests of conservation often appear to conflict (Hetherington, 2000). Although focusing on visually impaired museum visitors, my research will provide a broader insight into issues facing all disabled people.

Another point of focus is Japan, which was chosen for the location of my fieldwork research. One of the reasons is that the particular workshops used for the case study became the motivation for this thesis. The other reason is that as Japan is my country of origin, it was my intention to make a contribution to the Japanese museum world. I was fascinated by the social inclusion practice of English museums, which has the potential to be a useful example for Japanese museums. It is important to note that my thesis did not intend to make a comparative study of English and Japanese museums. As my study progressed, however, it became clear that there is insufficient research on exclusion towards disabled people even in the English museum world. Therefore, although my thesis uses a Japanese case study, it also aims to develop the discourse around disability, exclusion/inclusion, museum and 'self' and 'other' outside Japan.

1.4 Aims and research question of this thesis

The research question for my thesis is:

Can museums and galleries contribute to the creation of an inclusive society, enhancing the understanding of difference as well as self and other?

Viewed from the perspective of my research problem: Social inclusion and museums: understanding 'self' and 'other' in the context of Japanese society and visually impaired people.

The aim of my thesis is to explore museums' social role in creating an inclusive society and ultimately to promote celebration of 'difference', enhancing relationships between 'self' and 'other' in the contexts of Japanese society and disability. In particular, it targets the relationship between disabled people and non-disabled people with a special interest in visually impaired people. My thesis's objectives are to *think* disability *sociologically*, to investigate the mechanism of exclusion and to develop socio-cultural learning in museums as an inclusion practice. It will bring content from Museum Studies, Disability Studies and Sociology together in the museum and disability contexts. My aspiration is firstly the development of a discourse about disability, exclusion/inclusion, museum and 'self' and 'other' in the museum world (Japanese, English and others). And secondly, it broadly aims to contribute to an improvement in social well-being, understanding, and celebration of difference. The issue of 'difference' and 'self' and 'other' is indeed my lifetime research question. The wider contribution of this research is not only to museum professionals but also to those who (including myself) struggle to find 'self' and understand the relationship with 'other'.

My primary fieldwork was set up to obtain new information about socio-cultural learning missing from existing literature; to demonstrate social inclusion practice in Japanese museums having the potential to make people's attitudes change towards the Other or people with 'difference'; and to support my hypothesis and contribute answers to my research question.

It may be impossible to provide a perfect answer to the research question raised above, because this question is challenging in depth and multidimensional, and time and resources have restricted the scope of my research. However, my thesis attempts to provide the preliminary answers to it.

1.5 Definitions and the sociological aspects of the main themes

My thesis involves five main themes: 'social exclusion/inclusion', 'disability', 'self and other', 'museum and gallery' and 'learning', which intertwine with each other to answer my research question. My thesis considers these five themes sociologically. This section will define those terms, identify sociological aspects and establish my standpoints.

1.5.1   Definition of 'social exclusion'/'social inclusion' and its sociological aspect

Social exclusion

Recently the study of 'social exclusion' has shifted away from the study of financial 'poverty'. As recently as the 1970s, the poor were regarded as the socially excluded in France (Dodd and Sandell, 2001: 8; Byrne, 1999, 1). The discussion about the poor was replaced by the 'the underclass' (a concept imported from the USA) (Byrne, 1999, 1). The understanding of social exclusion has become more sophisticated, recognising other factors determining social exclusion than merely poverty alone. For example, Townsend (1979: 32 cited in Levitas, 1998: 9) defines 'poverty' as an objective condition of relative deprivation and Levitas (1998: 9) summaries his idea as follows:

'The crucial issue was whether people had sufficient resources to participate in the customary life of society and to fulfil what was expected of them as members of it'.

Poverty is, therefore, a lack of access to standard conditions of life and to membership of society (Townsend, 1993: 63 cited in Gore, 1995: 6). Commission of the European Communities (CEC) (1993: 20,21) states that social exclusion does not only mean insufficient income. It even goes beyond participation in working life. Yépez (1994: 15 cited by Gore, 1995: 6) views 'poverty' as not the origin or cause of social exclusion but rather as a secondary symptom. She points out that the innovation of social inclusion/exclusion study is the emphasis of the relationship between processes, between micro and macro mechanisms, between individual and collective dimensions of poverty. As Gore (1995: 6) says poverty should be seen as 'multi-dimensional rather than in terms of income and expenditure'.

Accordingly, the definition or description of 'the excluded' (people who are excluded from society) has changed. For example, in 1974, René Lenoir, *Secretaire d'Etat à l'Action Sociale* in French government, defined the excluded as social 'misfits' (Silver, 1995: 63 quoted by Gore, 1995: 1). In 1993, however, the CEC (1993: 20,21) defined the excluded as individuals who have suffered serious setbacks as well as social groupings. It appears that in recent times the excluded became identified as 'the sufferer' not as 'misfits'. More recently, in the definition of the Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) (2001: 10) in England, which was set up in December 1997 under the Cabinet Office, the inter-related nature of the symptoms and causes of social exclusion was emphasised: 'A shorthand term for what can happen when people or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime, bad health and family breakdown'. However, even in this report, the term 'social exclusion' was not defined clearly. On the other hand, Gore (1995: 32)

stated that the 'socially excluded' have features of 'difference' from others: 'often, the groups most vulnerable to exclusion are simply those which are most readily identified as different, which are most readily exploited, or which have a particular initial disadvantage which is multiplied through a social process'. This demonstrates that it is possible to extend the sphere of 'the excluded' to all those who are in some way different from the mainstream, or those who do not hold power. This is a more persuasive argument for the cause of social exclusion, and I will acknowledge it for my thesis.

Social inclusion

Finding a clear definition of 'social inclusion' in the existing literature was also difficult. Even the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA) can only say 'the term social inclusion is closely linked to the concept of social exclusion, defined by a government' (MLA, 2007). Let us analyse the words 'social inclusion' linguistically; firstly, the term 'social' and secondly the term 'inclusion'. According to the Oxford Dictionary, 'social' means 'of or relating to society or its organisation; concerned with the mutual relations of human beings or of classes of human beings; living organised communities'. The word *socially* comes from Latin *socialis* 'allied', from *socius* meaning 'friend'' (Thompson, 1995: 1319). Thus, societies are based upon the friendly interaction between human beings. Because of this, the study of citizenship, equality, racism and human rights can be applied to social inclusion studies.

The other component term of 'social inclusion' is 'inclusion'. 'Inclusion' is 'the action of including somebody/something or of being included' (Crowther ed., 1995: 602) and 'include' means 'to have somebody/something as part of a whole; to make

somebody/something part of a larger group or set' (Crowther ed., 1995: 601). Hence, 'include' does not merely describe a situation but implies an action. There are always people who include, and others who are included. The words imply the power relationship between 'the included' (the majority or power holders), and 'the excluded' (the minority or those holding no power). The act of inclusion, therefore, requires an empowerment of powerless people. Consequently, the term 'social inclusion' is sometimes used alongside other terms such as social cohesion or integration (Levitas, 1998). The focus on social inclusion can vary due to multiple mechanisms; they can be critical social policy, paid work and the labour market, the moral and behavioural delinquency of the excluded themselves or cultural (Levitas, 1998: 2, 7). Citizenship is one of the most important concepts enhancing social inclusion. Roche and Berkel eds. (1997) claim that 'citizenship' and 'human rights' have been more accentuated than 'poverty'. They defined broad 'social inclusion' as: 'social inclusion can also be understood in broader and multi-dimensional terms to refer to all forms of discrimination and barriers to social inclusion, including importantly the political, civil, and cultural exclusion of racism and ethnic discrimination' (Roche and Berkel eds., 1997: 4). Levitas (1998), believing that exclusion is caused by the breakdown of the structural, cultural and moral ties that bind the individual to society, recommends the creation of family solidarity. Individuals have to take responsibility for supporting certain moral codes and to understand differences, regarding the concept of citizenship, human rights, anti-racism and equality (Levitas, 1998: 21).

In Japan, the terms 'social inclusion' or 'social exclusion' did not appear in the policies of the Cabinet Office, Government of Japan (CAO), when my research started. However, more recently, the CAO established new policies named Policies on Cohesive

Society, related to a wide range of important issues on a future society, particularly issues of people's lifestyle and safety (CAO, Anon a). Because of the similarity to the descriptions of social exclusion reported by English government (SEU, 2001), it can be seen as the equivalent Japanese policy to 'social inclusion'.

Disabled people are the subject of the Policies on Cohesive Society of the CAO (CAO, ANON Aa). Similarly, in the UK, disability and mental health problems were identified by the SEU (2001: 11) as the key risk factors for people disproportionately likely to suffer social exclusion.

My definition of 'social exclusion' and 'social inclusion'

Considering the above discussion, my working definition of the cultural aspect of 'social exclusion' is as follows: *social exclusion is something that can happen to anyone but is more likely to happen to those who are exploited due to their differences from the majority.* And following my study of sociological study (refer to Chapter 4 and 5) the cultural aspect of 'social inclusion' I define as: *social inclusion is getting rid of the discrimination or barriers to those who have 'difference'. It is the human actions of understanding 'other', celebrating 'difference', considering morality and taking responsibility.* As demonstrated, there are a number of different understandings of 'social exclusion' and 'social inclusion'; however, my research concentrates only upon the barriers to those who have 'difference'.

1.5.2   Definition of 'disability' and its sociological interpretation

The English term 'disability' is formed by a combination of 'dis' and 'ability'. The Oxford concise dictionary defines the term 'dis' as 'indicating removal of a thing or quality' (Thompson ed., 1995: 383). Moreover, the social and political dimensions of disablement have intensified considerably in recent times (Barnes et al., 2000: 1). The appearance of the idea of a 'social model of disability' is one of the significant examples. The Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation (UPIAS), the British Council of Organisations of Disabled People (BCODP) as well as disabled activists and writers contribute to the development of this body of knowledge and practice. The Fundamental Principles document produced in 1976 at a meeting between the UPIAS and the Disability Alliance defined 'impairment' and 'disability' as follows:

> Thus we define impairment as lacking part of or all of a limb, or having a defective limb, organ or mechanism of the body; and disability as the disadvantage or restriction of activity caused by a contemporary social organisation which takes no or little account of people who have physical impairments and thus excludes from participation in the mainstream of social activities. Physical disability is therefore a particular form of social oppression (Cited by Oliver, 1996: 22).

Oliver (1996: 32) developed it and defined the 'individual model of disability' or sometimes called the 'medical model of disability' (Resource, 2001b; Picton, 2003) based on the above document as follows: 'firstly, it locates the "problem" of disability within the individual and secondly it sees the causes of this problem as stemming from the functional limitations or psychological losses which are assumed to arise from disability' (Oliver, 1996: 32).

As to the 'social model of disability', he stated:

> It does not deny the problem of disability but locates it squarely within society. It is not individual limitations, of whatever kind, which are the cause of the problem but society's failure to provide appropriate services and adequately ensure the needs of disabled people are fully taken into account in its social organisation (Oliver, 1996: 32).

Therefore, instead of traditional approaches to disability which concentrate on individual limitations as the principal cause of the multiple difficulties experienced by disabled people, this 'disabled theory' argues that people with accredited (or perceived) impairments are disabled by society's blatant failure to accommodate their needs (Barnes et al., 2000). The British museum world adopts this idea of the social model of disability; for example, the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA) promote the social model in their guidance (Resource, 2001b: 13).

On the other hand, there has been criticism of this approach because it may overlook the individual's real life experience of impairment and reduce recognition of their physical differences (Marks, 1999, Harrison, 1993, Thomas and Corker, 2002: 20). However, as Barnes et al. (2000: 2) point out the 'social model' has been modified so it does not deny the significance of impairment in people's lives but concentrates on those social barriers which are constructed 'on top of' impairment (see, also Oliver, 1996). This is the viewpoint that I take for my thesis, since it appreciates both physical differences and social disablement, which I consider significant factors affecting the quality of life of disabled people.

Along with this mature model of social disability, a sociology of disability has been developed which explores the insights and issues raised by academics such as disability scholars, teachers, researchers and students. Originating from perspectives as different as that of the medical sociologist (with disability approached pre-eminently

from an 'illness' perspective) to that of the disability theorist (understanding the politicisation of disabled people), the concerns of medical sociologists and disability theorists in some respect overlap and are not mutually exclusive (Albrecht et al., 2001).

Furthermore, the analysis of disability raises theoretical, methodological and empirical issues of wider relevance for mainstream sociology; for example, it includes identity and difference (Barnes et al., 2000: 3-5, 68, Williams, 2001: 124, Albrecht et al., 2001: 3). Some argue that people with disabilities are not a homogenous group existing in nature; nevertheless, they are classified and constructed as a social group through the very process of identifying disability as a 'social problem' (Evans 1998: 385). Some recognise that people with disability prefer to be seen themselves as a social group such as Deaf people (refer to Kalisher, 1998; Ladd, 2003). Identifying themselves as a social group enables the exploration of their own languages and culture as well as to negotiate for their rights to be included in society.

It is necessary to clarify my standpoint regarding disability. This thesis treats disability as a social grouping; however, it does not identify these people as a 'social problem' but as those who share some experiences due to attitudes from non-disabled people in society.

Change and usage of terminology

Following from the change of society's perspective of disability, the terminology related to people who have disabilities has shifted. For example, terms such as 'spastics' and 'crippled' lost their original meanings and became terms of abuse (Resource, 2001b: 30). In Japan, the terminology has also changed and terms metaphorically relating socially unacceptable behaviour to disability such as *mekura*

(blind)*, tsunbo* (deaf)[2], *oshi* (deaf-mute), *fugu* (cripple), *hakuchi* (idiot) also have become recognised as terms of abuse and are being replaced by acceptable alternatives or are no longer used (Gottlieb, 2001).

The term *'shōgaisha'* (disabled person(s)) has become the official term in Japanese governmental documents including laws, replacing abusive terms, since 1981, the United Nations International Year of Disabled Persons (IYDP), when the terminology issue was taken up at national government level. The term *'shōgaisha'*, however, has been criticised by Japanese advocates of the social model as it literally means 'person(s) with hindrance or handicapped' (Gottlieb, 2001). Some use the *shōgaisha* without using Chinese characters of *gai* (harm, injury, damage, obstruction) to reduce the discriminatory implications and avoid this ideographic representation (Valentine, 2002: 222). However, *shōgaisha* with Chinese characters is currently still the official dictionary term for disabled person(s)/person(s) with disabilities and used by many including social modelists. Therefore, this thesis follows this usage of terminology without any discriminatory implications. Similarly, in the Western world, terms which depersonalise and objectify the disabled people such as 'the impaired', 'the disabled' and 'the blind' are considered as unacceptable (Barnes etal, 1999: 6).

In the United States, one group prefers to use the term 'people with disability', because it emphasises the importance of the individual in society, and disability as being something not inherent in the person. Another group prefers the term 'disabled people', because it emphases minority group identity politics. In England, the choice is the term 'disabled people', because it signifies in some instances the importance of community, group identity and discriminatory experiences in the social environment (Albrecht et al., 2001: 3).

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[2] Although the English term 'deaf' does not always conveys a negative meaning, the Japanese term contains an oppressive meaning; whilst another term *rō*, which can also translate as 'deaf', is widely accepted with its cultural status (refer to Mori, 1999; Kanazawa, 1999).

The term 'people with disability' was avoided in England because it implies that the impairment defines the identity of the individual, blurs the crucial conceptual distinction between impairment and disability and avoids the question of causality (Barnes et.al., 1999: 7). However, as the English museum world accepts both terms (Resource, 2001b), this thesis also accepts the latter term without any negative meanings attached.

The term 'visually impaired' refers to people who are blind or partially sighted. The number of visually impaired people in 2001 was reported as being over three million in Japan and nearly two million in the UK. In my thesis, when the term 'visually impaired' is used, it does not include people who use spectacles to restore their vision, as those cannot be registered as visually impaired (Resource, 2001b: 33-34; Able Art Japan, 2005: 15).

Finally, the term 'non-disabled people' is recognised as more accurate than 'able-bodied' to describe people who currently do not have impairments. Resource (2001b: 29) explains that able-bodied is an inaccurate stereotype that segregates and casts disabled people into a negative role.

1.5.3   Definition of 'self' and ' other' and its sociological aspect

The issue of 'self' and 'other' is one where many philosophers and sociologists have tried to ascertain what they are and what the relationship is between them. Fay (1996) investigates in particular 'self' and its relationship to others, looking at cultural differences. He superbly summarises the several viewpoints of social science which also offer ways of interpreting 'self' and 'other' as illustrated in "Fay's Models of 'self'

and 'other'" in Figure 1. 'Self' and 'other' along with their relationship are defined

differently according to the standpoints of the disciplines.

For example, Figure 1-A is the model of atomism[3], reinforced by solipsism[4];

here, the relationship between 'self' and 'other' is one of radical distinction. Figure 1-B

describes enriched atomism, adding holism[5] and relativism[6,7], which explains why

'self' and 'other' should be conceived as separate: since both 'self' and the world in

which it lives are a function of the cultural paradigm and society which shapes them,

each self-world must be distinct. Figure 1-C is the model concerning the problems of

solipsism, atomism, holism and relativism. Figure 1-C depicts the model which binds

the identity of 'self' with its relationships to 'other' and shares certain fundamental

capacities and dispositions. Nevertheless, Fay (1996: 229) states that even Figure 1-C is

misleading, saying:

> Understanding others (especially via the critically intersubjective procedures of social science) is deeply interrelated with understanding ourselves. Changes in our understanding of others lead to changes in our self-understanding, and changes in our self-understanding lead to changes in our understanding of others. [...] Figure 11.3 [Figure 1-C in this thesis] is too static; it fails to capture the dynamic quality of the relation of self-understanding and other-understanding and thus of self and other, and consequently the processural, animated nature of personal identity.

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[3] 'The thesis that the basic units of social life are self-contained, essentially independent, separated entities [...] According to atomism each of us experiences our own unique states of consciousness to which we have privileged access' (Fay, 1996: 30).

[4] '(Literally 'one-self-ism'). Solipsism is the theory that one can be aware of nothing but one's own experience, states, and acts.' One can be defined narrowly and broadly. 'You have to be one to know one' can be understood as only you can know yourself or only those of a certain group can understand members of this group (Fay, 1996: 9).

[5] 'The doctrine that properties of individuals are solely a function of their place in society or some broad system of meaning; specifically, it is the doctrine that people's identities are determined by their group membership because identity is produced by social and cultural focuses' (Fay, 1996: 50).

[6] 'A theory is said to be relativistic when it cannot provide criteria of truth which are independent and outside of itself; beliefs, theories or values are claimed to be relative to the age or society that produced them and not valid outside those circumstances. Relativism denies the existence of universal criteria of truth and falsity' (Abercrombie and Turner, 1984: 296).

[7] 'They overstate difference and understate what is shared and similar; they overstate power of the group and understate the power of agency; and they overlook possibilities of interaction' (Fay, 1996: 228).

The alternative model which demonstrates the system of Interactionism is represented in figure 1-D. According to Fay, this model attempts to portray the essentially dialogical and dynamic character of 'self' and 'other' through time in which the interaction between selves and others shapes the ongoing processes which form their identity. My study regards this Symbolic Interactionism as knowledge or evidence of things in the social world (Mason, 2002: 16), and my definitions of 'self' and 'other' along with their relationship are, therefore, defined as follows: 'there is no *self*-understanding if no *other* understanding. Only through interaction with others do I learn what is distinctive and characteristic about myself' (Fay, 1996: 229). In this thesis, the term 'others' or 'other' is used for unthreatening opposition to 'self', while the term 'the Other' is used for describing fearful strangers who easily become targets of exclusion. (For more details, refer to Chapter 4.)

Fay's Models of 'self' and 'other'

The atomism reinforced by solipsism

(Figure 1-A)   (Self)   (Other)

The atomism enriched by adding holism and relativism

Cultural   ⎰ Self   ⎱Other   Cultural
Paradigm #1   ⎱ world #1   ⎰world #2   paradigm #2
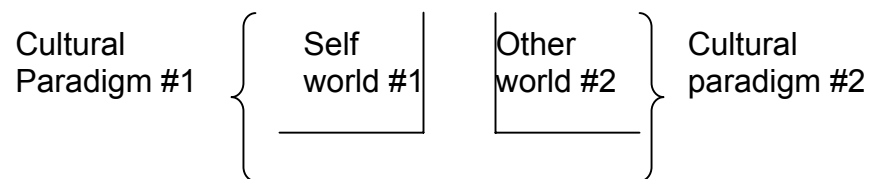
(Figure 1-B)

After concerning the problems of solipsism, atomism, holism and relativism

Self ◄──────► Other

world

(Figure 1-C)

Interactionism

self ◄──► other
self   other
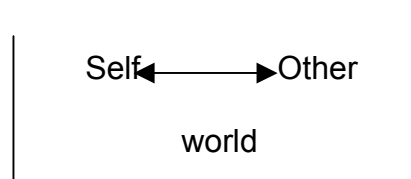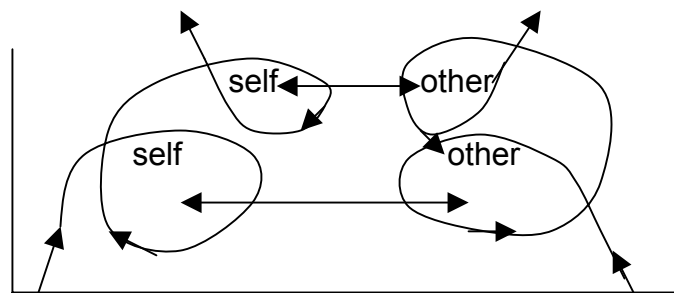
(Figure 1-D)

Figure 1 (after Fay, 1996: 228, 229,232)

20

1.5.4   Definition and sociological discussion of 'museum' and 'gallery'

English museum context

Nowadays, museums function not only as repositories but also as educational centres or leisure-oriented visitor centres for the public. Museums are places where people can gain many experiences, not only as visitors but also as users in many ways including information and communication technology, libraries, information enquiry, outreach programmes and so forth. The UK Museum Association (MA, 1999: Anon) established a new museum definition as follows: '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'. In the late 20th century, museums became more human-centred. Learning models were developed and the importance of the social context of museum visits was stressed (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992: 4-5). The relationship between museums and the public was enhanced (ICOM, 1986) and museums began to actively involve communities in their policies enhancing the mutual contributions between them, in other words, community involvement (Bellow, 1986). The enhancement of cultural diversity, audience development, and development of accessibility became new roles for museums (Hooper-Greenhill ed., 1997; Hooper-Greenhill, 1994a; Resource, 2001b).

During the late 1980s and early 1990s, improvements in visitor studies contributed to the realisation that the majority of museum visitors were educated, of a higher social class, and were white (Hooper-Greenhill, 1995: 3). This result made museum workers aware of the needs of culturally diverse audiences and enabled them

to work with ethnic groups' feelings of exclusion from museums in mind (Hooper-Greenhill, 1997: 2-3).

The concept and practice of social inclusion has attracted considerable attention from the museum world in England and Europe (DCMS, 1999a; DCMS, 2000; GLLAM, 2000; DCMS, 2001). In Japan, museums have developed within a different social context and uptake of social inclusion practice differs.

Japanese museum context

The Japanese term for 'museum' is *'hakubutsukan'*. The word *hakubutsu* comes from Ancient Chinese; the meaning is 'knowing things broadly' (Shina, 1990: 36), and the word *kan* means a building. Although the term 'museum' (*hakubutsukan*) had not been used until the *Meiji* period [1868-1912], foundations similar to museums already existed beforehand. Some consider the origin of museums as being the *Shoso-In* treasure house established in circa 756 at Nara (Boylan, 1988: 101). However, others claim that, the most important function was missing from *Shoso-In*, which is 'exhibiting' or 'showing' collections, because these treasures were closed to the public by imperial edict (Kato, 1990: 39). The term *'hakubutsukan'* was used in the central government's foundation for the first time in Japan in 1872 when the *Seido Taiseiden* at Yushima in Tokyo was renamed as *Monbushō Hakubutsukan* (The Museum of the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture), which later was transformed into the *Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan* (the Tokyo National Museum). It could be seen as the first 'modern' national museum in Japan. Then, in 1875, the Tokyo Museum was founded (which was renamed the Education Museum in 1877, and then became the National Science Museum) (Kato, 1990: 40).

Museums are usually named according to their exhibits. Institutions that exhibit visual art are often named 'galleries' in Western countries. Crowther (ed. 1995: 485) defines 'gallery' as 'a room or building for showing works of art'. They can be both commercial and non-commercial. The Japanese term '*bijutsukan*' is normally translated into the English term 'art museum' or 'museum of art'. However, the term 'gallery' is not often used for non-commercial art galleries in Japan in order to distinguish them from commercial galleries. To avoid potential confusion caused by the different usage within Japanese and English, this paper uses the term 'gallery' to refer only to non-commercial art galleries. The term 'art museum' is also used if that is included in the name of the institution or used in Japan.

When the notion of 'museum' and 'gallery' and their management are discussed in a Museum Studies context, it is sometimes not easy to separate them. Both museums and galleries often share similar educational and social roles. Consequently, when the term 'museum' and 'gallery' are repeatedly used for institutions with similar purposes, only the term 'museum' will be used in this thesis.

The term 'museum' can also incorporate other institutions in Japan. Japanese museum registration includes zoos, botanical gardens and aquariums. These institutions share some characteristics of museums such as documentation, classification and categorisation. They also deal with similar issues of management and visitor care within their educational and social roles. However, there are significant differences in that their exhibits are living creatures and require different types of management skills and attitudes towards exhibits. Consequently, the term 'museum' in this thesis does not include zoos, botanical gardens and aquariums, unless specifically stated.

In recent years, Japanese museums have also become more human-centred, looking at their society (refer to 3.2 in this thesis; Kobayashi, 2006, Fujisawa, 2006).

The development of accessibility is one of their major concerns and they created the concepts of 'barrier-free' and 'universal museum' (Kanagawa Prefectural Museum of Natural History, 1999; JAM, 2005; Okuno, 1998a; 1998b). My thesis will explore these concepts sociologically in relation to disability (refer to Chapter 2, 3, 4 and 8).

1.5.5 Definition of 'learning' and its Museum Studies context from a sociological perspective

Learning and knowledge (knowing)

Despite its popular usage in the museum world, the term 'learning' cannot be easily defined; 'Learning is a much-used and much-abused term, meaning very different things to different people' (Falk and Dierking, 1992: xv). Therefore, it would be helpful to define the term 'learning' and related other terms at the outset.

'Knowledge' is 'in the broadest sense, to include anything that a person 'knows', factual or otherwise, correct or incorrect, and beliefs and attitudes as well as straightforward information' (Howe, 1984: 4). 'Learning' is 'powerfully affected by what the learner already knows. An individual's existing knowledge, acquired through past experience, makes it possible for that person to understand new information and new events' (Howe, 1984: 4). Learning also depends on the mental activities of learners. An individual's cognitive learning process is various, for example *discovery learning* (whereby the teacher attempts to provide learning environments in which the student can *discover* new knowledge) and *reception learning* (in which the teacher presents the information to the student, who simply *receives* it). The main direct influence on learning is a person's existing knowledge and the same individual's mental activities.

Both of those two factors are interrelated and necessary for the *cognitive skills for learning* such as thinking and remembering (Howe, 1984: 5).

Moreover, learning relates not only to cognisance but also to other factors: 'In trying to explain learning, therefore, the task is to understand not one thing but a very broad category of things, containing a large range of differing kinds of events' (Howe, 1984: 8). Other factors, for example, indirect influence, such as motivation and the environment including family background and social class, are also important factors having an effect on learning as well as the ability to learn (Howe, 1984: 3-6). Many researchers attempt to understand learning, shedding light on the different aspects of those changes using different types of methodology. As a result, the diversity of the term 'learning' remains. Therefore, some argue that *cognitive learning* and *socio-cultural learning* are different types of learning. However, although the methodology may be developed differently, both are the process of learning. Howe (1984: 9-10) even believes that 'remembering' and 'learning' are interchangeable:

> Psychologists have often tried to make a distinction between learning and remembering, along the line that learning primarily involves acquisition, whereas remembering is largely a matter of retention. In fact, however, tasks of learning and tasks of remembering each depend upon a number of mutually overlapping process, and in many school instruction contexts the two terms are interchangeable.

Howe (1984: 9) sets out the outcome from learning thus: 'it is certainly true to say that all forms of learning share one important attribute: they all involve some kind of alteration or change in the learner'. Therefore, the 'change in the learner' could be key to examining 'learning', and my thesis will examine this using a case study. My thesis does not hesitate to examine people's cognitive process of learning as well as socio-

cultural learning. Both involve the acquisition of knowledge and contribute to an understanding of attitudinal changes in museum users.

Interpersonal and intra-personal intelligence

The term 'intelligence' can be defined as 'the ability to classify information to discover rules and principles from specific instances, and to see patterns in problem solving' (Solso, 1988: 445-6 quoted by Wagner, 1997: 52). After the dissatisfaction of understanding intelligence by measuring only verbal and logical-mathematical ability in the 1960s and 1970s, 'multiple intelligence theory' was suggested (Hooper-Greenhill (1994a: 148). Gardner (1990) lists seven intelligences: linguistic, logical-mathematical, spatial, musical, bodily-kinaesthetic, *interpersonal and intra personal intelligences*. These seven intelligences are cognitive processes, ways of perceiving, interpreting, and organising phenomena and each of which describes a unique cognitive style for understanding the world. Hooper-Greenhill (1994a: 148-152 referring to Gardner, 1983; 1990) applies this multiple or multi-faceted intelligence, to the museum world. My thesis is particularly interested in *interpersonal* and *intra-personal intelligence*, which relate to social ability rather than other personal abilities such as logical mathematical intelligence. According to Hooper-Greenhill (1994a: 151), Interpersonal intelligence is:

> The ability to understand other people and to work co-operatively within them. […] It can be developed by carrying out activities in small groups, exploring how other people think, work and feel. […] Part of the interpersonal intelligence is the ability to understand that other people are not like oneself, but that their way of being is just as valid, but different.

And Intra-personal intelligence is: 'the ability to form an accurate model of oneself and to be able to use that model to operate effectively in life. […] Knowing about how other

people operate, in order to work with and understand them, requires the development of a self-view'. Hooper-Greenhill (1994a) asserts that intra-personal intelligence is especially difficult to link with the inside-museum experience. My thesis attempts this difficult task.

It is important to clarify that my thesis does not treat behaviourism as a core discipline and does not have a high regard for the 'learning-by-being-taught' route or the notion of 'universal truth' since these methods suppress individual thought. However, it does not totally agree with the idea that behaviourism is old-fashioned and no longer valid. To quote Hooper-Greenhill (2004: 157), 'we are naturally problem-solvers throughout life'. We still learn from some useful methods such as learning processes based on familiarity, 'knowledge' and 'intelligence', which were introduced above, as long as we use them with current usage of terms and socio-cultural learning through social interactions. (Socio-cultural learning will be fully discussed in Chapter 5.)

Clearly, face-to face interaction has a significant bearing upon interpersonal intelligence, but it may also be requisite for intra-personal intelligence. For face-to-face interaction, encountering unfamiliarity is an important starting point. People may need to create a completely new knowledge rather than merely applying an old knowledge. Familiarising oneself with unknown people maybe the only method to overcome this limitation of pre-knowledge. Also, ability-type experience cannot be separated from my thesis, because intelligence involves also social ability such as interpersonal and intra-personal intelligence.

Recent shift of museum education to new visions of learning in museums

The notion of museum education has changed in recent decades (Hein, 1998: 6) and the term 'learning' became more appropriate than 'education'. Moreover, 'learning in museums' ('museum learning')[8] has two different viewpoints: one is a traditional point of view theorised by museum professionals; the other is the new point of view developed by educationalists. Whilst the traditional approach stresses the importance of results and uses the word 'learning' as a noun (learning/scholarship), the new approach appreciates the importance of process and uses the word 'learning' as a verb (the act of learning). The educational theorists (who hold the new 'learning' viewpoint), including teachers, recognise that the acquisition of facts and information cannot be separated from the feelings, values, actions and locations associated with those facts (Hooper-Greenhill, 2004: 156). In other words, as Hooper-Greenhill (2004: 157) explains: 'cognitive knowledge (information, facts) cannot be separated from affective knowledge (emotions, feelings, values)'. According to Hooper-Greenhill (2004: 156), learning' is now understood as being multi-dimensional. My use of cognitive learning and socio-cultural learning is a recognition of the multi-dimensional nature of museum interaction.

Hein and Alexander (1998: 34-36) also stress the importance of motivation and active learning. They developed constructivist learning and applied it to the study of learning in museums. The conclusions reached by the learners are validated by whether they 'make sense' within the constructed reality of the learner rather than whether they conform to some external standard of truth. Visitors 'make meaning' through a constant

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[8] Hein uses both terms. Refer to Hein (1998: 140)

process of remembering and connection: this activity is called 'meaning-making' (Silverman, 1995: 161,162).

A recent addition to learning in museums is the Generic Learning Outcomes (GLOs) which assess individuals' learning. GLOs are set up in formal education in the context of specific learning outcomes. In the English museum world, a set of five GLOs has been set up by the Learning Impact Research Project (MLA, 2004). GLOs describe what and how people learn in museums, libraries and archives. They help to identify and evidence the benefits for people of taking part in museum, library and archive activities (MLA, 2008). Some of the GLOs relate to my study. In particular, the third GLO, 'Changing in attitudes and values', is the one my research will investigate: 'change in feelings, perceptions, or opinions about ourselves, other people and things, and the wider world. Being able to reason for actions and personal viewpoints. Increase in empathy, capacity for tolerance, or lack of these. Increased motivation' (MLA, 2004).

Consequently, regarding the new view of learning in museums, Hooper-Greenhill (2004: 156-7 referring to Sotto, 1994: 75) summarised 'learning' as follows:

> Learning is described as encompassing the acquisition of new knowledge but is now seen as much broader than that. It includes the acquisition of skills, the development of judgement, and the formation of attitudes and values. It includes the emergence of new forms of behaviour, the playing of new roles, and the consolidation of new elements of personal identity. In addition, even when concerned with knowledge, learning does not always means the acquisition of new facts; much of what we would recognise as learning involves the use of what we already know, or half-know, in new combinations or relationships or in new situations. Seeing things in new relationships gives old facts new meanings.

Moreover, *socio-cultural learning* and theories became popular recently in the museum world. *Socio-cultural learning* means learning together with 'other'. Hein and Alexander (1998: 32) explain *socio-cultural theories* as follows:

Sociocultural theories postulating that learning is a social activity, mediated not only by personal development but by language, culture and context, also exemplify the right end of the continuum. From this perspective, learning is primarily a social process: people learn through interaction with peers and, especially, with more knowledgeable members of a culture.

However, some still criticise mixing the disciplines of socio-cultural learning and cognitive learning, though both pay attention to 'interaction'. Intelligence used for the skills of *cognitive learning* is necessary for social abilities such as 'interpersonal and intra-personal intelligence', which involve interaction. This definition of 'learning' explains my standpoint, which will be used for the analysis of my primary fieldwork.

1.6 My involvement and motivation for this research

The main motivation for choosing the research question/problem upon which my fieldwork is based relates to my 'personal and professional experience'. Strauss and Corbin (1998: 38) describe this as one of the common sources of choosing a problem and stating the research question, and this experience might help to bring the research to a successful conclusion.

One of the major influences on my career was my experience as a volunteer co-ordinator for an exhibition by artists with disabilities in the Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum (TMAM) (a large local authority museum) in 1997. This was organised by Able Art Japan (a charitable organisation supporting art activities involving people with learning, psychological and physical disabilities along with promoting a good environment for them). This experience of working as a volunteer co-ordinator and managing one thousand volunteers in total gave me an awareness of the power of cultural institutions and led me to further study to explore the relationship amongst

volunteers, museums and their communities. My MA research in the UK demonstrated this power of cultural institutions, which especially proved that art has the unique power to bring together people of different abilities and backgrounds. Volunteering makes this easier, because it can provide excellent opportunities for different people to work together and enable them to communicate with those who are unfamiliar with these differences, whilst museums offer a place where these communications occur easily. The experience as a volunteer co-ordinator and my MA research concluded that museums could contribute to social integration using their cultural resources and influences. I was fascinated by the museum's social role and wanted to explore this role in broader contexts, reflecting on the idea of social inclusion developed in the UK.

Apart from my career, 'difference' and 'identity' were always of significant interest to me. René Magritte grabbed my interest since I was young. As Foucault (translated in 1983) also points out in his book entitled *This Is Not a Pipe*, Magritte's paintings often suggest the things we see are not always those we believe or expect. Magritte's message is that there are no norms and deviations but objects as they are, and it is important to see and/or judge things for themselves without the influence of norms.

Furthermore, since I was a small child, I doubted the virtue of being 'normal' or being 'the same' as others. It was very difficult for me to establish 'self (own) identity' in Japanese society without disturbing the harmony of others. Magritte's paintings and philosophy led me to study art and philosophy which later encouraged my interest in galleries and museums where visitors meet paintings or objects which can change people's perspectives.

Thus, my personal experiences in Japanese society, my professional experience in the Japanese museum world, as well as my academic experience in the UK all contributed to my choice of research question.

1.7 Thesis structure

In this introductory chapter, all necessary preparatory information for this thesis has been presented.

Chapter Two will present a literature review, identifying gaps in literature and providing a rationale for my choice of research topic.

Chapter Three will consider the current circumstances of museums as well as disability in social, cultural and political contexts in Japan.

Chapter Four aims to understand the mechanism of exclusion, including a discussion of what is exclusion and what causes exclusion.

Chapter Five will investigate how museum learning could help people's understanding and enhance familiarity of the Other, and support inclusion. Symbolic Interactionism will be explained as a main element of my methodology. My hypothetical model will be presented in this chapter.

In Chapter Six, my preliminary fieldwork (interviews with key people in art organisations) will be introduced prior to my major fieldwork (an open-ended questionnaire with participants of workshops). The preliminary fieldwork aims, methodology, findings and limitations will be presented in this chapter.

Chapter Seven will introduce my main fieldwork research which involves questionnaires given to participants at gallery workshops in which sighted and visually impaired people viewed artworks together. This chapter includes presentation and

discussion of aims, methodology and findings as well as the limitations of this fieldwork.   33

      In Chapter Eight, the findings from my main fieldwork will be developed in order to identify the research results, employing Symbolic Interaction, communication theories and socio-cultural learning.

      Finally, Chapter Nine is the concluding part of this thesis. This will consist of a summary of my thesis, the results and conclusion from my research (including the testing of my hypothesis and answering my research question), as well as an assessment of the limitations of my work along with recommendations for further research.

Chapter Two

Literature reviews

2.1   Introduction of this chapter

This chapter presents a literature review of disability and museum practice. It comprises four categories of review: a review of literature in Disability Studies in English and Japanese contexts respectively and a review of literature in Museum Studies regarding social inclusion, disability and visually impaired museum users in English and Japanese contexts respectively.

My literature review includes a survey of journals, government policies and other published sources in Museum Studies and Disability Studies. The resources are mainly English and Japanese but include some from other Western countries. The survey was undertaken in the relatively early stage of my PhD; therefore most of the published material predates 2004, but with later material added to update it. Because Japanese Disability Studies have developed influenced by English (and American) Disability Studies (Ishikawa and Nagase eds., 1999), we start from the English context.

2.2   Review of literature in Disability Studies in the English context

2.2.1   Overview of Disability Studies

> Disability studies is an emergent field with intellectual roots in the social sciences, humanities, and rehabilitation sciences (Albrecht et al. eds., 2001: 2).

In order to understand this complex field of study, there are some excellent introductory publications in Disability Studies. Some of them contain comprehensive literature reviews of Disability Studies, including a book entitled *Handbook of Disability Studies* edited by Albrecht and others (2001). The introduction of *Exploring Disability* written by Barnes and others (1999) also contains a literature review of Disability Studies as well as a summary of the disability movement in the sociological context. Recent changes in understanding disability within a 'social model of disability' are recorded well here. The significance of this book was its sociological approach to Disability Studies including the politics and culture of disabled people. Oliver (1996) also presents a discussion about the two models 'individual (or medical) model of disability' and 'social model of disability' in his book entitled *Understanding Disability*. His literature review is also useful as an overview of Disability Studies. Oliver (1996) extends the discussion of the social model of disability with citizenship concepts. He also provides a historical account of the relationship between welfare services and disabled people in terms of citizenship, and he claims that social welfare should be disabled peoples' 'right' and not a 'need'. Additionally, the introductory chapter of *Disability Studies* edited by Barton and Oliver (1997) as well as Barnes' (1997) article entitled 'A legacy of oppression' also presents a literature review of Disability Studies. This book contains topics of theory, politics, culture and research of Disability Studies. Barnes (1997), in this book, provides a history of oppression of disabled people and claims that the

biggest barrier to disabled people's inclusion into mainstream economic and social activity is the attitudinal barrier which is rooted in the complex interplay between the economy and the culture of the ancient world of Greece. He claims that it is important to change the value system in order to tackle oppression towards disabled people (Barnes, 1997: 17 internet version).

Furthermore, Kudlick's (2003) article entitled 'Disability History' introduces a wide-ranging literature review of Western European countries and the US (plus one Islamic publication) from the historian's point of view. The aim of her literature review is to help historians answer the overreaching questions of scholars and teachers in a humanistic discipline. For example, how can we respond ethically to difference, and how and why we create "the Other" in disability? She claims that more and more historians are beginning to realise that Disability Studies brings new insights into the history field, thereby reshaping it. She explains that the neighbouring fields of anthropology and literature have produced essays and monographs dealing with disability as a history subject. She concludes 'disability is not just another "Other": it reveals and constructs notions of citizenship, human difference, social values, sexuality, and the complex relationship between the biological and social worlds' (Kudlick, 2003: 793). Although her area of study is different from my thesis, the multidisciplinary approach she adopts proves constructive in developing an analytical and theoretical methodology for exploring the new Other (Kudlick, 2003: 763). Her discussion of disability as 'Other' encompasses issues of race, gender, and sexuality, combined with a linguistic approach. My study takes note of Kudlick's multidisciplinary methodology and will apply this following a sociological approach.

The above publications introduce the history of Disability Studies. According to Barton and Oliver (1997: 1), the birth of Disability Studies could have originated with a new course entitled *The Handicapped Person in the Community* as a part of the Open University's undergraduate programme in the 1970s. Beforehand, there was no notion of Disability Studies; however, disabled people were beginning to politicise themselves relating to the issues of their poverty and incarceration in residential establishments. Some autobiographical 'triumph over tragedy' accounts were written by disabled people (Barton and Oliver, 1997). Yet, the dramatic change of Disability Studies along with a developing disability movement occurred in the 1970s. By the early 1970s, the sense of grievance and weight of social disadvantage felt by disabled people had turned into political mobilisation and social protest.

2.2.2 Sociological approaches to theorising disability

Political campaigns and protests in many western countries, together with innovative analyses advanced by disabled activists, influenced some sociologists to rectify this lack of interest in disability. This sociologically informed approach made a positive contribution to understanding disability (Barnes et al., 1999). Barnes and others (1999: 12) recognise that a recent feature of these debates has been the commitment to generate a sociology of disability, pointing out that 'sociological imagination' suggested by C. Wright Mills (1970 cited by Barnes et al., 1999: 12) made a remarkable contribution to it. His contribution was to stress the importance of investigating the interplay between an individual's everyday life and wider society. Sociology helps to see that 'personal troubles', which affect individuals and their immediate relations with others, are more appropriately understood as 'public issues' which link to the institutions of society as a whole (Barnes et al., 1999).

The development of two models, the 'individual (or medical) model of disability' and the 'social model of disability', has been the guiding framework of disability theorists since the 1970s (refer to Chapter 1 Supra). Both medical sociologists and disability theorists criticise the medical model within their work (Williams, 2001: 124-5).

The first international academic journal entitled *Disability and Society* (originally published as *Disability, Handicap and Society* in 1986 then renamed in 1993) was a major stimulus to a dynamic community of disability teachers and researchers, and contributed to the development of Disability Studies (Barnes et al., 1999: 5, Barton and Oliver, 1997: 12). From my survey of this sequence of journals between 1994 and 2001, some relevant articles to my study were found, including Drewett (1999) for rights-based or need-based approaches to social justice for disabled people; Hughes (1999) for 'scopic' regime of modernity[9] and aesthetic of oppression; Jayasooria (1999) for citizenship; Gordon & Rosenblum (2001) for disability in the social constructionist perspective; Valentine (2001) for representation of deaf people in Japanese TV dramas and films considering otherness; Morita (2001) for the law relating to Japan; Hayashi & Okuhira (2001) for the disability rights movement in Japan; Gottlieb (2001) for language and disability in Japan. Some of the articles mentioned here helped develop my perceptions regarding disability, due to the highlighting of the social aspects of disability and the Japanese dimension. These will be specifically referred to in Chapter Three of this thesis.

Disability can be theorised in many styles. Barnes (1997: 3) reviews the socio/political theories of disability rooted in two distinct but linked traditions. One is American functionalism and deviance theories, which explain the 'socio construction'

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[9] 'The vision of modernity is impaired by the assumption that to see is to know, that is, by its ocularcentrism' (Hughes, 1999). Also refer to Hetherington (2002) for 'scopic' in 2.5.3 in this Chapter.

of the problem of disability, and the other is British materialist analysis of history associated with Marx (which maintains that disability and dependence are the 'social creation' of industrial capitalism) developed by Finkelstein (1980) and Oliver (1990 both quoted by Barnes, 1997). However, they have been criticised for neglect of the individual experiences of disabled people by a so-called 'second generation' of British Disability Studies writers who are concerned primarily with the oppression of disabled people and work from within a largely feminist or postmodernist framework. Barnes (1997: 7-8) reviews and identifies these writers such as Morris (1991; 1996) referring to gender; Stuart (1993) and Begum et al. (1994) to minority ethnics status; Crow (1992; 1996), French (1993; 1994) and Shakespeare (1994) to impairment (all quoted by Barnes, 1997).

Swain and others (1993) edited a book entitled *Disabling Barriers* claiming a new approach which they call 'disabling barriers, enabling environments'. According to Swain and others (1993: 2), 'from the viewpoint of disabled people, "disability" is imposed on them by "disabling barriers" and the independence they seek is in "enabling environments" '. This approach towards disability influences my PhD study, as it suggests that social actions can improve the environment and experience of disabled people and leads to a more equal society. The authors also add that 'the barriers can best be understood from the viewpoint of disabled people and changing environments though barrier removal should be controlled by disabled people' (Swain et al., 1993: 2). My thesis, however, does not completely agree with this statement. Whilst the experiences of disabled people should not be ignored, non-disabled scholars can also aid the development of Disability Studies, just as other academic studies are not exclusively undertaken by those from certain origins or identities. Moreover, barriers are often created by non-disabled people. Absence of non-disabled people as well as

writers from Disability Studies makes it impossible to obtain the whole picture of society. Cooperative working with non-disabled people would make a huge difference to disabling barriers and enabling environments.

Other contributors to the book *Disabling Barriers* influencing my study include Morris (1993) for the lucid discussion of 'difference' and 'normal'; French (1993) for the consideration of assimilation and normality; Morrison and Finkelstein (1993) for the role of culture in the empowerment of disabled people; and Woolley (1993) for oppression. Since they discuss oppression theory, which is directly relevant to exclusion, we will return to these works in detail later in this thesis.

In 'Disability/Postmodernity' (Corker and Shakespeare eds., 2002), the postmodernist approach to Disability Studies is introduced, its aim being to contribute to the development of Disability Studies by exploring what postmodernist and post-structuralist scholarship can contribute to the understanding of disability and the diverse experiences of disabled people. Corker and Shakespeare (2002) summarise modern, postmodern and post-structualist ideas and present a literature review. They also explain the complexity of Disability Studies. According to the authors, the disciplinary boundaries became blurred, as seen in 'the move of new interdisciplinary, hybrid knowledge such as feminism, queer studies, ethnic studies, urban studies, cultural studies and disability studies to the centre of human studies' (Corker and Shakespeare, 2002: 4). This evidence of the complicated and evolving nature of Disability Studies justifies my use of a multidisciplinary approach to this subject area.

There are some relevant articles to my study in this book; Wilson and Beresford's (2002: 155) discuss 'difference' and Otherness, outlining aspects of leading expert discourse on madness and distress. They build on the body of work by discussing disabled children's diverse patterns of residence (Beresford, 2002: 161), using the

reflexive and ethnographic approach. They demonstrate that disabled children are not all victims of bullying, passive and vulnerable. One can be a bully, bullied, or a winner and a loser according to circumstance. Their research shows an example of the heterogeneity of disabled children (Beresford, 2002: 163).

Titchkosky (2002) demonstrates that disability is social and political, illlustrating some of the ways that disability is mapped. She claims that 'disability is mapped differently by various societal institutions and cultural practices and these representations influence one's relation to disability' (Titchkosky, 2002: 101). The existing disability maps are only for government officials indicating demography of disabled people, there being no map defining disability more culturally and socially. Moreover, there are few cultural maps that show us how to pay attention to the phenomenon of mapping itself. Her article challenges these limitations. Through the interaction with a partially visually impaired person, the author learnt how he maps his world. The process of mapping disability contributes to her understanding of disability. My PhD study also attempts to create a map of disability. When sighted people understand how visually impaired people see the world, they can learn many things about disability.

Michalko (2002) challenges the traditional way of 'knowing subject', which requires the removal of subjectivity, observing the rehabilitation of a blind child by an orientation and mobility instructor. The girl recognises objects from the location (standpoint) of blindness. Although the girl has local knowledge that came to her through her blindness, she needs to learn of the objects in the 'sighted world', which is called rehabilitation. Therefore, Michalko (2002: 181) claims that information from rehabilitation is generated from *inside* the estrangement of blindness and is thus *outside* the familiarity of sightedness. He also warns that 'the danger of treating local

knowledge and of treating disability as irrelevant is that the "view from disability" may be dismissed by others and ignored by us (disabled people)' (Michalko, 2002: 182). A return will be made to some of these findings during the development of the discussion in Chapter Eight.

Valentine (2002), referred to in Chapter One, explores the definitional power of dominant classifications, discussing names and narratives of disability in Japanese society. He points out that disabled people are disabled in the naming process, which he called 'disabled naming' (Valentine, 2002: 217) and concludes that 'we must not underestimate the continuing significance of names and narratives in framing the lives of disabled selves and others' (Valentine, 2002: 225).

2.2.3   Cultural Studies approach to Disability Studies

Some Disability Studies have been developed closely associated with Cultural Studies relating to representation. For example, Evans (1998) discusses the reason why the politics of representation is significant for disabled people, using a case study of disability charity posters from 1980 to the early 1990s. Evans (1998: 383) identifies the complexity of the word 'representation' as well as the danger it may contain as follows: 'the word 'representation' is complex: it refers to a process in which the world is not just mediated but actively 'made up', assembled in images and in words which do not just reflect that world but transform it in a distinctive way'. The significance of this article is the use of multi-disciplinary methods, in this case psychoanalytic and social constructionist approaches, as well as her understanding of representation as the creation of 'self' and 'other'. The reason why she uses psychoanalytic approaches combining with the social constructionist approach is because to believe in something

being real is always a psychical and emotional investment (Evans, 1998: 392). The disability issue as well as the identity issue cannot be discussed without analysing how people perceive disability, self and other. Although it is important to explore disability in social and cultural levels, it is also essential to analyse the personal level which includes emotion and understanding, which is also my viewpoint. She explains 'self' as follows: 'the point is that the debate on cultural representation, in this case the mass media image of disabled people, is not merely a matter of academic interest, but one which touches upon our very sense of 'self': who we think we are and what others define us as being, and the relationships between the two' (Evans, 1998: 383). (For other publications about representation of disabled people refer to Hevey (1993).)

Valentine (2001) investigates media representation, examining how Japanese TV dramas and films represent hearing impaired people. Kalisher (1998) also researches representation, focusing upon Deaf culture in museum exhibitions, stating that, although many museums provide physical access to their exhibitions, the needs of many Deaf people are not reflected in the subject matter (Kalisher, 1998: 13). Moreover, she requests that museums should recognise a longstanding conflict between Oralists and Manualists[10], as they have different preferences in communication techniques and vastly different philosophies. Ideally, museums should provide interpretive support for both ideologies, thus avoiding controversy. (Also refer to Ladd, 2003: 38 for a similar example from the Smithsonian museum.) Another significant recommendation from her case study is as follows: 'exhibitions and programs about Deaf culture can be a bridge between hearing and deaf people, particularly schoolchildren. Project developers should plan coinciding school programs that allow deaf and hearing children to interact. […] In

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[10] 'Oralist assert that deaf people must learn how to communicate in the hearing world and that oralism is a more practical skill for doing so, allowing deaf and hearing people to communicate […] Manualists argue that the oral method deprives them of their opportunity to communicate in their native language and forces them to communicate in English, which many of them regard as a foreign language' (Kalisher, 1998: 16).

other words, museums should avoid creating another access program solely for deaf people, but instead create a cultural program that incorporates accessibility into the fundamental levels of development' (Kalisher, 1998: 28). Although her suggestion is made particularly for schoolchildren, we can adapt her recommendation to any other visitors. Kalisher's article is helpful for my research question, stating that museums can provide exhibitions and programmes in which people with differences can interact and understand each other. My thesis continues to explore this, using the example of sighted and visually impaired museum visitors to answer my research question.

Deaf culture is also explored in the book entitled *Understanding Deaf Culture* (Ladd, 2003) which asks 'what is Deaf culture?'. This challenge is not only for Deaf people but also for a wider audience. Ladd explains what is Deaf and 'Deafhood'. Many Deaf people, who have no interest in 'cures' promote the cultural significance of their community (Ladd, 2003: 72). Hearing impaired people become 'Deaf' through the process in sharing their lives with each other as a community (which the author calls Deafhood) (Ladd, 2003: 3). The social model of disability is not welcomed by the Deaf community. Legislation arising from the social model of disability directly addresses individual needs arising from hearing impairment. However, the Deaf see themselves as having far more in common with language minorities, which he names the 'culturo-linguistic model' (Ladd, 2003: 16). He suggests that the treatment of the Other as well as 'we' and 'them' often reflects a colonialist approach (Ladd, 2003: 21). Deaf people are minorities who are treated as the Others oppressed by lay people[11] (Ladd, 2003: 85). His view of Deaf people as a cultural minority and his exploration of an oppressive (and exclusionary) system is similar to my thesis. Ladd's interest in the relationship between Deaf and lay people parallels my PhD study which examines the relationship between

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[11] 'Such a person as anyone who is neither directly employed within Deaf-related domains, nor within adjacent professional domains' (Ladd, 2003:12).

visually impaired people and sighted people. However, there are certain differences between our viewpoints, especially his emphasis upon the uniqueness of the Deaf amongst other disabled people. Establishing such a cultural identity may exclude people who disagree with it and can cause an exclusive society inside the wider disability community (Tateiwa, 2002: 73). My study will concentrate on the relationship between disabled and non-disabled people rather than establishing such a cultural identity.

Other authors explore disability culture within a social or political agenda. For example, Kuppers (2002) explores image politics in relation to simulacra, dandyism and disability fashion. Cheu (2002) redefines disability and 'cure' referring to futuristic film and explains that 'cure' is seen from both a medical perspective and socially constructed. Silvers (2002) suggests that it is necessary to shift from repudiating socio-political relations to realigning them by reshaping beauty into a more expansive idea that revitalises the meaning of disability. Barnes et al. (1999) introduces sociological approaches to culture, in the way disabled people participate in 'mainstream' leisure activities, cultural representations of disability in the media (which are often stereotyped) and the disability art movement as a celebration of difference.

2.3 Review of Japanese literature in Disability Studies

2.3.1 Overview of Japanese Disability Studies

Disability Studies is defined by one of the leading scholars of Japanese Disability Studies as follows: 'the action of rethinking about disability and disabled people in terms of social and cultural aspects as well as releasing (setting free) disability and disabled people from the range of medicalisation, rehabilitation, social welfare and special needs education' (Nagase, 1999: 3). Disability Studies in Japan developed

significantly in the late 1990s. The first series of discussions of *Disability Studies* was organised by Tokyo Metropolitan Welfare Centre for the Disabled in 1998 and the first *Disability Studies* lecture was held in Tottori University in 1999 (Nagase, 1999). In 2003, the Japanese Society for Disability Studies was established and its first journal was published in 2005. The theoretical progress of Disability Studies in the US and especially in the UK influenced leading Japanese scholars such as Jun Ishikawa, Osamu Nagase and Tomoaki Kuramoto. These scholars published prominent literature relating to Disability Studies in Japan in two volumes: *Shōgai gaku eno shōtai (Invitation to Disability Studies)* (Ishikawa and Nagase eds., 1999) and *Shōgai gaku no shuchō (Principle of Disability Studies)* (Ishikawa and Kuramoto eds., 2002).

However, even before this era, there existed some influential literature, such as Asaka and others (1990), Ishikawa (1992) and Tateiwa (1997 quoted by Nagase, 1999). Asaka and others' (1990) book entitled *Sei no Giho (Methods of Living: sociology of disabled people living independently away from care homes)* contains domestic reviews of the disability movement and welfare system, as well as a discussion of the control and power relationships between disabled people and non-disabled people (mostly carers). The authors of this book not only introduce the history and current system for independent living in Japan but also analyse the reasons leading to, and difficulties arising from, independent living. My particular interest, the relationship between 'self' and 'other' is also discussed in this book, relating to the relationship between carers and disabled people. Although disabled people in independent living would like to escape from this kind of control, Okahara and Tateiwa (1990: 14) say that independent living inevitably involves 'other' (helpers). Okahara (1990: 144) adds that conflicts between disabled people and helpers are inevitable and should be welcomed, because it makes us recognise disabled people's needs and preferences. These negotiations make their

relationship equal. Nevertheless, he identifies that there is no solution for the friction between disabled and non-disabled people, when non-disabled people exclude and control disabled people. He recognises that it is not wise to accuse the excluders to solve this problem; yet he leaves the problem, saying, 'further research is necessary' (Okahara, 1990: 334). My research intends to deal with this under-researched problem sociologically and will suggest alternatives in the later part of this thesis.

We now return to the books edited by Ishikawa and Nagase (1999) and Ishikawa and Kuramoto (2002) referenced above. The book edited by Ishikawa and Nagase (1999) covers wide-ranging issues around disability including, the discussion of identity, culture (such as deaf culture), welfare system (including laws), education, history of independent living, ethical discussion of eugenics and disability, and representation of disabled people. In his article, Nagase (1999) overviews Disability Studies, including reviews of literature in both Japanese and English Disability Studies. He explores the nature of Disability Studies with a discussion of the social model of disability. Ishikawa (1999) discusses three topics in his article, which are disability, technology and identity. He demonstrates how people adapt, redress and restart their life when they encounter sadness or disability. The author employs 'emotional sociology' which involves 'emotion control' and claims that a useful method of coping or resisting oppression is either by changing society or controlling one's own emotion or attitude. His argument about 'proof of the identity' will be referred to in 2.3.2 of this thesis. Also, his discussion on 'barrier-free' will be referred to in Chapter Three. Kuramoto (1999) remarks upon the differentiation of the 'difference disability movement' and the 'equability disability movement' (which will be discussed in 2.3.3).

Another prominent book, edited by Ishikawa and Kuramoto (2002), continues some of the discussions raised above, as well as adding new insight into Disability

Studies, including a debate upon terminology, feminist and gender approaches to Disability Studies, discussion of identity and phobia towards disabled people, as well as an examination of English and Japanese disability movements. In this book, Ishikawa (2002) summarises the recent debate about 'handicap', 'impairments' and 'disability' which has been discussed in the Western world. He also explains the difference between 'the medical model of disability' and 'the social model of disability' (with English literature review) and criticises 'the social model of disability' as neglecting impairments（Ishikawa, 2002: 28）. He suggests another model namely 'the cultural model of disability' quoting H. Lane's (1992) discussion about the Deaf community, which claims its own culture by embracing their impairments.　He claims that impairments can be appreciated in this model regardless of disability（Ishikawa, 2002: 33). Another discussion he raises in this article is the dilemma between 'equality' and 'difference'. Ishikawa distinguishes four types of inclusion and differentiation as follows: A) assimilation and inclusion, B) differentiation and inclusion, C) differentiation and exclusion, D) assimilation and exclusion. He claims that disabled people experience not only A) and C) but also D). Although disabled people try to be the same, they are not accepted by society. He points out that the type B) is the ideal relationship between a minority and society（Ishikawa, 2002:33）. (As his model is difficult to follow, because it is very complicated with a multitude of categories, we will not pursue this argument here. Instead, my thesis will provide an alternative and simpler way of thinking about these topics. See Chapter Four.)

Yoshii's (2002) article was particularly influential to my study as it focuses upon non-disabled people's phobia towards disabled people and 'barrier-free'. Yoshii (2002:98) cautions that when 'barrier-free' is treated as welfare, the emotion of phobia towards disabled people, as well as the attitude of oppression and exclusion towards

disabled people becomes hidden. He (2002:114) also warns of the danger of treating 'barrier-free' as emotional and ethical teaching. He claims that introduction of 'barrier-free' does not resolve the phobia of disabled people. (Since understanding such feeling is critical to a proper understanding of exclusion, this will be discussed in depth in 4.3, and also referred to in Chapter Three.)

2.3.2   Theorising disability in Japanese Disability Studies

'Difference disability movement' and 'equability disability movement'

As stated in the English literature review of Disability Studies, the theorisation of disability contributed to the development of English Disability Studies. The debate about the 'social model of disability' and the 'individual (medical) model of disability' informed English Disability Studies. In a similar manner, Japanese Disability Studies has been progressed by theorising disability. Two sets of ideology called 'difference disability movement' and 'equability disability movement', which borrow feminist terms, enhanced Japanese Disability Studies.

Kuramoto (1999: 220) explains that the 'equability disability movement' is based on an ideology which believes that it is possible to achieve an 'equal' society between non-disabled and disabled people when all social barriers between them are removed because it removes 'difference' between non-disabled and disabled people. On the other hand, the 'difference disability movement' is based on the idea that even though the social barriers may be removed, differences of bodies will remain. Instead, therefore, it is better for the disabled to establish their own identity which is 'different' from non-disabled people. Furthermore, Kuramoto (1999: 247) distinguishes this

'difference disability movement' between two forms, which are the 'old type difference disability movement' and the 'new type difference disability movement'. Whilst the old type movement emphasises the fact that disabled people are differentiated by non-disabled people, the new type movement claims proactive differentiation from non-disabled people according to their own wishes.

Disability and identity

The debate between the two types of movement has matured the discussion of 'identity' in Japanese Disability Studies. For example, Ishikawa (1999: 46) explains the importance of identity claiming 'proof of the identity': one acts in order to prove one's value and special existence, which also needs to be proved by others. In order to prove and to be proven, there is a negotiation between self and other. When one is oppressed, one becomes keen to prove his/her identity. The author suggests that the most proactive method of 'proof of identity' is 'retaining the value': turning one's own social identity, which has been evaluated negatively, into a positive one through changing the values of the social system. Furthermore, he suggests that another way of succeeding in 'proof of identity' is 'freedom from the proof of identity'. Rather than fighting to obtain the 'proof', it aims to escape from the 'proof of identity', meaning that one does not need to be proven by others and can establish one's own identity, so that disability becomes one's own characteristic or personality.

Ishikawa (1999) uses identity as a key to understanding disability, a similar approach will be used in this thesis. He identifies that there are two methods to fight oppression. One is changing society, such as introducing legislation, for example, the Disability Discrimination Act. The other is establishing disabled people's collective

identity. Although this may be a useful strategy, one important element is missing, namely the people who exclude and oppress disabled people. Of course, 'society' includes them but 'changing society' is collective and does not really address individuals' changes or responsibilities. Ishikawa's (2002) later article addresses the system of exclusion using cases of 'assimilation', 'differentiation', 'inclusion' and 'exclusion'. He sheds light on the system of exclusion and made a remarkable effort to systematise it. (For the details, see 2.3.1 Supra.)

In his book entitled *Mienaimonoto mierumono (Things be Seen and not be Seen: the sociology of socialising and assistance)*, Ishikawa (2004) examines the relationship between assistants (other) and disabled people (self) and what he calls 'the politics of the naming and declaration'. He explains how people (who are named by others) react to naming and also how people 'name' themselves (Ishikawa, 2004: 246). Ishikawa (2004: 253) claims that labelling can be utilised for disguising oneself from another, using the example of a diabetic person, and this mirrors my concerns about the Deaf culture raised earlier (see 2.2.3 Supra). Ishikawa's model can be seen as a cultural model. Cultural models relating to 'identity' are a popular topic in Japanese Disability Studies. Ishikawa (2002: 33) explains that the 'cultural model of disability' makes impairments worthwhile. For example, Deaf people claim themselves to be a language minority, and separate impairments from identities. (Also refer to Tateiwa, 2002: 61,73.)

Another popular discussion in Japanese Disability Studies is 'barrier-free' and many authors have developed identity issues in relationship to this concept. We will come back to this in Chapter Three.

2.4 Review of literature on 'social inclusion/exclusion' relating to cultural policy and Museum Studies in the English context

2.4.1 Cultural policies relating to social inclusion/ exclusion and museums

During the 1990s, in the UK, there was considerable interest in the effect of social exclusion upon the cohesion of society. With government backing, several studies were commissioned to examine the causes of social exclusion and make recommendations for actions promoting inclusion in all aspects of society. These included suggestions that the cultural sector could play a significant role acting as a social agent for change.

The Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) published many policy reports including *Preventing Social Exclusion* (SEU, 2001c). This is one of the SEU's most comprehensive reports on social exclusion. However, as discussed in Chapter One, their definition of social exclusion does not define the term clearly. In the report entitled *Policy Action Team 10: A report to the Social Exclusion Unit* published by Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) (1999a: 5), the Policy Action Team 10 (PAT10) recommends that arts and sports bodies should acknowledge that social inclusion is part of their business. And they recommended the Arts Council of England (ACE) 'should recognise explicitly that sustaining cultural diversity and using the arts to combat social exclusion and promote community development are among its basic policy aims' (DCMS, 1999a: 16). They also recognised people with disabilities (as well as ethnic minority groups) are more generally at risk of social exclusion (DCMS, 1999a: 66). A case study of the Museum of Science and Industry in Manchester regarding visually impaired guides in the sensory exhibition was included as an example of good practice, indicating actions that could be undertaken by arts and sports organisations to encourage inclusion.

DCMS set the standards for museums and galleries for developing access policies in the publication entitled *Museums for the Many* (DCMS, 1999b). In the following year, DCMS published an influential report entitled *Centres for Social Change* (DCMS, 2000), with the aim of encouraging museums, galleries and archives to adopt a strategic approach to social inclusion (Smith in DCMS, 2000: 3). It identifies learning as a powerful agent combating social exclusion (DCMS, 2000: 7). This report identifies several marginalised social groups as targets for learning with the intention of empowering them and promoting their better integration into society.

A year after, the above policy was reviewed and *Libraries, Museums, Galleries and Archives for ALL* (DCMS, 2001) was published. The museum's social role of promoting or enhancing social inclusion was again strongly emphasised with the recommendation of partnerships amongst those four cultural organisations.

More closely relevant publications to my study have been found. These are such as the Scottish Museums Council's (SMC) (2000) report entitled *Museums and Social Justice*. It states 'the imperative for museum and art galleries to be socially inclusive is a matter of justice rather than welfare' (SMC, 2000: 2). However, their future plan was a simple statement without a detailed strategy. This report also suggests the need to 'identify successful model(s) in other museums which can be a basis for a pilot project' (SMC, 2000: 13). My thesis continues to explore my research question as well as to address this request.

Another is *Renaissance in the Regions* published by Resource (the Council for Museums Archives and Libraries) (2001a), looking at what is needed in order to capitalise on the potential of museums to deliver innovative and sustainable public services, especially in education and learning. They recognise the importance of working against discrimination, and provide an influential statement for my thesis:

> They [many major regional museums and galleries] are a potential, social and moralising tool of authority, and by promoting respect for all peoples and all nations – without discrimination – they can promote understanding, tolerance and friendship, thus encouraging those who may feel that they are on the fringes of acceptable society to play a full part in community life (Resource, 2001a: 44).

Nevertheless, although the promotion of access and inclusion was identified as one of five main aims for the UK's museums in the twenty-first century (Resource, 2001a: 7-8, 12), 'hardly any have actually mainstreamed social inclusion as a policy priority' (Resource, 2001a: 43). 'Inclusive places for learning and inspiration' is the one of five achievable outcomes the Task Force has identified in relation to Access and Inclusion (Resource, 2001a: 47). In order to achieve it, they set objectives with regard to people and attitude changes. These are, for example, 'greater use of person-to-person interpretation' and so forth (Resource, 2001a: 49). In turn, this suggests that learning experienced through interaction with persons in museums can produce attitude change. My thesis will extend this inclusive approach in the later part.

2.4.2   Museum Studies literature relating to social exclusion/inclusion

My review of Museum Studies literature as well as cultural policies revealed a fundamental omission. There is no clear definition of 'social exclusion/inclusion', resulting in uncertainty over strategies for social inclusion. For example, in the report entitled *Museums and Social Inclusion*, the Group for Large Local Authority Museums (GLLAM) (2000: 53) identify problems for large local authority museums' social inclusion activities as follows:

> Social inclusion work in museums is difficult to pin down and it is not always recognised because of diversity of language used to discuss it, […] lack of advocacy on the part of directors because of the absence of a conceptual framework, evidence and appropriate terminology around the potential for museums as centres for life-long learning and social inclusion. All of the above have contributed towards a fuzziness around the concept of social inclusion and of museums' contribution to this. [Without bullets]

> This fuzziness is reflected in a lack of clarity in some museums and in some local authorities about what counted as social inclusion work. Those museums where all staff had a clear idea and a holistic vision about the scope and nature of their work towards social inclusion were rare (GLLAM, 2000: 18).

Despite identifying the 'fuzziness' of the social inclusion agenda, the GLLAM (2000) could not offer a solution. The report entitled *Including Museums* edited by Dodd and Sandell (2001) explores issues around the social responsibility of museums and galleries and their potential to impact on inequality and disadvantage. The need for a 'holistic view of social inclusion' has not been solved here either. Dodd and Sandell (2001: 5) admit this as follows:

> When we began work on this publication, our aim was, through research, to identify and disseminate some of the principles that underpin successful approaches to inclusive museum practice. What emerged very quickly was that it was both impossible and inappropriate to attempt to produce a blueprint for effective inclusion work. The concepts, language and contexts remain altogether too fluid, slippery and ambiguous […] With no blueprint for success, at present, many uncharted opportunities exist for museums and staff in all areas of museum work to respond creatively to the social challenges and the issues facing the communities they seek to serve.

The book entitled *Museums, Society, Inequality* edited by Sandell (2002) was published in the following year. He realises the importance of identifying the purpose of museums' social role and the uncertainty in the museum world of how to practice this. Notwithstanding, Sandell (2002: xix) continues to say, 'this book makes no claim to offer a definitive last word on the subject but rather seeks to stimulate debate'. Indeed

the degree and nature of social exclusion differ in individual communities; therefore, museums and galleries need to adapt their approach accordingly. However, this does not help direct museum staff who need to work towards social inclusion. Museums and galleries are not only ideological organisations but also practical institutions which involve 'people'.

My thesis will explore the concepts of inclusion and exclusion sociologically, in order to resolve the 'fuzziness', fluid, slippery or ambiguousness discussed above. Exclusion is enacted by people; therefore, exclusion cannot be prevented without understanding the reasons people commit such actions. Moreover, in order to obtain a holistic vision of museum staff's work towards social inclusion, it will develop a model of the relationships between museums and people using 'Interactionism'. This will contribute to understanding how and why museum staff can support social inclusion.

2.5 Review of literature in Museum Studies and cultural policies relating to museums and disability in the English context

2.5.1 Cultural policies relating to disability and museums

In the 1990s, much literature relating to museums, galleries and disability was published by the Museum Library and Archive Council (MLA). In 1993, the *Disability Resource Directory for Museums* was published by the Museums and Galleries Commission (MGC) (1993). It aimed to assist museum staff and governing bodies in developing their own policies and programmes of work to meet the needs of disabled people, and in so doing to enhance the museum service for visitors, staff and other users. It comprises information on policy and procedure, employment and training, collections

and premises, information and fundraising, museum case studies and bibliography and list of addresses (MGC, 1993: vii).

Four years later, the supplementary report of the Directory, entitled *Disability Resource Directory for Museums Supplement*, was published (MGC, 1997a), following introduction of the Disability Discrimination Act 1995. The report encourages consulting disabled people or disability experts about their access issue concerns, introducing some case studies.

In the same year, MGC (1997b) also published *Access to Museums and Galleries for People with Disabilities*, which aims to assist museum curators and managers in developing their museum services and introduces guidelines on the issues of policy and procedure, employment and training, collections and premises, information, links with the community, and legislation. In the section 'Links with the community', they recommend that museums work with arts, leisure, education, social services, health, transport, and disability organisations. They also identify that community outreach programmes can help to introduce disabled people to museums (MGC, 1997b: 8).

MGC published *Building Bridges* in 1998, which provides guidance for museums and galleries on developing new audiences along with improving visits for existing audiences (MGC, 1998: 5). Through audience development, Dodd and Sandell, (wirter of this publication, 1998: 14) recognise barriers to visiting museums and categorise eight barriers to access: physical, sensory, intellectual, financial, emotional/ attitudinal, cultural, and access to decision-making and information. They suggest possible approaches to audience development, such as organising events and activities to build confidence amongst new audiences to address the barriers to

Emotional/Attitudinal access. However, audience development is applicable only between museums and their target groups.

In *Museums for the Many* (DCMS, 1999b introduced in 2.4.1 supra), DCMS focuses on the removal of physical and sensory, intellectual, cultural, attitudinal and financial barriers, thereby recognising that access issues are not just about physical barriers and also affect people apart from disabled people (DCMS, 1999b: 6). However, disabled people are referred to in this report as people who are affected by physical and sensory barriers to access only. It is important to note that, similar to non-disabled people, disabled people suffer from more than physical barriers alone.

In 2001, the new version of the Directory entitled *Disability Directory for Museums and Galleries* was published by Resource (2001b). The significant difference from the former Directory is that this new edition is based on the 'social model of disability'. Moreover, Resource (Resource, 2001b: 12, 21, 76) overcomes the limitations of previous publications highlighted above. Access issues are considered not only in terms of physical barriers but also within the broader agendas of human rights, equal opportunity, diversity and social inclusion. Howarth (2001: 7) emphasises the significance of museums and galleries as follows:

> Many of the barriers to access that are experienced by disabled people are shared by others in society. The Directory shows that by dismantling these barriers museums and galleries can help to tackle social exclusion and become places of enjoyment, learning and inspiration for all. It also demonstrates that the process will promote a more positive and creative culture which, by recognising and valuing diversity, will benefit […] everyone involved with museums and galleries.

Resource (2001b: 22 referring to Anderson, 1999: 33) states that museums have to demonstrate their public benefits more clearly today with their educational and social roles. Museums can establish norms of inclusion showing their practices of embracing

diversity and removing barriers, which can influence individuals' behaviour. However, it is not clear whether the tackling of social exclusion is really achievable solely by dismantling the barriers between museums and the socially excluded. The problems between the socially excluded and those who exclude them has not been recognised in this Directory apart from a short statement by Coxall (2001: 19) who says, 'to be genuinely inclusive in museums we must acknowledge the mindset that distinguishes between 'us' and 'them''. In Chapter Eight, my study applies this argument to the results of my fieldwork in order to answer my research question.

In 2003, Resource published the *Disability Portfolio* which is a collection of twelve guides on how best to meet the needs of disabled people such as users and staff in museums, archives and libraries, by providing advice, information and guidance to help overcome barriers and follow good practice (Resource: 2003: last pages). Unlike other publications, this was a practical guide to cultural staff with recommendations that they could put it into practice on a daily basis within the working environment. It was widely available within museum, archive and library communities and influential, although in many cases the application of good practice could be affected by financial constrains.

2.5.2   Museum Studies literature relating to disability

Publications other than Government reports include *Arts for Everyone*, one of the early examples of guidance on provision for disabled people, published by Carnegie UK Trust and Centre on Environment for the Handicapped written by Pearson (1985: Introduction). Its purpose is 'to provide information for people working in the arts which will help them to improve their facilities and services for the benefit of the

general public and especially for people with disabilities'. It includes practical suggestions to encourage more disabled people, such as museums providing structural modifications with signs for disabled people as well as administrative changes creating a welcoming atmosphere for disabled people. In the section on 'museums, art galleries, exhibition centres and visitor centres', detailed practical advice is made for access, security, seating, mobile exhibitions and tactile exhibitions. Although it is early guidance, Pearson (1985) already points out the issue of exclusion towards disabled people. Nevertheless, she concentrates on removing obstacles in the museum environment.

Also in 1985, the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust published *Arts and Disabled People: Attenborough Report*, which was the first comprehensive review of facilities in the United Kingdom. They concluded with a great recognition of the social effect of cultural institutions:

> Our fervent hope is that those within whose power it lies to expand and improve the arts opportunities of disabled people will rise swiftly to the challenge. This greater recognition of the needs of disabled people will contribute not only to their good, but to the well-being of society as a whole (Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, 1985: 128).

Commissioned by Resource, SOLON Consultants (2001) published *Survey of Provision for Disabled Users of Museums, Archives, and Libraries* in 2001, comparing different degrees of practice in these cultural institutions. Using a questionnaire method, they gathered data, analysed it, and suggested recommendations to Resource. The questionnaires did not check whether institutions were trying to enhance the relationship between disabled people and non-disabled people.

Museums Without Barriers, which was edited by Foundation de France and ICOM (1991), was based on a conference on 'Museums and the Disabled' in November

1988, to which many contributors from all over Europe were invited. It contains issues of cultural policies concerning disabled people, museums and physical disabilities, people with visual impairment and people with hearing impairment respectively. The significance of this publication is that disability issues are discussed not only in terms of access but also exclusion (refer to Charvet, 1991: 8).

An article introduced by Dodd and Sandell (2001) also confirms the usefulness of museum exhibitions for disabled people. Alison Lapper describes her experience in her artworks (photographs), which reflect and respond to other people's attitudes towards her. She says 'museums are potentially very powerful places that can expose people to the issues around disability and can represent disabled people within the mainstream. The potential for this to challenge people's views is immense' (quoted in Dodd and Sandell, 2001: 55).

Delin (2002) has concerns about how people with disabilities are treated in museum collections, including the collecting activities. She claims that museums have a responsibility to help the creation of cultural inclusion for the disabled, pointing out that museum representations of disabled people are either prejudiced, absent or dramatised as heroes (Delin, 2002: 96). She states that museums should more proactively look at what their collections hold, uncovering the information buried in the footnotes and reinstating the identity of both celebrated and ordinary disabled people.

The Research Centre for Museums and Galleries (RCMG) (2004) extended this research, and published *Buried in the Footnotes*. Their project brief was to investigate evidence within UK museum and gallery collections that relates to the lives of disabled people, both historical and contemporary (RCMG, 2004: 4). Their findings are similar to Delin (2002: 5) and conclude that a range of factors conspire to contribute to the cultural invisibility of disabled people in museums and galleries.

There are many useful discussions in this publication. These include, a debate about whether museums should 'out' someone as disabled or not. Some disabled artists do not want to be identified as disabled, whilst others think that there are educational gains from awareness-raising (RCMG, 2004: 16). There is also an issue about whether museum displays are based on the medical or social model of disability. In the social model, in which disability is the result of society's failure to accommodate it, everyone has responsibilities to remove the barriers that disabled people face. Another question is whether displays include stereotypes of disabled people or not, for example, emphasising heroic achievements, suffering or patience (RCMG, 2004: 21). Another debate is whether displays should be personalised or depersonalised. According to RCMG (2004: 21), 'within museums, disabled people are more likely to be depersonalised than non-disabled people'.

RCMG (2004: 22) also identifies hindrances caused by lack of curatorial knowledge, specialism or awareness of disability. Similarly, there are display dilemmas caused by lack of confidence and fear of criticism. Most curators were aware of the risk of reinforcing negative forms of staring caused by the museum effect: the act of 'attentive looking' (RCMG, 2004: 15 referring to Alpers, 1991). Focusing upon disability has made people more nervous about using language and definitions relating to disability (RCMG, 2004: 22). These findings will be reflected in my preliminary fieldwork in Chapter Six.

Furthermore, they point out an important role of museums as follows: 'new approaches to the display and representation of the material could enable museums to play an important role in addressing contemporary issues around disability and disability discrimination. […] museums have the capacity to challenge understanding of what disability has meant to society in the past, and could mean in future' (RCMG,

2004: 23). My thesis totally agrees with this statement. Both Delin (2002: 85) and RCMG (2004: 22) recognise this task as effectively social inclusion or the museums' social role.

One of their indicators for further areas of research has a relevance to my study, this is: '**investigating the impact** - on audiences of both disabled and non-disabled people, to understand the ways in which visitors construct meaning from the exhibitions they encounter and how this affects perceptions of disability' (RCMG, 2004: 23). Similarly, this thesis will concentrate on a form of investigation into the impact upon disabled and non-disabled museum visitors, although it does not concentrate primarily on their representation within the exhibitions (see 2.2.3 Supra). Therefore, this report can be seen as influential prior research to my fieldwork. Moreover, their research methodology and findings are clear and effective due to a systematic approach. My thesis will apply this style for presenting my preliminary fieldwork in Chapter Six.

In the above publication, RCMG (2004) found that much of the material relating to disability was in store and not on display, and concluded that further work was needed to develop new ways of representing disabled people that could begin to move practice forwards (RCMG, 2008: 11). To reflect this, RCMG (2008) published a report entitled *Rethinking Disability Representation in Museums and Galleries* (edited by Dodd and others), describing large scale and experimental projects which developed new approaches to the interpretation of disability-related themes and narratives and to the representation of disabled people's lives within museums and galleries (RCMG, 2008: 2). To include disabled people's perspectives of the museum projects, the RCMG organised a Think Tank of disabled activists, artists and cultural practitioners for their projects. One of the aims of the project particularly interests me, which is 'to evaluate the impact of these displays on audiences, both disabled and non-disabled' (RCMG,

2008: 10) as my research also evaluates the museum impact on both audiences of non-disabled and disabled people, although my focus of research is not representation of disabled people. Dodd and other (RCMG, 2008) states that the comments about projects were overwhelmingly positive and concludes 'the museum was seen as an appropriate, sometimes vital, place to communicate what visitors saw as important ideas about disabled people being part of society. Some visitors saw the role of the museum as a place for changing attitudes and educating the uninformed or prejudiced' (RCMG, 2008: 163).

Sandell and others (2010) edited a book entitled *Re-presenting Disability* which attempts to approach the under-researched topic of (under- and) mis-representation of disabled people within museum narratives. The contributors to this book are academics, researchers, cultural practitioners and activists who draw on disciplines including Disability Studies, Museum Studies, Art History, Sociology and Social Medicine. They share 'concerns for the ways in which representational practices can be deployed to offer more respectful, egalitarian narratives of disability' (Sandell et al., 2010: xx). The article entitled 'Activist Practice' by Sandell and Dodd (2010) is about ethically and politically informed approaches to representation, interpretation and audience engagement. They see themselves as action researchers who work in collaboration with disabled activists and artists to explore new approaches to representing disability. They consider the challenges and opportunities raised by the staging of socially purposeful interventions within museums and galleries. They explain that during their project, *Rethinking, Disability Representation*, run by RCMG, the group Think Tank was created. Including disabled activists, artists and cultural practitioners, Think Tank is intended to 'construct a series of socially purposeful narratives that could offer audiences new, progressive ways of seeing and frame the way in which visitors

engaged with and participated in disability rights-related debates' (Sandell and Dodd, 2010: 13). Their experience suggests that exploring contemporary topics opens up exciting possibilities for museums to engage audiences, and they claim that their projects engaged visitors in a dialogue and debate about disability and social justice (Sandell and Dodd, 2010: 20). Their conclusion is that museums 'might most appropriately be understood not as sites of moral coercion but rather as learning environments in which infinitely diverse meanings can be constructed; but meanings which are generated out of engagement with a set of credible, authentic and ethically informed interpretive resources' (Sandell and Dodd, 2010: 20). Their project *Rethinking, Disability Representation*, which ran between 2006 and 2009, was undertaken later than my fieldwork research in 2003, which suggests the innovativeness of my research into the understanding of disability in museum audiences.

Most of the publications introduced above treat the disability issue in terms of physical access within museum spaces or representation. However, there are exceptional publications closely relating to inclusion. A quarterly journal entitled *Barrierfree* published by the Museums & Galleries Disability Association (MAGDA) presents news, review, case studies, practical advice and theoretical debates. It offers a leading source of information about best practice in access for museums, galleries and heritage-management teams (MAGDA, 1999: cover page). Its concerns are not only physical barriers but also social barriers (Purdey, 1999; Coxall, 1999).

Moreover, Silverman's (2002) article demonstrates the therapeutic potential of museums as pathways to inclusion. She claims that museums can be facilitators of experience and/or beneficial outcomes for as many different people as possible. Museum visitors can experience a wide range of benefits, including learning, reflecting

on the humanities, restoring oneself, affirming one's sense of self, and feeling connected to community and culture. However, significant numbers of people with impaired daily functioning are not considered as potential visitors. She points out that museums have been described as a promising tool for therapy due to their uniqueness as an environment for communication. Silverman claims that, through their therapeutic potential, museums have the means to achieve the social inclusion of individuals who are often overlooked by other cultural institutions (Silverman, 2002: 69-70). Although the focus of my study is not the therapeutic potential of museums, her justification for choosing disabled people as a research topic is similar to mine. The issue of exclusion towards disabled people can apply to everyone in society. For example, she comments that at first glance, therapeutic approaches appear to be for people who are temporarily or permanently socially excluded, but the need for individualisation and integration is essential for all people (Silverman, 2002: 75-6). Furthermore, it is our mutual belief that museums provide a means to social inclusion. Her method of data analysis is also similar to mine in terms of qualitative interpretations. She gathered data from her pilot programmes, qualitatively evaluated them, then categorised them into several concepts which emerged from her data and existing literature. Thus, she identified key concepts which emerged as fundamental to the therapeutic role of museums, and developed conclusions from these. Some useful findings are; for example, the importance of 'personal service'[12] of museum media, in which visitors interact with museum staff. My thesis also explores this category of museum media rather than 'non personal service'. When visitors explain museum exhibits to other visitors, the visitors become 'caregiver' rather than 'caretaker'. She claims that it might provide individuals with therapeutic

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[12] 'Museum media constitute two major categories: personal services, such as a gallery tour or conducted programme, in which visitors interact with workers; and non-personal services, such as an exhibit or audio-visual presentation, in which visitors do not interact with a museum worker (Sharpe 1976)' (Silverman, 2002: 78).

means to impact on their sense of 'self' and connection to others (Silverman, 2002: 79-80). Another useful finding is that personal and emotional responses to artefacts are valid and valuable as an opportunity or pathway for communication, and also an entry-point for self-awareness. Museums can uniquely offer this opportunity (Silverman, 2002: 76-77).

Additionally, the *Museum Journal* (published by the Museums Association) provides updated information and discusses current issues in the English museum world, including articles regarding disability and social inclusion issues. For example, regarding disability, Heywood and Turner (2002) consider Resources' survey and advise that the heritage sector needs to reflect the true nature of disability. Although most museums focus on physical access, many disabled people suffer from sensory and intellectual barriers. Shinn (2005) explains what museums can offer for visually impaired visitors. Newman (2002) demonstrates that museums can contribute to the development of a positive self-image for the socially excluded and give them the confidence to 'feel good'. He states that although museums impact on visitors and participants, there is little research, because it is hard to evaluate. He suggests that more evaluations like his are needed (Newman, 2002: 29).

Since my research will concentrate specifically upon visually impaired visitors within museum and gallery environments, I will now move on to review museum literature sources specifically relating to visually impaired visitors.

2.5.3   Museum literature relating to visually impaired visitors

Tactile museum exhibitions

The majority of museum literature relating to visually impaired visitors discusses tactile methods for experiencing museum exhibitions/collections. Pearson (1991), Cassim (2002) and other authors summarise the history of developments in this area. In England, some museums began handling sessions in the late 19th century, lending materials or loan collections to other museums, art schools or elementary and secondary schools. However, purposeful development began in the late 20th century. For example, the University of Leicester and Group for Education in Museums (GEM) organised the first conference on the subject in 1975. In 1976, the first touch exhibition named 'Sculpture for the Blind' was organised at the Tate Gallery in London in conjunction with the Royal National Institute for the Blind (RNIB). The International Year of Disabled People (IYDP) organised some activities in 1981 and the Carnegie Trust funded reports about disabled access to the arts in the 1980s (Hetherington, 2003: 104; Cassim, 2002: 56).

Outside museums also contributed to the development. The RNIB designed public events. In February 1988, 'Talking Touch' was a seminar on the use of touch in museums and galleries, organised jointly with MAGDA. The Department of Adult Education at the University of Leicester organised an expert seminar called 'Art and Education for Visually Handicapped People' (Weisen, 1991). This series of seminars led to the development of a body of scholarship concerning this methodology, which resulted in the rapid increase in number and quality of such exhibitions in the UK (Cassim, 2002: 58). They also undertook the project named 'Taking Images', together

with the audio description service Vocaleyes, which gives visually impaired people better access to the arts.

There also exists a charitable organisation named Art Through Touch, which organises events in which sighted and visually impaired participants appreciate artworks together with sighted people, generally being volunteers or friends or family of the visually impaired participants. The group also advises a range of UK museum and galleries on improving access for visually impaired people (Shinn, 2005).

Furthermore, Cassim (2002) also reports upon the background of tactile exhibitions in the Japanese museum world, which is useful for my thesis. Nevertheless, the main part of her study does not go beyond a guideline for museum experts and workers who work for visually impaired users.

Visually impaired people's cognition and museums' inclusion/exclusion of visually impaired visitors

Other literature explores the tactile exhibition experience of visually impaired museum visitors with deeper insight. For example, Hetherington produced influential articles about visually impaired people's cognition.

In the article published in 2000, Hetherington (2000) criticises the Otherness of visually impaired visitors in museums. In order to explain it, he develops a theory of the 'spatial politics of access'. He explains metaphorical ways that visually impaired visitors tack their way into museums, using the terms 'tacky' and 'tackiness'. The 'tacking' in terms of sewing, which is a light and temporary stitch that holds things whilst also allowing for limited movement during manufacture (Hetherington, 2000: 445-6). This is the metaphor capturing the 'spatial politics of access'. Within the museum, the visually impaired are seen as the *not:* the *not* means 'non-representational,

non-discursive and under-determined figures that attain a presence within the determined spaces of representation and discourse (Hetherington, 2000: 447). The reason is because the museum has principally been constituted as a 'space of seeing'. The relationships between subjects and objects within the museum have always been mediated by vision; by looking and by the gaze. Therefore, sight has always been the human sense most privileged within the museum. However, to be without vision, or to have impaired vision in such a space, is not simply to have an impaired view of things, but to be given an *insufficiency of subjectivity* in relation to the ideal of the subject constituted by the museum (Hetherington, 2000: 448).

Hetherington's (2002) article in 2002 was about visually impaired museum visitors' scopic and optic forms of understanding. The scopic forms of understanding involves museum displays, whether picturesque arrangements of beautiful things, or chronological narratives of a developmental process (Hetherington, 2002: 187). He criticises Winckelmann's view of art, that is, the eye can be trained to see correctly to appreciate beautiful art, so that the notion of a self-disciplinary gaze is central to his understanding of art (Hetherington, 2002: 188). Winckelmann also helped to shape a new scopic, a semiotics of seeing, that was concerned both with the ideal of beauty and with the theme of development. This influenced displays within museums in the early 19th century, which can still be found in 'universal survey museums' or the 'modernist museum'[13]. Hetherington disagrees with this viewpoint, stating that to see is not necessarily to understand. Understanding is rather performed through the material semiotics through which such arrangements of things come to be performed. He emphasises that the optic and the scopic are not the same thing; we not only see through the eye, but also through a 'prosthesis' of semiotics. Moreover, these days the question

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[13] 'The modernist museum was intended to be encyclopaedic, to draw together a complete collection, to act as a universal archive' (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000:126).

of access has become one of 'multiple optics' rather than a singular trained one (Hetherington, 2002: 191-2).

In 2003, Hetherington (2003) conducted research on visually impaired people's cognition. He suggests that the distinction between distal and proximal forms of knowledge is useful for addressing issues of access and disablement in the context of museums and other sites of public culture (Hetherington, 2003: 105). He explains that the sense of sight always promotes distal knowledge whilst touch is always more proximal (Hetherington, 2003: 106). Whilst 'distal is what is preconceived, what appears already constituted and known', the 'proximal thinking deals in the continuous and the "unfinished"'(Cooper and Law, 1995: 239 quoted by Hetherington, 2003: 106). My thesis will challenge this point of view in Chapter Eight by analysing results of fieldwork with visually impaired visitors to Japanese galleries.

There is a common theme throughout Hetherington's articles, which is primarily, a criticism of museums' attitude in not offering tactile objects to visually impaired people, so treating them as the Other. Secondly, that offering alternative materials ignores their cognition. Thirdly, these alternative materials are for their audit and advertisement of museums' inclusiveness rather than for visually impaired users. And those three issues are often overlapped.

First of all, Hetherington (2000: 445) states that museum workers fear exhibits being touched due to the possibility of damage (which he called 'tackiness' associated with a 'sickness'), although visually impaired people attain access not only to an object but also to a self-recognition of their own subjectivity. Hetherington (2002: 193) also discusses Otherness of visually impaired people in the scopic regime. For the visually impaired person, it is touch that is primarily held to be the ideal form of access.

Therefore, it is touch that often informs their sense of the scopic (Hetherington, 2002: 196). The fingertips offer a viewpoint as well as a point of view – but one that remains Other in the context of the visual spaces of the museum. He claims that museums ignore the difference of visually impaired people. That is due to the politics of recognition, which has been about refusing to accept the 'self and other model' as a way to think about difference: a model that is generally seen as hierarchical and discriminatory in character (Hetherington, 2002: 196-7).

Secondly, despite this fear, visually impaired visitors' demands can no longer be ignored by museums. Consequently, alternative materials are often provided to visually impaired visitors: alternative objects such as damaged ones, alternative interpretation such as Braille signs and 3D plastic 'touch' representations of paintings (Hetherington, 2000). Hetherington (2003) believes that denying sense of touch means denying proximal knowledge for visually impaired people. Supplementary or handling collections represent the protection of the integrity of objects in museum collections as well as the curatorial mission of the museum (Hetherington, 2002). Using the example of a tactile book entitled *Second Sight of the Parthenon Frieze* (Bird et al., 1998) at the British Museum, he criticises it as an optical prosthesis in which the hand (secondary) can become like an eye (primary). The objects themselves in the museum remain inaccessible to touch. For the visually impaired person, though, it is not a source of 'haptic' access (which involves touching) but an optical prosthesis in which the experienced hand can extend to read the representation. He adds that what we see here is an illusion of the process of deferral that is at the centre of the contemporary politics of access within museums (Hetherington, 2002: 199).

Thirdly, Hetherington (2000: 461-2) points out two-sided treatment of visually impaired users by museums and says, 'the visually impaired are a problem of access, a

figural ghost that haunts the galleries of museums threatening to bring ruin if their demands for unlimited touch are met, but at the same time they are also a figure through which the museum can represent its good access practice' (Hetherington, 2000: 460). Hetherington (2003: 112) elaborates this using the concept of distal and proximal forms of knowledge into accountability: 'to do access is to be accountable in a visible and distal way'. It is not only for visitors' approval but also for trustees, funding, agencies and government. So, museum professionals think that offering equality of access is offering elements of a policy of social inclusion. Including all three arguments, Hetherington (2000: 461-2) pointed out that although museums now welcome visually impaired visitors, their ambivalent status within the museum space is both inviting but also excluding if museums deny a complete tactile experience and offer only supplementary alternatives.

Hetherington's arguments are all understandable and plausible. However, there is a fundamental problem. Many museum artefacts are too fragile to touch. Museums have a primary mission: to protect and preserve their objects as well as offering access to the objects, two functions that are not necessarily compatible. It cannot be fruitful if we concentrate on blaming museums' inaccessibility on the restriction of touching. My thesis will explore an alternative method to touching artefacts.

In the case of two-dimensional artworks such as paintings and photographs, touch (even if permissible) may impart little or no extra knowledge to visually impaired persons. We now move on to consider the significant issues that visual impaired people have in understanding and interpreting paintings, drawings and other such forms of artwork.

Visually impaired museum visitors and paintings

Kirby's article (1991) in the book entitled *Museums Without Barriers* by Foundation de France and ICOM has some relevance to my study as it is about paintings and visually impaired people. He studied the first workshop for partially sighted people to study paintings organised by the Whitechapel Gallery in London in February 1988. This study showed that guided tours are useful for partially sighted people. It demonstrated that if they have access to information and interpretation, they could enjoy artworks. It also contributed to reducing visually impaired people's feeling of isolation from art galleries: 'they [fifty or sixty 'blind' people within striking distance of London] have all spoken of how they previously felt isolated in their frustrations about art, how they were not aware of things happening, and of how they all knew visually impaired people who thought there was nothing left in art galleries for them' (Kirby, 1991: 119). He also introduces the 'Living Paintings' concept pioneered by the Living Paintings Trust. These are thermoform images accompanied by a printed reproduction and a recorded commentary. He comments: 'there can be no substitute for actually seeing a painting, but for me 'Living Paintings' has meant that I can start to study paintings again; for others it will mean that they might be able to study paintings for the first time' (Kirby, 1991: 121).

Thus, Kirby (1991) validates my assessment of Hetherington (2000, 2002, 2003). It is essential to provide tactile exhibitions and to understand the importance of touch for visually impaired people. However, museums can provide alternative ways of learning without touching, which can also contribute to the involvement of visually impaired people in museums. We will come back to Hetherington's arguments again after the analysis of my fieldwork.

2.6 A review of literature in Museum Studies and cultural policies relating to museums and social inclusion/exclusion in the Japanese context

2.6.1 Recent literature for Japanese museums and galleries

Recent publications about Japanese museums and galleries include *Hakubutsukangaku jyoron (Introduction to Museum Studies)* (Kato, 1977) and *Hakubutsukan Handobukku (The Handbook of Museums)* (Kato & Shīna eds. 1990) which are excellent introductions to Japanese Museum Studies. Articles in *Shinpan Hakubutsukangaku Kōza (New Museum Studies Seminar) volume 3* edited by Kato et al. (2000) relevant to my study include Yamamoto's (2000) discussion on life-long-learning for older users, and Suzuki's (2000) writing on local community revitalisation, and disabled users in museums.

Japanese Association of Museums' (JAM, 1999) Museum White Paper entitled *Nihon no hakubutsukan no genjō to kadai (Situations and Problems of Japanese Museums)* contains updated information on museums from an 1,891 (out of 3,449) questionnaire survey. The statistical data enables us to understand changes in the Japanese museum world since the Meiji era [1868-1912]. This paper demonstrates that educational roles as well as visitor services have become new agendas for Japanese museums.

JAM (2005a) published *Hakubutsukan sōgō chōsa hōkokusho (The Comprehensive Research Report of Museums and Galleries)*. Commissioned by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology Japan (MEXT), it aims to grasp the situation and problems of museums after a structural administrative reform and deals with museum management, educational activities and facilities, including the results of 2,030 (out of 3,930) questionnaires from museums. Although most of the

questions are general, a few questions concern disabled access and are useful for my study. The results demonstrate that more than half of museum workers think that museums do not sufficiently respond to social needs. Some responses are: 'museums have a non-friendly image', 'museums are not tied with the community', 'museums do not reflect ordinary life', and 'museums do not respond to the needs of the public' (JAM, 2005a: 163-4).

2.6.2 Museum Studies and other literature relating to social exclusion/inclusion

Despite a wide-ranging survey which included the *Journal of the Musicological Society of Japan*, *Bulletin of Japan Museum Management Academy*, and its newsletters, few publications with relevance to social inclusion and museums were found. A book entitled *Hyakubunwa ikkenwo shinogu!? (Listening a Hundred Times can be Better than One Look?)* edited by Able Art Japan (2005) was the most relevant book in my literature survey. This publication's purpose was to support social inclusion but it is not really discussed in this book, as there is only one article about socially inclusive society (Ousaka and Moriyama, 2005). Able Art Japan (2005) conducted a questionnaire survey to 255 (out of 310) museums and galleries, named 'questionnaire research upon cultural access of visual impaired people and social inclusion in museums and galleries'. However, the result is simply a list of museums' and galleries' programmes for visually impaired people. The question occurs; why don't the book and the survey reflect their purpose of researching social inclusion? The director of Able Art Japan, Ōta (17th October, 2004) indicated that it was impossible to get productive answers from Japanese museums if Able Art Japan asked questions using the term 'social inclusion'.

Other publications were found which contain the notion of social inclusion, although the precise term 'social inclusion' is not used. *Yunibāsaru myūjiamu wo*

mezashite (Towards a Universal Museum) edited by Kanagawa Prefectural Museum of Natural History (1999) focuses on practical problems in relation to tactile exhibits, but there are a few contributors who explore disability issues more relevant to inclusion issues. For example, Hamada (1999: 13) discusses 'genuine universal thinking'. In order to achieve it, it is necessary to remove a dichotomy between disabled and non-disabled people. Yamamoto (1999: 71) also emphasises the importance of hospitality towards disabled users, together with improving building facilities for disabled users.

In addition, Kanayama (1998) introduces a museum's outreach activity for older people in care homes in his article. This may seem to have no relevance to my study, yet it contains an element of social inclusion as well as issues about disabled people. He states that museums can contribute to older people creating their own community identity within society, and issues of welfare should be dealt with through multiple agents. Kanayama's (2002: 36) other article also considers the potential of museum education, including outreach programmes to support social inclusion (although the specific phrase was not used). He claims that education in society would be more useful than education in schools to tackle the social problems of pupils such as classroom breakdown (like family breakdown), bullying, absentees and suicides.

2.7 Review of literature in Museum Studies and cultural policies relating to museums and disability in the Japanese context

2.7.1 Cultural policies relating to disability and museums

Literature exists relating to disability and museums published by the Japanese government and professional museum organisations. For example, JAM (2005b) published *Darenidemo Yasashī Hakubutsukan Zukuri Jigyō: Baria Furī no Tameni*

(The Project for Making Museums which Are Kind (hearty) to Everybody: for barrier-free) commissioned by MEXT. This publication's aim is to play a role as a handbook for 'barrier-free' access in museums. It presents the results and analysis of a survey based on questionnaires from 873 (out of 1,156) Japanese museums, galleries, zoos and botanic gardens. The research shows that physical access inside buildings is well considered by most museums (for example, nearly 80% of museums have disabled toilets). However, such facilities appear not to be systematised, but in my opinion these are a response to disabled users' perceived needs rather than involving them proactively. Nearly half of museums offer tactile exhibitions or collections for visually impaired users, who are focused on more than other disabled users in the report. The report could be criticised as unbalanced; but, it is very relevant to my study. In addition, several of the articles considered have relevance to my study such as Yamamoto (2005), Yoneda (2005), and Toriyama (2005), Ōhara (2005) and Hamada (2005). Some of these will be referred to later in Chapter Three during the discussion about 'barrier-free' museum environments.

JAM's (2005a) publication introduced earlier contains information about disabled access and suggests certain improvements, such as the need for greater attention to older, disabled and foreign users (which was highlighted by the majority of museum workers).

Whilst these publications provide a strategic overview of Japanese museums attempts to accommodate disabled users, an understanding of museum practitioners' and scholars' perspective is revealed in Museum Studies literature.

2.7.2   Museum Studies literature relating to museums and disabilities

A moderate amount of literature relating to disability was found in the area of Museum Studies. Suzuki (2000) in Kato et al. eds. (2000) introduces laws in relation to disabled people, of which museum staff need to be aware. According to Suzuki, physical access for disabled users in Japanese museums and galleries significantly improved during the decade after the International Year of Disabled People of 1981. A journal of *Hakubutsukan Kenkyū (Museum Studies)* featured disability issues in 1981. In 1993, the government plan called *Shinshin shōgaisha taisaku ni kansuru shin chōki keikaku (Long term plan for physically disabled people)* was presented, which identified four barriers: material, lawful, cultural and informational, and attitudinal. Other publications such as Yamamoto (1996), Okuno (1998a; 1998b), Toriyama (1997), Aoyagi (1998) and Kagawa (1981) (refer to Suzuki, 2000: 57) are included in Suzuki's literature review in this area. The importance of staff training for disability as well as the benefits of employing disabled staff is pointed out in order to improve services for disabled users (Suzuki, 2000).

Suzuki (1998) discusses mobility difficulties in galleries and, although his article concentrates on physical access throughout, there is a wider issue beyond his presentation. Notably, he recommends that museums and galleries should be for all, not for particular people and that museums and galleries could contribute to society to offer their knowledge and technology. This is similar to the 'museum for all' and 'barrier-free'[14] (later combined as a 'universal design') concepts explained in chapter Three.

Takeuchi and Nishiwaki (2005) created an exhibition applying the principles of 'universal design', and investigating what kind of accessibility is necessary for disabled

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[14] disabling barriers towards access - both physical and psychological barriers

and older users. They conducted experimental research creating the temporary exhibition entitled *Sekai no baria furī ehon ten (Picture Books in the World, Barrier-free Exhibition)* as well as questionnaires. The article also contains a short history of 'barrier-free' and 'normalisation'. Although the scale of research is small, the article is of high quality because it involves robust methodology and data analysis. It concludes that it is important for accessibility to grasp exactly who the visitors are and what their needs are.

Yamamoto (2000) summarises the situation of older people and museums in Japan, pointing out that ageing is a process of accepting disability. However, some facilities (such as lifts) are available exclusively for disabled people. It is important for museum staff to consider whether their services and facilities are provided for all.

Museums are not the only facilities offering cultural experiences to disabled people in Japan. The discussions and concepts of access, 'barrier-free' and 'universal design' are also relevant to representative cultural organisations, and this is reflected in the body of publications considered below.

2.7.3   Publications by other cultural institutions

Much influential literature relating to museums, galleries and disabilities was published by Able Art Japan and its parent institution named *Tanpopo no Ie* (literally the house of dandelion) Foundational Juridical Person/Corporation. Able Art Japan published the *Akuseshiburu Myūjiamu (Accessible Museum)* report in 1998. Its aims were to survey the use of 'barrier-free' practice in Japanese galleries as well as developing a methodology for research in this area (Able Art Japan, 1998: 3). Nine galleries were researched through questionnaire surveys of gallery staff, actions and observations

(checking gallery facilities), discussion with gallery staff and an 'access group' (almost a half of whom were disabled people) to check the accessibility of museum facilities. Their research identifies three different barriers associated with galleries: soft barriers, hard barriers and transportation barriers to gallery buildings. Firstly, 'soft barriers' relate to the attitudes of receptionist, gallery attendants and volunteers as well as interpretation of museum objects and services. 'Hard barriers' include issues of mobility in exhibition spaces, (physical) access to the exhibits, rest places, lifts, toilets, parking, and access from bus stops. Finally, transportation barriers to buildings, for example, lack of transport access, financial support for disabled people's days out and information. The report concluded that museums and galleries do not have a close relationship with the public and the hospitality of museum staff can be a deciding factor for disabled people planning visits (Able Art Japan, 1998: 1, 23). In 2000, Able Art Japan (2000) published *Konna Āto Supēsuga Attaraiina (We Hope that There Are Art Spaces Like This)*, which states that the 'Able Art Movement' can change society, because it suggests a new sense of values.

The Able Art Movement is explained and discussed in other publications. These are such as *Toyota Eiburu Āto Fōramu Kara Kangaeru Eiburu Āto Mūbumento no Koremade, Korekara (Able Movement's Past and Future Considerations from Toyota Able Art Forum)* (Able Art Japan, 2002). Toyota Able Art Forum started from 1996 and held 58 meetings by March 2002. Others are the conference report of Able Art Japan's (Able Art Japan and Toyota Mobile Ltd., 2003) entitled *Āto wa shakai no mirai eno tōshi (Art is Investment for Future)*, the conference papers of Toyota Able Art Forum vol. 27 entitled *Atarashii Āto no Taidō (New Art Movement)* (Able Art Japan and Toyota mobile Ltd. eds., 1995) as well as *Able Art* (Harima, 1996). Details of the Able Art Movement will be explained in Chapter Three in this thesis in the discussion of the

cultural context of disability in Japan. Able Art Japan also published *Āto Supēsu Dēta Bukku (Date Book of Art Spaces: where people with disabilities can attend)* (Able Art Japan and Kakimuma eds., 2003).

Able Art Japan is not the only organisation working on behalf of disabled people in the Japanese cultural sector. There are several other organisations with a similar ethical viewpoint such as Tokyo Colony. Their publication entitled *Shōgaisha Āto Banku no Kanōsei (Disabled People's Art Bank in the Future)* written by Tohara (1992) introduces the disabled people's Art Bank, which aims for the realisation of disabled people's 'total participation and equality' through their work places, such as factories for disabled people (Tokyo Colony, Anon). The author also discusses the representation of disabled people and the marketing of art by people with disability.

Since my thesis considers specifically the experience of visually impaired visitors within the Japanese museum and gallery environment, we now review publications focused on visually impaired people.

2.7.4 Museum literature relating to visually impaired visitors

Much of the existing literature concerning visually impaired people and museums has been conducted by the Kanagawa Prefectural Museum of Natural History. Toriyama et al. (1998) introduces the programmes and facilities for visually impaired visitors at the museum, and discusses the experience of a specially formed museum focus group making suggestions for improvement.

In 1998, the museum organised a conference and its papers entitled *Yunibāsaru Myūjiamu wo Mezashite (Toward a Universal Museum)* (Kanagawa Prefectural

Museum of Natural History, 1999) were published in 1999. Many issues such as museum policies, management, guides, hands-on objects, audio and tactile explanations were raised by contributors including museum professionals and visually impaired users. It contains their case studies, experiences, surveys and reports (some of them have already been introduced in 2.6.2). Aomatsu (1999) presents a distinctive view of 'universal design', the details of which as well as Yamamoto's (1999), will be introduced in Chapter Three.

In 1998, Okuno, a curator of the museum, published her research in relation to the 'universal museums', presenting the result of a 338 questionnaire survey about museums', galleries', etc's[15] facilities and activities for visually impaired users (Okuno, 1998). It concludes that despite eagerness for improvement, few museums proactively offer learning materials for visually impaired visitors. The factors underlying this include a lack of human resources, finance, and understanding from the public, bureaucratic systems, and management attitudes. She highlights that the majority of museums merely respond to the needs of visually impaired visitors. She also recommends improving accessibility to museums (not only inside museums), which is a problem for the whole of society (not only of museums). She also adds that although some museums have tactile paving for visually impaired people, the routes are often obstructed by furniture and so forth. This suggests that museum staff do not consider the facilities for disabled users seriously.

In 1999, Okuno (1999) published the results from another questionnaire survey of schoolteachers for visual impaired pupils (166 responses out of 210 issued) which asked: under what circumstances they wished to use museums and what they expected from museums. The result is valuable for understanding their real needs, rather than the

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[15] Including botanic gardens, aquariums and zoos.

outcome of a non-specific survey of accessibility. Most answered that they look for tactile objects for museum visits. One notable response was 'for visually impaired people, touching is seeing. Listening is also connecting to seeing' (Okuno, 1999: 135). This opinion does not deny the method of 'listening', contrary to Hetherington (2003)'s opinion.

In 2000, Hamada and Okuno (2000) presented a case study of the experimental Talking Sign Guide System similar to the loop system, and proposed it as a method for the 'universal museum'. The article was extended in 2001 by Okuno (2001) and it is useful for my thesis, because it provides an in-depth consideration about 'barrier-free', which will support my discussion in Chapter Three.

In 2003, Okuno (2003) reported upon special designs of exhibition captions (such as handrails, floors, and tactile maps) for visually impaired museum users. Although the designs were made for visually impaired people, the concept of the museum was that of an 'universal museum', that is, design for everybody. In her article, she reports upon the findings from a visually impaired consultant's point of view.

This consultant, Handa, contributed to the book entitled *Chōkokuni hureru toki (When We Touch Sculptures)* published by Yōbisha Ltd. (1985), associating with the Gallery Tom (Gallery of Touch-Me Art). The book contains opinions from visually impaired visitors after they touch sculptures, and talks between architects and visually impaired people including Handa. While many other publications present quantitative information of survey results, this book provides qualitative information about visually impaired gallery visitors.

In 2005, Able Art Japan published *Hyakubunwa ikkenwo shinogu!? (Listening a Hundred Times Can be Better than One Look!?)* (introduced earlier), a handbook of gallery appreciation using words with visually impaired people. Both the book and my

PhD look at similar programmes in which sighted and visually impaired people appreciate paintings through conversations. However, the big difference between this manual and my thesis is that while the book only uses the programme as a manual book of art appreciation, my PhD involves qualitative research and sociological analysis.

In addition, Nagoya YWCA Art Guide Volunteer Group (2001) published *Shikakuni shōgai no arukata wo taishō toshita kaigasetsumei no tebiki (A Guide Book for the Appreciation of Painting by Visually Impaired People)*, a manual for sighted people who can help visually impaired people to 'see' paintings. The Museum of Fine Arts, Gifu also created *Shikaku shōgaisha no tameno shozōhin gaidobukku 1 (A Guide Book of Museum Objects for Visually Impaired People 1)* (cited by Okada, 2001).

Along with the theoretical consideration of access for visually impaired people in Japanese museum literature, there has been a steady development of the practical application of tactile resources to aid visually impaired visitors. In Japan, touch exhibitions, as well as the museum access movement for visually impaired museum visitors, began with the work of the Gallery Tom (mentioned above). The private owner, Harue Murayama's son was a blind person. This gallery intentionally operated separately from the welfare system, and contributed to the display of artworks by visually impaired artists in exhibition places in the non-disabled world (Cassim, 2002). Cassim (2002)'s study contributes to developments in this area, and comments that despite the efforts of the museum access movement for visually impaired museum visitors, it is still uncommon for Japanese museums to have policies and practices related to visually impaired visitors. The open-air sculpture museum named *Hakone Chokoku no Mori* (Woods of Sculpture in Hakone) owned by a media enterprise company called *Sankei Group*, for instance, is one of a very few examples of the provision of permanent touch trails in Japan.

2.8 Summary

During my literature review I appraised an extensive array of publications in the fields of Disability Studies and Museum Studies. These were beneficial in leading me to adopt the Social Model of Disabilities for my research.

From my review of English museum literature, it became clear that uncertainty over the application of policies to promote social inclusion has produced confusion amongst museum workers.

A comprehensive reading of publications confirms my belief that identity has become a key issue in Japanese Disability Studies. Therefore, my thesis will focus on the attitudinal changes in interactions between individuals needed to promote social inclusion.

In the Japanese museum world, social roles as well as disability issues have become more relevant recently. The term 'social inclusion' is not widely used in the Japanese museum world. However, a similar concept is used regarding 'barrier-free', 'universal design' or 'universal museum', which closely relate to disability issues. Unfortunately, it seems most Japanese Museum Studies literature does not make the connection with Disability Studies and 'barrier-free' is merely considered as removing physical barriers in museums.

Due to limited understanding of the terminology surrounding 'social inclusion' in Japan, surveys studying cultural access for the disabled have been limited in number and success. A significant study by Able Art Japan entitled 'questionnaire research upon the cultural access of visual impaired people, and social inclusion in museums and galleries', was ultimately only able to produce a list of museum and gallery

programmes for the visually impaired. This problem was taken into account when devising my fieldwork.

During my review, some literature was found which could be supportive to my research project. For example, Kalisher (1998: 28) says that museums can provide exhibitions and programmes in which people with differences can interact and understand each other. Nevertheless, it is important to discuss the whole mechanism of conflict, misunderstanding, and exclusion between disabled people and non-disabled people. SMC (2000: 14) states that museums can contribute to a more inclusive and tolerant society by arranging programmes particularly for excluded groups. However, this was merely a statement and no supporting strategy was presented. As SMC (2000: 13) itself suggests, it is necessary to identify successful model(s) in other museums that can be the basis for a pilot project. My thesis continues to explore my research question as well as attempting to meet this request. Moreover, Resource (2001a: 21-22) claims that museums can establish the norms for inclusion by demonstrating their practices of embracing diversity and removing barriers, which may consequently influence private behaviour. Howarth (2001: 7) adds that many of the barriers to access that are experienced by disabled people are shared by others in society.

However, it is unclear whether the tackling of social exclusion can be achieved simply by dismantling barriers between museums, their collections, and the socially excluded. Coxall (2001: 19) suggests that in order to be genuinely inclusive in museums, we must acknowledge the mindset that distinguishes between 'us' and 'them'. My PhD study will continue this argument in order to fully answer my research question.

Overall, some Museum Studies literature does already identify the possibility that museums can contribute to an inclusive society. There is potential for museums to

promote an inclusive society by looking at disability issues. However, there are few initiatives or existing research evaluating this in existing literature. Newman (2002: 29) suggests more evaluations are necessary on museums' impact on visitors, particularly affecting the socially excluded's self-image. RCMG (2004: 23) identify further research areas and recommend these should also include the impact on non-disabled people. My study will progress this concept.

Although some Disability Studies have already achieved the high standard of discussing identity with 'self' and 'other' issues, little museum literature reflects this. My study will attempt this combination.

Chapter Three

Current circumstances of museums and disability in Japan

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will examine the current circumstances of disability as well as museums in social, cultural and political contexts in Japan. Social welfare, social policies, disability movement, and independent living will be introduced as well as changes of the law affecting social change.

During the literature review, it was found that 'barrier-free' is one of the key terms for Japanese museums regarding disability access. In this chapter, a further examination of 'barrier-free' will be pursued in terms of Disability Studies.

The Able Art Movement is introduced in this chapter. Although still a small movement, museums could learn from it how to contribute to the quality of life of disabled people by supporting creative working and relationships between disabled and non-disabled groups.

3.2 Contemporary social, cultural and political context of museums in Japan

Japanese museums can be categorised as national, public (local authority) or private (independent) museums. According to Museum Law, 1951 Article 2, 'A Public Museum' is the term used for a museum established by a local municipality. 'A Private Museum' is the term used for museums established by a corporation (as per Article 34

of The Civil Law), a religious body, or a corporation as appointed by government ordinance. 'National Museums' include those attached to national universities (1951 Museum Law[16]; Takano, 1999). Japanese museums are either registered museums (under Museum Law Article No.10) or facilities equivalent to museums (under Museum Law Article No.29). In my study, the term 'museum' includes both. Official Statistics for Japan suggest that the ratio of museums[17] in October 2006 was as follows: national and independent administrative institution museums (2%), public museums (56%), and Private museums (30%), Others (12%). Total number in the researched year was 1,196 (Portal Site of Official Statistics of Japan, 2006). (The most recent official report records 1,245 museums in Japan in 2010 (ACA, 2010).)

Up till the 1990s, a number of fine art works were purchased by Japanese people for investment. Also, it was attractive for local authorities to construct new art museums, exhibiting well-known Western artists' works (especially Impressionists). The possession of valuable pictures along with the construction of expensive buildings for art museums was often for the purpose of symbolising the economic and cultural status of the cities rather than the people (Kawazoe, 2001).

From the beginning of 1990s, the financial situation suddenly deteriorated because of an economic crash along with political and business scandals. Subsequently, Japanese museums have suffered many setbacks, including lack of finance and declining visitor numbers. Under the recession, the public began to doubt the need for museums and art museums (refer to Ōshima, 1995; Iwabuchi, 2003). Around the millennium, a number of independent museums and galleries, many belonging to companies, closed down. Public museums also faced difficulties. Under these circumstances, then Prime Minister, Junichiro Koizumi, announced a structural reform

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[16] Museum Law, Japan, 1951, 1 December, Law no 285.
[17] Including zoos, botanic gardens and aquariums.

resulting in municipal amalgamation and privatisation. As a result, national museums were decentralised (privatised) in 2001. (Refer to the periodical journal '*Aida*', 2007 (138) for an example of a public museum's privatisation.) Five national galleries moved under the management of the Independent Administrative Institution National Museum of Art, and four national museums became managed by the National Institute for Cultural Heritage. They became independent administrative institutions with the requirement to provide annual performance measurements (museum evaluation or audit) for the first time. Public museums were also obliged to conduct performance measurements with both self-evaluation and evaluation by the local authorities.

Development and operational costs of national museums are funded by the Agency of Cultural Affairs (ACA). Promoting museums is one of the ACA's tasks (ACA, 2010). The ACA is under the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology Japan (MEXT). In FY2007, MEXT allocated 101.7billion yen to the ACA, which is 1.9 % of their total budget of 5,270.5 yen billion (MEXT, 2007). National museums received a quarter of the budget of the ACA in the FY 2004 (ACA, Anon).

The Designated Manager System was introduced in 2003 via new provisions under the Local Government Act 1947. As a result, public museums can now appoint management not only from the public sector but also from the private sector. These privatisations and structural administrative reforms have the aim of bringing a better quality of service to museum visitors. This may revitalise old bureaucratic management and the Japanese museum recruitment system. It can also contribute to decreased management costs by introducing know-how from the private sector to the public sector (Independent Administrative Institution National Museum, Japan, 2005; Nagasaki Prefecture local authority, 2005; Shimazaki, 1998; Aida no kai, 2007 (138); Hatanaka

quoted by Kobayashi, 2006). There are, however, criticisms of these changes. Many are concerned that some museums prioritise cost cutting over quality; for example, using short-term employee contracts and arranging profitable exhibitions which have little relevance to the museum collections. Performance measurement has also led to criticisms about whether it is possible to evaluate the success of museums solely on the basis of figures, such as the number of visitors, events and publications as well as the profits generated by these museums (Kobayashi, 2006; Shimazaki, 1998; Katayama, 2004 ; Aida no kai, 2007 (138), Aida no kai, 1998 (36)).

In addition, a new Japanese law named 'The Fundamental Law for the Promotion of Culture and Arts' enacted in 2001 is relevant to the wider museum world, because it attempts to emphasise the importance of culture and art to society (Kawai, 2004). The objective of this statute is 'by stipulating the fundamental principles concerning the promotion of culture and arts, this law aims to promote the autonomy of entities that conduct cultural and artistic activities and to ensure the integrated promotion of culture and arts' (ACA, 2004).

There are supporting institutions for Japanese museums such as the Japanese Arts Council. It is an Independent Administrative Institution under the Japanese Government. Its main task is subsidising grants from the MEXT to cultural institutions or individuals primarily promoting performing arts. Yet, unlike other countries' Arts Councils such as England, it does not proactively promote arts (JAC, Anon). The Japanese Association of Museums (JAM) is another foundation supporting museums. Their aim is to contribute to the development of Japanese culture and to promote life-long-learning through its research, recommendations and support of museums (JAM, Anon).

For other social and cultural aspects of Japanese museums such as relevance to social exclusion/inclusion as well as disability, refer to Chapter Two.

3.3 The contemporary social and political contexts of disability in Japan

3.3.1 The beginning of social welfare and changes of social policy affecting disabled people

The modern disability rights movement in Japan during the 1960s and 1970s was a driving force for change in social norms and policies, and for improving the lives of disabled persons and their families (Hayashi and Okuhira, 2001: 855). After the new constitution was enacted in 1947, the idea of social welfare has become more important. Furthermore, certain welfare systems were introduced which support the independence of people with disabilities. For example, the 1949 Law for the Welfare of People with Physical Disabilities provided rehabilitation services to restore their vocational capabilities (Hayashi and Okuhira, 2001: 856). In 1950, the Mental Hygiene Law (re-named later due to the inappropriate wording and policy) was enacted to promote and aid medical support for the independence of people with psychological disabilities. The purposes were not only to improve their welfare as well as the public's psychological health but also to prevent psychological disabilities. In 1951, the Welfare Social Public Works Law (re-named later) was enacted which governed Japanese social welfare. In 1950, a Law for Mental Health and Welfare for People with Mental Disorders, was brought into force to provide support for people with intellectual disabilities to promote their independence and participation in society. In 1960, the Law for the Welfare of Mentally Retarded People (re-named later) was established and in 1970, a Fundamental

Law for Countermeasures for Mentally and Physically Handicapped Persons (re-named later) was enacted which clarified disabled people's rights.

These laws, however, had significant limitations, with restrictions on those who could qualify under such statutes and family members of disabled people were expected to support them. For instance, the Law for Independence of Persons with Disabilities cut welfare and many disabled people ended up suffering from financial difficulties (Hayashi and Okuhira, 2001; CSW, 2008). And also, the Fundamental Law for Countermeasures for Mentally and Physically Handicapped Persons identifies the countermeasures for preventing disabilities rather than for supporting disabled people.

Furthermore, some laws contained inappropriate terminology. For example, the Law for the Welfare of Mentally Retarded People was re-named to Welfare for People with Intellectual Disability in 1999 due to the inappropriate wording. Such changes also reflected changes in national social policy. Learning from Western anti-discrimination legislation and social models (although the term is not used in Japan), the law became more 'supportive' than 'caring'. Since 2004, discrimination along with deprivation of rights due to disability is seen as a breach of the fundamental human rights of disabled people. Also, local government now has to make policies for disabled people.

Some laws relating to disability had discriminative aspects. These laws insist upon the isolation of disabled people from society in order to protect order in the non-disabled world. These laws had been criticised and later amended or abolished, such as the 1907 Law Regarding Leprosy (refer to MHLW, 2007; eonet, Anon) and 1948 Eugenics Protection Law (refer to Morita, 2001: 765-6; Gottlieb, 2001: 988). Due to the 1907 Law Regarding Leprosy, people with leprosy as well as their families were stigmatised and suffered from exclusion and prejudice.

3.3.2 Disability political movement/the disability rights movement and independent living

These changes of law could not be achieved without pressure groups. The disability rights movement which occurred in the 1960s and 1970s in Japan contributed to this. In the 1960s, residential institutions were provided for disabled children although such institutions were often very strict and the residents' lives were fully controlled without any privacy and no right to complain. And a number of scandalous mismanagements were reported (Hayashi and Okuhira, 2001: 857-9).

Two major protests in the 1970s were a turning point against ill treatment of disabled residents, namely the *Fuchū Ryōiku* Centre and the *Aoi Shiba* (Blue Glass Group) protests. They were considered as a beginning of the disabled rights movement in Japan. The *Fuchū Ryōiku* Centre received media attention due to a hunger strike in 1970 as well as sit-ins in front of the Tokyo Municipal building in 1972. The *Aoi Shiba*, established in 1957, developed a deeper awareness of social issues concerning those with cerebral palsy. After 1970, when a mother killed her two-year old disabled children, the group took a standpoint. Whilst society sympathised with her actions, the *Aoi Shiba* defended the rights of the killed child. They created the association of parents of disabled children, concerned that much of society judges disabled persons as 'an existence which should not exist' (Hayashi and Okuhira, 2001: 859-860). This further developed into the disability movement group in 1970, when Hiroshi Yokota proclaimed the declaration of their activity as 'We Act Like This': we act against 'inner consciousness of discrimination' held by non-disabled people towards disabled people as well as amongst disabled people (Sugino, 2002).

In the 1970s, negotiations with government were protest-oriented and their demands were often ignored. But by the 1980s government agencies started negotiating

with disability rights organisations based on research findings. Independent living (the personal home attendant programme) became popular as a result of such negotiations.

The 1981 International Year of Disabled Persons (IYDP) promoted visits by pioneers of the US disability rights and independent living movement who contributed to the development of the Japanese disability movement (Hayashi and Okuhira, 2001: 865-966). In 1986, the first centre for independent living modeled on those in the US was opened in a suburb of Tokyo, providing fee-based services. More centers were created and in 1991, the Japan Council on Independent Living Centres (JIL) was established to coordinate the independent-living movement. In 1996, the Ministry of Health and Welfare established the City-Town-Village Living Support Program for Disabled Persons and, in 2005, the government implemented the National Attendant Insurance Program for Disabled Persons, through which disabled people receive services from community-based agencies. The concept of a consumer-controlled service was finally established (Hayashi and Okuhira, 2001: 865-966). The Law to Support Persons with Developmental Disabilities was enacted in 2004, followed by the Law for Independence of Persons with Disabilities in 2005.

3.3.3   The Laws about accessibility and mobility for disabled people

While independent living was achieved through negotiation with the Ministry of Health and Welfare (MHW), the access issue was dealt with by the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism (MLIT) in Japan, which established laws relating to accessibility for disabled people. The 1994 Act on Buildings; Accessible and Usable by the Elderly and Physically Handicapped (the "Heartful Building Law") provides guidelines for accessibility to designated buildings. The 2000 Law for Promoting Easily Accessible Public Transportation Infrastructure for the Aged and

the Disabled (the 'Transportation Barrier-Free Law') requires public transport to be accessible. However, these laws had limitations. For instance, the Heartful Building Law is not mandatory for buildings under 2,000 square meters, thereby excluding many retail shops from the legislation. Still, these laws and other initiatives led by the government and socially concerned architects, engineers, and advocates are beginning to make Japanese society accessible to all (Kawauchi, 2005).

In 2006, the Law for Promoting Easily Accessible Transportation Infrastructure for the Aged and the Disabled (the "New Barrier-Free Law") was enacted, superseding the Heartful Building Law and Traffic Barrier-Free Law (Imafuku, 2007; MLIT, 2006b). This new law is based on the concept of universal design. According to the Basic Plan for Handicapped People, Cabinet Decision of December 24, 2002 (quoted by MLIT, 2006b), the 'universal design' is: 'the concept of designing cities and living environments that can be utilized without difficulty by everyone including the handicapped, people of all ages and of both genders, and of all races'. The MLIT works for the achievement of barrier-free conditions, to smooth the use of public transportation systems and to promote the Free Mobility Project[18] (MLIT, 2006c). According to the Basic Plan for Handicapped People, Cabinet Decision of December 24, 2002 (quoted by MLIT, 2006c), 'barrier-free' is: 'The process of removing barriers preventing elderly and handicapped people for example from participating in the life of society. It is the concept of removing all obstacles including physical, social, systemic, psychological, and information obstacles'.

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[18] Free Mobility Project: This refers to projects that apply revolutionary ubiquitous network technologies to use Ubiquitous Location Information Systems that provide necessary information anytime, anywhere, to anyone in real time in order to provide system users with information such as travel routes, transportation methods, and destinations by voice, by a letter, and in multiple languages to allow the elderly and handicapped to travel freely to destinations they wish to reach (MLIT, 2006b).

3.3.4 Disability laws relating to museums

Some of these laws have relevance to museums. In Chapter 2 of the 1949 Law for the Welfare of People with Physical Disabilities, it was stated 'all people with physical disabilities have to be given opportunities to participate in social, economic, cultural and other activities as members of society'. Chapter 25 of the 1970 Fundamental Law for Countermeasures for Mentally and Physically Handicapped Persons states: 'national and regional public sectors have to fulfil and inspire the cultural desires of disabled people […] they should offer financial support and other necessary measures'. Moreover, in Chapter 4 of the 1973 Standard of Founding and Managing Public Museums in the Museum Law, it was stated 'in terms of planning museums, it is desirable to consider the convenience of disabled users such as wheelchairs'. This shows the improvement since the old 1951 Museum Law, in which no consideration was given to disabilities (Suzuki, 2000). Thus, as cultural and social institutions, museums are expected by law to offer and support disabled people's cultural activities as well as to adapt their spaces for disabled people's needs.

3.4 The contemporary cultural and social contexts of disability in Japan – from discussion of 'barrier-free'

As described above, the equality of disabled people has been improved in terms of social policies as well as legal regulations. This section will examine disability in the social and cultural contexts. It involves the discussion of 'barrier-free' in the Disability Study context.

3.4.1   Psychological barrier-free and Disability Discrimination Act ("DDA")

Despite the efforts of some supporting groups, such as the association "Abolishing Bad Laws", a Disability Discrimination Act is not yet enacted, nor is social inclusion government policy, in Japan (Ōtani, 2001). However, in the New Barrier-Free Law (NBFL), there is a similar concept to anti-discrimination or anti-social exclusion, which is called 'psychological barrier-free'. The NBFL supplemental pamphlet explains: 'the psychological barrier-free is a requirement of the understandings and cooporation from the public towards promoting barrier-free and it was decided to be the nation's, local public sections' and the public's duty' (MLIT et al., 2007: 4). The MILT (2006d) states that one of the general principles of universal design policy is completing non-physical measures; in other words, the realisation of a 'psychological barrier-free' society. The MILT (2006d) identifies one of the four specific measures as follows 'to contribute to the creation of a society in which all people can exercise their individuality and unique abilities and participate freely in society to achieve self-actualization, diverse human resources are developed among users, students, and businesses and efforts made to stimulate people's consciousness'. This statement is similar to the concept of social inclusion, because it aims to create a society in which all people can exercise their individuality and unique abilities. It also emphasises the importance of work for influencing the way that non-disabled people view disabled people. The MLIT organises programmes for the realisation of 'psychological barrier-free', including the Transport Barrier-Free Class which aims to encourage non-disabled people to become volunteers and help disabled people's mobility. The MLIT identifies such action as creating a society that is psychologically barrier-freed (MLIT, 2005). The MLIT also recommends that public transport employers improve 'psychologically barrier-free'

environments by providing employee training for disability awareness (MLIT, 2007b). However, there are limitations. As MLIT is a ministry dealing with land, infrastructure and transport, its responsibility is primarily towards buildings and transportation. Whilst these programmes could be a good step towards the realisation of social inclusion, it may be difficult to achieve a fully integrated society by only removing barriers in buildings and transportation systems.

Thus, the 'psychological barrier-free' environment suggested by the MLIT does not necessary equate to the 'removal of the psychological barrier between non-disabled people and disabled people', which is the stated aim of the UK's 1995 DDA.

3.4.2 'Barrier-free' in Museum Studies and Disability Studies

Barrier-free is a term used by both the Japanese government and Japanese museums. Despite popular usage of the term in the museum world, there is no clear definition. Yamamoto (2005) also states that the real nature of 'barrier-free' may not be deeply understood.

Universal design is another term used by museums in relation to 'barrier-free'. According to Takeuchi and Nishiwaki (2005), Mace (1998) criticises 'barrier-free design' because it is only for disabled people and it treats disabled people as the socially weak. Instead, he suggests 'universal design' which targets all people regardless of disability. The Center for Universal Design in North Carolina State University identifies seven principles of universal designs: Equitable use, Flexibility in use, Simple and intuitive use, Perceptual information, Tolerance for error, Low physical effort, and Size and space for approach and use (The Center for Universal Design, 1997; Takeuchi and Nishiwaki, 2005). Based on this, the Kanagawa Prefectural

Museum of Natural History in Japan defines 'universal design' as well as 'universal museum' as follows:

> Universal design means designing products, buildings, spaces and so forth to make them usable for as many people as possible. It means designing an environment which is usable not only for disabled people but also for everybody including the elderly, pregnant and children (Okuno, 2003: 5).

> Universal museum is a museum where all functions are 'kind' for all people. It is a museum which is designed for fulfilling such commitments throughout all departments and by all staff (Okuno, 2003: 5).

Hamada and Okuno (2005) explain that when each barrier in museums is removed, 'barrier-free' can be achieved, and when 'barrier-free' is achieved in museums, 'universal-design' can be attained. Consequently, whilst Mace (1998 quoted by Takeuchi and Nishiwaki, 2005) differentiates 'universal design' from 'barrier-free' in terms of the 'social model of disability', Japanese museums appear to treat 'universal design' as a sum of 'barrier-free'. Moreover, Hamada (2005) explains if museums aim to be kind to all people, the action should be called 'universal design'.

However, in Disability Studies literature, 'barrier-free' is not such a Utopian concept. Many authors in Disability Studies criticise the 'barrier-free' concept in terms of disabled people's identities. Kuramoto (2002) believes that 'barrier-free' can be the 'social model of disability' as well as the 'individual model of disability', which depends on contexts. He explains this concept using an example of a lift. If the lift is offered to overcome a lack of ability for climbing steps, it is seen as the response towards the 'individual model of disability'. However, if the lift is offered for many types of people, it is seen as a response appropriate to the 'social model of disability'. Sugino (2002: 274) disapproves of the 'barrier-free' or 'kind society towards disabled people' because a 'kind society' is often an assimilating society where 'disability' is

seen as unfortunate. This 'kind' concept may be comfortable only for non-disabled people. Yet, many disabled people want to choose a different way to be fully included, which is by differentiating themselves. Museum workers do need to understand disabled people's viewpoints and their identities. Similarly, Kuramoto (1999: 231) criticises the concept of 'normalisation' or 'living together' as it makes the real existence of disabled people invisible. Returning to Museum Studies literature, Hamada (2005: 46) says 'to sum up, the most important thing is people need to be kind to others, and the recipients need to appreciate the kindness, which makes both sets of people understand each other'. This may be valid if we talk about multicultural society but when we talk about 'barrier-free' or 'universal design' (as Hamada does), the givers of kindness are museum workers and the receivers are disabled people. In this case, as Sugino points out, the relationship of the two parties is not equal, and disabled people are not fully included.

Moreover, despite museums' efforts on 'barrier-free', providing technological assistance to disabled people can appear to be patronising. Ishikawa (1999: 315-316) warns that 'barrier-free' society can be intolerant towards the "disabled" or the "unabled", if the equal society between disabled and non-disabled can only be achieved with 'enabling technology'. Because disabled people are without an 'enabling technology', they can be easily excluded. 'Barrier-free', 'universal design' and 'accessibility' all involve 'enabling technology' inevitably and therefore are subject to this problem.

Furthermore, there is a danger that 'barrier-free' practice may hide the real problems behind disability and society. Yoshii (2002: 98) cautions that when 'barrier-free' is treated as welfare, the emotion of phobia towards disabled people as well as the attitude of oppression and exclusion towards disabled people become hidden. He states

that phobia is not caused by emotion, but caused by lack of familiarity and that the unknown gap between disabled people and non-disabled people contributes to this phobia (Yoshii, 2002: 114). When there is a lack of information to understand disabled people as trusted others, we feel fear. Although this uncomfortable feeling is our own difficulty in associating with the unknown Others, one blames disability and identifies it as an object of phobia (Yoshii, 2002: 116). Not many museum workers recognise these emotional attitudes towards disabled people from non-disabled people. As Yoshii (2002) warns, 'barrier-free' does not solve the problem of phobia and 'barrier-free' should not be used to cover up exclusion. More research needs to be done in this area. And my thesis will continue the investigation of the attitudes towards disabled people as well as the relationship between 'self' and 'other' with sociological studies.

My review of Japanese Museum Studies literature suggested that little dealt with disability issues in relation to social inclusion. And 'barrier-free' is merely considered as removing physical barriers in museums (2.7 Supra). However, although limited in number, some Museum Studies literature recognises the Utopia of 'universal design'. For example, Aomatsu (1999) highlights the difficulties of delivering 'universal design' at the conference of the 'universal museum' held in 1998. He points out it is difficult to design everything truly universally. For example, an accessible toilet is useful for wheelchair users, but not equally useful for visually impaired people. He recommends that it is better being a 'universal' (or kind) museum as a whole, rather than a museum overly focusing on details and ending up with non-usable design for everybody. Ōhara (2005) also points out that it very much depends on the type of user whether something becomes a barrier or not. Therefore, it is impossible to specify and to say 'this is barrier-free design'. He also highlights typical mistakes in museums, treating 'barrier-free' as a final objective. 'Barrier-free' is not an end but a start. When 'barrier-free' is

considered, a barrier already exists. The 'barrier-free' concept is a system eradicating minus factors from the environment and making them 'zero'. Furthermore, Okuno (2001) recognises the importance of the 'psychological barrier-free' concept, saying that 'psychological barriers' are prejudicial towards disabled people, which is similar to Yoshii (2002)'s perceptions. And Hamadas' (1999: 13) 'genuine universal thinking' also has a deeper insight of the issue, supporting the removal of the dichotomy between disabled and non-disabled people (2.6.2 Supra). These are much closer to my argument, which is that 'barrier-free' should be achieved not only physically but also psychologically without prejudice, fear and uncertainty towards disabled people, rather than their earlier definitions.

Overall, although there are some exceptions, the majority of Japanese museum people perceive 'barrier-free' or 'universal design' as a 'kind' concept without considering disability identities, as well as non-disabled people's attitudes towards disability. The museum world can learn from Disablity Studies in order to promote 'genuine universal thinking' or 'psychological barrier-free'.

3.5 The cultural context of disability in Japan – from a discussion of the Able Art Movement

3.5.1 Able Art Movement

The concepts of 'barrier-free' and 'universal design' have been influential in making museums consider disability socially and culturally. The Able Art Movement, established by Able Art Japan in 1995, by focusing on abilities of disabled people not on their disabilities (Ōta, 2002), also makes us think about disability from a cultural perspective. Harima (1996: 10) explains the Able Art Movement as follows:

The art of people with disabilities" created by "artists of soul" has been appreciated so far only through the filter of welfare. This caused their art to be evaluated very poorly. Their art was wither [*sic*] totally ignored or given only a special position under the light of modern art. However, modern art is losing its vitality today. At such [a] moment, we wish to re-evaluate with a new way of observation the art of people with disabilities which is filled with overflowing primeval energy and thus we wish to carry out the movement to help it develop as a new art that creates life. This is the proposal of our "Able Art Movement".

Takahashi (1996) and Nagata (2003) share similar views. Takahashi (1996: 51) supports the social effects of Able Art, which he believes revitalises the art world. Nagata (2003) explains that Able Art has two meanings: a narrow view is simply of disability art; the wider perspective is of an art movement. He claims that, through disability art, it is possible to review and to reorganise established art and social systems.

Ōta (2002) explains the aim of the Able Art Movement as recovery of the humanity of people, and making a new society through rediscovering the wealth of mind and recovering of community and connections. The mission of the Able Art Movement is making human beings happy through breaking the territories of welfare and art, bridging them, and creating new values and worldviews (Ōta 2002: 24-25).

Sekine (2002: 81) also identifies the bridging effect of Able Art. He states that *shōgai* (literally disturbance and barrier, but also disability) is created during the communication between disabled people and non-disabled people, who see the world differently. For example, even if we covered our eyes, we do not experience the same cognitive experience as those by which visually impaired people perceive the world. These differences create barriers to our understanding of each other. Regardless of disability, everybody has their own world. However, using artworks as a medium, people can express their internal world in a form that can be understood by others.

Therefore, art can make bridges between 'self' and 'other' with the potential to remove the barriers. Sai (2000) also states that through making art spaces for the community, it is possible to offer a place where individuals' view of life and their own worlds may be expressed. When we draw things, it shows the painters' way of viewing the world. The products differ from any others. It affirms our existence and proves that we are different from others. The argument of having or not having disability becomes meaningless during this process.

Moreover, Harima (1996: 10) recognised the Able Art Movement as a self-healing effect of Able Art both towards disabled artists as well as viewers.

> We, humans, have a desire to express ourselves in various manners including emotional expressions such as laughter and sorrow. It may be the desire to be accepted by others, to possess the world of diversity as our own or to share the common world with others. The way[s] of self-expression used by people with disabilities are often accompanied by aggressiveness and coarseness coming out of the impulse of life. However, this is the way they release the energy of their life and it results in self-healing. When this self-healing power goes beyond its level and becomes the power to heal others, their art will be blessed with a new potentiality.

My literature review has demonstrated that despite the significant quantity of Japanese and English Disability Studies literature dealing with museum practice, work remains to be done towards facilitating a fuller understanding between disabled people and non-disabled people, and enhancing their access to cultural resources. However, in some notable areas, such as work undertaken by the Able Art Japan, significant progress has been made.

3.6 Summary

As a result of financial pressures and government initiatives, Japanese museums have changed significantly in recent years, pursuing activities in a way that addresses the changes in Japanese society.

The socialisation of disabled people has been supported by changes of legislation and programmes. The 'exclusion' laws have been are repealed or superseded; the disability movement has contributed to the development of independent living; and improvements in transportation and building design facilitate accessibility and mobility. Some government policies, such as 'universal design', contain an element of inclusion. However, the Japanese New Barrier-Free Law is clearly different from other anti-discrimination laws such as the UK Disability Discrimination Act, which covers diverse areas such as employment, education, buildings and services, public transport and so forth.

In the Japanese museum world, the terms 'barrier-free', 'universal design' and 'accessibility' are often used to be 'kind' to disabled people. However, the idea is criticised by Disability Studies scholars who claim that 'barrier-free' may have the opposite effect.

The 'psychological barrier-free' concept is suggested by government departments such as the MLIT. A part of their policy about 'psychological barrier-free' has a relevance to social inclusion. However, the effort has only been made to improve non-disabled people's understanding of 'barrier-free', particularly regarding buildings and transportation. Okuno (2001) and Hamada (1999), however, recognise 'psychological barrier-free' such as prejudice towards disabled people and 'genuine universal design' such as removing a dichotomy between non-disabled and disabled

people. My thesis adopts these concepts and aims to identify some museum practices that can achieve such 'psychological barrier-free' environments.

Finally, Able Art Japan, has as one of its primary aims improvement of the understanding between disabled people and non-disabled people through arts by people with disability. This intention is most relevant to my study and, consequently, Able Art Japan was chosen as the place of my fieldwork. My study will continue to explore the binding effect of art, as well as museums, on the understanding between disabled people and non-disabled people.

Chapter Four

Theoretical discussion of exclusion, difference, and the Other

4.1 Introduction

Using Bauman and May's (2001) concept of 'thinking sociologically' this chapter examines personal attitudes to social exclusion and mechanisms of exclusion. My literature review revealed that such information is missing from Museum Studies literature, leading to confusion within social inclusion practice in museums. However, some Disability Studies literature recognises the necessity of discussion regarding exclusion and phobia/ hatred.

Since it is impossible to promote inclusion without a good understanding of exclusion, the objective of my thesis is to define the mechanisms of exclusion simply yet thoroughly. This thesis uses the term 'others' or 'other' for unthreatening opposition to 'self', while a term 'the Other' is reserved for describing 'fearful' strangers who become targets of exclusion.

4.2 Sociological consideration of exclusion

4.2.1 Differentiation

'Exclusion' and 'differentiation' are not the same. 'Differentiation', in other words drawing a boundary between 'self' and 'other', is not regarded as exclusion. This activity distinguishes 'us' from 'them' and vice versa, as well as forming the identity of 'self' and 'other' (Bauman and May, 2001; Woodward, 1997; Volf, 1996). Bauman and May (2001: 30) state that in our world, there is a distinction between 'us' and 'them': 'one stands for the group to which we feel we belong and understand. The other, on the contrary, stands for a group which we cannot access or do not wish to belong'. The distinction between 'us' (ourselves or 'self') and 'them' (another, Other, or 'others') is sometimes presented in sociology as that between an in-group and an out-group. The gamut of an in-group, in other words a community, is from face-to-face groups to larger imaginative political, ideological and cultural groups such as class and nation. This bounding activity is not itself exclusion, because as Bauman and May (2001: 34-35) say, 'we are "us", as long as there is "them", [and this] makes sense only together, in their opposition to each other. […] Without such a division, without the possibility of opposing ourselves to "them", we would be hard put to make sense of our identities'. (Also, refer to Woodward, 1997: 4; Volf, 1996: 61.) Thus, the existence of 'others' is inevitable, and is necessary in formation of self-identity.

4.2.2   Exclusion as ejection/rejection and assimilation

Unlike 'differentiation', 'exclusion' regards people who do not belong to 'self' as 'the Other', leading to resistance against the Other's identity. One type of exclusion is 'ejection or rejection' which is against-binding. The other form is known as 'assimilation' which is against-separation.

Ejection/rejection, closely relates to essentialism[19] and a claim of 'naturalness' (such as a 'myth of origin'[20] and the 'politics of purity'). Volf (1996: 74) refers to this sort of exclusion, as follows: 'the blood must be pure: […] The origins must be pure: we must go back to the pristine purity of our linguistic, religious, or cultural past, shake away the dirt of otherness collected on our march through history (Horowitz, 1985[…])'. Douglas (1966) explains the 'politics of purity', as an ideology of "dirt" in the wrong place. Excluding matter that is out of place, purifies the environment (Woodward, 1997: 34) and restores our sense of property in the world (Volf, 1996: 78 referring to Douglas, 1966). For the cause, see the section 4.3.1, 'Superiority complex'.

The other aspect of exclusion is known as 'assimilation'. Assimilation[21] is based on totalitarianism[22], holding the idea that 'you can survive, even thrive, among us, if you become like us; you can keep your life, if you give up your identity' (Volf, 1996: 75). Assimilation opposes postmodernism (which rejects totalitarianism[23] and 'meta-

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[19] 'Arguments which reduce the complexity of social phenomena to a single dimension (an essence) are often criticized as essentialist' (Abercrombie et al., 2000:122 fourth ed.).

[20] Referred to by Bauman and May (2001: 141-142) 'This myth suggests that even if it were once a cultural creation, in the course of history the nation has become a truly 'natural' phenomenon and so is something beyond human control' (Bauman and May, 2001: 141).

[21] The term assimilation did not originate in sociology as follows:
 'The term [*assimilation*] itself originally came from biology in order to denote how, in order to feed itself, a living organism assimilates elements of the environment and so transforms 'foreign' substances into its own body. In so doing it makes them 'similar' to itself and so what used to be different becomes similar' (Bauman and May, 2001: 143).

[22] totalitarianism- 'of or relating to a centralized dictatorial form of government requiring complete subservience to the State' (Thompson:1995:1472, ninth ed).

[23] Lyotard (1984: 81-2 referred to by Billington et al., 1998: 228).

narratives'[24]), and celebration of individuality, emotion and difference, as well as the reservation of 'reality' and 'truth' (Corker and Shakespeare, 2002: 4; O'Donnell, 1997; Woodward ed., 1997; Lyon, 1994; Pieterse, 1997; Hall ed., 1997; Billington et al., 1998; Macey, 2000).

'Assimilation' is restricted and exploited by 'us' (an in-group), and 'assimilation' allows only conditional 'binding' which insists upon 'them' (an out-group) losing their identity. Assimilation is therefore cultural and expressed by social exclusion of the out-group. Failures of 'assimilation' can cause hatred towards the out-group, which may lead to separation, exclusion or elimination.

Together, 'assimilation' and '(r)ejection' polarise strangers' identities, and demand of them the choice of 'either-or': 'conform or be damned, be like us or do not overstay your visit, play the game by our rules or be prepared to be kicked out from the game altogether' (Bauman, 1995: 180). That is a form of exclusion.

4.3 The motivations of exclusion and the beginnings of hatred and phobia

One of the strongest excluding feelings towards the Other is hatred or phobia. Understanding these feelings is important in an appreciation of the mechanism of exclusion. Three forms may be identified. Firstly, a 'superiority complex' relating to the idea of supremacist notions and purity. Secondly, a mechanism of 'projecting hatred of oneself to others', that is, deceiving oneself by blaming others for one's problems. And thirdly, a 'fear of the Other' which is caused by lack of familiarity and ignorance.

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[24] 'Lyotard's term for narratives which make forms of knowledge legitimate by supplying them with a validating philosophy of history. […] Metanarratives claim to have a universal status, and to be able to explain all other narratives […] it excludes the black cultures that are producing a historical memory and a narrative of emancipation as they struggle against racism' (Macey, 2000: 167). Lyotard suggest 'little narrative' rejecting the totalitarian tendencies (Billington et al., 1998: 230).

4.3.1   Superiority complex; supremacist notions; purity against dirt

Hatred sometimes starts with the idea that 'we' ('us', or an in-group) are superior to the Other ('them', or an out-group). This may originate from the disturbance of "purity" and can be characterised as a superiority complex over the Other. 'Society is divided into X (superior in-group) and non-X (inferior out-group), and then whatever is not X (say, people who eat different foods or have different bodies) is made into "non-X" and thereby assigned to the inferior out-group' (Volf, 1996: 73). Douglas' (1966) explanation of "dirt" is indeed explicable by this superiority complex. Extreme nationalism demonstrates how an excluding ideology and essentialism exercise both assimilation and (r)ejection of the Other. Unlike a state, having clearly defined boundaries both on maps and on land, the nation is an 'imagined community' which exists as an entity in so far as its members mentally and emotionally 'identify themselves' with a collective body.   Bauman and May (2001: 141-2) explain how nationalism affects exclusion:

> The present members of the nation – so the myth [*myth of origin*] says – are tied together by a common past from which they cannot escape. The national spirit is then regarded as a shared and exclusive property that not only unites people, but also sets them apart from all other nations and all individuals who may aspire to enter their community.

Ignorance of this origin of hatred is dangerous, because 'we' (an in-group) forget the tendency for the Other (an out-group) to be imaginably created by 'us' (Bauman and May, 2001: 31).

4.3.2 'Projecting hatred of oneself to others': Deceiving oneself by blaming others for one's problems

A second form of hatred felt towards the Other is defined as 'projecting hatred of oneself to others'; in other words, 'collective hatred of ourselves'. According to Volf (1996: 77-78) who refers to Kristeva (1990), 'sometimes the dehumanization and consequent mistreatment of others are a projection of our own individual or collective hatred of ourselves; we persecute others because we are uncomfortable with strangeness within ourselves (Kristeva 1990)'. We project our own unwanted evil onto the Other, because we cannot accept our shadows so as to be able to embrace others (Kristeva 1990: 79). Fay (1996: 240) also explains this as follows:

> In double irony, sometimes the emphasis on difference is a result of scapegoating in which we project parts of ourselves we abhor onto others who are black (when we are white), foreign (when we are American), female (when we are male), devils (when we are upright). In this case it is not really *their* difference to which we are responding but to differences *within ourselves* which we cannot accommodate and with which we deal by denying their sources in us by seeing others through the hated category we despise. Here the emphasis on difference has the vehemence it does because it stems from ourselves. In this case the insistence on difference is *not* a way of seeing others but a way of mis-seeing them (in fact is a case of actively *not* seeing them and of seeing ourselves in a self-deceptive way). Here the emphasis on difference is not a mark of respect for others but a mark of disrespect for (aspects of) ourselves.

4.3.3 Fear of the Other caused by lack of familiarity and ignorance

Though the existence of others is inevitable, and useful in forming self-identities (Woodward, 1997: 4; Bauman and May, 2001: 34-35; Volf ,1996: 61), the Other can cause anxiety to the individual (Bauman and May, 2001: 143).

Bauman and May's (2001: 94) concept of concentric circles in our cognitive maps is helpful in visualising the anxiety caused by the Other:

> Let us think of the world around us – the places and people we know and believe we understand – as a series of concentric circles, each one being larger than the next. The circumference of the largest circle is blurred in our cognitive map: it is a misty, far away place […] The smaller circles are safer and more familiar; the smaller they become, the safer they feel.

The largest circle contains the 'great unknown', lands that have never been visited. The next largest circle is our country, where each passer-by is assumed to be capable of sharing the same rules, languages, manners and responses. A smaller circle may be called our 'neighbourhood'. Here we know people by face, and their habits. Knowing people's habits reduces the uncertainty that comes with lack of familiarity. The smallest circle is an 'inner circle' or 'home' which is regarded as a place of safety and security, where we can be sure of our place and our rights.

As long as the boundaries between the circles are assumed to be clearly demarcated, we know who we are, who are other, what expectations are made of us and thus where we stand in the order of things. However, once the boundaries between these circles become blurred or break down, feelings of confusion and uncertainty, through to resentment and hostility, are the result. In the modern world, where people move around quickly, familiarity and security is eroded (Bauman and May, 2001: 94). Coxall (1997: 101) describes xenophobia, the hatred of everything 'foreign', in similar terms:

> It is as well to remember that the practice of measuring people against a fixed perception of identity can be motivated by a feeling of paranoia and threat to individual identities: the extreme outcome being xenophobia. Xenophobia is born out of such unacknowledged fear of the unknown that has progressed into a projection of that perceived threat into fierce animosity against individuals.

In short, familiarity makes us feel secure and safe, which reduces uncertainty. As long as the boundaries between circles such as between 'us' and 'them', and between 'our lands' and 'their lands' are demarcated, others do not cause anxiety for 'us'. However, once distinctions become uncertain, fear materialises, which may result in hostility towards the Other or 'strangers' (Bauman and May, 2001). Thus, it follows that the mechanism of exclusion towards the Other stems from fears that originate with uncertainty and lack of familiarity.

4.4 The factors of lack of familiarity and ignorance

Lack of familiarity and ignorance, which were introduced as one of the strongest motivations for exclusion in the previous section, are most relevant to my study (as well as Disability Studies). Lack of familiarity and ignorance create fear of the Other, which turns into phobia and subsequently exclusion. To further understand this process we should consider the following concepts: strangers; prejudice and stereotype; deviation (abnormal); and stigma.

4.4.1 Strangers

'Stranger' is defined as 'a person that one does not know or who is not familiar to one' (Crowther ed., 1995: 1179). Bauman (1995: 126) defines 'strangers', paying attention to the perspective of one to the other, thus: 'the gap between what one needs to know in order to navigate and what one knows or things one knows about actual and possible moves of the others is perceived as the element of 'strangeness' in the others; this gap constitutes them as *strangers*'.

'Strangers' sometimes can be categorised into specific groups such as immigrants, the ethnically different, vagrants, travellers or the homeless, and devotees of conspicuous subcultures (Bauman, 1995: 128). The common features of 'strangers' are people or groups who will not stay in 'our' home territories. Strangers have least contact with 'us' or 'our lives', and share with us only the accidental and temporary encounter in the busy street or the shopping mall.[25] Although 'strangers' are expected to go soon and never to meet 'us' again, this is not always the case (Bauman, 1995: 45). When 'strangers' stay with (or next to) 'us', they are regarded more as 'troublemakers' than as a distinct out-group (Bauman and May, 2001: 37). While the 'other' contributes to making sense of 'us', 'strangers' are seen as a threat of ambiguity and disorder (Bauman and May, 2001: 36 referring to Douglas, 1966).

The cause of the terror of 'strangers' is *uncertainty*, lack of understanding, not knowing *how to go on* (Bauman 1995: 106). Exclusion is a way of coping with this; 'we' need territorial separation as well as spiritual separation, and insist that strangers live in isolated areas and refuse to mix with them (Bauman and May, 2001: 38). Thus, 'Unfamiliar people' become enemies because they risk disturbing our secure territories of 'defensible space' (Bauman, 1995: 135).

'Cold indifference' is a technique to enable one to live amongst strangers; that is, a technique of exclusion (Bauman and May, 2001: 41).

4.4.2   Prejudice and stereotypes

Prejudice is another concept concerning unfamiliarity of the Other. The term 'prejudice' is defined by O'Sullivan et al. (1994: 240-241) and by Bauman and May

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[25] Bauman (1995:44) calls this as a 'mobile togetherness'.

(2001: 32) as predisposed aggression, other negative dispositions or the refusal to admit any virtues that the 'enemy' may possess. Bauman and May (2001: 38) explain its features, thus: 'barriers of prejudice may be built that prove far more effective than the thickest of walls. Active avoidance of contact is constantly boosted by the fear of contamination from those who "serve" but are not like "us"'.

Stereotyping is an inclination to magnify the real and imaginary vices of others, according to simple characterisations based on incomplete information and 'our' assumptions about 'them'. This attitude underlies a 'power/knowledge' sort of game, power relations, tensions or conflicts between 'us' and 'them' (Hall, 1997: 259 referring to Foucault). Every kind of prejudice and stereotyping constitutes examples of exclusions towards the Other (Hall, 1997: 258).

Prejudice and stereotypes can exist easily when one does not know people well; they are unfamiliar Others or 'strangers'. In a media influenced global market,[26] new technology, and 'consumerism' can contribute to this phenomenon. Mass communication (such as the World Wide Web) influence people's lives and thoughts.[27] Electronic medium-created 'visibilities' can form the identity of the other (Bauman 2000: 75). Mass media accelerates so-called 'videology', 'the look has become the ideology of sorts' (Barber, 1998: 14-5 cited by Bauman, 2000: 75). This superficial understanding of 'other' leads to misunderstanding and may be misused for the sake of 'self' (Bauman, 2000: 75). 'The telecity' (a felicitous term of Henning Bech) is another concept of this kind. Bauman believes the 'telecity' is where the physical presence of strangers does not conceal or interfere with their psychical out-of-reachedness. The screen-mediated world of the 'telecity' exists only by way of surfaces: everything can

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[26] Which shares the similarity of a post-industrial society theory.
[27] Such as 'radical postmodernism' seen by Lyotard (Referred to by Corker and Shakespeare, 2002: 5). Also refer to Jean Baudrillard, J.-F.Lyotard referred to by Lyon (1996).

and must be turned into an object for the gaze, taking in strangers as 'surfaces' (Bech cited by Bauman, 1996: 27). Thus strangers are understood only in the most superficial of ways.

Returning to 'projecting hatred of oneself to others' (4.3.2 Supra), the psychical out-of-reachedness of 'the telecity' makes the projection of blame easier, instead of admitting one's own wickedness and evil. Together with the effect of 'videology', this enables the creation of monsters to be completed easily. Stereotyping and prejudice support this process. The unfamiliar Other can be easily targeted and assumes the image of one's own projected evil (Volf, 1996: 79. Also refer to Fay, 1996: 240 in 4.3.2 Supra).

As described, stereotyping is a form of exclusion which defines what is 'normal'. The recognition of 'deviance' ('abnormal') is made according to 'our' understanding of 'normal', and excludes the 'deviant' ('abnormal') from the 'normal' (Hall, 1997: 258).

Deviance is behaviour which infringes social rules or disrupts the expectations of others, according to O'Sullivan et al. (1994). Rules of what is 'normal' and what it 'deviant' ('abnormal') are decided by society according to social context and historical period. Those who do not meet 'our' expectations or 'rules' used to be labelled as 'deviant'. Although contemporary approaches reject this emphasis, 'common sense' explanations have tended to see deviance as the result of the physical or psychological inadequacy or 'defects' of the deviant individual, as is the case with the 'individual model of disability'.

It is important to remember that in this postmodern world, ruling what is 'normal' from a single cultural viewpoint is inadequate, as Billington et al. (1998: 49) warns:

Recognising this presents great problems in theorising the self. We can see that what is normal, healthy, and mature in one culture may be abnormal, sick or immature in another. It will also present us with problems if we are, for example, professional social workers, counsellors or psychologists, applying our theories in work with people from differing cultural groups. Our problems become incredibly complex if we must be careful not to perceive oppression from a purely Western view of equality and self-realisation.

Despite the postmodernist tendency, deviance or abnormality still provide an excuse for exclusion.

4.4.3   Stigma

Stigma is intimately associated with stereotyping, and both are related to the unconscious expectations and norms which act as unseen arbiters in all social encounters, according to Goffman (1963: cover page). 'Stigma' refers to bodily signs designed to expose something unusual and bad about the moral status of the signifier. (Goffman, 1963: 11). Stigma is an attribute that makes her/him different from others and of a less desirable kind: in the extreme, a person who is bad, dangerous, or weak. S/he is thus reduced in our minds from a normal person to a tainted one. It constitutes a special discrepancy between virtual and actual social identity (Goffman, 1963: 12-13). An attribute that stigmatises one type of possessor can confirm the usualness of another, and therefore is neither creditable nor discreditable as a thing in itself. The opposite of people with stigma are, as Goffman (1963: 15-16) calls 'the normals', and the normals exploit people with stigmas:

> By definition, of course, we believe the person with a stigma is not quite human. On this assumption we exercise varieties of discrimination, through which we effectively, if often unthinkingly, reduce his life chances. We construct a stigma

theory, an ideology to explain his inferiority and account for the danger he represents, sometimes rationalizing an animosity based on other differences, such as those of social class. We use specific stigma terms such as cripple, bastard, moron in our daily discourse as a source of metaphor and imagery, typically without giving thought to the original meaning.

The 'normals' make rules and norms and they insist that people with stigmas must be made 'normal'. This is the attitude of assimilation which is excluding. The 'difference' of the stigmatised person should be seen as his/her identity rather than 'deviance' which needs to be repaired (Goffman, 1963: 19). This is why 'rehabilitation' for stigmatised people is now criticised.

4.5 Sociological consideration of exclusion in the context of disability

So far we have considered some sociological mechanisms underlying exclusion. Now we apply these sociological concepts within the context of disability.

Once disabled people were judged as 'abnormal' and needing rehabilitation. This idea is now unacceptable, and a new understanding is represented by the 'social model of disability'. However, as Abberley (1993) argues, the term 'normal' is still abused by non-disabled people in judging people with impairments. Barnes et al. (1999:79-83) categorised such actions as a form of social oppression.

As Yoshii (2002) points out, sometimes disabled people are regarded with fear by the non-disabled. Morris (1993:104) believes that there are lots of reminders in the non-disabled world that indicate how disabled persons are feared and hated. This is the case when non-disabled people eject or reject disabled people due to their physical 'difference'. Disabled people should be defined as 'us' by non-disabled people, because their identifications of nationality, or race are not different from non-disabled people.

However, the prejudice associated with their physical and psychological impairments tells non-disabled people that 'they' cannot be 'us' and stigmatises them as those who cannot be 'the normals' (Goffman,1963: 15-16).

Many Disability Studies scholars state that lack of familiarity and ignorance about disability creates fear towards disabled people, leading to them being treated as the Other (refer to 4.3 Supra). Yoshii (2002: 106) explains that what causes phobia and hatred is an invasion of one's own world by the Other. It happens when we admit the Other's existence. Moreover, he points out there's an extreme form of fear, which he calls a 'fear of catching'. In this case, disabilities are treated as a disease, with some non-disabled people fearing catching the disease. This is the case of 'fear of contamination' (Bauman and May, 2001: 38) introduced earlier. Morris (1993: 104) adds that it happens more often, when a non-disabled person encounters somebody, who is unknown, to the disabled person. Disabled people suffer from individual prejudice as well as institutional discrimination, according to the social model (Oliver, 1996: 33). Lack of familiarity and ignorance creates prejudice. And because of it, disabled people are stereotypically assigned characteristics based on incomplete information, lack of familiarity and ignorance. Stereotyping is the process of undifferentiating 'their' own characteristics and simplifying 'their' varieties into 'our' own creation of 'them', emphasising 'strangeness' of 'them' for 'us' (O'Sullivan et al., 1994: 299-300; Hall, 1997: 259).

Ishikawa (1999: 46) explains that constructionism or the sociology of X and non-X does not solve the problem, because non-X stereotypes are often created within the imagination of X. Let us consider non-X in terms of non-disabled people's superiority complex towards disabled people. Disabled people are non-X and thus an inferior out-group of X (superior in-group). Morris (1993: 101) experiences this

exclusion as follows: 'disabled people are not normal in the eyes of non-disabled people. Our physical and intellectual characteristics are not "right" or "admirable" and we do not "belong"'.

Evans (1998: 393) explores projecting hatred of ourselves, blaming the difference of others (disabilities) in a self-deceptive way (refer to 4.3.2 Supra). Her discussion of 'separating devices' applies the concept in a disability context:

> What I call the 'separating devices' (the way images portray 'them' and therefore imply a majority 'us') of charity posters can be understood as defensive strategies, colluded in by both the charity and intended to be colluded in by the audience. We need to examine the way in which fears about dependency, incompetence and debility are projected on to disabled people, who are then denigrated for what people cannot accept in themselves. Freud and other analysts such as Klein (2000) used the concept of projection to refer to the operation by which the qualities, feelings and wishes which the subject refuses to recognize or rejects in themselves are expelled from the self and located in another person or thing. Projection, then, is a denial of 'bad' parts of the self that are then 'split off' and externalized. A psychoanalyst would argue that strong expressions of hate can be a defence against feelings of love or desire which cannot be acknowledged.

'Videology' extends the above phenomenon. Kuramoto (1999) discusses it in the disability context. He states that on one hand, the majority of non-disabled people acquire an image of disabled people through the mass media and schools; on the other hand, many do not have opportunities for meeting disabled people in everyday life. Therefore, they have no understanding of disabled people's real lives. Most events such as 'An event for understanding disabled people' function as a device for transforming disabled people's images into a more convenient version for non-disabled people. He suggests phrases such as 'Normalisation' and 'Co-habitant with disabled people' can make the existence of disabled people invisible (Kuramoto, 1999: 231).

As discussed previously, disabled people are easily stigmatised due to their 'difference' (refer to 4.3.3 Supra). Some create their own ways to avoid being stigmatised, such as 'passing'. This is the act of hiding their differences or pretending to be 'normal', because of the rewards for not exposing their 'difference' in public (Goffman, 1963: 94-95). Ishikawa (1999) explains how disabled people manage their emotions about their own negative images of 'disability'; a similar process to 'passing'. However, Abberley (1993: 110 referring to Haber and Smith, 1971: 95) discusses 'passing' and 'coping' in more critical ways: 'whilst mechanisms, sometimes of 'passing', more often of 'coping', are described, we are left with the impression that 'shameful difference' and its consequences are an immutable fact of social life, for physically impaired people'.

As Ishikawa (1999: 46) states, it is necessary for disabled people to create positive understandings of self and body. Morris (1993) agrees saying,

> Physical disability and illness are an important part of human experience. The non-disabled world may wish to try to ignore this and to react to physical difference by treating us as if we are not quite human, but we must recognise that our difference is both an essential part of human experience, and, given the chance, can create important and different ways of looking at things (Morris, 1993: 106).

> It is supposedly progressive and liberating to ignore our differences because these differences have such negative meanings for non-disabled people. But we are different. We reject the meanings that the non-disabled world attaches to disability but we do not reject the differences which are such an important part of our identities (Morris, 1993: 101).

Disabled people differentiate themselves from non-disabled people in order to establish and celebrate their own identities. They refuse to be victims of exclusion and labeled as strangers, the Other or the stigmatised.

Ignoring impairments is also a type of exclusion. Impairments are the shared characteristics of many disabled people. It is not offensive to talk about impairments but rather accept that impairments reflect the 'difference' of disabled people from non-disabled people. This 'difference' contributes to their characteristics, experience (including negative experiences), knowledge and ability.

It is essential to recognise the 'differences' amongst disabled people. When disabled people are differentiated from non-disabled people, their disability becomes a factor forming their identities. That is, their 'disability' becomes a common feature amongst specific groups of disabled people. On the other hand, it is essential to recognise that disabled people are not all the 'same' (refer to Davis and Watson's, 2002). Ishikawa (2002) states that the ideal relationship between a minority (in this sense disabled people) and society (non-disabled people) should involve differentiation and inclusion.[28] However, little research is available in this area, and further research is awaited. My thesis will attempt to meet this expectation.

Some non-disabled people try to assimilate disabled people, ignoring their 'difference'. French (1993) as well as Morris (1993) explain it as 'we may have the same aspirations as non-disabled people (in terms of how we live our lives) but quite patently we are not just like them in that we have physical differences which distinguish us from the majority of the population. Nevertheless the pressures on us to aspire to be 'normal' are huge […] (Morris, 1993: 105)'.

Let us consider the pressure to be 'normal' in the context of 'barrier-free' or 'universal design', which some Japanese museums and the Japanese government exercise. Sugino

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[28] Ishikawa distinguishes four types of inclusion and differentiation as follows: A) assimilation and inclusion, B) differentiation and inclusion, C) differentiation and exclusion, D) assimilation and exclusion. He claims that disabled people experience not only A) and C) but also D). Although they try to be the same, they are not accepted by society. He points out that the type B) is the ideal relationship between a minority and society.

(2002: 274) criticises the implementation of 'barrier-free' as the creation of a 'kind society'. He says that the 'kind society' is often an assimilating society where 'disability' is seen as unfortunate. Evans (1998: 393) supports this idea and says that pity and altruism are more closely linked to hatred and aggression than one might at first think. Giving to charity is, for instance, at the same time an act of kindness and an act of rejection. Furthermore, Ishikawa's (1999: 315-316) argument about 'enabling technology' remains relevant. The systems of 'barrier-free', 'universal design' and 'accessibility' all insist that disabled people use 'enabling technology' in order to emulate the 'able' or non-disabled. This is an act of assimilation.

4.6 Summary

Exclusion is distinguished from differentiation, or the recognition of a boundary between 'self' and 'other'. The division between 'us' ('oneself', 'self' or 'selves') and 'them' ('another', 'Other' or the others) is sometimes presented in sociology as one between an in-group and out-group. This bounding activity is not itself exclusion.

Assimilating exclusion (against separation) requires the out-group to change 'their ways' and become 'similar' to the in-group. Ejection or rejection' (against binding) prevents the out-group entering the in-group, or ejects the out-group from the in-group due to 'politics of purity'.

One of the strongest exclusive feelings towards the Other is phobia or hatred, which have three primary causes. Firstly, a superiority complex or supremacist notion ('we' are X and 'they' are non-X). Secondly, 'collective hatred of ourselves': blaming the differences of others in a self-deceptive way. And lastly fear of 'the other' or 'Other'.

Familiarity makes us feel secure and safe, and reduces uncertainty. As long as the boundaries between 'us' and 'them' are demarcated, others do not cause anxiety for 'us'. However, once the distinctions become uncertain, fear of others appears that may lead to feelings of hostility or hatred towards others, and classify them as 'the Other', 'strangers', or 'the stigmatised'.

This mechanism explains the exclusion that disabled people may suffer. Some non-disabled people try to assimilate disabled people, ignoring their 'difference'. Other non-disabled people reject or eject disabled people as the Other, strangers or the stigmatised. The reason is that disabled people cannot be 'us' because they are non-X, not 'right' or 'normal'. The exclusion of disabled people is often created by fear of the unfamiliar, or prejudice and stereotyping resulting from people's ignorance about disability. Instead of 'passing' or 'coping' with stigmas and 'difference', many disabled people differentiate themselves and establish their own identities. It also is necessary for society to recognise the heterogeneity of disabled people.

Finally, in the museum context, a discussion of 'barrier-free' and 'universal design' was considered. It is not my intention to condemn 'barrier-free', 'universal design' and 'accessibility'; however, it is necessary for museum staff to understand that 'kind' attitudes can be seen as assimilation, a form of exclusion. It is unfortunate if these 'inclusive' approaches end up being seen by disabled people as a form of exclusion. Therefore, it is important for museum staff to incorporate disabled people's points of view when they develop 'barrier-free', 'universal design' and 'accessibility' systems.

Chapter Five

Inclusion: Learning and understanding 'other'

5.1   Introduction

The previous chapter considered mechanisms of exclusion and concluded that lack of familiarity and ignorance of others contributed to fear and hatred towards them. Hence, reducing unfamiliarity and ignorance of others should be a priority for tackling exclusion, in other words, a process of inclusion. In Chapter One, social inclusion was defined as getting rid of discriminatory barriers for those who have 'difference', by understanding 'other', celebrating 'difference', considering morality and taking responsibility. In this chapter, we investigate a method of inclusion and how museum learning could help people's understanding and enhance familiarity with the Other.

Using Symbolic Interactionism as a theory, my thesis will demonstrate the relationship between 'self' and 'other', and how one could influence the other. Furthermore, it will explain how 'learning' could be a significant method of inclusion. Secondly, we will investigate how museums may contribute to inclusion, by acting as a medium for communication between 'self' and 'other'. A hypothetical model will be presented after the discussion. Finally, we will examine socio-cultural learning in museums, and how it varies depending on the people we visit museums with.

5.2   Symbolic Interactionism

5.2.1   Development of Symbolic Interactionism

Symbolic Interactionism is an approach to social relations with intellectual roots in the concept of the self as developed by George Herbert Mead [1869-1931]. He argued that reflexivity was crucial to the self as a social phenomenon (Abercrombie, 1984: 353; O'Sullivan et al., 1994: 313). Symbolic Interactionism was criticised in the 1970s for its lack of attention to macro-structures, historical change and power (Abercrombie, 1984: 353). Mead's position is very close to that of sociologists, philosophers and psychologists studying individuals' activities or behaviour within the social process (Morris, 1967: ix). However, it is important to remember that his study is beyond behaviourism. Tradition has identified psychology with the study of the individual state of mind. However, Mead set his own position as behaviouristic, a social behaviourist rather than an individualist (Morris, 1967: xii). Symbolic Interactionism has been criticised by the more hard-line empiricists. But as Mead (1934) and Blumer (1969) point out, the analysis of behaviour cannot always be accomplished via the systematic isolation of individuals. Instead, the social context of interaction must be emphasised together with the inter-dependence of variables (O'Sullivan et al., 1994: 313).

Symbolic Interactionism has matured into distinct areas of research and theoretical development (Abercrombie, 1984: 353). It has been particularly influential in the sociology of deviance for concepts such as stereotypes, stigma and labelling theory. After the 1990s, Symbolic Interactionism has attempted to engage with new developments in Sociology such as Postmodernism and Cultural Studies, or political issues such as the gay and lesbian social movement through the contribution of N.K.Denzin (Denzin, 1991, 1992 quoted by Abercrombie, 1984: 353). In Chapter Four,

it was noted that this sociology of deviance (stereotypes, stigma and labelling theory) contributed to the development of Disability Studies.

5.2.2   Relationship between 'self' and 'other' in Symbolic Interactionism

Symbolic Interactionism is the study of the self-society relationship as a process of symbolic communications between social actors (Abercrombie, 1984: 353). In Symbolic Interactionism, the human being is seen as an acting organism responding, communicating and reciprocating with each other (Blumer, 1969: 12; Mead, 1934; Filmer et al., 1998). Mead (1934: 77-78) explains:

> A gesture on the part of one organism in any given social act calls out a response on the part of another organism which is directly relating to the action of the first organism and its outcome; and a gesture is a symbol of the result of the given social act of one organism (the organism making it) in so far as it is responded to by another organism (thereby also involved in that act) as indicating that result. The mechanism of meaning is thus present in the social act before the emergence of consciousness or awareness of meaning occurs. The act or adjustive response of the second organism gives to the gesture of the first organism the meaning which it has.

When 'self' and 'other' interact, they exchange symbolic characters including gestures and languages. Human beings ability to share symbols embodied in a common language (Filmer et al., 1998) help in the formation of social groupings. In other words through this interaction the 'self' recognises 'other'. According to this concept, the recognition of 'other' is essential to the realisation of one as a 'self'. Mead (1934: 194) explains, thus:

> The distinction expresses itself in our experience in what we call the recognition of others and the recognition of ourselves in the others. We cannot realize ourselves except in so far as we can recognize the other in his relationship to us.

It is as he takes the attitude of the other that the individual is able to realize himself as a self.

The 'self' is composed by both the 'I' and the 'me'. The things we actually do, the words we speak, our expressions, our emotions: those are the 'I' (Mead, 1934: 279). The 'I' is the response of the organism to the attitudes of others. On the other hand, the 'me' is the organised set of attitudes of others, which one himself assumes (Mead, 1934: 175). Also, the attitudes of others constitute the organised 'me', and then one reacts to that as 'I'. This model is illustrated by the diagram "O'Donnell's 'Symbolic Interactionist Model of Socialisation (and Social Experience Generally)'" (see Figure 2). This model indicates that 'self' becomes both 'subject' ('I') and 'object' ('Me'). O'Donnell (1997: 10) uses Charles Cooley's terminology and describes it as 'looking-glass self', that is, how we acquire an image of ourselves through the response of others. As the individual becomes aware of the 'me', she or he is also able to act upon her or himself, by controlling it. The 'I' is an essential part of the community and the 'I' contributes to making the community.

But how can 'I' interact with others in society in which direct interaction with all is impossible? Mead (1934: 179-180) explains:

> Fundamental attitudes are presumably those that are only changed gradually, and no one individual can recognize the whole society; but one is continually affecting society by his own attitude because he does bring up the attitude of the group towards himself, responds to it, and through that response changes the attitude of the group. This is, of course, what we are constantly doing in our imagination, in our thought; we are utilizing our own attitude to bring about a different situation in the community of which we are a part; we are exerting ourselves, bringing forward our own opinion, criticizing the attitudes of others, and approving or disapproving. But we can do that only in so far as we can call out in ourselves the response of the community; we only have ideas in so far as we are able to take the attitude of the community and then respond to it.

Mead (1934: 154) calls the organised community or social group the 'generalised other'. In other words, the attitude of the generalised other is the attitude of the whole community. One cannot be the self without the 'me' and 'the 'me' is the organized set of attitudes of others which one himself assumes' (Mead, 1934: 175).

The noteworthy part of interaction with others in the community is 'calling out'. We can call out in ourselves the response of the community; in other words, without calling out, we cannot respond to the attitudes of the community nor compose 'me'.

O' Donnell's 'Symbolic Interactionist Model of Socialisation (and Social Experience Generally)'
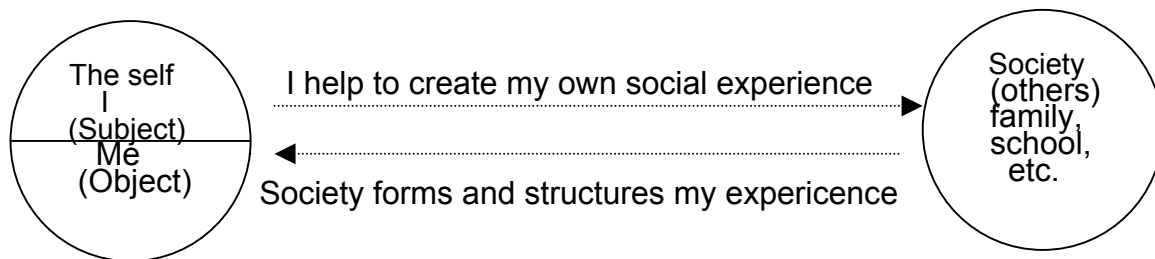
Figure 2 (after O'Donnell ,1997: 10)

Although Interactionism developed mostly in America, similar ideas exist in Japan. The Japanese philosopher Testuo Watsuji [1888-1960], whose study applied Western philosophies,[29] conceptualises the *Ningen's* (between human being's) ethics. He established a philosophy that combines sociology (between self and other), ethics (morality between self and other), and philosophy (self). Watsuji (1934) states that ethics is not only the study of what we are but also the study of the relationship between human beings. The Japanese term 'human being' *Ningen* is the combination of the term *Nin* meaning 'human being' and term *Gen* meaning 'between'. He claims that people

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[29] He uses, for example, Linguistics, Aristotle (A.D.384-332)'s politike, I. Kant (1724-1804)'s Anthropologie, H. Cohen (1842-1918)'s the notion of human being, G.W.F. Hegel (1770-1831)'s study of the humanity, L.A.Feuerbach (1804-72)'s study of human beings, K. Marx (1818-83)'s ontology of human beings, and other theories from M.Heidegger (1889-) and W. Dilthey (1833-1911).

can only really be 'human beings' when they possess a relationship with others. Thus, ethics (or moral formation) for Watsuji is the study of 'between human beings'. Consequently his study of ethics always involves the 'other' and seeks the 'self' formed by the result of reflecting, being conscious, and associating with the 'other'.

In Symbolic Interactionism, there is a positive attitude towards engaging the 'other' to create and develop the 'self'. However, one notes that 'mere acceptance' of difference is insufficient when engaging 'other', according to Fay (1996: 240). Fay (1996: 240) states that 'respect conceived as the mere acceptance of difference stymies interaction, dialogue, and mutual learning'.

Bauman (1995) also recognised the difference between mere acceptance and the celebration of differences. He analysed different natures of togetherness with the Other: being-aside, being-with and being-for. In the togetherness of being-aside, persons are aside each other; this type of togetherness is just being 'on the side'. Secondly, the being-with is the case in which the Other is an object of attention (Bauman, 1995: 50). Here the Other can only be pushed aside, dismissed, by-passed and ignored (Bauman, 1995: 52). Fay (1996: 240) criticises this as 'a mere acceptance of difference'. On the other hand, the togetherness of being-for means that 'I am responsible for defining the needs of the Other; for what is good, and what is evil for the Other' (Bauman, 1995: 65-67); the self stretches towards the Other. He explains that emotional engagement makes the Other into a the task *of* and *for* the 'self'. It becomes up to the 'self' to do something about the Other and the Other turns into the responsibility of 'self'' (Bauman, 1995: 62). Bauman (1995: 62) identifies three crucial achievements through which the emotions transform the 'mere-being-with' into a being-for;

> First, emotion marks the exit from the state of *indifference* lived among thing-like others. Second, emotion pulls the Other from the world of finitude and

stereotyped certainty, and casts her/him into the universe of under-determination, questioning and openness. Third, emotion extricates the Other from the world of convention, routine and normatively engendered monotony, and transmits her/him into a world in which no universal rules apply, while those which do apply are overtly and blatantly non-universal, specific, born and shaped in the self-containment of the face-to-face protected from the outside influence by the wall of sentiment.

Indifference, stereotyping, universal rules and normality have been discussed as causes of exclusion in this thesis. In order to achieve inclusion, it is essential to abandon these negative emotions towards the Other, engaging with 'them' as a responsibility *of* and *for* the 'self'. My thesis, therefore, postulates that engaging the Other through interaction is one of the key methods of social inclusion.

5.3   Interaction and communication in museums

Interactions take place throughout the museum environment. These interactions involve 'self', 'other', museum objects, museum curators and/or museum front of house staff. The 'self' and 'other' can be not only museum audiences but also the subjects of the museum exhibitions.

5.3.1   Communication between museum professionals and their audiences through museum objects

Examining communication between museum professionals and their audiences through museum objects (illustrated as arrow A in figure 3), Hooper-Greenhill (1994a &1994b) explains the mechanism of communication, applying the simple communication model. This model involves a communicator, a receiver and the relationship between them. Shannon and Weaver (quoted by Hooper-Greenhill, 1994a: 41-42) developed this

model into a process that begins from the *source* and passes to the *transmitter,* the *channel,* the *receiver* and finally arrives at the *destination*. *Noise,* which is anything external (or sometimes internal), might disturb the *channel* and transfer of information (Hooper-Greenhill, 1994a: 40 referring to McQuail and Windal, 1993: 17). Shannon and Weaver's communication model was applied to museum exhibitions by Hooper-Greenhill (1994a: 41 referring to Duffy, 1989), as illustrated by figure 3. In this model, an exhibition team is the *source;* an exhibition is the *transmitter*; objects, texts, and events are the *channel;* a visitor's head is the *receiver*; the visitor's understanding is the *destination*; and crowds, visitor fatigue, poor graphics and so forth are the *noise* (Hooper-Greenhill, 1994a).[30]

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[30] Even if the *source* reaches the *receiver* (visitor's head), the success of reaching the *destination* (visitor's understanding) depends on the visitor's ability, intelligence and preference. That is the reason why it is important for not only educators but also for museum exhibition teams to understand how people learn and understand in order to provide museum objects suitable for as many visitors as possible.

Shannon and Weaver Communications Model

Applied to Exhibitions by Hooper-Greenhill

Exhibition team	Exhibition encoded message	Objects Texts Events	Visitors' head	Visitors' understanding

<Source>   <Transmitter>   <Channel>   <Receiver>   <Destination>

Fatigue
Crowds
Workmen
Poor graphics

< > My additions from texts.

<Noise>
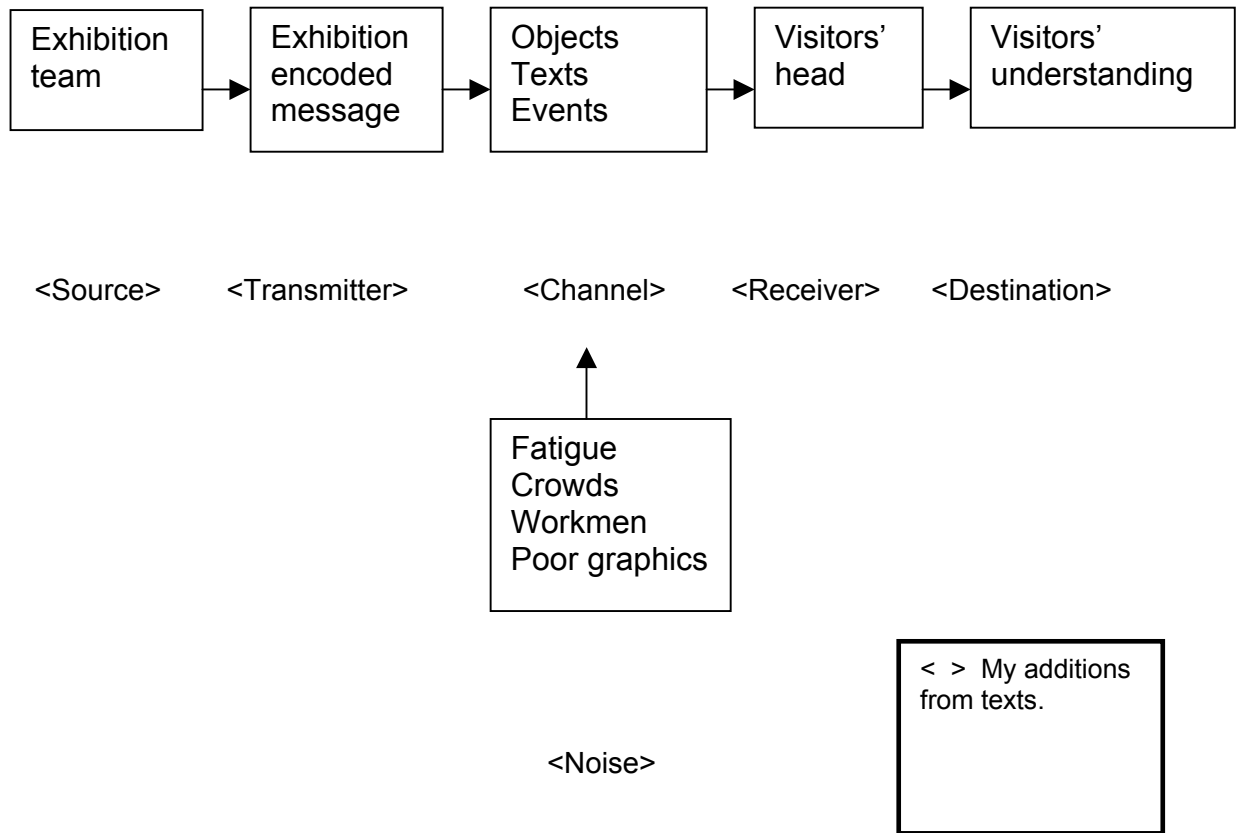
Figure 3 (after Hooper-Greenhill, 1994a: 41 referring to Duffy, 1989)

This can be criticised as an authoritative linear communication model in which visitors/learners are passive (Dervin, 1981 cited by Silverman, 1995: 161; Hooper-Greenhill, 2000: xi). Furthermore, museums could be seen as 'disabling institutions' (Hooper-Greenhill, 1994a: 47 referring to Miles, 1985) in which the direction of communication is one-way only. This characteristic is similar to most forms of mass communication (Hooper-Greenhill, 1995: 6). Museum exhibitions and representations, therefore, can be criticised for the limitations inherent in one-way communication.

However, it is possible to adapt the museum mass communication model to two-way communication, by adding a 'feedback loop'. After the 1990s, museums in England studied their audiences using market research techniques to find out who their visitors were. Customer care and satisfaction became important factors for museum management (Hooper-Greenhill, 1995: 2). These actions create a form of 'feedback loop'. According to Hooper-Greenhill (1994a: 44), to test a system of museum communication using a 'feedback loop'; we must see whether the message has been understood. If it has not been understood, then the message must be modified to make understanding more likely. Understanding audiences and using a 'feedback loop' help to make the interpretation of museum objects reflect visitors' viewpoints and understanding. Silverman (1995) takes a similar view and encourages the use of scrapbooks and feedback cards or drawings (as well as front-end visitor studies) in order that museums identify and understand patterns in visitors' prior knowledge, experiences, and expectations. Through these processes, museums can send this message to visitors: 'your interpretations and opinions are valid and valued' (Silverman, 1995: 169 citing Morrissey, 1993). In other words, museums can inform visitors that 'your needs and your meanings *belong* in the museum' (Silverman, 1995: 169). Silverman (1993: 7; 1995: 161) states that museum communication is no longer a one-way linear path and becomes a process in which meaning is jointly and actively constructed through interaction.

5.3.2   Museum communication systems and Interactionism

Museum communication systems share a similar structure to Symbolic Interactionism. Language, which operates as one representational system, is able to sustain the dialogue

between participants and this enables them to build up a culture of shared understandings so they interpret the world in roughly the same way. In language, we use signs and symbols – whether they are sounds, written words, electronically produced images, or even objects – to represent to other people our concepts, ideas and feelings. Language is the preferred medium in which we 'make sense' of things and in which meaning is produced and exchanged. Meanings can only be shared through our common access to language. So language has a central meaning and culture, and has always been regarded as the key repository of cultural values and meanings (Hall, 1997: 1).[31] Culture is concerned with the production and exchange of meanings – the 'given and taken meaning' – between the members of society or groups (Hall, 1997: 2). Culture carries meaning and value for us (Hall, 1997: 3).[32] The curator encodes meaning associated with museum exhibits and the audience decodes the message when they look at exhibits (Hooper-Greenhill, 1994a; 1994b). Museum exhibits as well as texts are, therefore, 'language' that museum curators' use to convey the ideology of museums.

Combining this concept with Symbolic Interactionism, we can conclude that the self is created by exchanging language (symbols, gestures or signs, including museum objects as representations and embodiments of interpretations) with others. During the exchange of symbols, meanings are given and taken to and by the other, which creates the 'me', society and culture. Culture influences the creation of meaning and the 'I'.

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[31] This apply to both semiotic and discursive approaches (Hall, 1997).

[32] Culture, in this sense, permeates all society. It is what distinguishes the 'human' element in social life from what is simply biologically driven (Hall, 1997: 3).

5.3.3   Museums and art as communicators and media

In previous sections, it was demonstrated how communication flows from museum objects to museum visitors' understanding. In this section, we will examine museum communication more broadly within institutions and exhibition spaces.

Museums and museum exhibitions play an important role as communicators and media within cultural heritage. Cultural values are accumulated in the material world and museums represent them using their objects. Museums house objects of so many different meanings, that museum educators need skills to facilitate dialogue and negotiation for visitors to understand when they look at displayed objects (Silverman, 1993: 10-11).

Museums exist in physical spaces in the social environment (Maroević, 1995: 24). This physical existence is important because it makes it possible to connect with people socially, as Maroević (1995: 31) states: 'people as social beings have been closely connected with their physical environment. They are influenced by the experience of the social environment in which the exhibition takes place, as well as by the tradition, the culture and all other relevant social relations'. Unlike appreciating cultural events in the home, alone or virtually, sharing the experience with others (that is, interaction) is an important aspect of a social event. A museum visit is often viewed as a leisure activity (Silverman, 1995).

Museum exhibitions are also communicative media; Kaplan (1995) gives an example presenting the case of African art exhibitions in the US. The exhibitions encouraged visitors to play an active role, even when the structure and elements of an exhibition remained intact (Kaplan, 1995: 55). These examples demonstrated that museum exhibitions could mediate between audiences who have been exploited, and

society. Overall, Kaplan (1995: 55) claims the importance of the communicative role of museum exhibition, saying, 'an exhibition that fails to communicate as a medium, probably should not have been an exhibition in the first place – but a book, perhaps'.

As social and cultural institutions, museums have great potential to work towards inclusion by acting as the medium between 'self' and 'other'. It could be said that this communicative role is a categorical reason why museums are expected to work as agents of social inclusion. Society may not expect museums primarily to work as social and welfare institutions but rather to help relationships between the public, using their cultural, educational, social roles and resources (refer to SMC, 2000; Silverman, 1993; Kaplan, 1995). Silverman (2002) claims museums' wide range of benefits include that visitors can feel connected to their community and culture due to museums' uniqueness as an environment for communication, as well as their collections (Silverman, 2002: 70: Silverman, 1995: 169). Thus, museums could contribute to understandings between 'self' and 'other' or cultural aspect of social inclusion, by acting as a communicative medium.

Moreover, as the Able Art Movement suggests, art can be a medium for connecting non-disabled people and disabled people (Sekine, 2002; Ōta, 2002). Morrison and Finkelstein (1993: 127) make a similar point concerning performance art, thus:

> The arts can have a liberating effect on people, encouraging them to change from being passive and dependent to being creative and active. We may not all want to be 'artists', producing and performing work, but arts events can provide another accessible route for looking at the world in relation to disabled people. Meeting together at a disability arts event can also provide rare opportunities for disabled people to exchange ideas. Having someone on stage communicating ideas and feelings that an isolated disabled person never suspected were shared by others can be a turning-point for many. […] Arts should provide disabled people with ways of confirming their own identity and, as a secondary gain, inform, educate and attract the non-disabled world. Until recently the arts have

placed too much emphasis on educating non-disabled people rather than providing a medium for communication with each other.

Museums and galleries (as well as theatres) can support such propositions by providing safe environments for artworks and visitors.

Hypothetical Model of the Relationships
between Museums and the Public

A museum

Objects

B

A

A user
(Self)

D

C

A user
(Other)

The relationship A	
The relationship B	
The relationship C	
The relationship D	

(Figure 4)

141
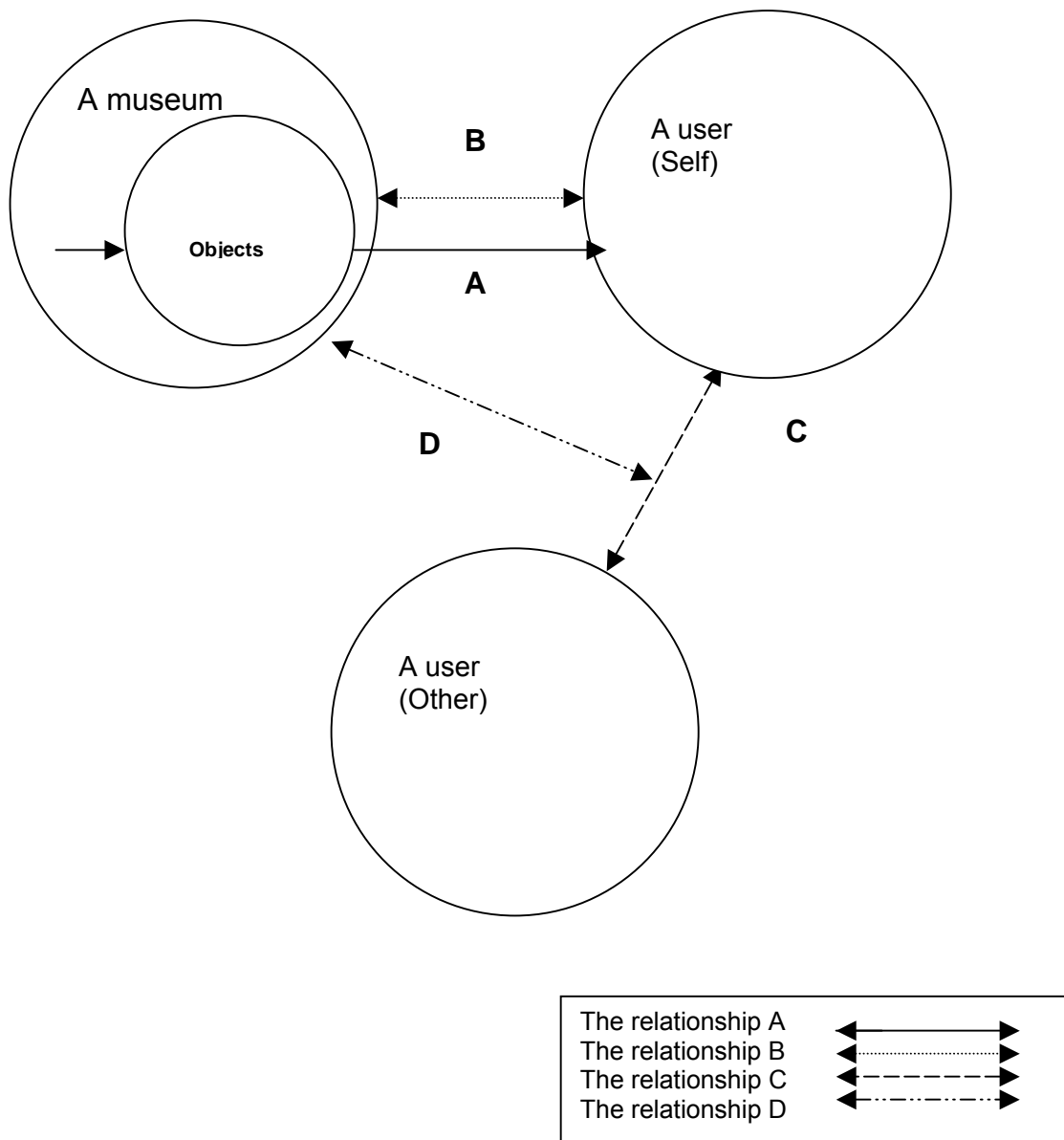
5.3.4   Hypothetical model of museum communication

The above model entitled "The Hypothetical Model of the Relationships between Museums and the Public" depicts my hypothesis for museum communications (see Figure 4). It incorporates two models introduced earlier. The communications in "Shannon and Weaver Communications Model Applied to Exhibitions by Hooper-Greenhill" (see Figure 3) is demonstrated by the Arrow **A** in Figure 4. Arrow **B** illustrates interaction between a user (as 'self') and a museum (as 'other' or represented 'other'). The Arrow **C** depicts interaction between a user (as 'self') and another user (as 'other').

Arrow **D** represents my hypothesis for museum communication. It demonstrates how museums could contribute to the relationship between 'self' (a user) and 'other' (and another user). This represents my belief that museums' social inclusion practice should work to improve this relationship. However, many museum workers concentrate on only improving access inside museums or involving new audiences (depicted by Arrow B), although these do not necessarily enhance the relationship between 'self' and 'other'. These activities are only enhancing the relationship depicted by the Arrow B not the Arrow C. These actions are not a mechanism for social inclusion, but they are rather a means or process supporting social inclusion. Newman and McLean (2004: 176-7) summarise this as follows:

> Most of the key policy makers interviewed claimed success in reaching social exclusion objectives by focusing upon increasing access and audience development […] The interviewee from the Department for Culture, Media and Sport stated: "It is about engaging with the communities and bringing them into the museums and galleries." This represents the view that social inclusion is something that happens naturally when people come into museums and galleries. However, there was little discussion of the concept in wider terms and how this process might occur. When considered logically, broadening the audience

enables the museum or gallery to act upon a greater range of the population, but tells very little about the impact that is being made upon visitors. It will indicate whether the institution is inclusive in terms of the ethnic or socioeconomic nature of audiences, but this is not a measure of success in terms of having an impact upon social exclusion, which would require the lives of visitors and participants in initiatives to be changed in some way. Thus, success cannot to be measured by engagement alone.

They also add that; 'the confusion about the definition of social exclusion and the mistaken belief that access and audience development equate to the same thing has meant that many social inclusion initiatives have begun with objectives that are not achievable' (Newman and McLean, 2004: 177). This argument is applicable to the concept of 'barrier-free', 'universal design' and 'universal museum'. These are objectives but not necessarily a means to achieve social inclusion. As Newman and McLean (2004: 177) states, 'success cannot to be measured by engagement alone'. Museum professionals need to comprehend what they must achieve through 'barrier-free', 'universal design' and 'universal museum' to support social inclusion. Ōhara (2005) also claims that 'barrier-free' is not an end but a starting point.

My thesis supports this proposition and my fieldwork explores the impact on users of inclusion practices within museums as a test of my hypothetical model.

5.4   Socio-cultural learning in museums and degree of Otherness

We now examine face-to-face interaction and socio-cultural learning in museums as a useful strategy for reducing unfamiliarity of the Other. Museum spaces provide a social environment where human interaction (between visitor and museum staff, members of groups, or other visitors) and 'personal service' (refer to Silverman, 2002 and 2.5.2

Supra) takes place. My research will concentrate on investigating this socio-cultural museum learning process, according to whom we learn with.

5.4.1 Degree of Otherness in relation to society

In order to describe the relationship between 'I' ('self') and an accompanying person during a museum visit, we will explore the concept of the 'degree of Otherness'.

Referring back to Bauman and May's concentric circles, the smallest is called 'inner circle' or 'home' and the largest one is the unknown world. 'The smaller circles are more familiar, and the smaller they become, the safer they feel' (Bauman and May, 2001: 94).

5.4.2 Degree of Otherness in relation to disability

Yoda (1999) introduces another version of the concentric circles in relation to disability, called "Yoda's Model 'Degree of Otherness'"[33] (see Figure 5). The central circle represents a child with disability, the next smaller circle is his/her mother, next is father followed by mother's family, father's family, close other (e.g. close friends of the child or parents, close neighbours) while the largest circle represents complete strangers. According to the distance from the child following the arrow, the degree of Otherness increases. Those groups are categorised into groups A, B and C.

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[33] Literally translation is Order of Otherness.

Yoda's Model 'Degree of Otherness'
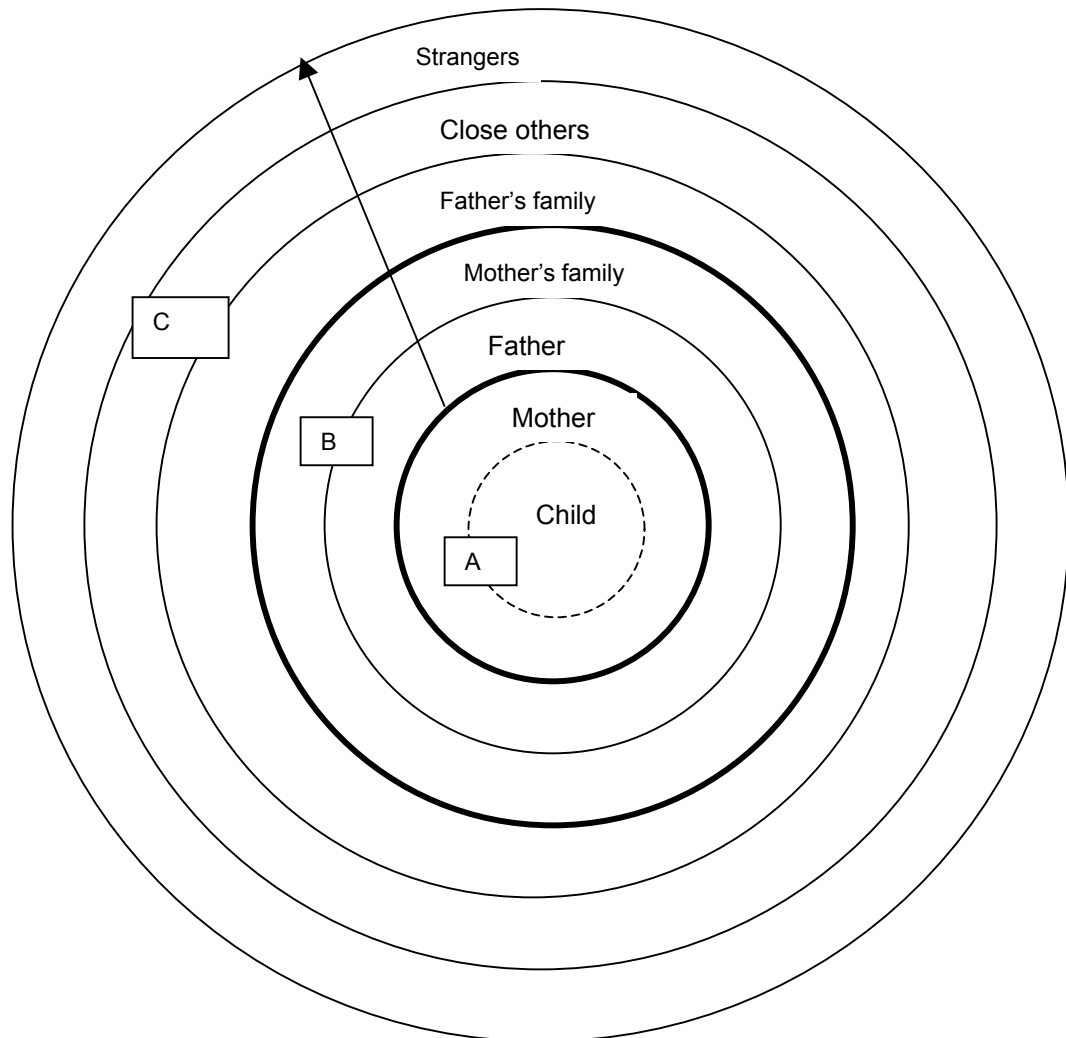
Note1)   According to the distance from 'Child' following the arrow, the degree of Otherness increases. Those groups can be categorised into the A, B and C group. The borderlines between groups are not fixed.

Note 2)   When a child with disability lives with his/her father's family, the degree of Otherness of 'Father's family' becomes less. Applying the dichotomy of 'Insiders and outsiders', those people are put into the group B.

Figure 5 (after Yoda, 1999: 62)

5.4.3   Degree of Otherness in relation to socio-cultural museum learning

Applying those two models, I created a model entitled " 'Degree of Otherness' in Museum Learning" (see, Figure 6). This illustrates the 'degree of Otherness' depending upon whomever a visitor is with when learning about museum objects. It starts from the smallest circle 'I', which represents the situation that 'I' alone am visiting, appreciating and/or learning from the museum object. The next smallest circle represents a museum visit and/or museum learning with 'family, friends, or partner(s)'. The next represents learning with 'a guide' employed by the museum. The second largest one is 'strangers' and the largest is 'the Other'. In my research study, this represents disabled people for a non-disabled 'I'. Also, it could represent non-disabled people who are totally unfamiliar with disability, when 'I' depicts a disabled person (Ladd (2003) refers to these as 'Lay Persons'). Using the same principle as Yoda's model, the 'Degree of Otherness' increases according to the distance from 'I' in the direction of the arrow.

The figures next to the arrow indicate the degree of Otherness for 'I' from Zero to Four. Similarly to Bauman and May (2001)'s version, the smaller circle is the more familiar to 'I'. Strictly speaking, 'self' for 'I' is her/his own, therefore there is a demarcation dividing 'self' and 'other' between the circles of 'I' and 'friends, family' (which is illustrated by the dotted line in the Figure 6. On the other hand, the sense of 'inside' and 'outside' are created based on familiarity. Family, friends, and partners are 'inside' and 'us' for 'I'. A museum guide also appears to be an 'insider'. For although 'I' might not have met a museum guide before, the identification of the person is clarified by the museum, which makes 'I' feel safe. Therefore, the familiarity of the guide for 'I' (me) differs from total strangers. Family, friends, a partner and a guide are

therefore categorised as part of the 'us' group. The dichotomy between 'us' and 'them' is illustrated as a thick line in Figure 6.

'Degree of Otherness' in Museum Learning

Disabled people

Strangers

4

A guide

3

Family

2

'Them'

1

'Us'

0   I

Oneself

Others

Friends

'Others'

- - - - - - The dichotomy between 'self' and 'other'

☐ - The dichotomy between 'us' and 'them

Figures - The degree of the Otherness for 'I'
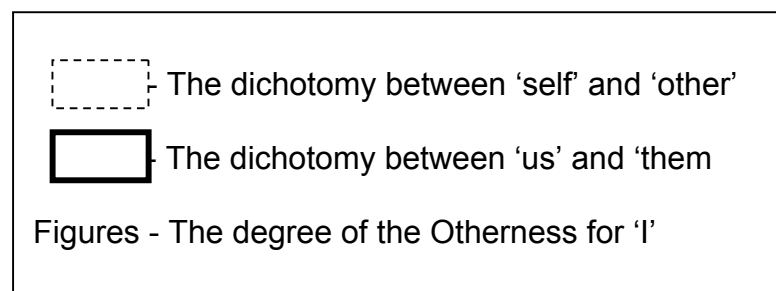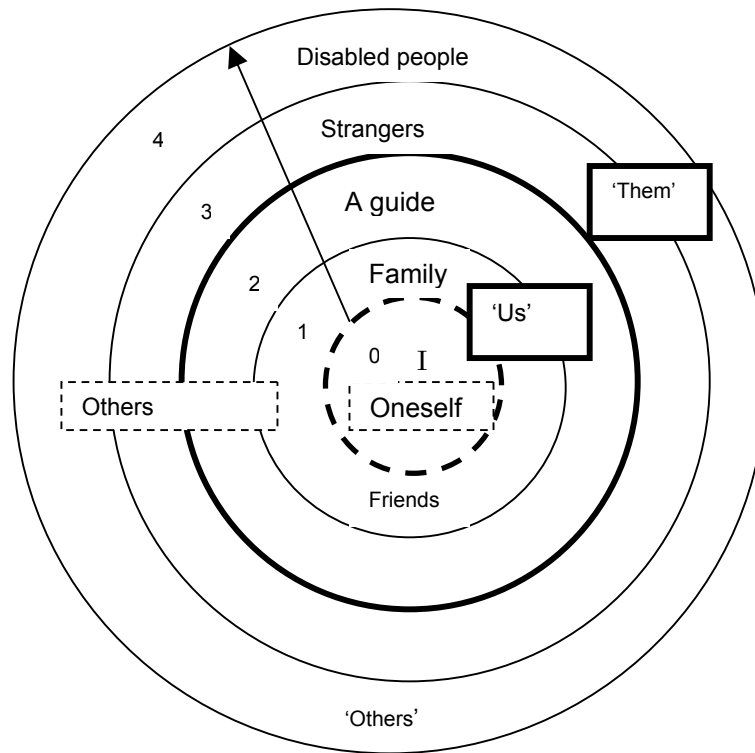
(Figure 6)

5.5   Socio-cultural learning in museums and the effect of companions

Learning experiences in museums differ depending upon who people visit with. The figure entitled 'Socio-cultural learning in museums: Degree of Otherness, with Whom and the Type of Learning' illustrates the mechanisms and types of socio-cultural learning and communication in museums (see Figure 7). The degree of the Otherness introduced in Figure 6 is now transferred into Figure 7, which depicts Zero to Four from top to bottom.

<u>Socio-cultural Learning in Museums:</u>
<u>Degree of Otherness, with Whom and Type of Learning</u>

Degree of Otherness	With whom	The type of learning
0	I	Self taught, mass communication, Personal context and limited social context, Self-fulfilment. * Not including discovery type or 'meaning-making' exhibitions
1	Friends, families, a partner	Interactive, A network of contacts, Collaborative learning (*can be independent learning), Interpersonal communication, Natural communication, Social context, Collaborative learning, Informal, Equal, Remembering, Learning about each other.
2	A guide	Face-to-face teaching, Social context, can be Interactive, can be Interpersonal communication, can be Natural communication, can be Formal. (*although can be Being taught, can be Unequal, especially depends on the style of teaching.)
3	Strangers	[Will be examined]
4	The socially excluded, Can be disabled people, non-disabled people who are unfamiliar with disabled people ('Lay people')	[Will be examined]

With Oneself

With others

Ordinary socio-cultural museum visits (With 'us')

The workshops (with 'them')

(Figure 7)

5.5.1   Museum visiting alone (The degree of the Otherness: Zero)

This is the case when a visitor appreciates and learns about museum objects on their own. The degree of Otherness for 'I' is Zero, as the person visiting is alone. The

individual receives exhibitors' messages through objects in a similar fashion to mass communication, which can be one-way, indirect, unresponsive and unequal until the message reaches the destination. Whether the visitor accepts the messages depends on the personal context, the visitors' ability to understand and their motivation.

However, if it is a 'post-museum' [34] (refer to Hooper-Greenhill, 2000), multicultural visitors' viewpoints are integrated into the representations through objects. Also, if it is a constructivist museum (refer to Hein, 1998; Silverman, 1995; 1.5.5 Supra), visitors' 'meaning-making' activities are encouraged and museum objects are presented in communicative and reflective ways. The amendment of exhibitions to incorporate visitors' views represents an example of the 'feedback loop' model; therefore, in such circumstances the communication between visitors and objects can be indirectly two-way (refer to 5.3.1. Supra).

There is a debate whether visiting a museum alone is socio-cultural learning or self-fulfilment learning. Some claim that learning in museums is itself socio-cultural, because there are always indirect contacts and communications with others in the museum. For example, as Falk and Dierking (1994: 3) argue, 'those who visit alone invariably come into contact with other visitors and museum staff.' On the other hand, others argue that the purpose of the museum experience may be for self-fulfilment rather than being social or actively involving others (refer to Falk and Dierking, 1994: 2). Therefore, when a person visits a museum alone, the museum experience depends on the visitor's personal context including her/his experience, knowledge, interests, motivations, and concerns. Considering these viewpoints, my thesis considers the museum visit as socio-cultural learning, although communication between a museum object and a viewer can be seen as mass communication and a one-way process.

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[34] Rather than upholding the values of objectivity, rationality, order and distance, the post-museum will negotiate responsiveness, encourage mutually nurturing partnerships, and celebrate diversity' (Hooper-Greenhill, 153).

5.5.2   Museum visits with family, friends or a partner (Degree of Otherness: One)

The next row in Figure 7 summarises a museum visit with others whom a pwerson already knows, such as friends, family, a partner, peers or members of her/his community group. Seventy-five to ninety-five percent of people visit museums in the company of others, and one-third in pairs (Draper, 1984 quoted by Silverman, 1995: 163). The degree of Otherness of these people for 'I' is defined as One. This type of learning involves social interaction. As Falk and Dierking (1994: 10, 109, referred to Vygotsky, 1978, Bandura & Walters, and Bonner, 1980) argue that 'learning is a social activity, mediated mainly by small-group social interactions'. The social interaction includes modelling behaviours (people learn by modelling their own social groups, other social groups or museum staff and volunteers) (Falk and Dierking, 1994: 110).

There are some merits to viewing an exhibition in a group. Firstly, it is possible to reduce one's own fears about unfamiliar institutions such as museums (which have an imposing image that is intimidating for some people) (Hooper-Greenhill, 1994b: 91, referring to Susie Fisher Group, 1990, and Trevelyan, 1991). Giving information in advance, locating objects in a logical order so that they 'make sense', and visiting the museum with acquaintances are all useful actions to reduce fear (Hooper-Greenhill, 1994b: 91; Falk and Dierking, 1994).

Secondly, being in a group involves communication that stimulates an individual's learning. This method of communication is a so-called 'network of contacts'. According to Hooper-Greenhill (1994a: 43), 'messages are passed by word of mouth, letter, phone-call − non-hierarchically, in a free-flowing and mobile way'. The 'network of contacts' is relatively more open and equal and differs from mass

communication and a 'hierarchised chain'[35]. Conversations might take place whilst looking at museum objects together, so-called 'collaborative learning' (Hooper-Greenhill, 1994a). The context of the conversation is often about museum objects and the experience of the visit. Each asks questions of the other about objects; this type of activity contributes towards remembering. We remember approximately 70 per cent of what we say, and 90 per cent of what we say and do. These activities are more effective than remembering from what we read (10%), what we hear (20%) and what we see (30%) (Hooper-Greenhill, 1994a: 144-145). Companions can also provide supplemental frames of reference for each other, by filling in gaps of knowledge and experience (Silverman, 1995: 163).

Thirdly, during the museum visit, visitors in a group also exchange conversation regarding their everyday lives inspired by the objects. So, members of the group have the benefit of learning about each other through the contacts in museums (Falk and Dierking, 1994: 111, referring to Dierking's study).

Consequently, it could be concluded that, in many ways, the museum learning experience is significantly enhanced for those who visit in groups.

5.5.3   Museum visits with museum guides (Degree of Otherness: Two)

This case considers the experience of learning from/of museum objects with a guide. Unlike the case of 'Museum visits with friends, family, etc.', the companion is a guide, who is not well known to the individual 'I'. Unless the visitors are 'friends' of the museum or frequent users, the visitor is unfamiliar to the guide. However, guides cannot be categorised as complete 'strangers', because they are representatives of the

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[35] 'Hierarchised chains describes a form of communication that is often to be found in formal institutions, including traditional large museums' (Hooper-Greenhill, 1994b: 43).

museum, and visitors know what museum guides are for. Therefore, the degree of Otherness is only Two, and the guide can be categorised as 'we' rather than 'them'. Visitors, do not normally feel 'fear' when they encounter museum guides.

The experience of learning about museum objects with a guide during a tour is categorised as face-to-face teaching; the opposite of 'distance-learning' and mass communication. Hooper-Greenhill (1994b: 143) defines face-to-face teaching as follows:

> Face-to-face teaching is direct, 'natural', or interpersonal communication. It can enable interpretation through shared experience, modification or development of the message in the light of on-the-spot responses, and involve many supporting methods of communication (body movements, repetitions, restatements, etc).

Notwithstanding, it is important to recognise some difficulties with teaching methods utilising exhibition guides. First of all, they rely heavily on the visitor's ability to understand, as well as their intelligence, which may not be of equal benefit to every visitor (or 'the people'). Alternatively, they rely heavily on the skills of guides to accommodate all levels of visitors.

Secondly, differences of cultural or social background, along with generational differences between guides and visitors, can sometime cause misunderstandings. Visitors (listeners) receive the museum narrative differently according to their socio-cultural background (Katriel, 1997) Furthermore, a museum guide is very useful for museums providing 'self-representation' as oral history. However, using a term 'we' and 'them' can be exchangeable (Katriel, 1997: 83), and defining a community as 'self' or 'we' is difficult because no community is homogeneous (Pieterse, 1997: 134). Therefore, it might be not very easy to use this learning strategy for sensitive and controversial topics.

Thirdly, this type of learning can be taught, unequal, and non-natural communication with a 'hierarchisied chain' (refer to 5.5.2 Supra) depending on the style of teaching. If people come from a society where pupils are taught in a Victorian style old-fashioned classroom where study and textbooks are seen as disciplines, pupils only answer questions when they are asked. In some oriental countries, such as Japan and Taiwan, this form of learning is commonplace (for the Taiwanese example, refer to Tsai, 2002).

5.5.4   Museum visits with strangers (Degree of Otherness: Three) and Museum visits with the socially excluded (Degree of Otherness: Four)

As discussed, socio-cultural learning in museums has attracted attention recently; therefore, the analysis about socio-cultural learning in Zero to Two degrees of Otherness was obtainable from my literature study. However, there is scant literature covering socio-cultural learning with strangers. As previously discussed, understanding strangers, or the Other, is an important starting point for social inclusion, and encountering the Other is a useful technique achieving this (a technique of face-to-face interaction). Existing research concentrates mainly on school visits (Gibson 1925; Bloomberg 1929; Melton, Feldman, and Mason, 1936; 1988; Atyeo 1939 all referred to by Hein, 1998: 24), family visits (Borun, Cleghorn, and Garfield, 1995; McManus, 1994 all referred to by Hein, 1998: 22; Dierking and Falk, 1994) or museum visits with guides (refer to Katriel, 1997).

My thesis identifies this as a research problem, and my fieldwork aims to rectify this by investigating the social nature of interactions with strangers, 'them' or the Other in museums.

5.6 The communication model of 'self', 'other' and museum objects, applying the degree of Otherness

Three different types of socio-cultural learning have now been described, with the degree of Otherness varying from Zero to Two, depending on whom a person visits museums with. Now we will utilise the communication model, which focuses upon the relationship between 'self', 'other' and museum objects. Figure 8 illustrates how communication and interaction works in this relationship. In this communication, museum objects have a relevance to the Other. Utilizing this model, a concise overview of the concepts discussed in this chapter will be achieved.

How to Learn from Museum Objects
through Interaction and Communication

	[Self]	[others]		[the Other]	
Degree of Otherness	0	1 [us]	2	3	4 [them]
Museum visits alone	Self			Object (about the Other)	
Museum visits with family etc.	Self / other (us): Family			Object (about the Other)	
Museum visit with a guide	Self	other(us) : a guide		Object (about the Other)	
Museum visit with a stranger or an Other		[Will be examined]		Possibility	
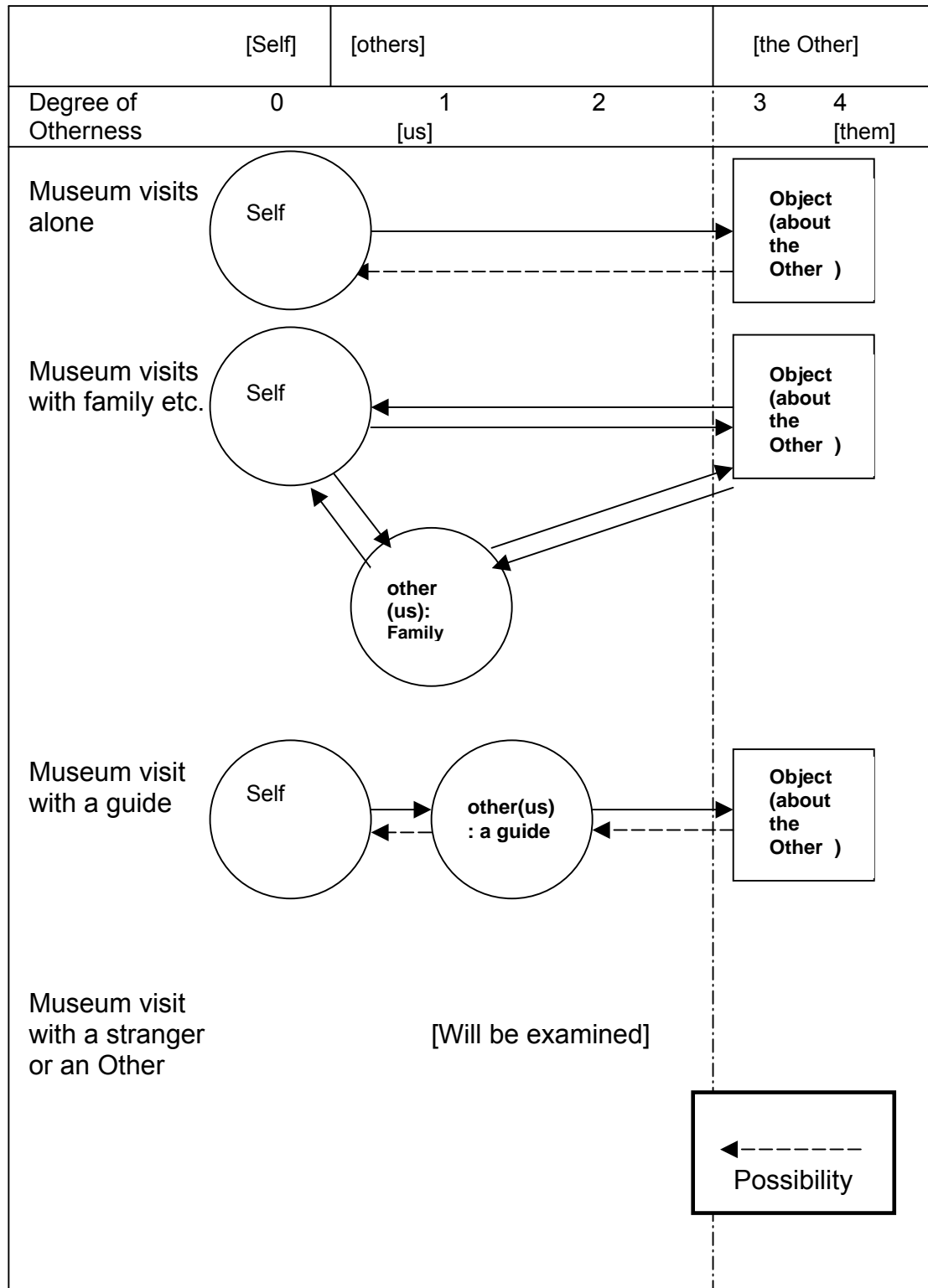
(Figure 8)

5.6.1   Museum visits on their own (Degree of Otherness: Zero)

When visiting museums alone, the method of learning is initially communication with objects. A visitor ('self') experiences (sees, perceives, listens, touches, smells, feels) the object. The object passes information to the visitor ('self'). The visitor ('self') receives information from the object. However, if there is a 'feedback loop' in the museum, objects can reflect the visitors' viewpoint in its exhibition (refer to Hooper-Greenhill, 1994a: 44). The dotted arrow depicts this possibility in Figure 8. In this case, communication between the visitor ('self') and the object could be two-way. (For details of this communication model see 'Shannon and Weaver Communications Model Applied to Exhibitions' in Figure 3).

5.6.2   Museum visits with friends, family or a partner (Degree of Otherness: One)

In museum visits with friends and others ('other' within 'us') the basis of communication between visitors and an object is primarily the same as in the case of museum visits alone. In addition, natural and interpersonal communication between friends or families is involved (Hooper-Greenhill, 1994a: 143). They often learn about each other during museum visits through conversation (Falk and Dierking, 1994: 111, referring to Dierking's study).

5.6.3   Museum visits with museum guides (Degree of Otherness: Two)

In the case of museum visits with a guide ('other' within 'us'), the guide is the medium between a visitor ('self') and museum objects. Viewers learn about objects through communication with a guide. If he/she engages visitors, the relationship can be

interactive and in the circumstances, where the guide encourages discussion about the exhibits, communication becomes two-way and the Degree of Otherness becomes closer to One. The guide can reflect visitors' self and put this into the narrative accordingly. However, if the guide does not engage visitors and only narrates about museum objects, this communication will be one-way only. Sometimes, guided tours only allow highly controlled participation (Katriel, 1997: 147).

5.6.4 Research about museum visits with strangers (Degree of Otherness: Three) and museum visits with the socially excluded (Degree of Otherness: Four)

As mentioned, this information is missing and consequently becomes the research problem for my fieldwork. This will attempt to investigate communication amongst 'self', 'stranger' and museum objects as well as 'self', the socially excluded and museum objects.

5.7 Summary

Symbolic Interactionism is the approach of my thesis, in which the human being is seen as an acting organism. The 'self' is composed by both the 'I' and the 'me': the 'I' is the response of the organism to the attitudes of others, whilst the 'me' is the organised set of attitudes of others, which herself or himself assumes. Exchanging symbols (including language) through interaction, one influences the other. This proactive attitude towards interaction with 'other' for creating the self, can assist the achievement of cultural aspects of social inclusion, and explains how 'learning' can be a valuable method of inclusion.

Museum communication was explained using this concept (see Figure 3). Museum curators' ideas are communicated through museum exhibits as the medium, to

their audience. Curators attach meaning to museum objects and visitors understand this meaning when they view the object. Thus, museum objects become a form of language that museum curators use to communicate the ideology of museums.

My hypothesis of museum communication represents concisely the discussion within this chapter and presented as Figure 4. This model explains which relationship museums need to enhance for the creation of an inclusive society. It shows that museums have the potential to connect between 'self' (a user) and 'other' (another user).

Socio-cultural learning is a particularly useful method of museum learning, as face-to-face interaction is involved. However, socio-cultural learning methods with strangers and the Other have not been widely applied in museums yet, although it has great potential to combat unfamiliarity and reduce 'videology', thus supporting inclusion. This is the limitation my thesis identifies and my fieldwork will attempt to address this omission.

Chapter Six

Preliminary Fieldwork: Interviews with key persons in art organisations

6.1 Introduction

Prior to my major fieldwork, preliminary interviews with key people in art organisations were conducted. As discussed in Chapter Two, there is a difficulty conducting surveys in Japanese museums about social inclusion concerning disabled people. Visiting sites and asking questions directly was, therefore, one of the few methods available to obtain such information. The intention was to record some examples of Japanese museums' inclusive practices for disabled users, and to provide a prologue to my fieldwork.

In this chapter, aims, methodology and findings will be presented together with a consideration of the limitations of this fieldwork. The research will be presented, using the style of the report by the Research Centre for Museums and Galleries (RCMG) (2004). However, the difference is that my thesis will provide discussion and recommendations relating to the problems raised by the fieldwork, whilst the RCMG report only identified the problems awaiting future research.

6.2 Aims

The aim and objectives of the preliminary fieldwork aims were as follows:

6.2.1 Aims of the research

- To increase knowledge about Japanese museums and disabled users (visually impaired users).
- To produce findings that inform an agenda for a larger research project.
- To raise awareness and levels of debate within the cultural sector about inclusive approaches towards disabled users.

6.2.2 Research objectives

- To describe Japanese museum practice which supports (or does not support) visits of disabled people.
- To identify what kind of museum experience disabled visitors (visually impaired users) have in Japan.
- To explore attitudes amongst Japanese curators towards museum visits by disabled people.

6.3 Methodology of preliminary fieldwork

6.3.1 Semi-structured interview method

My preliminary fieldwork took the form of semi-structured interviews with key personnel in Japanese museums and art organisations. Semi-structured interviews were chosen rather than structured ones to ensure uniformity, while at the same time permitting a degree of flexibility. The questions were not totally uniform due to the different types of organisations involved (see Appendix 1). The term 'social inclusion' was avoided in the interviews as the concept has not been recognised widely in Japan; instead, 'social role' or 'social model of disability' were used for my questions.

6.3.2   Profile of interviewees and interview data

The interviews were conducted with seven people working at six organisations. Table 1 illustrates the profile of interviewees as well as the date and length of interview. (For the photos of the museums and gallery, see Figure 9) (No interviews were conducted at the AXIS Gallery but questionnaires were collected there.) Their management and size varies from museums (national museum, large local authority museum, regional local authority museum) to charitable organisations (charitable institution, voluntary museum access groups).

For ethical reasons, interviewees' consent for the use of their opinions were obtained prior to the interviews.

List of Dates and Locations of Interviews and Details of Interviewees

Organisation	Governance	Location	Name	Position	Date	Length
(A) Able Art Japan	Charitable institution	Able Art Japan	Yoshiyasu Ōta	Director	13 Aug 03	1h 5m 34s
(B) Museum Access Group, MAR	Voluntary organisation	Café next to AXIS	Masaharu Hoshino	One of the main members	23 Aug 03	1h 19m 54s
(B) Museum Access Group, MAR	Voluntary organisation	Setagaya Art Museum	Kenji Shiratori	One of the establishers	30 Aug 03	1h 10m 48s
(C) AXIS Gallery	Independent exhibition space					
(D) Museum Access Group, VIEW	Voluntary organisation	Setagaya Art Museum	Takayuki Mitsushima	One of the establishers	30 Aug 03	41m 56s
(E) Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum	Large local authority museum	Restaurant near the Museum	Hiroshi Matsuki	Curator	27 Aug 03	Approx. 30 m
(F) Setagaya Art Museum	Regional local authority museum	Setagaya Art Museum	Naoyuki Takahashi	Educator, Curator	27 Aug 03	1h 1m 29s
(G) National Museum of Western Art	National museum	National Museum of Western Art	Yoko Terashima	Educator	21 Aug 03	1h 28m 41s

(Table 1)

The details of the organisations as well as some of their photos are as follows:

A) Able Art Japan (Charitable institution)

Able Art Japan (former name: Association of Art Culture and People with Disabilities, in Japan) was established in 1994 to support art activities of people with learning, psychological and physical disabilities, and to promote a good cultural environment for them. (For more details, refer to 3.5; 2.6.2; 2.7.4 and refer to 1.3 Supra for my involvement.)

B) Museum Access Group, MAR (Museum Approach and Releasing[36]) (Voluntary organisation)

Museum Access Group, MAR was established in 2000. In an exhibition entitled "Able Art '99 Tokyo", volunteers helped to set up workshops where visually impaired people observed pictures with sighted people. Some volunteers then established the MAR group in order to continue these workshops. According to MAR (2006), one of their intentions is to build bridges between humans and visual art (MAR, 2000).

C) AXIS Gallery (Independent, exhibition space)

AXIS Gallery is an exhibition space that plans and manages promotional events. AXIS Gallery is run by AXIS Inc. which has been developing various activities on the theme 'living, design, and concept' since 1981. The AXIS building is based within the central

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[36] This is their English name. Not translated by the author. This organisation acts to relieve stress and pressure on people.

district of Tokyo, attracting shoppers and exhibition goers with its multifaceted activities based on the theme 'Living with Design' (AXIS Gallery, Anon).

D) VIEW: Museum Access View (Voluntary organisation)

This group was organised to appreciate art together with people with visual impairments. Through workshops, VIEW (2007) provides opportunities for visually impaired people to become interested in the visual arts.

E) Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum (TMAM) (Large local authority museum)

The Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum was founded in 1926. It does not have its own collections but holds special exhibitions organised by curators as well as rental galleries for the exhibitions of contemporary Japanese artists' groups (TMAM, Anon). Since this museum agreed to hold the exhibition "Able Art '97 TOKYO: *Tamashi no Taiwa* (Dialogue of the Spirit)" organised by Able Art Japan, the museum has been made more accessible for people with disabilities. Collaborating with Able Art Japan, they agreed to set up Special Viewing Days exclusively for disabled people. The museum also organises rehearsals prior to the Special Viewing Days for Disabled People inviting Able Art Japan' staff and volunteers who will assist viewers on those days.

F) Setagaya Art Museum (Regional local authority museum)

The Setagaya Art Museum opened in 1986. Since opening, it has presented exhibitions of art ranging from the prehistoric to the most contemporary, conducted extensive

research on the art of the past and present, and carried out an active acquisitions programme. Art works by artists living in the Setagaya area as well as naïve arts are their special collections (Setagaya Art Museum, Anon).

G) National Museum of Western Art (NMWA) (National museum)

The National Museum of Western Art (NMWA) was established in 1959 around the core Matsukata Collection, as Japan's museum specialising in Western art. Matsukata Kojiro [1865-1950] was the president of Kawasaki Dockyard and from 1916 through to 1923; he invested his personal fortune in the acquisition of Western paintings, sculpture and decorative arts (NMWA, Anon). Later, in 2001, they moved under the management of the Independent Administrative Institution, National Museum of Art.

<u>Photos of the museums and the gallery</u>

C) AXIS Gallery

E) Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum

Source: http://www.tobikan.jp/

F) Setagaya Art Museum

G) National Museum of Western Art

(Figure 9)

6.3.3   Rationale for the choice of interviewees

These organisations all have a relationship with Able Art Japan. As the Able Art Movement has a significant relevance to my study, Able Art Japan was chosen for my fieldwork from an early stage of my PhD. Links between Able Art Japan and other organisations are; for example, when the Setagaya Art Museum had an exhibition named "Kaleidoscope: *rokunin no kosei to hyogen* (Six Individual Expressions)", Able Art Japan organised events associated with this exhibition. The Museum Access Group MAR (Museum Approach and Releasing) and the Museum Access Group View, were invited to this event. The exhibitions in the Setagaya Art Gallery and the AXIS Gallery were used by the workshop organised by the MAR. The Non-Profit Organisation (NPO) named 'Tsunagu NPO'[37] was also a contributor. This group was established by Tetsuya Yamamoto who used to work in an art museum. Their main activities include using volunteers from the public to evaluate museums, and publishing journals. In summer 2003, they evaluated the National Museum of Western Art (NMWA). Not all Japanese museums (especially large or national museums) would agree to be evaluated by such NPOs. Therefore, the author judged the NMWA a relatively flexible and understanding organisation, willing to discuss issues related to 'disability' and 'inclusion'. The Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum (TMAM), which is a large local authority museum, was also included as an interview site. They have a history of working with Able Art Japan since 1997, as mentioned earlier. (More details will be introduced later.)

As previously discussed, it is not easy to gain information about 'disability and inclusion' in Japan. If the interview sites were randomly chosen, there would be a danger that no interviewees could understand the context of (or the terms used in)

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[37] 'Tsunagu' means connecting.

interviews. On the other hand, my interviewees had a common point of understanding, which was the Able Art Movement. However, it has to be recognised that in choosing interviewees with comprehensive understanding of disability issues, there is an inherent danger of bias. Several of these interviewees are persuasive advocates for disabled people and their testimony has to be interpreted accordingly. Notwithstanding this, it was crucial to interview people having a demonstrable understanding of the subject area. This is the rationale for my choice of interviewees.

6.3.4   Process of analysing data

In order to maximise the reliability of the findings, whole interviews were transcribed (except one from the Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum).[38] These transcripts were cross-sectionally indexed to create a systematic overview of my data. The indexing process helped me keep an objectivity removed from the immediacy of the initially striking or memorable elements, as Mason (2002: 153) suggests.

During open coding (the analytic process through which concepts are identified and their properties and dimensions are discovered in data),[39] data was conceptualised and a number of categories (concepts that stand for phenomena)[40] were produced, based on reading and classifying the data from the transcripts (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 102).

At first, during my interviews, opinions concerning 'disability/disabled people' and 'collaboration' were gathered, becoming primary categories for my data. Since the

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[38] I could not record this interview. The reason was the curator wanted to talk to me in an informal situation. Therefore, the script was written based on notes which I took during the interview.
[39] *Concepts*: The building block of theory, *Properties*: Characteristics of category, the delineation of which defines and gives it meaning, *Dimensions*: The range along which general properties of category vary, giving specification to a category and variation to the theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 101).
[40] *Categories*: Concepts that stand for phenomena, *Phenomena*: Central ideas in the data represented as concepts (ibid.).

interview was semi-structured, answers were often developed and expanded into different categories. After consideration of the data, significant issues concerning the museum world and Japanese society were discovered, which became my main four categories. These are; museums' involvement with disabled visitors and disabled artists; difficulties in museum visits for visually impaired users; museums as a centre of culture and society?; and interviewees' recommendations addressing these issues. (For methods of analysing data from interviews, see Appendix 2.)

My data was in the Japanese language, so translation was necessary to produce a transcript accessible to English readers. It was important to maintain the meaning in translation, even if the translation was not literal. However, there remains a danger that some meaning could be lost. Strauss and Corbin (1998: 286) rationalise: 'as a general rule, we would say that too much valuable time and meaning can be lost in trying to translate all of one's materials. Also, many of the original subtleties of meaning are lost in translation'.

Therefore, the data was used without translating during the process of open coding. Quotations for reporting findings were translated afterwards.

6.3.5   Limitations of my preliminary fieldwork

The researcher is fully aware that the number of interviews undertaken was insufficient to provide a comprehensive survey of museums in Japan. It was difficult to gain adequate quantitative survey data due to Japanese lack of familiarity with the issue of social inclusion (refer to Chapter 2). However, although the number of interviewees is not large, many topics were discussed with each. Similar research conducted by RCMG

(2004) and Able Art Japan (1998) dealing with issues of museums and disability also involved relatively small samples: eight museums or galleries in RCMG's case and nine in Able Art Japan's. Although this research involves wider areas such as museum collections and facilities, responses from curatorial staff made a significant contribution to the research findings. However, my fieldwork consists of two components. The preliminary fieldwork is only for building an overview of Japanese museum practice, unlike my main research which will contain data from fifty-seven participants. Therefore, it could be said that the initial number of interviewees is sufficient for the purpose.

Another problem my fieldwork research faced was the possibility of confusion over the subject matter: 'disabled people' and 'visually impaired people'. Interviewees who work for, or are themselves visually impaired, raised issues mostly regarding visual impairment, whilst others spoke about disability issues in general. Some might argue that the interviewer should have specified the subject so s/he could get consistent responses. However, there was a possibility that narrowing the topics of discussion might have been counter-productive. If the questions were strictly about visual impairment, the interviews could end with the simple answer: 'our museums do not have any special programmes for them'. By way of contrast, it was not always possible to ask those who work for, or themselves are, visually impaired people to talk about disability in general, as they usually wanted to focus on the narrow subject of visual impairment. Moreover, although it was necessary to focus my research on a small group of visually impaired people, the purpose of my research is not about examining their specific disability but rather about relevant social issues. Therefore, as long as we can obtain information on how interviewees think about 'self', 'other' (and the Other), 'different', 'sameness' and their relationships, the choice of subjects for my preliminary

research is adequate. The correlation of my more narrowly focused subject (visual impaired visitors) and my widely focused subject (disability) is as Hetherington (2000: 446) explains: 'when I speak about the visually impaired visitor, I mean both actual embodied subjects and also the figure of the disabled subject and its relation to the discourses (both textual and material) of the museum. The former sense of the subject, I would add, can only be understood through the latter'.

6.4 Findings

The preliminary fieldwork findings were categorised as:

- Museums' involvement with disabled visitors and disabled artists.
- Difficulties in museum visits for visually impaired users.
- Interviewees' recommendations addressing these problems.
- Museums as a centre of culture and society?

6.5 Finding 1: Museums' involvement with disabled visitors and disabled artists

6.5.1 An example from the National Museum of Western Art (NMWA)

The NMWA is regarded as a pioneering museum, having a separate education department[41]. Yoko Terashima, an educational curator, was the only person in the department until a part-time educator joined recently. Independent education departments are rare in Japanese museums, Terashima explains. Therefore, the existence of an educational department already appears to indicate the museum's positive attitude towards visitor service. According to an interview extract, the NMWA

[4141] Although this education department in the NMWA undertook more marketing jobs at the beginning, they became fully educational afterwards.

offered special programmes for disabled people such as touching tours of bronzes statues located in the permanent exhibition spaces, although these are irregular and held only on a request basis.

6.5.2   An example from the Setagaya Art Museum

This museum had a director named Seiji Ohshima whose philosophy was that the museum should work for the Setagaya public (Kawakami, Direct contact, 2003)[42]. Ōshima (1997) recommended inviting 'civilian control' to monitor museums in order to make them more responsive to public needs and expectations. This museum has a history of exhibiting art by disabled with disability.

The exhibition "Parallel Vision" was the first comprehensive exhibition in Japan to show art works made by mental health sufferers. In summer 2003, the museum organised an exhibition entitled "Kaleidoscope: *rokunin no kosei to hyogen* (Six Individual Expressions)" including work of six artists with physical or/and learning disabilities. Some events were held during this exhibition in association with Able Art Japan. Such collaborations between public museums and individual organisations are uncommon in Japan.

Yukihiro Takahashi is one of the most talented educators in Japan, having a good understanding of the public need for 'museum learning' and inclusive museums. He curated the "Kaleidoscope" exhibition and has a long association with Able Art Japan. It is still unusual in Japan for disabled artists' work to be exhibited in well-known art museums (rather than community centres) by museum curators rather than NPOs such as Able Art Japan. Takahashi says;

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[42] Direct contact with Chieko Kawakami, an educator at the Setagaya Art Museum.

> The achievement to create these type of exhibitions [dealing with disabled artists' works] is a big step for our society and the Japanese art museum world rather than for me. Although, what I am doing is not a complicated but simple thing (Interview Takahashi 23:30).

6.5.3 An example of collaboration between the Setagaya Art Museum and Able Art Japan

When Setagaya Art Museum organised the "Kaleidoscope" exhibition, Able Art Japan organised events associated with this exhibition. These included forums, symposiums and workshops. The events and the exhibition were focused on themes of 'art', 'disabilities', 'the public (society) and museums'.

Although Takahashi worked with Able Art Japan for a long time, it was on a personal basis, and did not represent a formal partnership with his employer the Setagaya Art Museum. Thus, this was the first time that Able Art Japan and the Setagaya Art Museum worked together. Moreover, it was the very first time Setagaya Art Museum commissioned another institution to manage events connected to their own museum exhibitions (Interview Takahashi 3:30). It was also the first experience Able Art Japan had of collaborating so closely with a museum. Able Art Japan organised the event (including financing it), whilst the Setagaya Art Museum contributed, joining in planning as well as providing an assembly hall and facilities (Interview Takahashi 5:46).

Both institutions had specific objectives for the collaboration. Ōta wanted to prove what museums can achieve if they work with the public or voluntary organisations. Moreover, he wished to demonstrate that 'Able Art' is not merely for disabled people's arts [but for all] (Interview Ōta pp2-3). On the other hand, Takahashi expected that Able Art Japan would contribute different perspectives to the museum's viewpoint (Interview Takahashi 3:18). In his point of view, what a museum can do is

limited, but collaboration can widen its capabilities (Interview Takahashi 6:50). Furthermore, museum budgets are diminishing, and the number of NPOs is growing. Therefore, he thought that working together might be beneficial for both institutions (Interview Takahashi 7:17).

Consequently, it could be said that the collaboration satisfied both their expectations. Together, they successfully raised their issues about 'disabled', 'art', and 'the public and museums'.

6.5.4   An example of collaboration between Able Art Japan and the Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum

In 1997, the exhibition "Able Art '97 TOKYO: *Tamashi no Taiwa* (Dialogue of the Spirit)" was held in TMAM. In this exhibition, work created by artists belonging to art schools for people with special needs was exhibited. Workshops, symposiums and guided tours were organised and some of these were especially created for disabled visitors.

Since the TMAM agreed to hold this exhibition organised and managed by Able Art Japan, it has been more accessible to disabled people such as having Special Viewing Days as mentioned earlier. They also allow disabled people access to their main exhibitions, before opening to the public. In 1999 the second Able Art Japan's exhibition entitled "Able Art '99 TOKYO: *Kono āto de genkini naru*" (Art to Revitalise) was held in the same museum.

A curator of the TMAM, Hiroshi Matsuki, recalled such collaboration and how it changed attitudes within the museum. According to Matsuski, before working with Able Art Japan, museum staff and governors expressed their concern at working with unfamiliar agendas such as disability art, which encourages more disabled visitors, as

well as increasing numbers of volunteers (refer to 6.5.4 Supra). However, they lost these negative attitudes after consultation with Able Art Japan volunteers (Interview Matsuki Answer 1,2,4,7). The museum staff now believe they provide equal opportunities, having Special Viewing Days for people with disabilities. This kind of exercise illustrated to the public the museum's positive attitude towards an inclusive society (Interview Matsuki Answer 4,7). [43] Some museums have contacted them to learn about their activities and Matsuki wishes others would follow too (Interview Matsuki Answer 6).

Thus, the positive experience of the collaboration with Able Art Japan encouraged TMAM to work with other sorts of civilian groups (Interview Matsuki Answer 5). Matsuki now wishes to work towards new audiences, such as school children with special needs, in partnership with others.

6.6 Finding 2: Difficulties which hinder the development of programmes for disabled museum users

Contrary to the examples above of museums' positive involvement with disabled users, many difficulties and problems were revealed during interviews with other curatorial and educational staff, along with disabled users. This section illustrates these problems, some of which mirror findings of the RCMG's (2004) report.

6.6.1 Museum staff's familiarity with, and understanding of, disability

RCMG (2004: 22) identified that the reason museum staff do not readily recognise the potential for telling stories about disability using their collections, is lack of curatorial

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[43] Although he used the word of 'equal opportunity' he meant 'inclusive society' in this circumstance.

knowledge and poor awareness of disability. During my interviews, similar problems were identified, although unlike RCMG's cases, these specifically concerned museum services. Kenji Shiratori, one of MAR's organisers, who is a blind person, believed that a museum's attitude towards disabled people depends on museum staff's knowledge about disability: [44]

> From my experience, the museum side of people cannot imagine that visually impaired people will come to art museums to appreciate pictures. […] They do not have such a channel to understand. You see? Almost all art museums are like that. When I went to art museums alone or with members of the MAR, museum people who had a good sense [knowledge] responded to me well saying, 'No problem; come along'. But if they are bureaucratic, administrative or scholarly, they refused me. I think we are not known by art museums people (Interview Shiratori 12:29-13:21).

Takayuki Mitsushima, one of VIEW's organisers who is a blind artist, also made similar comments as follows:

> Museum people often said to me, 'it is impossible to have you, because we haven't prepared anything for you'. I suppose although they would like to try to invite more disabled visitors, they don't know how to do it, so they cease their actions (Interview Mitstushima VIEW 8:27).

Similarly to the RCMG's (2004: 22) findings, it could be said the reason why museum staff do not readily recognise the potential for involving disabled visitors and artists is a lack of knowledge about disability, and a lack of familiarity with art by disabled people.

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[44] Note: All comments here were translated by the author of this thesis. The audio recordings are available in my CD. In the interview notes, the words inside bracket ( ) are alternative words for the translation. The comments inside this bracket [ ] are based on my understanding, reading between lines, otherwise the meaning will be lost in translation. Underlined words are emphasised by the commentators. Three dots inside bracket […] means omitting part from the original interview.

6.6.2   Dilemmas caused by lack of confidence and fear of criticism

Display dilemmas caused by lack of confidence and fear of criticism is another problem

the RCMG (2004: 15) found. My interviews identified similar problems about museum

visitor services. For example, Yoko Terashima in the NMWA commented:

> We don't hate being evaluated by other parties (the NMWA accepted a group
> named Tsunagu NPO which evaluates museums encouraging public feedback).
> But even if they raise some issues which we should change, we cannot respond
> to them all; there is that sort of conflict feeling [*katto*] … well … if we are told
> we should do some thing, but we cannot… then…You know?
>
> Interviewer: Hum, I found you very 'serious' [good ordered] like an honour
> [behaved] student. You said earlier that you feel sorry for visitors, because you
> do not provide special programmes for them; and now you are saying that you
> feel sorry about asking your users their opinions, because you cannot address
> the issues that they raise.
>
> Are we like honour [behaved] students? Nothing like that. In fact, we distribute
> questionnaires to ask their opinions, and our administrators answer some that
> need answers. We could fix some parts of our operations, but there are things
> we cannot do anything about. I bet there may be many users unsatisfied with our
> management. But an open-ended question enables us to pick up only good or
> bad judgments, and people's real feelings are left out – they think something,
> but they don't write it down. So, it ends up being only praise or criticism. […]
>
> Interviewer: How about setting up focus groups? Do you think it is a good idea
> to set a day that you can listen to the public's voice directly […]?
>
> Well, again we might not be able to answer [respond]; that's why we cannot do
> that. If we do that, it has to be fruitful; otherwise it is a betrayal of the public,
> isn't it? On the other hand, I know doing nothing is also not good (Interview
> Terashima 40:30-43:40).

Opening up a museum to the public means listening to their comments. If the museum

staff cannot respond to these, the public may criticise the museum. In RCMG's (2004:

22) case, it was about definition. Considering disability has made people more nervous

about language and definitions. Although the focus is different, in both cases the fear of

criticism affects staff confidence to do something for disabled people.

If museum staff avoid criticism by not responding to public need, there is a danger they will fail to provide services to people with special needs. As a result, museums may only work for the majority, that is, non-disabled people. For example, Mitsushima observed that the needs of visually impaired visitors were not considered by museum staff, but treated as a disturbance to non-disabled visitors:

> Interviewer: what kind of response have you had from art museums when operating workshops?
>
> Apart from the things I mentioned before, we were often told, 'please do not disturb other visitors', because we use dialogues when looking at art works. So, they said, 'do not be loud' or things like that. They also thought that if we go in large groups, we will disturb others. For example, if we tried to go to popular exhibitions, such as the Rembrandt exhibition, they said, 'come to the museum at a less busy time such as weekdays or Sunday mornings', although it was not an order, but a request. But anyway, we have to go there with a big group. Although we divide into small groups, we have to talk; as a result, it inevitably becomes loud (Interview Mitsushima 20:09-21:06).

6.6.3 Should a museum 'out' someone as disabled? (Is the display/special viewing day based on the 'medical model of disability' or 'social model of disability'?)

There is a debate about whether museums should 'out' someone as disabled or not. RCMG (2004: 16) recognised that some disabled artists do not wish to be identified as such. During my interview, a curator in Setagaya Art Museum pondered similar issues:

> I heard from the front of house staff that some visitors do not want to leave the exhibition place, until they find out what kind of impairment the artist has. I think impairments are not important. I did not tell [educate] the front of house staff which artists have which impairments. The kind of impairments does not matter for their art works. I don't know it either. But some visitors did not concede and said, 'not mentioning impairments is itself discrimination!' But what can I do? (Laugh)
>
> Interviewer: It is a very difficult issue. But I was wondering… I wanted to know about the backgrounds of the artists rather than about their impairments when I saw the exhibition. Generally speaking, when we see an exhibition, we think

'what a wonderful piece of work; what kind of person drew that!' I think impairments cannot be separated from disabled people, because they are part of their characteristics. So, it might be acceptable to mention their impairments. But I understand if you think you may emphasise their impairments not talents in that case. I understand the conflict. It is difficult to deal with…

Yes, it is. Their impairments are mentioned in the pamphlet, though. […]

Interviewer: Did you intend [to mention their impairments only in the pamphlet]?

It was just a matter of personal preference. I did not want to put lots of things in the exhibition. I don't want excess. I want viewers to see only the important things. This is my general thought; not only for this exhibition…

Interviewer: Is that your method?

Yes. I usually try to exhibit art works beautifully and let the artworks remain outstanding (Interview Takahashi 23:45-26:20).

Thus, whilst some visitors wanted to know about the artists' disabilities, Takahashi wanted to emphasise their ability rather than disability. Another issue raised by RCMG (2004: 21) was also covered in his interview, which is whether the display should be personalised or depersonalised. Takahashi thinks the answer is 'depersonalised', according to the interview extract.

Another similar debate was whether museums should prepare a special viewing day for disabled people. The Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum (TMAM) organises such days. However, Terashima in the NMWA expressed her concern as follows:

Interviewer: The neighbouring TMAM has Special Days for Disabled People, when they exclusively look at art works before the exhibition is open to the public. I think this action shows its open attitudes towards disabled people…. What is your opinion of such actions?

Umm, I am not sure …I do not object to it, but …umm…I wonder when we set a special day for disabled people, whether they might feel that they are discriminated against or separated. I do not want to have such a situation. So, I am not sure about setting a special day. I can see that it is meaningful to reach out to people…, but I cannot judge whether setting a special day is good or bad (Interview Terashima 15:43-16:47).

This is a similar issue to whether a museum should 'out' someone as disabled, when museums exhibit objects about disabled people (RCMG, 2004: 16). In the above case, there is a concern whether museums will 'out' someone as disabled, when they invite them to special viewing days. The dilemma is whether the special treatment is seen as meeting disabled people's needs, or separates them from the majority of visitors.

This relates to another issue that RCMG (2004) identified, which is whether the museum displays are based on the medical or social model of disability. RCMG (2004: 21) states that in the social model, in which disability is treated as the result of society's failure to accommodate it, everyone has a responsibility to remove the barriers that disabled people face. If we follow this, it could be said that the Special Days for Disabled People are based on the social model of disability. Museum exhibition spaces are not always disabled user friendly and there are lots of barriers affecting them. However, offering a special day, to accommodate disabled people's needs as a function of the social responsibility of museums, enables disabled visitors to better appreciate museum exhibitions. [45]

6.6.4   Shortage of finance and museum staff

The next problem concerns the shortage of finance as well as of museum staff, which appears to constrain audience development. The interview with Terashima at the

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[45] The procedure of the rehearsal of Special Days for Disabled People is as follows: They and the museum staff exchanged useful information. The curators explained about the exhibitions to the helpers. The experienced volunteers and Able Art Japan staff suggest some convenient arrangements and also aids for viewing. These helpers also asked which objects are fragile and which objects are able to be touched.

This information is from my observation in summer 2003. They organised the Special Viewing Day for the exhibition entitled "*Toruko Sandai Bunmei Ten* (The Three Great Civilizations in Turkey)" on 9th of September. The rehearsal was held on 27th of August with staff and volunteers from Able Art Japan along with curators in the Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum. The author also visited this Special Viewing Day and observed it and talked to disabled visitors.

NMWA considered this problem. Sometimes, as a consequence of this problem, the NMWA suggest disabled users visit while the museum is closed, so that museum staff can pay full attention to them (Interview Terashima 13:30). As mentioned, she explained that they hesitate to proactively involve disabled people. If the NMWA invites disabled visitors proactively, the museum needs to offer special programmes exclusively planned for them (Interview Terashima 17:50). It is a similar case with children, since the museum staff must create special programmes for them; otherwise, children cannot fully enjoy their museum visits, as the NMWA's exhibits may not instantly suit children's interests (Interview Terashima 17:52-18:36). Preparing programmes for disabled people involves more time and effort as well as requiring more time for care of museum objects. This is not welcomed because of the staff shortages, Terashima explained. The museum's educational staff are considering the use of volunteers to overcome this problem. However, she also expressed a concern that organising volunteers in itself involves a lot of planning and supervision, which again makes the department hesitant about putting it into practice (Interview Terashima 46:12). The NMWA needs to make a number of improvements, such as providing pamphlets containing a clear floor plan for the "majority" of visitors (non-disabled Japanese) first and foremost. Due to staff shortages, they have to prioritise their tasks (Interview Terashima 19:50). Staff and financial shortages cause serious constraints for this museum.

6.6.5 Difficulties of finding the right consultants

Ōta from Able Art Japan warns museums to avoid consulting the wrong people when they develop their inclusiveness policies:

Have you heard what Mitsushima said [in the discussion in Setagaya Art Museum]? He said that if museums professionals consult well-established institutions working with the blind, they may tell them to create a certain kind of exhibitions or to put Braille pavement blocks everywhere. But real needs are not like that, are they? That's why choosing the right partners is very important. Do you know what I mean? Even when we [Able Art Japan] are asked by institutions what is necessary for visually impaired people, we can only answer with assumptions, like saying, "some of them think like this, but others think like that". And I can say, "we heard that putting Braille everywhere is not solution for them." But I cannot say that those practices are perfect, because perfect may not exist. If museum people want to improve their practice, they have to listen to various people's voices and have to meet people who have good ideas and awareness of those sorts of things (Interview Ōta 33:56-34:39).

6.6.6 Lack of 'mainstreaming' the equality agenda when dealing with disabled people

There are also problems inside Japanese museums, which hinder the development of programmes for disabled users. Terashima in the NMWA stated that it would be ideal if all departments had a similar understanding of programmes for the disabled visitor. However, that is not easy to achieve, because some museum staff do not appreciate educational activities and worry they may cause damage to objects. (Interview Terashima 36:26).

Furthermore, Ōta recalled similar problems when Able Art Japan worked with the Setagaya Art Museum:

They asked us to do everything. It was a pity that we could not operate the events, fully discussing details with the Setagaya Art Museum. I wish we could have presented the aim of this event in front of all the curators and volunteers in the museum and explained the notion behind the events [so that we could obtain more understanding and support from them]. I think the system of creating exhibitions itself was problematic in the museum. Only one curator creates it, and that's all. I bet that's the system of creating exhibitions in the museum. That's why the Setagaya Art Museum's educational workshops, guided tours or collaborations with schools are only organised outside exhibitions [there are no links between workshops and exhibitions] (Interview Ōta p3).

Takahashi in the Setagaya Art Museum, on the other hand, claims that the initiatives were supported by staff inside this museum without any reservations (Interview Takahashi 15:13). Consequently, it is difficult to judge whether there was unity inside the Setagaya Art Museum, or not. At the least it could be said that one party of the partnership (Able Art Japan) felt there was some difficulty working there.

Shratori from MAR adds that the attitude of museum staff towards visually impaired visitors depended on individual staff's experience of dealing with disabled people. So, visitors' experience can differ even in the same museums (Interview Shiratori 20:58-23:05; 6.6.1 Supra).

6.6.7   Bureaucratic system

The next problem concerns Japanese museums' bureaucratic system. Ōta from Able Art Japan described this issue as follows:

> Even a museum that has got a curator who is familiar with a disability issue, requires two months notice to book in a visit for disabled people. Two months notice for an exhibition! Nobody goes, if it's raining. Don't you think so? Is this booking system better than nothing? This is actually a serious problem which can be seen as discrimination towards disabled people, but they don't think so. I don't know why ... I think it represents their official attitudes (bureaucratic nature) indeed. They often say, "we must prepare and establish systems for disabled people first" or "we cannot take responsibilities if we respond wrongly to disabled people", don't they? They don't realise that such attitudes are problematic [oppressive, exclusive] (Interview Ōta 16:00-16:35).

This extract encapsulates many of the problems already considered: dilemmas caused by lack of confidence and fear of criticism (refer to 6.6.2 Supra); shortage of finance and museum staff (refer to 6.6.4 Supra); and museum professionals' lack of familiarity with disabled people (refer to 6.6.1 Supra).

As Ōta states, this could be described as the 'official attitude' or 'bureaucratic nature' of Japanese museum management. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (Thompson, 1995), one of the meanings of bureaucracy is 'the officials of such a government, esp. regarded as oppressive and inflexible' (Thompson, 1995: 174) and one of the meanings of bureaucrat is 'an inflexible or insensitive administrator' (Thompson, 1995: 174). These definitions parallel some museum staff's attitudes towards disabled people. Masaharu Hoshino, one of the core members of MAR, also criticises art museums' bureaucratic nature, emphasising their unkindness and inflexible approaches toward disabled museum users as follows:

> Interviewer: Do you know why art museums cannot lead that kind of [socially inclusive] activity [which you and MAR are doing]? You said it is because of the [management] system and you also mentioned the generation gap of curators inside museums before.
>
> I suppose I can say that museum people restrict their positions and decide on their boundaries or territories of work, such as an educational or exhibition territory. Their positions are important for them and they often say, 'I cannot do this in terms of my position'. That's too *majime* serious (devoted), [bureaucratic, faithful to their job descriptions or devoted to their specific position]. And, being 'serious' means not kind, I really think so. [In general,] I believe the way they identify themselves as 'serious' creates structures (barriers) which hinder opening up to others [the public] (Interview Hoshino pp10-11).

6.7 Finding 2:   Interviewees' recommendations addressing these problems

As the interview was semi-structured, the conversation moved away from my prepared questions. Many interviewees provided useful recommendations for the problems raised.

6.7.1 Interviewees' recommendations for 'Shortage of finance and museum staff' and improving 'Museum staff's knowledge and specialism'

The problems of shortage of finance and staff, along with museum staff's lack of knowledge about disabilities was acknowledged in interviews and reported in previous sections. However, it is often the case that adjustments for disabled visitors can be more easily achieved than museum professionals imagine. Ōta from Able Art Japan suggested one way of solving these problems. He points out that hospitality from the front of house staff can make a major difference to the visits of disabled people. For example, getting rid of attitudinal barriers from wardens[46] could reduce stress for visitors who have learning disabilities (Interview, Ōta 21:14). This sort of staff training does not require a lot of money, compared with refurbishment of buildings. What they need to acquire is a knowledge of disabilities and the needs of disabled users.

Mitsushima from VIEW said special facilities are not always necessary for welcoming disabled (visually impaired) visitors:

> I think people in art museums hesitate to accept visually impaired visitors, because they believe that preparation takes a huge amount of effort and cost. They think they need to create special equipment such as three-dimensional copies, Braille and so on (Interview Mitsushima 7:24).

Ōta warned that not providing information for disabled people could be interpreted as the museums excluding them; however, most Japanese museums do not think in that way (Interview Ōta 20:14).

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[46] The author is aware that the term 'warden' is replaced by the term 'front of house staff' these days, and the use of term 'warden' might seem anachronistic. However, my interviewees mentioned 'warden' specifically. Therefore, the term 'warden' is used in the text to follow the original data as well as to avoid the ambiguity of the term 'front of house staff'.

6.7.2 Interviewees' recommendations for 'Museum professionals' lack of familiarity with disabled people' and overcoming 'Difficulties to find the right consultants'

As stated in Chapters One and Four, the important elements of social inclusion are understanding, celebrating, learning and engaging 'difference'. In turn, without knowing 'other', it is difficult to achieve social inclusion. Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter Three, people's fear of the 'unknown' and 'outsiders' (which hinders being inclusive) can apply to the museum world. Museum staff's lack of familiarity with disability can have a significant effect upon the museum experience of disabled people (Interview Shiratori 20:58-23:05). Matsuki in TMAM recommended a solution:

> It is important to consult the right people. Real experts are not those who have authority. They are often just ordinary people who work as volunteers, those whom work for voluntary organisations. I learned this from my experience with volunteers who worked for the exhibition held in our museum in '97, which includes you (Interview Matsuki Answer 6).

Furthermore, as stated, Ōta from Able Art Japan and Mitsushima from VIEW suggested that a solution for finding appropriate consultants is to look for people who are familiar with both disability and visual art (refer to 6.6.5 Supra).

6.7.3 Interviewees' recommendations for overcoming the 'Bureaucratic system' and 'Lack of "mainstreaming" the equality agenda when dealing with disabled people'

People's types and degrees of disabilities are various; therefore, it might be impossible to meet everyone's needs completely, even when anticipating and preparing everything in advance. Flexibility, which is almost the opposite of bureaucracy, is essential. It is fascinating that Hoshino from MAR states 'serious' (bureaucracy) means being unkind and not helpful to others (refer to 6.6.7 Supra). At the NMWA, Terashima's dilemma

was how to respond to public approaches within the boundaries of the bureaucracy, and without setting a precedent (refer to 6.6.2 Supra).

Shirataori's comments also related to the bureaucratic system. He was initially told by a member of museum staff that 'I cannot make a decision by myself whether we can accept you or not, because there is no precedent' (Interview Shiratori 20:58-23:05; also refer to 6.6.1 Supra). This is a typical example of some Japanese museums' inflexible attitude. On one hand, it is understandable there must be a health and safety strategy in museums. However, on the other hand, museums also need to develop their inclusion policies. This also highlights problems arising when the corporate vision is not uniformly recognised inside the museum. Shiratori (Interview Shiratori 20:58-23:05; also refer to 6.6.1 Supra) continued to say that another person, who was familiar with disabled people, welcomed him later. If the museum had a clear equality policy, his initial bad experience could have been avoided.

Ōta suggested a solution. He said struggling with managing bodies does not change their bureaucratic characteristics; instead, the solution was to work together (Interview Ōta 1:30-3:06). As mentioned earlier, Matsuki (Interview Matsuki Answer 1,3) explained that working with Able Art changed the Council of Trade Union's negative opinions about Special Viewing Days for Disabled People. They were concerned about doing something new and unfamiliar, because there was no precedent for such action in Japanese museums. Thus, collaborating with the right parties is one solution to this problem.

Hetherington (2000: 453) pointed out that usually responsibility for disabled access is given over to education officers or often a junior member of staff on a temporary contract, despite the need to improve accessibility for disabled users.

However, he recommended that it should be driven by senior museum workers or managers.

6.8 Finding 4: Museums as a centre of culture and society?

6.8.1   The reason why museums were chosen for workshops

Despite the problems within (art) museums identified in the previous section, many people and organisations still want to work with or for them. This provokes the question why are they so keen to associate with art museums?

In an attempt to understand why the interviewer questioned people in volunteer groups organising workshops for visually impaired people. The question was: 'Is there any particular reason why you chose museums for your workshops, not other locations such as gardens, zoos and aquariums?' Hoshino from the MAR thinks that the art museum is more profound than zoos, etc., which interact with visitors on a more simple level.

> If we do this workshop in art museums, we can talk about 'art'. We [or I –can be both in Japanese] want to change the way of thinking about 'art'. Art should be for all, but it is not always the case. That is why he adheres to arts and art museums (Interview Hoshino p9).

An initial answer to this question from Shiratori in the MAR was 'No'. He hoped this activity would extend to other locations including shopping centres. However, Shiratori also emphasised that people who like visual art are opened-minded and engaging, saying:

The other reason was people in the art world responded to us. […] The reason why I continue this activity is not because I like art, but because I like their responses. They said 'I can use it [for my artworks or lives]' or 'it can be a common interest between disabled and non-disabled', so it became more interesting for me (Interview Shiratori 35:15-35:49).

Mitsushima from VIEW also answered the same question. According to him, art museums are not the only places for these activities, but they will not extend them to other locations for a while because many art lovers gather to help, and they cannot decide where-else to go (commercial art galleries in town might be the next place) (Interview Mitsushima 22:00-23:30). He also hopes to extend this activity to other groups of disabled people as well as other social groups saying,

In the future, we hope we will be able to involve cultural minorities, children or elderly people, and we can exchange conversations with those whom have different points of views. [….] But at the outset, we started targeting visually impaired people because they are seen as the most disconnected from the visual arts. So, I think it is a good starting point, then we would like to extend it to others gradually (Interview Mustushima 9:23-10:00).

6.8.2 The art and art museums connecting people together

These answers below are not identical. However, all think they can use visual arts or art museums for engaging and communicating with people, and arts should be accessible for all. Takahashi in the Setagaya Art Museum, Hoshino in MAR and Ōta in Able Art Japan continue to define the role of art and art museums respectively as follows:

The value of the existence of the art museum is judged by how much it is used by the public. […] Art museums are a part of the public. So, I am happy that they use us. But we have to make sure that we will be more open to the public [so that they can use our museum more]. (Interview Takahashi 11:30-12:14).

People think art is a subject for art museums and art education is for understanding art. But it is not true! It is not useful to understand art. Art is only

a tool. It is important to use the tool [art] for good communications in society. Art museums keep functioning for enriching society; and art is a tool to do that. You don't fail anything, if you cannot understand art…I think we should not misunderstand the correlation… I wanted to say that! (Laugh) (Interview Takahashi 48:58- 49:49).

The issues of art or art museums are all about issues of human beings (Interview Hoshino p1).

What is important for Japanese art museums is not increasing the number of visitors but answering the question why people live or why art and art museums need to exist in the world (Interview Ōta 7:59).

All these comments reflect my theoretical view of museums as communication mechanisms. It is fascinating that although some Japanese art museums are criticised as bureaucratic and not very welcoming towards the public, the public still believe in art and museums as communication tools for engaging people. They and some museum staff expect museums to become centres of culture and society.

6.8.3   Should museums lead socially inclusive activities?

Another question asked was 'Do you think it is better if art museums lead these sort of events [workshops looking at art works together with visually impaired people] or is it better that public groups do?'.

Shiratori (Interview Shiratori 8:20-11:16) in the MAR answered that at first he thought museums should. But after the MAR's activities, he realised that there are roles for both museums and viewers. According to him, the role of viewers is not only going to museums, but also committing to some kind of activity like MAR, which use museums according to their (the public's) needs.

Another core member of MAR, Hoshino, agrees that ideally art museums should lead these kinds of workshops; however, he believes Japanese art museums are not ready for it yet:

I think ideally art museums should lead it [social inclusion activities like MAR's workshops]. But, I guess it may be impossible for museums to do it unless their [management] systems become mature.

Interviewer: You cannot wait until they become mature?

No, I can't (Interview Hoshino p10).

The interviewer asked the same question to Mitsushima in the VIEW; he answered:

This question is about whether art museums should lead accessible [socially inclusive] activities or not, isn't it? I think it can be both [can lead these sort of activities]. What we are trying to do is, how can I say, like entering art museums from outside, which is not demanding that art museums do something for us but suggesting new styles of art appreciation gathering energies from outside. But I know that it is not good enough; ideally art museums can deal with visually impaired people whenever they visit individually. In that case, I hope art museums will help us, but I don't mean that they should take over our activities (Interview Mistushima 5:00-6:00).

The positive responses from these questions suggest art and museums can connect with non-visitors. Furthermore, my research reveals growing public understanding of this potential, and community encouragement of similar cultural activities. However, the expectations that museums lead inclusive activities, like the MAR and VIEW's workshops remain high. Museums have a potential to be a centre of culture and society if they can meet the public's expectation.

6.9 Validation of methodology

In my literature review, Okuno's (1998) research about museums' and galleries'[47] facilities and activities for visually impaired users was introduced. This was a

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[47] Including botanic gardens, aquariums and zoos.

preliminary study for her research about 'what are kind museums for visually impaired people'. Her 338 survey concluded that the needs of visually impaired museums visitors are hardly addressed and the factors include a lack of human resources, finance, and understanding from the public, bureaucratic systems, and management attitudes. My preliminary fieldwork results mirrors these findings.

This indicates three things. One is that although the methods were different, both her and my studies verify each other's results. Secondly, it confirmed that my choice of interviewees were not biased or predisposed, because similar views were held by both Okuno's respondents (who were chosen randomly) and my interviewees who were chosen due to their knowledge and experiences working for art by people with disability. Thirdly, Okuno's experience confirms that problems of understanding concepts and terminology in the field of social inclusion, 'universal museum' and 'kind museum' hinder survey in the Japanese museum world. Research, therefore, is better limited to questions about universally understood concepts such as facilities. A similar difficulty and solution was exhibited in Able Art Japan's (2005) survey which has been introduced before in this thesis. Able Art Japan conducted a questionnaire survey to 255 (out of 310) museums and galleries, named 'questionnaire research upon cultural access of visual impaired people and social inclusion in museums and galleries'; however, this resulted simply in providing a list of museums' and galleries' programmes for visually impaired people.

6.10   Summary

In this preliminary fieldwork, using the semi-structured interview method, original information that could not be obtained from the literature review was revealed. This

includes evidence of museums' positive attitudes towards the inclusive involvement of disabled users and artists. difficulties, which hinder museums' inclusive activities, were also identified. These included: dilemmas caused by lack of confidence and fear of criticism; should a museum 'out' someone as disabled?; is the display personalised or depersonalised?; shortage of finance and museum staff; museum professionals' lack of familiarity with disabled people; difficulties in finding the right consultants; difficulties of having the same vision inside the museum; and bureaucracy.

Interviewees' recommendations about some of the issues were also introduced. Comments from museum professionals and disabled users (in this case, visually impaired users) were useful in understanding the difficulties from each side, as providers and users of the museum services. For example, it was found that the response from museums is not uniform, but depends on the capability of individual museum staff members and their familiarity with disabled people (refer to 6.6.1; 6.7.3 Supra). Overall, it appears that the intentions of museums to be inclusive or 'kind' to disabled people, were not fully reflected in the disabled museum users' experience.

Similarity between Okuno's (1998 refer to Chapter 2 Supra) research results and responses from my interviewees suggest that the limited sample did not unduly distort the results. This outcome also provided justification for not conducting a comprehensive survey about social inclusion in Japan (refer to 6.9 Supra).

Furthermore, the issue of whether museums can be a centre of culture and society was raised in the answers to two questions: why museums were chosen for workshops?; should museums lead socially inclusive activities? According to the interviewees, the sites for their activities need not necessarily be museums. Nevertheless, art museums were chosen, because of the potential art has for connecting people together (refer to 6.8.2 Supra). Art can be a common language between disabled

people and non-disabled people (refer to 6.8.1 Supra). The interviewees thought that ideally museums should lead social inclusion activities (refer to 6.8.3 Supra); however, they believed that approaches from outside museums also contributed to the development of museum culture.

Overall, all the findings increased our knowledge about Japanese museums and disabled users (visually impaired users). Together with RCMG's (2004) report this suggests the problems of museums including disabled people (visually impaired people) are commonly seen in many museums regardless of location.

Chapter Seven

Main Fieldwork: Questionnaires given to participants of the workshop

7.1 Introduction

My next level of fieldwork involves questionnaires given to participants at gallery workshops, in which sighted and visually impaired people viewed artworks together. My research in Chapter Five concluded there is little literature regarding socio-cultural learning with strangers. This chapter examines the social nature of interactions with strangers, 'them' or the Other in museums, and demonstrates that social inclusion practices have the potential to change people's attitudes towards those with 'difference'.

Aims, methodology and findings will be presented, as well as the limitations of this fieldwork. As referred to in Chapter Two, my method is similar to Silverman (2002: 75-6). She gathered data from programmes, qualitatively evaluated this, then separated it into several categories which emerged from her data. Then, she identified key concepts and developed conclusions. This thesis mirrors that process. This chapter will introduce the findings (concepts) from my fieldwork. In the next chapter, the key concepts will be presented after discussion.

7.2 Aims

My main fieldwork's aims and objectives were as follows:

7.2.1 Aims of the fieldwork research

- To obtain new information about socio-cultural learning missing from existing literature.
- To demonstrate social inclusion practices in museums.
- To produce key concepts that could support my hypothesis and contribute answers to my research question.
- To contribute to the development of a discourse about disability, exclusion/inclusion, museum and 'self' and 'other' in the museum world.

7.2.2 Fieldwork research objectives

- To investigate soft outcomes of the change in museum participants' attitudes and values towards the Other or people with 'difference' (in my case, people with visual impairments).
- To examine how attitudes changed (if at all) through socio-cultural learning, involving interaction, in a museum environment.
- To assess whether participants' interpersonal intelligence and intra-personal intelligence are developed through the workshops.

7.3 Methodology of main fieldwork

My methodology is based on Symbolic Interactionism. The nature of my main fieldwork is qualitative research using two methods of a 'single-case designs' case study and questionnaire. The fieldwork was conducted at two sites: one is the AXIS Gallery; the other the Setagaya Art Museum (refer to 6.3.2 Supra for details of these institutions). (See Appendix 3: questions in the questionnaires.) For ethical reasons, participants' consent for the use of their opinions were obtained inside the questionnaire.

7.3.1 Qualitative research

Previous researchers attempted to survey Japanese galleries about social inclusion activities or 'kind' museums for visually impaired people (Able Art Japan, 2005; Okuno, 1998). However, their results were limited to listing physical access issues or programmes for them. Instead of undertaking another quantitative survey, my thesis will concentrate on qualitative research. Notwithstanding, that the small number of samples may provoke criticism from those who believe that statistical proof is important for social science, many researchers agree on the value of qualitative research. Mason (1996: 4) states:

> Qualitative research aims to produce rounded understandings on the basis of rich, contextual, and detailed data. There is more emphasis on 'holistic' forms of analysis and explanation in this sense, than on charting surface patterns, trends and correlations. Qualitative research usually does use some form of quantification, but statistical forms of analysis are not seen as central.

7.3.2 Case study method

My study combines two methods of a case study 'single-case designs' (rather than multi-case or comparative design) (Yin, 199: 38-53) and questionnaire. Some may be concerned about the combination of methods. However, it can be justified, as Denscombe (1998: 31) explains: 'one of the strengths of the case study approach is that it allows the researcher to use a variety of sources, a variety of types of data and a variety of research methods as part of the investigation'. Moreover, he suggests questionnaires as a useful method to provide information for the case studies approach (Denscombe, 1998: 31).

Another possible criticism is the use of a 'single-case designs' case study approach for the size of sample. However, as Denscombe (1998: 31) points out, 'the real value of case study is that it offers the opportunity to explain why certain outcomes might happen —more than just finding out what those outcomes are'. My thesis will investigate why and how certain outcomes from my fieldwork occurred. Further justification described by Denscombe (1998: 32) is: 'case studies focus on one instance (or a few instances) of a particular phenomenon with a view to providing an in-depth account of events, relationships, experiences or processes occurring in that particular instance'. Straus and Corbin (1998: 284) also provide a useful explanation of the significance of a case study:

> One can learn a lot from the study of one factory or organization. Remember that we are studying concepts and their relationships. Manifestations of our concepts might emerge 100 or more times in this one case. We also are specifying the conditions under which events, happenings, or actions/ interactions are likely to occur, the forms that they take, and the consequences that occur. In addition, we are looking for dimensional variations and explanations for these. If our concepts are abstract enough, then they are likely to occur in similar or variant forms in other organizations.

7.3.3   Questionnaire method

Although the compatibility between questionnaires and the case study approach has been ascertained, there remain possible criticisms regarding the use of the questionnaire method. These are the potential unsuitability to Symbolic Interactionism and a belief that the questionnaire method is only applicable to quantitative research.

There is no clear formulation of the position of Symbolic Interactionism, and a reasoned statement of the methodological position of this approach is lacking (Blumer,

1969: 1). Yet, interactionist Blumer (1969: 48) said, 'it believes that this determination of problems, concepts, research techniques, and theoretical schemes should be done by the *direct* examination of the actual empirical social world'. My fieldwork employs a central concept, which Blumer (1969: 50) introduces as 'people, individually and collectively, are prepared to act on the basis of the meanings of the objects that comprise their world'. And he recommends direct observations of those acts:

> To identify the objects of central concern one must have a body of relevant observations […] they are in the form of descriptive accounts from the actors of how they see the objects, how they have acted toward the objects in a variety of different situations, and how they refer to the objects in their conversations with members of their own group (Blumer, 1969: 51-52).

Some may argue that the questionnaire method is not direct observation. However, my open-ended questions were not organised for presenting only nominal and ordinal data, [48] but for examining respondents' perceptions, as Seale (1998) agrees: 'the information collected through open-ended questions enabled us to explore the issue in depth, through recording the respondents' perceptions and experiences in their own words and analysing their responses'. The open-ended questionnaire can investigate opinions, attitudes, beliefs and preferences (Denscombe, 1998: 146) providing qualitative and empirical examinations, rather than quantitative ones. Mason (2002: 4) also says, 'questionnaires might be used to provide information on particular points of interest. Whatever is appropriate can be used for investigating the relationships and processes that are of interest'. Consequently, although my research heavily involved the questionnaire method, I claim that the nature of my study is a qualitative one.

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[48] According to Denscombe (1998: 237), 'Nominal data come from counting things and placing them into category.' Ordinal data means that 'the data in each category can be compared with data in the other categories as being higher or lower than, more or less than etc., those in the other categories'.

Through the analysis of row data from questionnaires, we will examine soft outcomes such as the change in museum participants' attitudes and values. If participants understand 'other' and 'differences' through interaction introduced by the event, and if these people understand themselves because of this interaction, it could be said that social inclusion is progressing. Furthermore, knowing 'self' is not easy but is a lifelong learning process. Therefore, if there is some 'change' in his/her mind about the Other, motivating further action towards social inclusion, we should view this as a step towards understanding 'self'. The reasons are, firstly, it means s/he starts considering 'other' as a responsibility for 'self' (refer to Bauman, 1995: 62), which is the attitude of celebrating 'difference'. And secondly, in terms of Symbolic Interactionism, recognition of 'other' is essential to the realisation of one as a 'self' (Mead, 1934: 194).

7.3.4 Profiles of the responding participants

The number of collected questionnaires from the workshop at Setagaya Art Museum was 46. Adding 11 questionnaires from the workshop at the AXIS Gallery, the total number was 57. The participants were recruited by Able Art Japan. Participants in the workshop at Setagaya Art Museum numbered 65 (22 visually impaired and 43 sighted). If we include staff members of MAR, VIEW and YWCA in Nagoya, the number was 82 (24 visually impaired and 60 sighted). The response rate to questionnaires in Setagaya Art Museum was 70.77% excluding staff; 56.1% including staff. The response rate for questionnaires in the AXIS Gallery was 84.61%. Responding participants' individual profiles are illustrated in Appendix 4.

<u>Visual Ability of the Responding Participants</u>

	AXIS Gallery	Setagaya Art Museum	Total
Visually impaired people	1	15	16
Sighted people	10	31	41
Total	11	46	57

(Table 2)

Considering Table 2, it appears that responses from visually impaired people were inadequate at the AXIS Gallery, as only one questionnaire was collected. However, there were only three visually impaired attendees at the AXIS Gallery and two were unwilling to complete the questionnaire. Fortunately, fifteen visually impaired people (from a total of twenty two visually impaired people) completed questionnaires at the Setagaya Art Museum, making a total of sixteen submitted questionnaires from visually impaired people, resulting in a satisfactory total quantity. The ratio of visually impaired participants and sighted participants who corresponded was about 3:7.

<u>Gender and Number of the Responding Participants</u>

	AXIS Gallery	Setagaya Art Museum	Total
Men	4	12	16
Women	7	34	42
Total	11	46	57

(Table 3)

In terms of gender, the majority of participants in the workshops were women. Their number was nearly two and half times that of men (see Table 3).

Number of Responding Participants by Age

	AXIS Gallery	Setagaya Art Museum	Total
Under 19	2	2	4
20-29	5	10	15
30-39	2	15	17
40-49	0	11	12
50-59	1	5	5
60-69	0	1	1
Over 70	0	1	1
No answer	1	1	2
Total	11	46	57

(Table 4)

The age of the participants in the workshop at Setagaya Art Museum was higher than those of the workshop at the AXIS Gallery (see Table 4.). The majority were in their twenties, thirties and forties, whilst the age range of participants of the workshop at AXIS Gallery was from late teens (eighteen) to late thirties (see Table 4).

Occupation of Responding Participants

	AXIS Gallery	Setagaya Art Museum	Total
Student	5	9	14
House wife or husband	0	3	3
Unemployed	1	4	5
Part- time worker	0	2	2
Volunteering job	0	6	6
Retired	0	1	1
Full-time worker	3	18	21
Self employed	0	4	4
Other	1	3	4
No answer	1	1	2
Total	11	51*	62*

*Some people gave multiple answers (Table 5)

The occupations of participants who attended the workshop at Setagaya Art Museum varied, unlike participants at Axis Gallery, where nearly half of the group were university students (see Table 5). Overall the ratio of participants who do and do not work was 3:2. As non-workers have more spare time, they tend to attend museum

workshops more often, and the high attendance of workers' may not typical for workshops. Therefore, this high rate of attendance at the Setagaya Art Museum workshop suggested that it was attractive and something special for them.

Frequency of Visits to Museums

	AXIS Gallery	Setagaya Art Museum	Total
Never	0	1	1
Rare	1	3	4
Seldom	1	9	10
Several times a year	2	10	12
Once a month	5	15	20
Once a week	0	4	4
Often (2 to 3 times a week or more)	2	4	6
Total	11	46	57

(Table 6)

Participants can be divided into 'keen museum visitors' (visiting museums at least once a month), 'average museum visitors' (several times a year), and 'non-museum visitors' (never to seldom). The 'keen museum visitors' constituted more than half of all attendees. However, numbers of 'non-museum visitors' were also quite high. More 'non-museum visitors' attended the workshops than 'average museum visitors' (see Table 6).

Examining results from the workshops respectively, participants of the workshop at Setagaya Art Gallery were more diverse than participants of that at the AXIS Gallery. 'Keen museum visitors' at the AXIS Gallery workshop were preponderant.

Frequency of Visits to Museums by Visual Ability

	Sighted	Visually impaired people	Total
Never	0	1	1
Rare	2	2	4
Seldom	6	4	10
Several times a year	7	5	12
Once a month	16	4	20
Once a week	4	0	4
Often (2 to 3 times a week or more)	6	0	6
Total	41	16	57

(Table 7)

It may be assumed that visually impaired people tend to be 'non-museum visitors'. However, most visually impaired participants at the workshops were already museum visitors (see Table 7). We cannot treat this result as typical of visually impaired people's attitudes, because the questionnaires were only given to a selected group not at random outside museums. But at least it appeared that people who came to the workshop were keen museum visitors.

Interests of Responded Participants

	Setagaya Art Museum	AXIS Gallery	Total
Visual Art	32	9	41
Art Museums	23	5	28
Society	17	3	20
Welfare	20	2	22
Disability	22	3	25
Equality	11	3	14
Relationship & Communication	20	3	23
Play	15	5	20
Community	17	4	21
Education	19	2	22
Volunteering	13	1	14
NGO	7	4	11
NPO	11	1	12

*multiple answers (Table 8)

In Table 8, the significantly highest participants' interest was 'visual art', then 'art museums' and 'disability'. The table shows that their interests were more 'art' than 'social matters'. In particular, participants at the AXIS Gallery strongly expressed this tendency; 'disability' was not even in the five highest interests of the participants.

On the whole, the participants in the workshops at the AXIS Gallery and Setagaya Art Museum have different tendencies. The majority at the AXIS Gallery workshop were young. Their interest is visual art and they visit museums and art museums frequently. The reason why these art lovers came to the workshop may be due to the characteristics of the exhibition place. Located in central Tokyo, *Roppongi* is a popular district for young people. The gallery is only well known amongst people with an interest in design. Also an exhibition coordinator, Kōnoike, admitted that advertisements for the workshop were not wide-spread. In contrast, the participants of the workshop at Setagaya Art Museum were more varied in terms of age, interests, occupation, and frequency of visiting museums.

7.3.5   Description of the workshops at the AXIS Gallery and data collection

This workshop was associated with the exhibition "Deep Forest Beyond Five Senses *(Rokkan no mori)*" held in summer 2003. Its concept was to stimulate visitors' five senses, helping us to explore our potential 'sixth sense'. This exhibition was presented by *Rokkan no mori* committees whose main members included Tomoko Kōnoike artist)

as exhibition co-ordinator and Hisami Omori (President of Mixed Media) as event co-ordinator.[49]

The workshop title was "Another 'eye' another 'forest'". Its objective was to question whether visual arts are only for the sighted, and if we see visual art truly with our eyes. The exhibition committee appreciated previous MAR's workshops and they invited them to conduct workshops for this exhibition.

On the day of the workshop, 23rd August 2003, three visually impaired people participated. (One was Kenji Shiratori, a core member of MAR). According to the number of visually impaired people, three teams were created. Masaharu Hoshino, who is an artist and another core member of MAR, led the workshop, while two volunteers from MAR and I participated as facilitators of the groups. Three volunteers from the exhibition joined in, to give information about the artworks if necessary. Each of the three groups contained two male and two or three female participants.

There were various types of exhibits in the AXIS Gallery, of which half were untouchable objects. These included pencil drawings; interior ornaments with a jelly-like texture; animations projected on the floor resembling water or mirrors; hands-on exhibits such as picking stones from water jars, and a human sized sheep puppet on a bed of straw which unexpectedly moves (the 'puppet' actually contained a person); miniatures; and pictures coloured by the public.

Each facilitator positioned their group in front of an artwork. A sighted person then described and explained the artwork. Other visitors in each group also joined the conversations and tried to describe artworks to the visually impaired participants. If nobody took the initiative in a group, a facilitator described the art works at first, then persuaded other participants to comment on other art works. Gradually any shyness and

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[49] AXIS Inc. was very helpful and co-operative to the committee and offered the gallery space free of charge. The exhibits were exhibited all over the building including inside offices. The owner of the AXIS building (AXIS Inc.) asked all staff as well as tenants to cooperate with the exhibition.

nervousness in the group disappeared and they conversed freely. They described the painting's colours, figures, size, texture, objects, subjects and more importantly how they thought about the picture, using language and sometimes body gestures such as leading hands to describe. Visually impaired people asked questions about the picture and explained how they received the other's messages. Participants spent half an hour looking at eight different artworks.

After the tour, all three groups gathered, introduced themselves and exchanged their experiences. After this discussion, the questionnaires were handed out and collected half an hour later. Ten answers to the questionnaires from sighted participants and one verbal answer to the questionnaire from a visually impaired participant were gathered. Photos of the fieldwork at the AXIS Gallery are presented as Figure 10 below.

Fieldwork at the AXIS Gallery

Artworks by Keiko Oyabu

Artwork by Sumiko Nogi
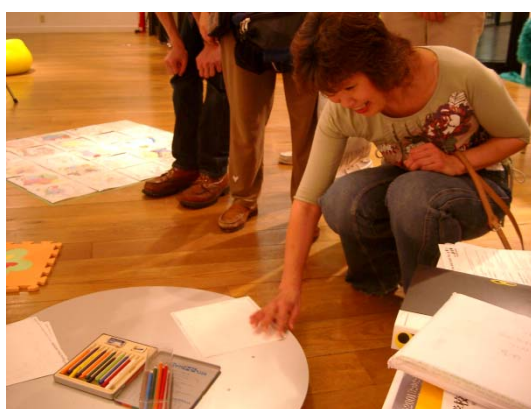
In the workshop

[50]

In the workshop[51]

After the workshop[52]

(Figure 10)

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[50] Artwork by Toshio Iwai
[51] Artwork by Sumiko Nogi
[52] Artworks by Keiko Oyabu

7.3.6   Description of workshops at the Setagaya Art Museum and data collection

Another series of workshops was conducted during the Nationwide Conference of the Museum Access Group held on 30th to 31st August, 2003. This was organised by Able Art Japan as one of the events relating to the exhibition entitled "Kaleidoscope" at Setagaya Art Museum. The exhibits were all two-dimensional art works which cannot be touched: paintings with crayons, pencils, oil paintings, Perspex and cut paper, and sketchbooks drawn with crayons. In the workshops, visually impaired people looked at these pictures with the help of three Access Groups: MAR from Tokyo, VIEW from Kyoto and YWCA from Nagoya. Sighted people also joined as observers. However, the sighted people were in fact encouraged to contribute to the conversation.

At the workshop, the visually impaired and sighted participants, together with voluntary members of Museum Access Groups formed groups and experienced the exhibition together. The groups were formed depending upon the number of attendees with visual impairments. On average, six groups were formed. In each group, one or two were visually impaired and four or five were other participants without visual impairments. Museum Access Groups staff were each allocated a section of the exhibition. Every half an hour, groups moved to another section looking at pictures with different volunteers.

The YWCA's method was different from MAR's. The volunteers prepared well before explaining pictures. They had researched the exhibition, artists, and exhibits before the visit, and created three-dimensional copies of some of the exhibits. The participants normally listened to the explanation of the artworks from the YWCA's volunteers. Then visually impaired participants were offered the opportunity to touch the three-dimensional copies. The other sighted participants observed their explanations and conversations. Normally, the YWCA look at pictures with people with visual

impairment as an exhibition guided tour. Their methods were devised with curators at Nagoya City Art Museum (*Nagoya shi bijutsukan*); therefore, the approach is rather similar to museum guides. Curator, Minako Tsunoda, from Nagoya City Art Museum (personal contact) explained that if volunteers work there as tour guides, curators have to make sure that volunteers communicate correct information to visitors. To some extent, the volunteers are part of the museum staff.

The usual MAR method was already explained in the previous section, which is more spontaneous than the YWCA's. In this particular workshop, one MAR volunteer was allocated to each group.

VIEW's method was somewhere between the MAR's and the YWCA's. Two (or three) volunteers joined each group. In a group, the volunteers asked visually impaired participants their degree and process of sight loss in order to get to know about them. At times, they also encouraged all participants to introduce themselves before looking at pictures, which was their ice-breaking technique. VIEW's volunteers also prepared three-dimensional copies as guidance aids. However, they used the copies only if it was helpful. Throughout the guided tour, volunteers encouraged other participants to provide comments and opinions.

The time available to participants to answer questionnaires was quite short. Despite this, 47 questionnaires were gathered here. Through the questionnaire, the participants were asked about their backgrounds as well as what their thoughts were during the workshop. Photographs of the fieldwork at Setagaya Art Museum are presented as Figure 11.

Fieldwork at the Setagaya Art Museum

Artworks by Minako Higashi   Artwork by Takayuki Mitsushima

In the workshops

With volunteers of the YWCA, Nagoya   With volunteers of the MAR

With volunteers of the VIEW   After the workshops   (Figure 11)

7.3.7   Process of analysing data

The questionnaires involved open questions. These have the advantage of representing the richness and complexities of the views held by the respondents. On the other hand, their disadvantage is that of leaving the researcher with 'raw' data (Denscombe, 1998: 156). Therefore, cross-sectional indexing and careful data analysis was necessary. At the outset, all data was put into a matrix and the profile of the participants was created (see Appendix 5). The participants of the workshops at the Setagaya Art Museum were coded as S-1 to S-46; the participants of the workshop at the AXIS Gallery were coded as A-1 to A-11. Based on this raw data matrix, descriptive statistics were extracted and profiles of participants tabulated to gain an impression of the sample's characteristics (refer to Seale and Kelly, 1998: 161) (presented as Figures 11 to 16). The descriptive statistics of the workshops at the Setagaya Art Museum and the workshop at the AXIS Gallery were separated. As the purpose of the workshops at the two sites was slightly different, it was expected that the descriptive statistics of the participants' profiles might show some difference.

However, both workshops' qualitative data was combined for analysis, since the intention was not to compare them, but to obtain as much data as possible. Therefore, my analysis concentrates on how respondents felt after the workshops, rather than picking up small disparities between them. Instead, data from visually impaired participants and from sighted participants was separated, because they may have different perspectives.

All qualitative data from question seven to question fourteen (see Appendix 3) was indexed into categories, and tables created according to results. As Mason (2002:

169) suggests, constructing tables is helpful as an analytical tool (see Appendix 5 for the sub-categories.)

7.3.8   Limitations and difficulties

It is possible that data from the two sites might show different tendencies due to my participation in the workshop at the AXIS Gallery. Although I acted as a member of the MAR and tried not to influence people' answers in the questionnaires, I may have approached participants differently from ordinary MAR volunteers as I have become accustomed to communicating with museum visitors throughout my career.[53] Perhaps my data should be marked and identified if I participated or not. However, it is now impossible to trace these differences, as I did not record participants' names in my group. The researcher is aware of this limitation.

Next is the possibility of participants' predisposition affecting results. In order to examine this, it is necessary to consider whether workshop participants were non-laypeople, 'typical people' or predisposed to understanding 'other' people by Able Art Japan, the AXIS Gallery, the Setagaya Art Museum or MAR through the recruitment process (or even questions in questionnaires).

As shown already, participants of the workshop at the AXIS Gallery were young, interested in art, and visited art museums frequently. This in turn, shows that the participants came to the workshops un-influenced by the role of Able Art Japan, (namely a support group for disabled people and art). The participants' interests were mainly 'art' not 'disability' or 'social matters'. However, it is still possible to claim that

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[53] For example, an artist who exhibited her art works in the gallery told me after the workshop that my way of talking was different from other participants (more friendly, encouraging and with confidence).

'art lovers' are not 'ordinary people', because art lovers (especially of contemporary art) may appear more willing to accept new things.

Secondly, at the Setagaya Art Museum, Able Art Japan was heavily involved in recruitment for the workshop. This might have contributed to an increased quantity of attendees as well as affecting the profile of participants.

Considering this, it must be admitted some attendees might be predisposed to understanding the Other. However, it remains difficult to ensure a random selection of attendees for such an activity. It may be problematic to insist that people who are not interested commit to this type of workshop, because positive involvement by the participants was necessary. The researcher recognises this limitation.

7.4 Findings: themes raised by main fieldwork

From the questionnaires, five main categories were identified:

1) Interactive communication
2) Different ways of looking at or understanding art objects
3) Disabilities
4) Museum practice
5) Other issues

Both qualitative and quantitative data is presented in this section supporting my findings: what the workshops' participants thought, as well as how many people agree with them. Providing quantitative information is effective in qualitative research, as statistics add stronger evidence than merely listing qualitative examples (Mason, 1996: 4).

7.5 Finding 1: Interactive communication

7.5.1   Interactive communication with strangers

Not surprisingly, many opinions in the questionnaires were related to communication with others (strangers). It was fascinating that many of the participants reacted to that experience positively. More than three quarters of sighted participants (with thirty three comments)[54] and more than eighty percent of visually impaired participants (with seventeen comments) stated that encountering and communicating with others (strangers) was either enjoyable or not uncomfortable.

Out of five sighted participants and one visually impaired participant who felt mixed feelings of nervousness and pleasure, only one participant (out of fifty seven) expressed her nervousness with no positive value, saying 'I felt nervous' (Participant A-2 sighted 31-years-old female full-time worker). Examples of mixed feelings of nervousness and pleasure were:

> To be honest, I was nervous, but it was good that everybody communicated what they felt, wondered, and thought (Participant S-37 sighted 18-years-old female university student).
>
> It was a bit difficult to communicate with each other because I did not know their background, but that made things more interesting (Participant S-39 sighted 25-years-old female full-time worker).
>
> I was conscious of other people, and had to watch my behaviour. But looking at artworks with strangers makes the opportunity of encounters increase and lots of things happened so that I think that was good (Participant A-9 sighted 19 -years-old female university student).

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[54] Note that the answers were gathered from several parts of the questionnaire. Therefore, some comments were made by the same person.

As considered in Chapter 4, people often fear unknown things, outsiders and/ or strangers. Also, as much literature suggests, Japanese society is a hierarchical and seniority based system. For example, Nippon Steel Human Resources Development (1997: 343) describes one Japanese characteristic thus; 'when Japanese people gather together in any numbers, their behaviour is influenced by an awareness of the order and rank of each person within the group according to age, social status and other such considerations'. This discourages free communication between different aged people and restricts the size of a circle of friends. Considering this introverted and conservative trait, it is concluded that responses from the workshops were surprisingly positive about encountering strangers. 'Subtle interaction' contributed to the success of interaction. (Further investigation of the reason will be set out later in 8.3.4.)

7.5.2   Knowing other people's opinions through interaction

An interesting finding from the questionnaires was that nearly eighty percent of sighted participants (with forty two comments) and a quarter of visually impaired participants commented regarding the enjoyment of finding out about other people's opinions through interactive communication. For example,

> It was interesting to know how other people feel, when we see artworks together and communicate with each other (Participant S-35 sighted 32-years-old female Part-time worker).

> It was interesting and fun to know that everybody had a different way of feeling (Participant A-10 sighted 28-years-old female unknown occupation).

> I can listen to other people's opinions (Participant A-8 sighted 20-years-old male university student).

> We can exchange opinions (Participant S-19 sighted 13-years-old female student).

In total nearly two third of participants enjoyed finding out about other people's opinions.

7.5.3   Learning and understanding 'self' reflecting 'other'

During communications with others in the workshops, some participants found or rediscovered their self-esteem, self-awareness, self-development and self-confidence. The following selected comments demonstrate this:

> Listening to other people's viewpoints and their way of looking at things widened my window on the world (Participant S-33 sighted 45-years-old male full-time council officer).

> I became outgoing and I also had more confidence in my own opinions (Participant A-5 sighted 22-years-old female in other occupation).

> This workshop cannot exist without me; so, what I felt here will remain inside me (Participant A-10 sighted 28-years-old female unknown occupation).

> I realised what inhibits my freedom of feeling. I am so excited that I found new methods to tell and communicate to others in this workshop (Participant A-10 sighted 28-years-old female unknown occupation).

> My way of seeing artworks improved when I heard how others felt and saw them rather than when I saw them alone (Participant S-38 sighted 24-years-old female full-time worker).

7.6 Finding 2: Different ways of looking at artworks

7.6.1   Discovery of different ways of looking at visual art

The workshop participants appreciated artworks differently than other museum experiences. Nearly seventy percent of sighted participants (with thirty seven

comments) and more than one third of visually impaired participants (with eight comments) mentioned discovering different ways of appreciating visual art. Examples were as follows:

> I wonder if I could have connected with the artwork as much, if I had come alone. I used senses other than only visual, when I looked at pictures (Participant A-3 sighted 25-years-old male student).
>
> I regret that my way of looking at pictures was superficial. I want to enhance it from now on (Participant A-5 sighted 22-years-old female in other occupation).
>
> I felt as if I was in the world of the pictures rather than looking at them from outside (Participant A-4 sighted unknown aged female unemployed–seeking job).
>
> I enjoyed it much more than other exhibitions where I can only see. The existing visual art, which expects to be seen only visually, makes us forget to use other senses. I think we can enjoy art in everyday life more (Participant A-5 sighted 22-years-old female in other occupation).

Thus, some participants recognised a difference between ordinary art appreciation using their visual sense, and another using senses such as touching, smelling and verbal communication.

7.6.2 Discovery of different ways of looking at artworks, by communicating with strangers

Some participants noticed that a recognition of the different ways of appreciating artworks was obtained through communication with other people (strangers). For example,

> When I see artworks alone, there is dialogue between me and artworks. When I see artworks in a group, there is discussion between dialogue of people and artworks (Participant S-30 sighted 37-years-old female part-time worker).

> I found lots of common features of the paintings when various people told me about the impression of the paintings, which became my impression of the paintings. I enjoyed the experience (Participant S-18 visually impaired uncertain aged female housewife).

> I think I understood the artworks well, because many people represented what they saw […], which continually changed my initial image of the artworks [which] became more detailed […] (Participant S-9 visually impaired 52-years-old male self-employed).

Nearly seventy percent of sighted participants (with thirty two comments) and half of the visually impaired participants (with nine comments) commented about discovering different ways of appreciating artworks due to communication with other people (strangers).

7.6.3   Difficulties

There were minor comments describing the difficulty of this method (seeing artworks with verbal explanations together with strangers). Five out of forty one sighted participants (with six comments) and three people out of sixteen visually impaired participants (with three comments) commented:

> I felt the limitations of replacing optical information with words (Participant S-31 Visually impaired 56-years-old male full-time worker).

> I felt that it is important to communicate 'right' information. I was happy when I communicated it well, and I was not happy if I couldn't (Participant S-39 sighted 25-years-old female full-time worker).

> I was concerned how I could communicate the characteristics of the artworks [to visually impaired people], because other people proactively explained about the artworks (Participant S-37 sighted 18-years-old female university student).

7.7 Finding 3: Disabilities

7.7.1 What is the difference between 'disabled' and 'abled'?

After the workshop, nearly half of the sighted participants (with twenty one comments) stated that disabled people are not different from 'us' (self) and that a division between 'disabled' and 'abled' is nonsensical. Only five sighted participants[55] already held these views prior to the workshop, saying, for example,

> The dichotomy between people with disabilities and people without disabilities is indeed a dangerous and old-fashioned concept (Participant S-2 sighted 52 - years-old male full-time worker).

> I normally do not feel a difference between having disabilities or not, so I did not feel the difference in the workshop either (Participant S-30 sighted 37-years-old female part-time worker).

> I wonder what are "disabilities". I think it is worthless to use the word "disabilities" (Participant A-10 sighted 28-years-old female unknown occupation).

Over twice as many (eleven) participants gradually obtained positive attitudes towards disabilities in the workshop, which paradoxically implies that many participants before attending the workshop thought that disabled people were the Other, unknown strangers and 'abnormal' before they attended the workshop. For example,

> I found that it was possible to understand one another [people with disabilities and non-disabilities], if dialogue, conversation and communication existed. Also I thought the wall between 'us' was low despite my expectations (Participant S-8 sighted 23-years-old female full-time worker).

> What changed after attending this workshop was my opinion towards people with disabilities. Now I think 'they are normal'. I thought they were nothing

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[55] (Others are Participant S-14 sighted 24-years-old female university student; Participant S-45 sighted 66-years-old male volunteer retired self-employed.)

special and abnormal, and the wall between them and me has disappeared. Really! (Participant A-9 sighted 19-years-old female university student).

Why and how did their attitudes towards disabled people change? We will discuss this point in the following chapter.

7.7.2 Converse opinions in relation to disability issues: self-critical discussion

There were opinions in relation to disability issues, which sometimes showed conflict with each other. Although limited in number, these responses brought out some important issues deserving careful attention. This discussion also may contribute to the critique of my findings.

Firstly, some sighted participants thought they understood that visually impaired people are to able to "see" and believed they understood visually impaired people's perspectives, whilst other sighted participants believed they could not understand it. Examples of those conflicting opinions are as follows:

> I saw the things from the visually impaired people's point of view, which was a new discovery (Participant S-3 sighted 32-years-old female full-time worker).
>
> I cannot understand. I cannot understand how inconvenient or disadvantaged being unable to see is. I cannot understand it. So, I should follow how I feel (Participant S-20 sighted 23-years-old female full-time worker).

There is, however, a common theme between those two behaviours. They both are obtained not through prejudice, stereotype, 'videology' or 'telecity' (refer to 4.4.2 Supra) but from direct interaction with Other. These two attitudes are obtained through real interaction, interacting with their pre-knowledge. The outcome of 'I can understand' or 'I cannot understand' does not matter at this stage, as long as it is not 'I don't want to understand', because that would be indifference, being-with or being-

aside: a technique of excluding strangers, that is, rejection, against-binding and/or exclusion (refer to 4.4.1, 5.2.2 Supra).

The remaining conflicting responses are from sighted and from visually impaired participants. For example, some sighted participants thought that visually impaired people could feel (understand) in exactly same way as sighted people do (Participants A-8 sighted; Participant S-6 sighted). In contrast, one visually impaired person (out of eleven) thought there was a limitation, saying, 'I don't think I can enjoy seeing artworks as much as sighted people can do. But it was good opportunity to understand the world created on paper. For me, a drawing used to be only paper before' (Participant 40 visually impaired 30-years-old female full-time worker). As this comment shows, it must be difficult to see, understand and enjoy artworks as much as sighted people do, because the method of receiving new information is different: one is visual and the other is verbal.

The third issue is whether disabilities can be overcome. Both sighted and visually impaired participants thought that it is possible to overcome visually impaired people's disabilities by seeing artworks together (Participants S-8 sighted; Participant S-9 visually impaired), whilst a visually impaired participant felt that it was difficult to overcome her disabilities saying, 'As I am still newly visually impaired, I am eager to see rather than accept that I am unable to see'(Participant S-11 visually impaired 41-years-old female unemployed).

The fourth issue is whether sighted participants understood the different degrees and variety of disabilities. Some sighted people found that they learnt how visually impaired people see pictures and that disabled people have different degrees of disabilities (Participants S-42 sighted; Participant S-36 sighted), while a visually

impaired person wished that sighted people could have understood the different degrees of disabilities (Participant S-41 visually impaired late 40s female volunteer, housewife).

Interpreting these conflicting comments, when people with disabilities encounter other (non-disabled) people, the latter's lack of knowledge about disabilities sometimes displeases the former. We should be aware that it is impossible to fully understand the extent of how visually impaired people feel inconvenience and disadvantage (their disabilities: social barriers towards them) due to sight loss from one workshop experience only. Museum professionals should neither believe that one experience can solve everything nor encourage non-disabled visitors to believe so. However, the workshop at least provided the opportunity to consider the issues around disability, difference and sameness, which is a significant step towards the realisation of an inclusive society.

7.8 Museum practice

Many participants pointed out the difference between other museum events or activities and these workshops. This section comprises five sub-categories: difference from other museum activities[56]; face-to-face communication; appraisal; museums' closed image; and suggestion, advice or request.

7.8.1 Face-to-face communication

Nearly one third of the participants pointed out that the significant difference between other events and these workshops was the face-to-face communication and its friendly and equal relationship with others:

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[56] The comments under this sub-category mostly overlapped with others, so the data under this category will not be independently explained.

> I think this is very good event. It is rarely possible to encounter others [strangers or visually impaired people] in ordinary life (Participant A-4 sighted unknown aged female unemployed – seeking job).

> Normally I view artworks or exhibitions alone; so, I thought group viewing was very interesting. It does not matter if other people have visual impairments or not (Participant S-24 sighted 34-years-old female full-time worker).

7.8.2 Appraisal

Half of the participants (twenty-two comments from sighted people; eight comments from visually impaired people) raised positive comments such as 'thank you', 'well done', 'interesting', 'experimental', 'surprised' and 'enjoyable'. Some of them delivered deep insights in relation to how art appreciation or museums could be, such as:

> I think this workshop touches the nature of art (Participant S-13 sighted 49-years-old male, Writer of picture book and book about musical instruments, Storyteller, and Volunteer).

> The objectives [of other events of art museums] should not be different from this workshop (Participant S-14 sighted 24-years-old female university student).

7.8.3 Museums' intimidating image

The following comments from participants relate to museums' intimidating image:

> We were able to appreciate artworks in a lively way, which transformed my closed image of museums suddenly into a merry and cheerful one (Participant S-7 sighted 26-year-old female, research student).

> The informal atmosphere was good. [Normally] a very formal image [of museums] makes me feel myself to be a stranger (or their unknown guest) (Participant S-43 visually impaired 32-years-old male engineer).

Other sighted and visually impaired people[57] commented that they had not attended museum events before. Some reasons given were:

> I thought pictures and visual art require an optical sense (people appreciate pictures and visual art using their eyes), but I found that I can enjoy them too. I would like to visit art museums again if I have an opportunity (Participant S-44 visually impaired late 30s female full-time worker).

> Art museums were out of my consciousness (interest) before' (Participant S-26 sighted 27-years-old female full-time worker).

> I thought I didn't have a good sense (of appreciating visual art) (Participant A-8 sighted 20-years-old male university student).

These feelings are typical for people who think they are 'art blind', and who believe art museums are not for them, because they cannot appreciate visual art.

Interpreting the data, it follows that this workshop brought those who were art blind into the art world, and their negative image of art museums has changed due to the positive experience.

7.8.4   Suggestions, advice or requests

Although the feedback was almost exclusively favourable, some participants suggested improvements, such as:

> I wish it were longer (Participant S-8 sighted 23-years-old female full-time worker).

> I wish I could touch them (Participant S-44 visually impaired late 30s female full-time worker).

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[57] (Participants S-32 sighted; S-39 sighted; A-3 sighted; S-40 visually impaired; S-44 visually impaired.)

I wish I could see all objects (not just the selected ones) (Participant S-41 visually impaired late 40s female volunteer, housewife).

We need good facilitators (Participant S-36 sighted 27-years-old male full-time worker).

I hope more visual impaired people would join (Participant A-5 sighted 22-years-old, female, other).

I hope you and other art museums will hold similar ones again, although some improvements and adjustments are needed (Participant S-33 sighted 45-years-old male full-time council officer)[58].

Overall, one concludes that the workshop experience was positively received by participants, and their suggestions were for further improvements, rather than expressions of disappointment/complaint. According to the questionnaire responses, the uniqueness of the workshop brought the art blind and non-visitors of art museums into art museums, and their positive experiences (appreciating art works without using optical senses, equal and friendly interactive communication with strangers, lively way of appreciating artworks) improved their image of museums and motivated some non-visitors to visit museums again.

7.9 Finding 4: Other issues

7.9.1   Being motivated (sighted people)/ Realisation of 'social model of disability'

Once sighted people in the workshop observed how visually impaired participants received visual information, they realised that certain small changes would help. For example, some sighted people thought that more supportive systems should be offered

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[58] (Participants S-2; S-14 sighted; S-16 sighted; A-4 sighted; S-1 visually impaired; S-17 visually impaired; S-29 visually impaired; S-43 visually impaired.)

by museums or society, in order to help visually impaired people appreciate artworks.[59] some sighted participants thought that understanding their needs can improve visually impaired people's museum experience.[60] Other sighted participants realised visually impaired people need verbal and physical guidance when they appreciate artworks, so it is helpful to introduce themselves to the partner in order to offer their arm, and use suitable vocabulary to communicate the artworks' colours, atmosphere and nuances to the visually impaired partner (Participants S-46; S-24 sighted).

Moreover, some were motivated by the workshop to take action such as being willing to understand disabilities more (Participant S-32 sighted; S-3 sighted) and helping people with disabilities (Participants S-33 sighted; S-3 sighted; S-26 sighted). For example, this is a comment from a participant, 'there are many things that people without disabilities should do for disabled people' (Participant S-26 sighted 27-years-old female full-time worker Q9Q).

In other words, these participants realised the 'social model of disability' through the workshop experience. They appreciated that there are barriers for disabled (visually impaired) people in museums and society; however, these can be rectified by the actions of non-disabled (sighted) people. It is society that makes these disabilities, disabling. Thus, the workshop encouraged some participants to act against the social barriers that create the 'social model of disability'.

7.9.2   Being motivated (visually impaired people)

Visually impaired people were also motivated by the workshops.

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[59] (Participants S-4 sighted; S-37 sighted; S-39 sighted.)
[60] (Participants S-5 sighted; S-35 sighted; S-12 sighted; S-32 sighted.)

I was encouraged that human beings could do everything. I already knew the way I could enjoy turning inconvenience into convenience. But when I saw the artworks drawn by a blind artist, I received lots of ideas about how to enjoy everyday life (Participant S-15 visually impaired late 40s female volunteer unemployed).

I thought that I would try to draw pictures again (Participant S-41 visually impaired late 40s female volunteer, housewife).

I was prejudiced that visual art is seen by only eyes. But I realised that I could enjoy it, too. I would like to come to the art museum again, […] (Participant S-44 visually impaired late 30s female full-time worker).

These participants obtained encouragement from the workshop, bringing a positive element to their lives. From the examples illustrated in this section, positive changes in attitudes towards 'others' were observed.

7.9.3   Hypocrisy and confusion (sighted people)

Whilst many realised that small changes or extra support could help visually impaired people's appreciation of artworks, one sighted participant expressed her discomfort at doing things for others. She felt it was being hypocritical saying, 'there is resistance inside me to do something for others (have mercy upon somebody) [I felt hypocrisy]' (Participant S-23 sighted 42-years-old female sculptor). Her stereotyping of disabled people, that is, those whom receive mercy or charity (refer to Evans, 1998), may contribute to her attitude, which is the 'individual model of disability' (refer to Chapter 1).

Conversely, some participants in the workshop deemed that helping the stigmatised is not necessarily demonstrating tolerance, but a greater understanding or respect:

It was not that I teach you, I help you, or I am superior to you. I can also be taught (by a visually impaired person). When we saw the artworks together, we supported each other based on an equal contribution (Participant A-9 sighted 19-years-old female university student).

I felt that it is necessary to have a heart (will) to support each other, not comparing which is superior or inferior (Participant S-3 sighted 32-years-old female full-time worker).

7.9.4   Fear of passing the 'wrong' information (sighted people)

In addition, there were some concerns expressed by sighted people whether their words gave a subjective or wrong impression to visually impaired participants (Participant S-24 sighted 34-years-old female full-time worker; Participant S-39 sighted 25-years-old female full-time worker). This prompts further discussion about the learning process. This will be elaborated upon in section 8.3.3.

On the whole, one has to be aware that, although the incidents were low, there were instances of pessimistic and confusion about communicating with visually impaired people.

7.10   Summary

The design, methods, procedures and findings of my main fieldwork were discussed in this chapter. Fifty-seven responses to questionnaires were collected at two sites. Disabled (visually impaired) people and non-disabled (sighted) people interacted with each other through the activity in museums.

The qualitative data was transcribed, coded, indexed and partly translated, and made ready for analysis. Despite some limitations and difficulties during data collection, it still offered rich material for the examination of 'socio-cultural learning in museums' with strangers and disabled people, impacts on museum participants and soft outcomes (value and attitude) of participants.

This chapter presented my findings from the fieldwork, divided into five categories ('interactive communication', 'different ways of looking at artworks', 'disabilities', 'museum practice' and 'other issues'). These were individually introduced with qualitative data supported with quantitative analysis.

The first category was 'interactive communication'. It was found that during the workshops, participants *thought sociologically* about the issues of 'strangers', 'other' as well as 'self'. We will explore more about the finding categorised as 'interactive communication' in the next chapter.

Second, participants in the workshops learned another way of looking at art through interactions with visually impaired participants. Although describing art works verbally is unnecessary in normal museum experience, paying attention to the details facilitated the viewers' discovery of art.

Third, interactions with visually impaired participants provided sighted participants with opportunities to *think sociologically* about disability, such as what it is like to have disabilities. In other words, the workshop encouraged participants to think about the 'social model of disabilities' in society.

Fourth, participants appreciated these workshops as equal, friendly, and enjoyable. Moreover, the uniqueness of the workshops brought the 'art blind' and non-visitors into art museums, and their positive experiences improved their image of

museums and motivated some to visit museums again. Thus, this positive experience in a museum environment changed the participants' intimidating image of museums.

Fifth, positive changes in attitudes towards strangers, as well as disabilities or impairments, were observed in both sighted and visually impaired participants. Many sighted participants were motivated to learn more about the Other and disabilities, as well as visual art. Both sighted and visually impaired participants' new experience in the workshops encouraged them to do new things, such as creative drawing, visiting art museums, as well as expressing their own opinions.

On the other hand, although occurrences were low, there were instances of pessimistic attitudes, as well as conflicting opinions expressed by a few attendees, about disability issues between sighted and visually impaired people (7.7.2 and 7.9.4 Supra).

Overall, my fieldwork data was successfully gathered, and themes raised by the workshops were identified and presented in this chapter. In the next chapter, some themes especially those concerning 'interactive communication' will be discussed. The fieldwork research aims and objectives will be assessed after the discussion.

Chapter Eight

Discussion based on findings from main fieldwork

8.1 Introduction

This section develops the findings from my fieldwork in the context of Symbolic Interaction, communication theories and socio-cultural learning. The aims and objectives outlined in the previous chapter will be reviewed against the results.

8.2 Analysis of participants' perceptions of 'self', 'other', 'similarities' and 'difference' applying theories

The workshop findings allowed examination of the issues around 'self', 'other', 'similarity' and 'difference'. Categories from A to E were derived from the five divisions[61] of fieldwork data through my analysis. Although based on the sighted people's viewpoint, vice versa is also applicable.

A. Similarities between 'us' (sighted people) and 'them' (visually impaired people)
B. Difference between 'us' (sighted people) and 'them' (visually impaired people)
C. Difference amongst 'us' (sighted people)
D. Difference amongst 'them' (visually impaired people)
E. Discovery of the 'self' through interaction with 'other' (other sighted people and visually impaired people)[62]

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[61] 'Interactive communication', 'different ways of looking at artworks', 'disabilities', 'museum practice' and 'other issues'

[62]

A. Similarities between 'us' (visually impaired people) and 'them' (sighted people)
B. Difference between 'us' (visually impaired people) and 'them' (sighted people)
C. Difference amongst 'us' (visually impaired people)
D. Difference amongst 'them' (sighted people)

The above categories from A to E were deduced from theoretical analysis of the five fieldwork findings (as introduced in Chapter Seven). We now discuss how these categories from A to E were obtained, by examining one of the fieldwork findings namely, 'Finding 1: Interactive communication'. This contains three sub-categories as follows:

- Knowing other people's opinions through interaction (7.5.2 Supra)
- Interactive communication with strangers (7.5.1 Supra)
- Learning and understanding 'self' reflecting 'other' (7.5.3 Supra)

Theories discussed earlier will be applied to these sub-categories in relation to 'self' and 'other' to explore how participants reached an understanding of 'other'. Through this discussion, the categories A to E are deduced and obtained.

8.2.1 Deducing categories A to D by applying communication theory to workshop findings

In this section, we consider one of sub-categories of fieldwork: 'knowing other people's opinions through interaction' (7.5.2 Supra), applying communication theory. Knowing other people's opinions, allows learning about how other people understand artworks. In the questionnaire, almost half the sighted participants (with twenty one comments) mentioned visually impaired participants' learning processes. Some sighted people understood how visually impaired participants' see visual arts through interaction in the workshops. They compared with their own experience and concluded that the process was the 'same' as 'us'; therefore, they are not different from 'us'. Comments included;

E. Discovery of the 'self' through interaction with 'other' (other visually impaired people and sighted people)

> A common experience of enjoying art and being impressed by art got rid of barriers between us and them (sighted people and visually impaired people)' (Participant S-12 sighted 42-years-old female self-employed).

> I was not conscious of their disabilities, when we were looking at artworks, although I anticipated I would be (Participant A-4 sighted unknown aged female unemployed – seeking job).

Communication theory helps in analysing what happens between participant A (a sighted participant) and participant B (a visually impaired participant) which is illustrated in Figure 12 entitled "Shannon and Weaver Communications Model applied to museum exhibitions by Hooper-Greenhill: Modified to illustrate Participant A's Understanding". It illustrates the process by which participant A (self) receives and understands information, through museum objects, about other participants such as participant B (other). It applies the museum communication model of "The Shannon and Weaver Communications Model Applied to Exhibitions by Hooper-Greenhill" (see Figure 3).

Participant A (self) receives information not only through the objects as a channel but also from the second channel which is participant B's (other) comments. Participant A also receives a third channel which is participant B's cognitive learning process, because participant B's comments are created through her/his learning process. As a result, although the type of communication amongst workshop participants seems to be natural communication, it is dependent upon the presence of artworks to provide a common focus and a certain degree of structure. Therefore, 'indirect communication' or 'indirect interaction' best describes the communication at the workshops in my fieldwork. (This point will be discussed later in 8.3.4, comparing this activity with museum reminiscence sessions.)

Thus, the workshop suggested the idea that what we learn is 'different' as individual, but how we learn is the 'same' as human beings regardless of disabilities.

We all use existing knowledge to acquire and understand new knowledge. Whether one has a disability, or not, is irrelevant to this process.

> I just thought simply that disabled people were different. But what they thought and what they discovered were the same as us' (Participant A-6 sighted 18-years-old female university student).

> Apart from the fact that they have disabilities, they can feel (understand) the same way as us' (Participant A-8 sighted 20-years-old male university student).

This explains how participants' opinions were classified into the category A: Similarities between 'us' (sighted people) and 'them' (visually impaired people).

Shannon and Weaver Communications Model applied to
museum exhibitions by Hooper-Greenhill:
Modified to illustrate Participant **A**'s Understanding
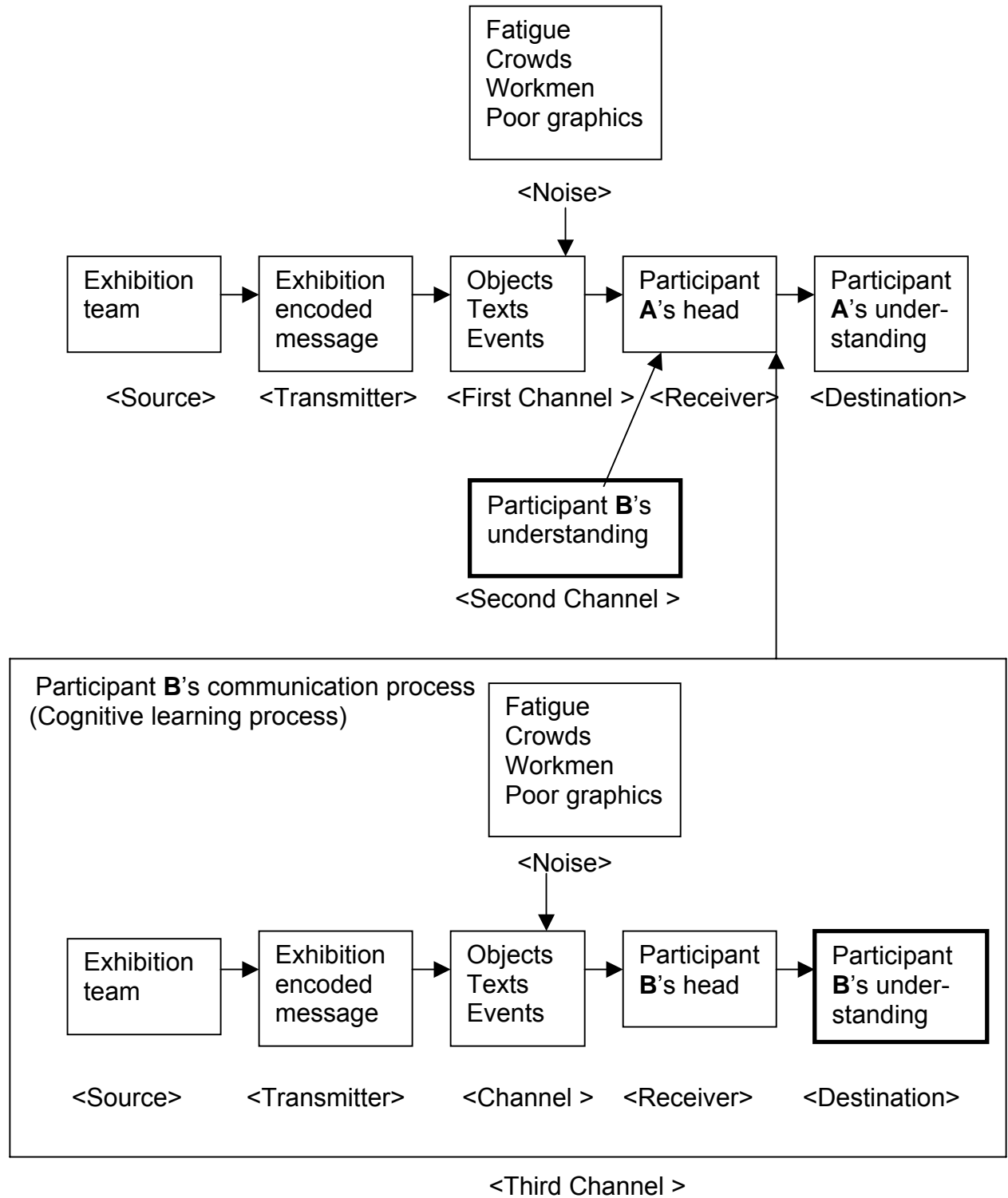
Figure 12 (after Hooper-Greenhill 1994a: 41 referring to Duffy, 1989

with some additions)

This also explains category B: Difference between 'us' (visually impaired people) and 'them' (sighted people). A visually impaired person described it thus:

> I forgot the name of the artist, but there were artworks entitled 'face' and 'storm'. When the sighted people saw the artworks and titles, they could not recognise the pictures from the titles. On the contrary, the titles made their interpretation widen. Visually impaired people who do not have optical information like me cannot experience that sort of thing, which I found interesting. Also I could not imagine how they could feel the sensation of speed from the artworks. Because it was my first experience, it was exciting that I could understand how the panorama view spread onto the sketchbook (Participant S-43 visually impaired 32-years-old male engineer).

As well as the category D: Difference amongst 'them' (sighted people)

> It was interesting that the way sighted participants expressed opinions and how they understood were varied (Participant S-1 visually impaired early 30s male full-time worker).

And the category C: Difference amongst 'us' (sighted people):

> It was interesting and fun to know that everybody had a different way of feeling (Participant A-10 sighted 28-years-old female unknown occupation).

8.2.1.1 Deducing categories A, C, D by sociological consideration of workshop findings

Now we consider other sub-category, 'interactive communication with strangers' (7.5.1 Supra), applying sociological consideration of 'us' and 'them'. It was noteworthy that in the questionnaire many sighted people used the language 'we' and 'they', when they described sighted people and visually impaired people respectively. Although other sighted participants are strangers to them, these sighted strangers are included in the category of selves ('us'), whilst visually impaired people are defined as others ('them').

It appears that recognisable 'differences' changed the status of sighted strangers from 'them' to 'us' moving them from one zone of demarcation to another.

The sighted participants of the workshop experienced other sighted people's opinions and different ways of understanding when they see artworks together. Although sighted people thought other sighted people were the same, 'us', or selves, they discovered that in fact they were all different. For example,

> Even people without disabilities felt differently in this workshop. I think having disabilities, or not, is not important. The important thing is having a positive will to look at and to understand artworks (Participant A-1 sighted 32-years-old female full-time worker).

By way of contrast, when sighted people encountered visually impaired people, whom they thought were strangers (different, 'them'), they realised that visually impaired people are as different as any sighted person is, but at the same time, they are the same as any other human being. For example, it was stated:

> Human beings have individual feelings and senses. At the end of the day, having or not having disabilities does not matter (Participant A-3 sighted 25-years-old male student).

The first opinion reflects category C: Difference amongst 'us' (sighted people). The second quotation is the combination of category D: Difference amongst 'them' (Visually impaired people) and category A. Similarities between 'us' (sighted people) and 'them' (Visually impaired people). Referring to the section 7.7.1, nearly half of the sighted participants stated that disabled people are not different from 'us' (self) and that a division between 'disabled' and 'abled' is nonsensical, which is the result identified as category A.

8.2.2 Deducing category E by applying Symbolic Interactionism to workshop findings

One of sub-categories of the findings from the workshop was that participants achieved 'Learning and understanding 'self' reflecting 'other'' (7.5.3 Supra). This process supports category E: Discovery of the 'self' through interaction with 'other' (other sighted people and visually impaired people). Using Symbolic Interactionism (refer to 5.2 Supra), we now examine this category E. Fay (1996: 229) wrote:

> There is no *self*-understanding if no *other* understanding. Only through interaction with others do I learn what is distinctive and characteristic about myself.

Some of the characteristics of Symbolic Interactionism were discussed earlier, in which, human beings are seen as acting organisms, responding, communicating and reciprocating with each other. Symbolic Interactionism explains that recognition of 'other' and 'self' is achieved through exchanging symbols including languages, and the 'self' as composed by the 'I' which is an active organism and the 'me' which is the so-called 'Looking-glass self' (refer to 5.2.2 Supra).

Applying this view, it is possible to explain what happened in the workshops as follows:

1) In a workshop, participant A (an organism or an actor) passed her/his opinion as the 'I', using language describing 'how s/he thinks about an artwork' as a symbol to the other participant B (another organism or actor), assuming the response from and existence of the participant B as 'the generalised other'[63].
2) Participant B received the symbol from the participant A and integrated this into his/her own 'I'.
3) Participant B's responses contribute to creating participant A's 'me'.

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[63] Referring to Mead (1934), the attitude of the generalised other is the attitude of the whole community. Also, refer the discussion in 5.2.2.

4) Participant A's 'me' is, therefore, reflected in the response from participant B and creates participant A's 'I'.

5) And participant A's 'I' contributed to make the society (for example, giving his opinions back to the participant B again, or passing to others which creates the society). (5) = (1) (i.e. gesture 5 happens when participant A gives gesture 1.)

O'Donnell's 'Symbolic Interactionist Model of Socialisation (and Social Experience Generally)' Applying to the Workshops
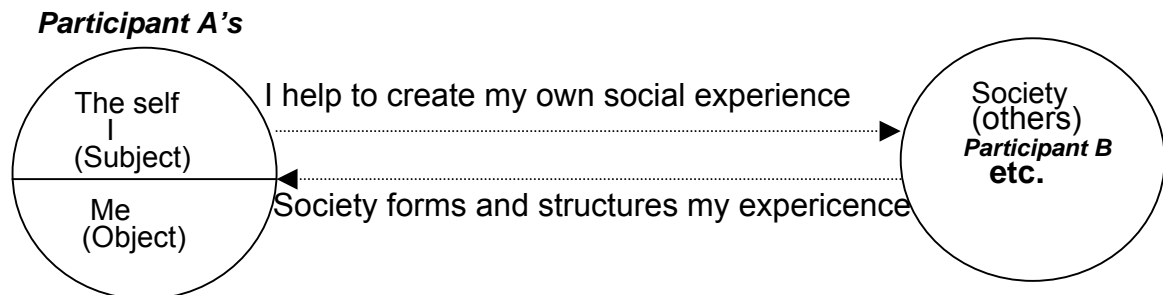
Figure 13 (after O'Donnell,1997: 10 with modification)

Figure 13 depicts this relationship of Interactionism, which developed from Figure 2. In order for this interaction to work, 'the "I" needs to take the initiative and receive responses from the community; for the development of the self 'it is insufficient for him merely to take the attitudes of other human individuals toward himself and others within the human social process' (Mead, 1934: 154).

Societies like Japan, in which people live their lives for others (Kondō, 1990 quoted by Billington et al., 1998), tend not have the 'I' but only the 'me'. In such societies, people do not often face situations in which their own opinions are appreciated. On the contrary, this workshop required participant's unique contributions (with opinions) of their 'I'. As demonstrated in the section 7.8.1, several participants enjoyed the experience of being 'I'. This is the 'feeling-good' factor (understanding self and identity) which Newman (2002) suggests that museums should contribute to (refer to Chapter 2 Supra).

Thus, Symbolic Interactionism explains how workshop participants fit category E: discovery of the 'self' through interaction with 'other' (other sighted people and visually impaired people).

8.2.3 Deducing categories A to D by applying Symbolic Interactionism to workshop findings

Using the same model and Symbolic Interactionism, it is possible to explain why and how 'knowing other people's opinions through interaction' (7.5.2 Supra). Referring to the second process of interaction between Participant A and B, exchanging a symbol (in this case, language), Participant B received the symbol from Participant A and integrated this into his/her own 'I'. According to 8.2.1, Participant A 's comments are created through her/his learning process. It means when Participant B received the symbol, s/he also received information about Participant A: how the person felt and learnt about art objects. When Participant A integrated the symbol into his/her own 'I', s/he also integrated a part of Participant B. This is the achievement of engaging 'other' not 'mere acceptance' of the Other (Fay, 1996: 240).

8.2.4 Deducing Categories B, C, E by applying learning theory to workshop findings

'Learning the difference of 'self' reflecting 'other'' (7.5.3 Supra) was a sub-category of finding from the fieldwork. A new finding was gained during the analysis of data with theories, which is 'learning the difference of 'other' reviewing 'self'. The position of 'knowing other as different from oneself' as well as 'knowing other, reflecting self' was experienced by many participants in the workshop. From sighted people's perspective, 'knowing other as different from oneself' can be identified as category B: difference

between 'us' and 'them'. This is when they identify the 'other' as visually impaired participants and 'oneself' as a sighted person. It can also be category C: difference amongst 'us', when they identify the 'other' as other sighted participants. The knowledge of 'knowing other reflecting self' is category E: discovery of the 'self' through interaction with 'other'.

Both concepts of knowledge need special intelligence called 'interpersonal intelligence' and 'intra-personal intelligence' respectively (refer to Gardner, 1990; Hooper-Greenhill, 1994a: 148; Hein and Alexander, 1998: 37). To quote Hooper-Greenhill (1994a: 151), interpersonal intelligence can be 'developed by carrying out activities in small groups, exploring how other people think, work and feel'. Part of interpersonal intelligence is 'the ability to understand that other people are not like oneself, but that their way of being is just as valid, but different'. Whilst, intra-personal intelligence is about 'developing realistic views of themselves and to act in the real world […] Knowing about how other people operate, in order to work with and understand them, requires the development of a self-view'.

According to Hooper-Greenhill (1994a: 151), intra-personal intelligence is difficult to link with inside-museum experiences. Nevertheless, intra-personal intelligence was required in the workshop. Thus, the workshop offered a unique opportunity for participants to develop intra-personal as well as interpersonal intelligence.

8.3 Discussion of Socio-Cultural Learning based on fieldwork results

The workshop contained two types of socio-cultural learning, those with strangers (Degree of Otherness: Three) and with the Other (Degree of Otherness: Four). In this

case, strangers are identified as other participants who have the same or similar visual function. And the Other are the 'lay people'.

8.3.1 Learning with family or friends versus strangers (other sighted people)

The primary difference between museum visits with family, friends, or a partner, and visits with strangers is whether the companions are already known or not. There were some positive comments from participants concerning the museum experience with strangers:

> In terms of perceiving artworks, doing it with strangers was rather better [than with people who I know] (Participant A-4 sighted unknown aged female unemployed – seeking job).

> Having strangers as company enables me to concentrate on looking at pictures, as the centre of the conversation was the pictures. Having my acquaintances in an exhibition place may make me feel tired, because I have to consider them (Participant S-32 sighted 26-years-old male student).

> Seeing an exhibition with family members sometimes causes friction between us (clashing opinions). But some sighted explainers had many experiences of this workshop, and it was easy to follow. Also the individuals' differences – how they felt or how they explain - were interesting (Participant S-1 visually impaired early 30s male full-time worker).

> Seeing the museum exhibits together with strangers is freer than seeing them with acquaintances (Participant A-11 visually impaired 52-years-old male medical equipment maker employed).

> Being with strangers enabled me to see artworks objectively not emotionally (Participant S-40 visually impaired 30s female full-time worker).

Participants knew in advance that they will converse with strangers at the workshops and it is predictable that they may enjoy this. However, it was an unexpected finding that many participants preferred the museum experience with strangers, rather than with their family or friends.

There is a belief that Japanese society is a family-type society in which the bond inside the family, company, or neighbourhood (*uchi)* is strong and people feel secure being inside (*uchi*) due to the high degree of familiarity and the low degree of otherness (refer to Hendry, 1987: 22; Brown ,974: 176 based on Keizai Dōyūkai 1963 Survey Report; Doi, 1971). The result of the fieldwork, however, seems to differ from this belief. Some enjoyed freedom (refer to the second and fourth quotations above); some appreciated concentrating on artworks without concern about family members or friends (first, second, third and fifth quotations above). How did this happen? The responses suggest that museum visitors' motivation for learning about museum objects is occasionally distracted by other members of the group (which disturbs learners' 'flow'[64]).

However, there were also a few contrary responses, such as 'being with strangers, it was impossible to make conversation freely while looking at artworks' (Participant S-42 sighted 35-years-old female full-time worker). This participant preferred to chat freely, rather than being constrained by having to describe the artworks. Notwithstanding, many advantages in viewing museum exhibits with strangers were observed in the workshop.

8.3.2   Learning with museum guides versus strangers

The experience in the workshop differs from museum visits with a guide. Firstly, a guide is one of 'us' since he/her is authorised by the museum. However, an unknown stranger is one of 'them'. Secondly, the person explaining the artworks to a visually

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[64] 'They [Czikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton] found that 'flow', a term frequently used by these experts [of rock climbing and chess] to describe 'deep involvement and effortless progression,' is what seemed to motivate them to do things that have no reward other than the acts themselves'. (Falk and Dierking, 1994: 105).

impaired participant was an ordinary sighted participant, whose explanation does not carry the expert authority of guides. Their explanation is based on personal and subjective impressions of how another participant perceives the artworks. Thirdly, the relationship amongst participants in the workshops is equal, unlike 'hierarchised chain' type relationships. In this type of learning, the communication is one-way. In workshops visually impaired participants often asked questions of those explaining, and sometimes led the conversation. The equal contribution was welcome. The following selection of sighted participants' comments illustrate this:

> The relationship is equal and informal (Participant A-5 sighted 22-years-old, female, other).

> The dichotomy [between explainers and viewers, museum people and the public and self and other] does not exist (Participant A-6 sighted 18-years-old female university student).

> The atmosphere makes us feel at home (Participant S-33 sighted 45-years-old male full-time council officer).

Not only sighted participants, but also visually impaired participants pointed out the difference from other museum events or guided tours:

> The workshop was completely different from any other museum events. It was fun that I can express myself in the workshop' (Participant A-11 visually impaired 52-years-old male medical equipment maker employed).

> We can see artworks slowly and appreciate details. (Participant S-28 visually impaired).

The first comment from the visually impaired participant above, implies that usual museum visits insist on him being a listener. The second comment demonstrates satisfaction at being able to control the speed of appreciating artworks, rather than museum guides doing this.

In conclusion, the relationship between explainers (communicators) and listeners (responders) in the workshop is equal, informal and interchangeable and the atmosphere of the workshop is more flexible and friendly than normal guided tours.

8.3.3   Concerns about subjectivity

While some participants enjoyed non-authoritative comments in the workshops, some sighted participants were concerned whether their words gave a subjective or incorrect impression to visually impaired participants (Participant S-24 sighted 34-years-old female full-time worker; Participant S-39 sighted 25-years-old female full-time worker).

This prompts discussion about the nature of 'learning'. Previously we considered new modes of learning in museums (refer to 1.5.5 Supra). The traditional approach stresses the importance of results and uses the word 'learning' as a noun/scholarship, whilst new approaches appreciate the importance of process and use the word 'learning' as a verb/the act of learning (Hooper-Greenhill, 2004: 156). Although it is important to convey the 'right' information about visual art to learners (so that they can build up scholarship) the process itself is precious.

In the AXIS Gallery, knowledgeable exhibition volunteers and artists attended. In Setagaya Art Museum, the YWCA volunteers also learned about the pictures and artists. Therefore, access to the 'right' information was also offered in the workshops. It was possible to combine both traditional and new ways of learning in the workshops.

8.3.4 Understanding other people's learning processes through indirect communication, versus museum reminiscence sessions

Some participants in the workshops recalled memories, as in reminiscence sessions. Sighted and visually impaired participants commented as follows:

> I made a rediscovery. As my sight loss was not congenital, I remembered the scenery that I saw in my childhood as well as the feeling of vivid colours (Participant S-40 visually impaired 30s female full-time worker).

> The artworks recalled my experience, knowledge and memories. Also the artworks directly aroused my feelings (Participant A-7 sighted male university student).

Reminiscences contributed to 'making meaning' for visitors and helped them to learn about the artworks. Some may think this is similar to reminiscence sessions.

However, in reminiscence sessions, participants talk about memories and focus on the stories behind, or reflected by, the objects. In contrast, in the workshop participants talked about their impression of artworks and did not focus on their past lives. Normally, reminiscence sessions are held in a group where participants know each other and sometimes they are held amongst strangers. It may be difficult if museum curators or educators ask participants to talk about their lives in front of strangers, especially in a society where people are shy or scared of strangers. However, the 'subtle interaction' or 'indirect communication' in the workshops contributed to making the participants' communication with strangers easier. A great number of participants reacted to communication with strangers positively. More than three quarters of sighted participants and more than eighty percent of visually impaired participants stated that the experience of encountering and communicating with

strangers was either enjoyable or not uncomfortable. The following comments from a

visually impaired participant described it thus:

> I liked the workshop because we can communicate and interact with each other
> while keeping a distance (Participant A-11 visually impaired 52-years-old male
> medical equipment maker employed).

8.3.5 Workshop findings for socio-cultural learning in museums with strangers and disabled people

My fieldwork reveals the characteristics of socio-cultural learning in museums with

strangers and disabled people respectively, as follows in Figure 14.

Socio-cultural Learning in Museums:
Degree of Otherness, With Whom and the Type of Learning II

3	Strangers	Interactive, The social context, Understanding other people's learning process, Informal, Equal, Face-to-face communication, A network of contacts, Collaborative learning, 'Interpersonal intelligence', 'Intra-personal intelligence', Interactionism, Learning that 'we are all different'	↓
4	The socially excluded, Can be disabled people or non-disabled people who are unfamiliar with disabled people (lay people)	Interactive, The social context, Understanding other people's learning process, Informal, Equal, Face-to-face communication, A network of contacts, Collaborative learning ,'Interpersonal intelligence', 'Intra-personal intelligence', Interactionism, Learning that 'we are all different and the same', Learning partners' needs (abilities and disabilities)	The workshop

(Figure 14)

Both socio-cultural learning in museums with strangers and socio-cultural learning in museums with disabled people share the characteristics: interactive, the social context, understanding other people's learning process, informal, equal, face-to-face communication, a network of contacts, collaborative learning, interactionism, 'interpersonal intelligence' and 'intra-personal intelligence'.

The significant difference between any other socio-cultural learning and learning with strangers, as well as disabled people, is that the latter requires and develops interpersonal and intra-personal intelligence. Knowing 'other' as 'different' from 'oneself' needs 'interpersonal intelligence'. Knowing 'other' reflecting 'self', needs 'intra-personal intelligence'. The workshop offered a precious opportunity for participants to develop these 'intelligences' through a museum's objects and environment.

Furthermore, socio-cultural learning in museums with strangers, offers the opportunity of learning that 'we are all different'. Also, socio-cultural learning in museums with disabled people provides the opportunity of learning 'we are all different and also the same'.

8.3.6 Workshop findings for Interactions in socio-cultural learning in museums: the relationship between 'self', the Other (strangers) and museum objects

My fieldwork results enable us to fill-in the gap in Figure 8 provided in Chapter Five. In the new Figure 15, a visitor ('self') learns about a museum object (illustrated by the normal arrows) through interaction with a stranger or the Other (another visitor) (illustrated by the bold arrows), observing the other person's learning process (illustrated by the broken arrows). The 'indirect interaction' contributes subtly, interacting with 'other' by exchanging verbal information. Museum objects play a role in bridging between self and other (another visitor). The 'self' and the Other (or a stranger) learn how the partner understands a museum object. Understanding other people's learning methods means understanding other people's thoughts, beliefs, attitudes and differences. Understanding other people's points of view enables the visitor to understand the object from a different perspective, which also contributes to the visitor's 'self', as well as 'other' (or the Other) through this interaction.

**How to Learn from Museum Objects
through Interaction and Communication II**

[Self]		[Other]				
Degree of Otherness	0	1 [us]		2	3 [them]	4

Museum visit
with a stranger
or the Other

Object

Self

Other: a
stranger
&/ or a
disabled
person
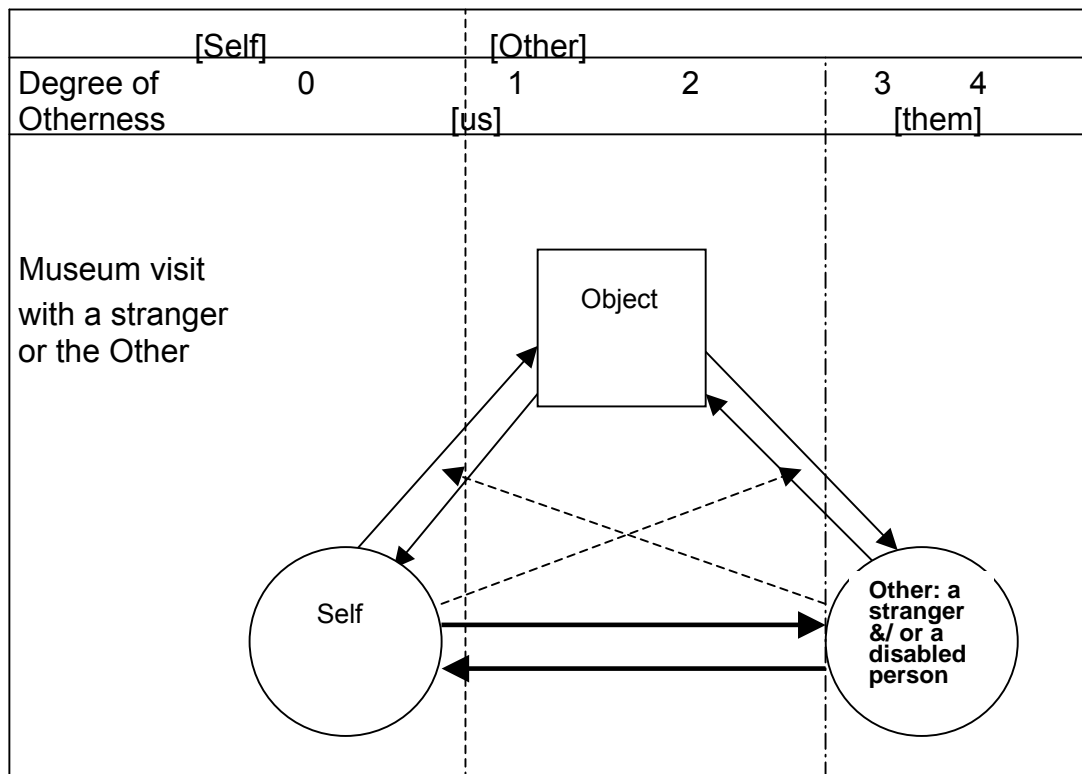
(Figure 15)

8.4 Further Discussion of fieldwork results applying Disability Studies, Sociology and Museum Studies

8.4.1 Sociological discussion about 'other'

We will further consider applying work from Sociology and Disability Studies, to discuss how workshop participants may obtain the concept of 'we are all the same and different'. In Chapter Four, the mechanisms of exclusion, which many disabled people suffer, were explained. Some non-disabled people try to assimilate disabled people, ignoring their 'difference'; other non-disabled people reject or eject disabled people as the Other, strangers or the stigmatised, because they are non-X (refer to 4.5 Supra). In

the workshops nearly half the sighted participants made comments about discovering similarities between 'us' (sighted people) and 'them' (visually impaired people), although originally they thought of them as 'non-X'.

In my sociological discussion, it was noted that exclusion of disabled people is often created by fear of the unfamiliar, or prejudice and stereotyping resulting from ignorance about disability (refer to 4.5 Supra). Meeting with visually impaired people, conversing, and knowing how they understand artworks in the workshops, all contributed to reducing sighted people's ignorance and lack of familiarity about disabilities. This interaction between disabled people and non-disabled people is the best way to reduce 'videology' (refer to 4.4.2; 4.5; 7.7.2 Supra). My fieldwork research revealed that nearly half of the sighted participants (with twenty one comments) asserted that disabled people are not different from 'us' (self) and that a division between 'disabled' and 'abled' is nonsensical (refer to 7.7.1 Supra).

As Oliver (1993: 65) mentioned below, the attitudes of the able-bodied are key to solving the problem of disability:

> However, it has tended to see the process of construction as important and has focused largely on attitudes, with the implications that if the attitudes of the able-bodied are to change then the problems of disability will be resolved. Unfortunately, there is ample evidence that awareness training does not work; for example, racism awareness training aimed at the attitudes of white people (Gurnah, 1984, Sivanandan, 1986). Indeed, in the area of disability policies aimed at changing employers' attitudes have not worked either (Oliver, 1985).

Workshops, of the kind conducted in my fieldwork, can be more useful than awareness training, because they involve interactions between 'self' and 'other'. Moreover, as Valentine (2002: 214) describes below, Japanese society needs to recognise internal differentiation, which disabled people may suffer: 'at the same time, Japan's celebrated difference, according to its internal and external commentators, is based on a claimed

homogeneity that fails to recognize internal differentiation, including disability'. In a homogeneous society, disabled people suffer from assimilation. The workshops, on the other hand, provided opportunities to recognise the dangers associated with the supposed homogeneity of society. The importance of recognising the heterogeneity of disabled people was discussed in the section 2.2.2 and 4.6. Unfortunately, in the workshops not many sighted people were able to interact with more than one visually impaired person, as the ratio within the group averaged 5:1. However, it provided the opportunity to recognise the heterogeneity of non-disabled people. Visually impaired people recognised the differences between individual sighted people. Moreover, sighted people discovered the differences amongst sighted people, although they described other sighted people as 'us' in the questionnaires.

This is the explanation of how participants obtain the idea of 'we are all the same and different'. Through the museum workshop, participants learned an important lesson, which Fay (1960: 90) describes thus:

> If we insist too heavily on dramatic dissimilarity then we lose the capacity to understand others (and therefore the capacity to appreciate their difference). If we insist on their dramatic similarity, then we lose the capacity to appreciate and understand difference and therefore to see others as something not ourselves; in this case, we would only see ourselves everywhere we turn. In relating to others the choice is not difference *or* similarity; it is difference *and* similarity […] people recognizably living in different cultures cannot be living in a different world; but they may well be living differently in the same world.

8.4.2   Mapping disability and sharing the 'blind world'

Titchkosky (2002) claims there is no map defining disability culturally and socially. The existing disability maps are only for government officials (refer to 2.2.2). On a

more personal scale, through interaction with a partially sighted male she learnt how he maps his world. This process of mapping contributed to her understanding of disability. The workshops I conducted, also provided a map of disability. When sighted people understood how visually impaired people conceived images (in other words, mapping their world), sighted people understood that despite lack of sight the creation of images within the mind was similar for everybody. The workshop participants created their maps of disability through interactive communication with disabled people.

In another article, Michalko (2002: 181) introduced a case dealing with the rehabilitation of a blind girl. The girl recognises objects from the perspective of blindness. Although the girl had local knowledge that came to her through her blindness, she needed to learn of objects in the 'sighted world', a process called rehabilitation. The author warned that 'the danger of treating local knowledge and of treating disability as irrelevant is that the 'view from disability' may be dismissed by others and ignored by us (disabled people)' (Michalko, 2002: 182). In the workshops, visually impaired people learnt about the 'sighted world'; but at the same time, the sighted people also learned of the 'blind world' from visually impaired people. It is noteworthy that in my seminar in Japan entitled "Celebration of Difference: towards the museums respecting cultural diversity and creating new culture" in Meiji University Museum on 19th May 2005, a blind attendee commented that this workshop is like 'rehabilitation' for sighted people (learning programmes about blindness).

8.4.3   Challenging Hetherington's claims

We now come back to Hetherington's discussion (refer to 2.5.3 Supra). Hetherington (2000: 461-2) pointed out that although museums now welcome visually impaired

visitors, their ambivalent status within the museum space is both inviting but also excluding if museums deny a complete tactile experience and offer only supplementary alternatives. Visually impaired people are seen as the *not* (the Other) within the museum (Hetherington, 2000: 446-7). The reason visually impaired people are the *not* within the space of the museum is because the museum has principally been constituted as a 'space of seeing'. He accused museums of practicing exclusion against visually impaired people, despite their efforts to be inclusive.

In my preliminary fieldwork, similar results were obtained. Visually impaired museum visitors experienced a poor welcome from some museum staff. Moreover, difficulties hindering museums' inclusive activities, were identified. Therefore, despite the efforts of museums and galleries to be inclusive, it seems that inconsistency in museum practice towards visually impaired people is a common problem (not only in Western countries but also in Japan). However, my thesis introduces some recommendations to counter these problems, such as reducing unfamiliarity with disabilities amongst museum staff, 'mainstreaming' the equality agenda, and collaborating with other knowledgeable institutions (refer to 6.7 Supra).

Hetherington (2002) also considers visually impaired museum visitors' scopic and optic forms of understanding. He argues that tactile books for visually impaired people are not a source of 'haptic' access (which involves touching) but an optical prosthesis in which the experienced hand can read the representation. He added that what we see here is an illusion of the process of deferral that is at the centre of the contemporary politics of access within museums. (Hetherington, 2002: 199) For the visually impaired people it is touch that is held to be the ideal form of access. Therefore, it is touch that often informs their sense of the scopic (Hetherington, 2002: 196). My thesis (refer 2.5.3 Supra), however, claims that it is impossible for museums to make all

objects available to touch, due to the uniqueness of their collections. Moreover, if alternative supplements become seen as discriminatory, as Hetherington (2002) suggests, museums will cease providing material for visually impaired visitors. Through my fieldwork, alternative ways of accessing museum objects were suggested. Many of the visually impaired participants expressed enjoyment appreciating artworks by exchanging dialogues with sighted people (refer to 7.5). This method does not need to involve 'haptic' experience. It was evidenced in my research that their 'scopic' experience has been obtained through dialogue rather than touch. Alternative supplements such as three-dimensional copies were also useful in enhancing their understanding, as was observed in the workshops (refer to Chapter 7 and Figure 11). This indicates that despite Hetherington's criticism there is a valid role for supplemental aids in museum exhibitions.

The third issue is about distal and proximal knowledge. Hetherington (2003) explains that the sense of sight always promotes distal knowledge, whilst touch is always more proximal. (Hetherington, 2003: 106) Whilst 'distal is what is preconceived, what appears already constituted and known', the 'proximal thinking deals in the continuous and the 'unfinished'' (refer to 2.5.3 Supra). However, in my fieldwork, distal concepts of knowing conflicted with Hetherington's (2003) claim. Many visually impaired visitors appreciated artworks using their distal knowledge, supported by other sighted visitors (although a few preferred to utilise proximal experience) (refer to Chapter 7). This is also reported within literature, such as Yōbisha Ltd. (1985):

> I like 'seeing' artworks in galleries. I go there with a sighted person and ask her/his explanation. Then I imagine the artwork. The objectiveness or expert explanation is not useful. I prefer subjective and personal explanations. If they

jump saying 'wow' in front artworks, that would be great (A comment from Horigoe, sited by Yōbisha Ltd., 1985: 94).

Okuno (1999: 135) also quotes the respondent of her research: 'for visually impaired people, touching is seeing. Listening is also connecting to seeing', which does not deny their distal knowledge.

Moreover, although Hetherington (2003: 106) claims that distal is what is preconceived and known, some visually impaired workshop participants experienced new sensations, using distal thinking. For example, as previously described for Participant S-43 who is visually impaired, it was the first time that he could understand how panoramic views spread onto the sketchbook. It can, therefore, be concluded that appreciating art without touching (using distal knowledge) can be continuous and 'unfinished', involving the construction of meaning.

Thus, my research suggests that museums can create alternative methods to touching without excluding visually impaired museum users.

8.4.4 Revisiting the issue of 'Barrier-free'

My thesis has already high-lighted the misconceptions of 'barrier-free', 'universal design' and 'universal museum' regarding social inclusion practice, noting these are objectives but not necessarily a means to achieve social inclusion (refer to 5.3.4).

My fieldwork showed that the workshops contributed to combating 'psychological barriers' (prejudice towards disabled people) and achieving 'genuine universal design' (removing a dichotomy between disabled and non-disabled people) (refer to 2.6.2; 3.4.2 Supra). Nearly half of the sighted people recognised 'they are the

same as us' through interaction with visually impaired people (refer to 7.7.1 Supra). For most people, they 'discover' this opinion; since they thought 'they were different from us', before the workshop. The subtle interaction, in which they exchanged a dialogue about artworks, made the interaction between them easier. In other words, museum objects as well as the environment, made this communication happen. This is much more useful for social inclusion than removing physical obstructions and achieving 'barrier-free' status inside museums as well as the achievement of 'universal museums'.

8.4.5   Museum's social role and meeting the public's expectations

In Chapter 2, JAM's (2005: 163-4) research was introduced. It showed that over half of museum workers think that museums do not sufficiently respond to social needs. My preliminarily fieldwork also revealed that Japanese museum professionals are struggling to change their attitudes towards disabled people due to difficulties and problems which hinder the development of programmes for disabled museum users (refer to 6.4.2).

Nevertheless, the results from my preliminarily work indicated that the public still believes in art and museums as communication tools for engaging people. Many people expect museums to become centres of culture and society (refer to 6.6 Supra). My main fieldwork result confirmed that museum workshop participants' images of museums, as intimidating, have been improved (refer to 7.7.6 Supra). The workshop brought 'art blind' or 'non-visitors' to the museum and they greatly enjoyed the events.

Consequently, I conclude that museums can demonstrate their social role organising this sort of inclusive event, in which the relationship between 'self' and 'other' can be enhanced.

8.5 Summary

In this chapter, the original findings from my fieldwork were analysed and developed, applying Symbolic Interactionism, communication theory and learning theories. As a result, my fieldwork objectives and aims, which were set out in the beginning of Chapter Seven, were fulfilled. For example, this chapter explained why and how the workshops' participants know, learn (connecting with their own experience and knowledge) and understand (acquiring new knowledge though learning) about 'other', strangers and the 'self', as well as 'similarities' and 'difference', while they exchange opinions in the conversations.

At the end of section 7.7, a question emerged: why and how did people obtain this idea that people are all 'different' as individuals, and all the 'same' as human beings? This is now clarified and answered these questions. The sighted participants of the workshop experienced other sighted people's different opinions and different ways of understanding when viewing artworks together. Although sighted people thought other sighted people were the same, 'us', or selves, they discovered that in fact they were all different. (The communication system was depicted in Figure 12.) On the other hand, many sighted people understood how visually impaired participants' see visual arts through interaction in the workshops. Many sighted people used the language 'we' and 'they' in the questionnaire, when they described sighted people and visually impaired people respectively. However, they compared the way visually impaired participants' see visual arts with their own experience and concluded that the process was the 'same' as 'us'; therefore, they are not different from 'us' but 'same' as human beings.

My fieldwork data (refer to Chapter 7 and 8) suggested that their (sighted people's) attitudes toward disabled (visually impaired) people have changed through direct interaction and socio-cultural learning with them. This experience made many participants realise that there is a 'difference' in 'us' as well as 'similarities' with 'them'. This means that the soft outcomes of the change in museum participants' attitudes and values towards the Other or people with 'difference' were observed in analysis of my fieldwork data.

Consequently, my conclusion from the fieldwork, is that what participants learnt through the workshops was 'we are all the same and different'. This opinion was expressed by both non-disabled (sighted) and disabled (visually impaired) participants. In turn, it was demonstrated that this form of workshop could be used to support social inclusion practices in museums, as understanding 'other' is one of the first steps towards social inclusion.

Furthermore, one of the fieldwork aims is achieved, that is, providing the missing information from the previous figures (see Figure 14 and Figure23).

Also, it was evidenced that participants' interpersonal intelligence and intra-personal intelligence were developed through attending the workshops. Moreover, my thesis identified that these 'intelligences' can be developed uniquely during socio-cultural learning with strangers, or with disabled people.

On the whole, my analysis succeeded in raising awareness of the issues of disability, exclusion/inclusion, museum and 'self' and 'other' as well as their relevance to museum practice. Through this discussion, my key concepts were developed. These are, for example, museum workshop participants understood 'we are all the same and different'; museums offered the place to connect with 'different' people (who are

strangers to each other); and museum workshops connected people with 'difference' (who are the Other for 'self') in subtle and indirect ways (refer 8.3.4; 7.5.1 Supra). These key results of my fieldwork will be used in the final chapter to support my hypothesis and contribute to answering my research question.

Chapter Nine

Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

This concluding chapter consists of a summary of my thesis, the results and conclusions from my research, as well as an assessment of the limitations of my work along with recommendations for further research.

9.2 Summary and review of my thesis

Chapter One introduced my research question: can museums and galleries contribute to the creation of an inclusive society, enhancing the understanding of difference as well as self and other? It also explained that Symbolic Interactionism was my primary methodology. Throughout my thesis, the relationship between 'self' and 'other' would be *thought* through *sociologically*. My thesis at the outset defined the sociological aspects of the main themes. They are: 'social exclusion/inclusion', 'disability', 'self and other', 'museum and gallery' and 'learning'.

In **Chapter Two** a literature review was conducted, covering Disability Studies and Museum Studies from a Japanese perspective including English sources, as it

contributed to building my theory and perceptions, in relation to the issues of social inclusion, disability, and visually impaired museum users.

During my review of literature in English Disability Studies, it was confirmed that my thesis adopted a mainly social approach, because it focuses upon the relationship between 'self' and ' other'. The significance of the 'social model of disability' as well as the 'second generation' of Disability Studies writers (one of whose main issues is identity) was acknowledged by my literature survey (2.2.2).

Identity is also one of the key issues in Japanese Disability Studies. The competing ideologies of the 'difference disability movement' and 'equability disability movement' contributed to the progress of Japanese Disability Studies. The former aims to achieve an 'equal' society for non-disabled people, whilst the latter resists assimilation and aims to differentiate themselves as independent groups (2.3.1).

My comprehensive review of English museums literature revealed several issues. Though several definitions of social exclusion/inclusion are available from government publications, the cultural and Museum Studies sectors, the application of policies supporting inclusion within museums is limited in scope. Although museums have addressed specific areas of social exclusion/inclusion, such as removal of physical barriers to access and issues of intellectual access (relating to caption contents), clear and comprehensive strategies of social inclusion remain elusive. This uncertainty or 'fuzziness' around the delivery of social inclusion is altogether too ambiguous, leading to confusion inside the museum world and making it difficult for staff to address social challenges. Also, until very recently targets for learning tended to be skewed at a local level towards the marginalised and non-visitors, with the aim of empowering them. Until recently, little evidence was revealed in the literature survey of work attempting

to change visitors' attitudes in support of social inclusion. Instead, the main emphasis appears to be removal of physical barriers to museum access. Though this enables more equitable use of museums and is itself an inclusive action, its potential for promoting a process of social inclusion at a personal level is limited. Although exhibitions directly addressing exclusion issues have been held, it is recognised that more should be done in this area by museums. SMC (2000: 13) suggest the need to identify successful models in museums that could be the basis for a pilot project promoting social inclusion was recognised. Resource (2001) and Kalisher (1998) suggest that experiencing learning through interaction with persons in museums could produce attitude changes. Museums could provide exhibitions and programmes in which people with differences could interact and understand each other.

My research addressed the above limitations. It provided a hypothetical model of how museums can work towards a socially inclusive society through examining the instance of non-sighted people's experience in museums and examined people's attitude changes through interactive learning in museums.

My literature review of English Museum Studies regarding disability issues confirmed that there were many directories or manuals for disability as well as reports for improving physical, intellectual and financial access to enhance social inclusion within the museum environment. However, until recently there was little evidence that the potential for museums to stimulate greater social inclusion in wider society was considered. Historically speaking, much Museum Studies literature relating to visually impaired museum visitors discussed solely tactile experiences or exhibitions within museums. Hetherington (2000, 2002, 2003) discussed deeper issues and criticised museum professionals' attitudes for not offering tactile museum objects to visually

impaired people, so effectively treating them as 'Other'. However, many museum objects are unsuitable for touching. My thesis, therefore, explored an alternative method to touching artefacts for understanding them. Moreover, it is evident there is insufficient research on the relationship between visually impaired and sighted museum users.

My literature review of Japanese Museum Studies reveals the term 'social inclusion' is not widely used in the Japanese museum world, although similar concepts 'barrier-free', 'universal design' or 'universal museum' closely relate to disability issues. The 'barrier-free' concept is also a keen topic in Japanese Disability Studies, and discussed in relation to the issue of 'identity'. However, there was little discussion of issues surrounding 'identity' in Japanese Museum Studies publications. Other literature relating to disability in Japanese Museum Studies was mainly guidebooks or questionnaire surveys. Much literature about visually impaired museum visitors was researched or published by the Kanagawa Prefectural Museum of Natural History. Also, Able Art Japan made an important contribution to a publication about disability and art. Surveys conducted by the researchers in both institutions demonstrate the impossibility of conducting a 'social inclusion' survey in Japan.

Chapter Three introduced the current circumstances of Japanese museums in social, cultural and political contexts (also refer Chapter 2). Privatisation and structural administrative reform (including the Designated Manager System) affected the Japanese museum world. The change led to both advantages and disadvantages for museums. Thus, meeting social needs became more relevant to Japanese museums. ACA encouraged art and historic museums to pursue activities in a way that conforms to a changing Japanese society. Moreover, 'The Fundamental Law for the Promotion of

Culture and Arts' enacted in 2001 endorsed art organisations' social contributions. However, literature suggests that currently many Japanese museum professionals are concerned that the social needs of the public have not been reflected in museum exhibitions and programmes (JAM, 2005: 163-4).

The current circumstances of disability in social, cultural and political contexts in Japan was also presented in this chapter. The socialisation of disabled people has been supported by political actions, legislation and programmes. The exclusion laws applying to some disabled people have now been repealed or superseded. Some government policies, such as universal design policy, have an element of inclusion, because design for everybody means not excluding anybody. However, the new Japanese law is different from other anti-discrimination laws and does not cover diverse areas of discrimination. Also, the policy is limited to transport and public buildings.

The cultural context of disability was discussed with the concept of 'barrier-free', 'universal design' as well as the Able Art Movement. My thesis pointed out that if the identity of disabled people is ignored, there is a possibility that patronising 'kind' attitudes towards them can be seen as assimilation. Learning from the discussion, it is important for museum staff to incorporate disabled people's points of view when they develop 'barrier-free', 'universal design' and 'accessibility' systems to prevent this. Removing prejudice towards disabled people ('psychological barrier-free') and removing divisions between them and non-disabled people ('genuine universal design') should be more appropriate objectives than improving accessibility in museums. Able Art Japan is a charitable institution supporting disabled people culturally. They claim Able Art Movement proactively aims to work towards an understanding between disabled people and non-disabled people.

Chapter Four presented my theoretical frameworks about exclusion. The sociological mechanisms for exclusion were analysed. There are a number of barriers between 'self' and 'other', which make the understanding of 'other' difficult and hinder inclusion. According to my literature research, a boundary drawn between 'self' (in-group) and 'other' (out-group) is not exclusion but differentiation. Whilst the existence of others is inevitable and useful in forming self-identities, the Other (unfamiliar 'other') causes people anxiety. Once the boundaries between 'us' and 'them' become blurred or break down, feelings of confusion and uncertainty, through to resentment and hostility, result, which can lead to exclusion. This has two forms: 'assimilating' (against separation) and 'ejection or rejection' (against binding). One of the strongest feelings of exclusion of the Other is hatred or phobia, and my thesis divided it into three forms. Firstly a 'superiority complex' relating to the idea of supremacist purity, secondly a mechanism of 'projecting collective hatred of ourselves to disabled people' and thirdly 'fear of the Other'.

Prejudice, hatred and phobia are frequently caused by lack of familiarity and ignorance. Prejudice itself is one of the principle causes of social exclusion, as the socially excluded may be stereotyped due to incomplete information, lack of familiarity and ignorance. This incomplete information encourages 'videology' and media representation stimulates the creation of monsters and fearful strangers.

According to some reports, disabled people may be regarded with fear or even hatred by the non-disabled. My thesis applied the discussion of exclusion in the case of disabled people, identifying that they suffer from both 'assimilating' (against separation) and 'ejection or rejection' (against binding) exclusion. Some non-disabled people try to assimilate disabled people, ignoring their 'difference'. Also, the emphasis

of the 'heterogeneity of disabled people' was criticised by some literature. It is reported that disabled people are seen by non-disabled people as non-X in that they cannot be 'us' because they are not 'right' or 'normal' due to their stigmas, difference and 'abnormality'.

Chapter Five introduced another theoretical framework for inclusion focusing on Symbolic Interactionism and learning in museums. It examined how we remove these barriers, as well as how we may understand 'other', and celebrate 'difference'. The creation of an inclusive society cannot be achieved without the action of individuals. Museums, therefore, need to influence individuals' attitudes towards the Other using their cultural resources and environment, whilst acting as a medium for connecting people (refer to 5.3 Supra). Symbolic Interactionism formed the basis for my study from the theoretical perspective, because it concerns individuals' actions and the relationship between 'self', 'other' and their society. This chapter fully explored this theory. According to Symbolic Interactionism, the recognition of 'other' is essential to the realisation of one as a 'self'; the 'self' being composed by both the 'I' and the 'me'. The creation of 'self' is achieved through interaction with 'other'. The 'self' is continually affecting society by one's own attitudes (calling out to the society), because an individual assumes the attitude of the group oneself, and responds to it, and through that response changes the attitude of the group.

However, it is important to note that 'mere acceptance' of difference is insufficient when engaging the 'other'. Remember that when the boundaries between 'other' and 'us' become unclear or ambiguous, the uncomfortable feeling turns into anxiety, hatred, or exclusion towards 'strangers' (refer to Chapter 4). Therefore, understanding of the Other or strangers through interaction is an important process in

tackling exclusion. However, it is not easy to find opportunities for face-to-face interaction with the Other. The lack of opportunities to know each other is the reason why 'other' is *the unknown* in the first place.

My thesis considered museums' cultural and communicative assets, which can contribute to enhancing the interaction between 'self' (a museum user) and 'other' (another museum user). Museums exist in physical spaces in the social environment. Physically being together and sharing experiences with others (that is, interaction) is an important aspect of a social event such as a museum visit. Furthermore, museum exhibitions themselves can be communicative media (5.3), and my thesis suggests that art can be a medium for connecting non-disabled people and disabled people (5.3.3).

The question is how can individuals understand 'other'. The answer is through interaction as well as learning. This involves the action from the 'self' of learning about 'other', which reduces lack of familiarity and ignorance of 'other'. According to my literature review, learning is now understood as multi-dimensional, and socio-cultural learning and theory, i.e learning through interaction, recently became popular in the museum world. My thesis explored socio-cultural learning in museums and recognised its merits (refer to 5.5 Supra). Furthermore, my thesis discovered that socio-cultural learning experiences in museums differ depending on who people visit with, either visiting alone; with friends, family or a partner; with museum guides; with strangers; or museum visits with the Other. My literature review found some discussions of the first three socio-cultural learning experiences in museums. However, it was impossible to find sufficient information about the last two and my further research was required.

Prior to my main fieldwork, my preliminary fieldwork was conducted. Described in **Chapter Six**, this involved interviews with key people in art organisations. As

discussed, there was a difficulty conducting surveys in Japanese museums about social inclusion concerning disabled people. Direct contact with relevant people was, therefore, one of the few methods available to obtain such information. This research investigated examples of Japanese museums' inclusive practices towards disabled users as well as their problems.

My preliminary fieldwork evidenced museums' positive attitudes towards involvement of disabled users and artists. This included special touching tours for visually impaired people (NMWA), exhibitions of art by people with disability (Setagaya Art Museum, Able Art Japan, TMAM), events about disabled, art, (Setagaya Art Museum, Able Art Japan, TMAM), Special Viewing Days for Disabled People (TMAM), and workshops for/with visually impaired people (Able Art Japan, MAR, VIEW). On the other hand, several problems, which hinder museums' inclusive activities, were also identified through my research. Some of these reflected those identified by the Research Centre for Museums and Galleries' (RCMG) (2004). These included, museum professionals' lack of familiarity with disabled people, difficulties in finding the right consultants, difficulties with all staff having the same vision inside the museum, and so forth. Interviewees' recommendations for solving some problems were introduced, such as consulting the right people, and collaborating with other organisations (refer to 6.7 Supra). My preliminary fieldwork found that the intentions of museums to be inclusive or 'kind' to disabled people, were not fully reflected in the disabled museum users' experience.

Another finding from my preliminary fieldwork research was that the public expect museums to be a centre of culture and society. According to the interviewees, the sites for their activities need not necessarily be museums. Nevertheless, art museums were chosen, because of the potential of art for connecting people together

(refer to 6.8 Supra). Art can be a common language between disabled people and non-disabled people. Interviewees also expected museums to lead inclusive activities (refer to 6.8 Supra).

Overall, the findings from my preliminary fieldwork increased our knowledge about Japanese museums and disabled users (visually impaired users) and provided the background for conducting my main fieldwork.

Chapter Seven described my main fieldwork. This involved questionnaires given to participants at gallery workshops, in which sighted and visually impaired people viewed artworks together. Fifty-seven responses were collected at two sites (the AXIS Gallery and the Setagaya Art Museum). After analysis of the data, the findings were divided into five categories: 1) Interactive communication, 2) Different ways of looking at artworks, 3) Disabilities, 4) Museum practice and 5) Other issues. These were individually introduced with qualitative data supported with quantitative analysis in my thesis (refer to 7.4 Supra). Firstly, regarding 'Interactive communication', it was evidenced that during the interactions with 'other' in the workshops, participants *thought sociologically* about the issues of 'strangers', 'other' as well as 'self'. Regarding the second category the workshop participants learned another way of looking at art work through interaction with visually impaired participants. Thirdly, the interactive communication with visually impaired participants provided sighted participants with opportunities to *think sociologically* about disability. In other words, the workshop encouraged participants to think about the 'social model of disabilities' in society (as well as museums). Fourthly, the uniqueness of the workshops brought the 'art blind', and non-visitors of art museums, into art museums. Their positive experiences improved their intimidating images of museums and motivated some non-

visitors to visit museums again. The fifth category evidenced positive attitudinal changes towards strangers, disabilities, impairments as well as self-esteem.

Based on opinions from both non-disabled (sighted) and disabled (visually impaired) participants, the conclusion from my fieldwork was that the museum workshop participants learnt 'we are all the same and different' through the interaction with 'other'. The workshop provided the opportunity to consider the issues around 'self', 'other', 'similarity' and 'difference'.

Chapter Eight discussed why and how they did obtain this idea that people are all 'different' as individuals, and all the 'same' as human beings, using communication theory as well as Symbolic Interactionism. Many sighted people understood how visually impaired participants' 'see' visual arts through interaction in the workshops; this communication system was depicted in Figure 12. Many sighted people used the language 'we' and 'they' in the questionnaire, when they described sighted people and visually impaired people respectively. However, they compared visually impaired people's communication systems (the way visually impaired participants' see and understand visual arts) with their own experience and concluded that the process was the 'same' as 'us'; therefore, they are not different from 'us' but the 'same' as human beings (refer to 8.2 Supra). Moreover, sighted participants of the workshop experienced other sighted people's different opinions and different ways of understanding when they viewed artworks together. Although sighted people originally thought other sighted people were the same, 'us', or 'selves', they discovered that this was not true, and in fact they were all different (refer to 8.2 Supra).

According to Symbolic Interactionism, this recognition of 'other' and 'self' in the workshops was achieved through exchanging language (symbols) expressing their opinions about artworks. Discovery of the 'self' through interaction with 'other' also can be explained applying Symbolic Interactionism. The 'self' is composed by the 'I' and the 'me' which is the so-called 'looking-glass self' or the 'generalised other' (refer to 5.2.2). (The Figure 13 depicts this relationship, which developed from Figure 2.) The 'I' needs to take the initiative of interacting with 'other' to get responses from the community in order to create 'me'. This workshop required participant's contributions (describing artworks with their own words, etc), which is their 'I'. Some participants enjoyed the experience of being 'I' (giver, subject) and discovered 'self' through the experience rather than just being 'me' (recipient, object) in the community.

My fieldwork data (refer to 8.2.5 Supra) provided original information about socio-cultural learning with strangers, as well as socio-cultural learning with the Other (disabled people). My thesis identified that museum workshops participants' interpersonal intelligence and intra-personal intelligence were developed during socio-cultural learning with strangers, or with disabled people. Another finding from this socio-cultural learning was that non-disabled (sighted) people's attitudes toward disabled (visually impaired) people changed through direct interaction (socio-cultural learning) with them.

Another unique feature of the workshop was that it was 'subtle interaction' between 'self' and 'other', rather than talking about themselves in reminiscence sessions. This 'subtle interaction' contributes to successful interaction between strangers communicated by museum objects. My fieldwork showed that a great number of participants reacted to communication with strangers positively. The other feature of the workshop was 'distal learning', which does not require 'proximal learning' through

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touching. Thus, despite Hetherington's claims, museums and galleries are able to demonstrate the inclusive benefits of 'distal learning' to visually impaired users.

Through the discussion of my fieldwork findings, three key concepts were developed. Firstly, participants understood 'we are all the same and different'. Secondly, that museums offered the place to connect 'different' people (who are strangers to each other) and thirdly, the museum workshops connected people with 'difference' (who are the Other for 'self') in subtle and indirect ways. These key results of my fieldwork supported my hypothesis and contributed to answering my research question.

9.3 Answers to my research question

9.3.1   Testing my hypothesis

My hypothesis for museum communications was explained using a model entitled "The Hypothetical Model of the Relationships between Museums and the Public" (see Figure 4; refer to 5.3.4 Supra). The Arrow A depicts the communication channel between a user (as 'self') and a museum object. The communication model entitled "Shannon and Weaver Communications Model Applied to Exhibitions by Hooper-Greenhill" (see Figure 3) explained the details of this communication (refer to 5.3.1; Hooper-Greenhill, 1994a; 1994b). The Arrow B depicts the interaction between a user (as 'self') and a museum (as 'other' or represented 'other'). Some museum activities, enhancing this relationship are, for example, 'audience involvement' and 'barrier-free' (refer to 8.4.4; 3.4 Supra). The Arrow C is the relationship between a user (as 'self') and another user (as 'other'). The model entitled 'O'Donnell's "Symbolic Interactionist Model of Socialisation (and Social Experience Generally)"' (see Figure 2) introduced by my

thesis represents the details of the relationship between 'self' and 'other' (refer to 5.2 Supra). The Arrow D is my vision of the social inclusive role of museums, enhancing the understanding of difference as well as 'self' and 'other'.

I now test this hypothetical model (see Figure 4) using the findings from my thesis. Three key concepts developed through the discussion of my fieldwork research (refer to 8.5) were as follows:

1) The museum workshop participants understood 'we are all the same and different'.
2) The museums offered the place to connect 'different' people (who are strangers to each other).
3) The museum workshops connected people with 'difference' (who are the Other for 'self') in subtle and indirect ways.

The first key concept is concerns Arrow C. My fieldwork results revealed that in order to understand the concept of 'we are all the same and different', workshop participants needed to learn about 'self' and 'other' as well as 'similarities' and 'difficulties'. As a result of attending the workshops in museums /galleries, the relationship between a user (as 'self') and another user (as 'other') as well as the understanding of each other has been improved (refer to Chapter 7 and 8).

The second key concept concerns Arrow D. My fieldwork research identified that the profiles of workshop participants varied with their age, interests, occupations, gender, visual ability and so forth. The physical space of the museum provided opportunities for 'different' people to gather. Synthesising existing knowledge, my thesis explained that the cultural assets of museums as well as art contributed to this communication as the media (refer to Chapter 5.3.3), which is now evidenced by my fieldwork result.

The third key concept also concerns Arrow D. Unlike reminiscence sessions in which participants talk about memories and focus on the stories behind, or reflected by, the objects, the workshop participants talked about their impression of the artworks and did not focus on their lives, pasts, or stories. The workshop subtly provided the opportunity to learn 'other', the Other and difference, while not forcing participants to do this. This 'subtle interaction' or 'indirect communication' in the workshops contributed to making the participants' communication with strangers easier (refer 8.3.6 and Figure 15 for more details). This 'subtle interaction' is especially effective in societies where free communication amongst people with different backgrounds is discouraged.

In conclusion, my fieldwork results confirmed that my hypothetical model works. My fieldwork demonstrated that the relationship between a user (as 'self') and another user (as 'other') and understandings of each other (depicted as Arrow C) were enhanced by the museum experience (depicted as Arrow D). Another user in this model can be either 'an unthreatening stranger' or 'the unknown Other'. Consequently, I changed the name of my hypothetical model into "The inclusive model of the relationships between museums and the public" (see Figure 16), which I suggest could be a protocol supporting museums' social inclusion activities.

The inclusive model of the relationships between

Museums and the Public

A museum

Objects

B

A user
(Self)

A

D

C

A user
(Other)

The relationship A	
The relationship B	
The relationship C	
The relationship D	
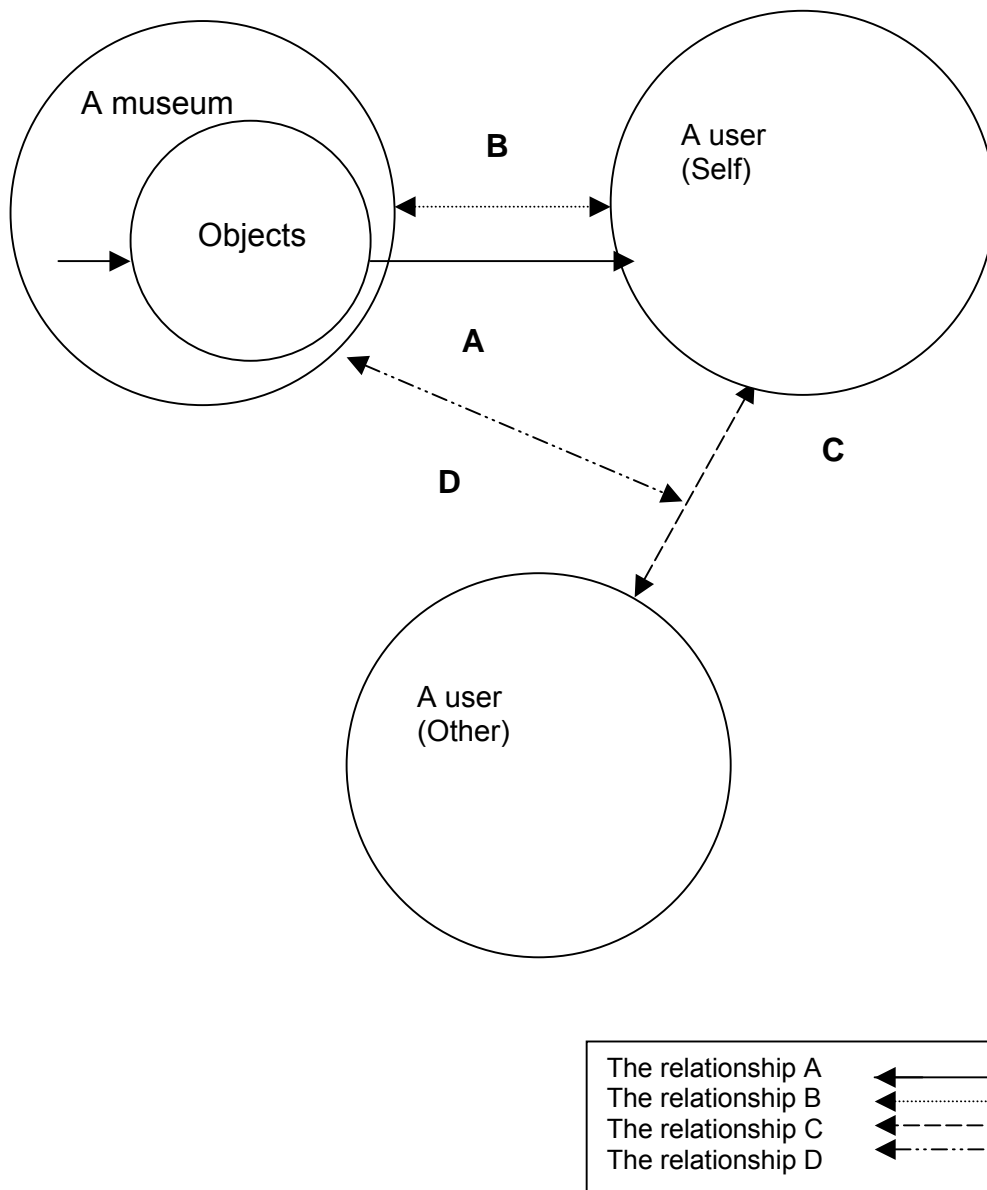
(Figure 16)

9.3.2   Answers to my research question

> Can museums and galleries contribute to the creation of an inclusive society, enhancing the understanding of difference as well as self and other?

All the necessary information has been gathered and it is now possible to answer my research question above, and the answer is a 'qualified yes'. I am aware of the impossibility of providing a perfect answer, because this question is challenging in depth, multidimensional, and the time and resources, as well as the length of thesis were limited. Furthermore, no research on this topic using a method of Interactionism was identified in my literature review. However, my thesis successfully provided a conditional answer. Throughout my thesis, I have suggested and validated a method for museums and galleries to contribute to the creation of an inclusive society, enhancing the understanding of 'difference' as well as 'self' and 'other'. It can be summarised, within the following six processes:

1) Understanding the nature and the mechanism of exclusion.
2) Appreciating the nature of inclusion and learning.
3) Using museums' communicative functions as a media for connecting people ('self' and 'other').
4) Creating a transferable model demonstrating how museums work to enhance the relationship between 'self' and 'other', so that museums staff may have a vision to work towards.
5) Targeting audiences for the programmes.
6) Organising programmes where 'self' and 'other' can interact through socio-cultural learning and evaluating them.

1) and 2)

Exclusion and inclusion are human activities in society where 'self' and 'other' co-exist. Exclusion can occur in any society. Therefore, when there is exclusion in society, we need to think sociologically about what is 'self' and 'other', as well as how 'differences' and 'similarities' affect this relationship (refer to Chapter 4). It is essential

to learn about 'difference' between 'self' and 'other' as well as the mechanism of exclusion in order to tackle exclusion (refer to Chapter 5), because lack of familiarity with the Other as well as an uncertainty of the boundary between 'self' and 'other' are contributory factors to exclusion. Learning about 'self' and 'other' through interaction is, therefore, a powerful method of reducing this lack of familiarity and uncertainty. Museum professionals need to recognise and understand these human activities of exclusion and inclusion in relation to the issues of identity (self, other, similarities and differences).

3)

We need to recognise and appreciate that museums can play an important role as both communicators and media within cultural heritage. Museums are the places that house objects of many different meanings, where a dialogue amongst museum visitors can be stimulated. Moreover, museums exist in physical spaces in the social environment, and this physical existence can stimulate social connections between people (refer to 5.3.3 Supra). This is the reason why my thesis demonstrated that museums can be an agent of social inclusion, playing their social role with their communicative functions. Museum workers need to use and maximise these museum communicative functions as a medium for connecting people ('self' and 'other') supporting the creation of an inclusive society, by enhancing the understanding of difference as well as self and other.

4)

It is also important to identify how museum communication works. My literature survey revealed that 'fuzziness' of the term 'social inclusion' as well as an inability to create a useful model to deliver inclusive programmes, hindered museums' social

inclusion activities (refer to 2.4.2). Furthermore, my preliminary fieldwork also discovered that failure to 'mainstream' the equality agenda hindered the development of programmes for disabled museum users (refer to 6.6.6 Supra). A clear holistic management and institutional vision as well as a successful model were, therefore, required (refer to 2.4.2). Corresponding to this need, I created a model of inclusion for audiences of sighted and non-sighted people (refer to Chapter 5 and 9). My model entitled "The inclusive model of the relationships between museums and the public" can be suitable as a protocol supporting museums' social inclusion role (see Figure 16). It demonstrated museum communications and identified how museums need to work for the creation of an inclusive society, by enhancing the understanding of difference as well as self and other (refer to 9.3.1).

5)

It is essential to target a specific audience in order to organise programmes where 'self' and 'other' can interact through socio-cultural learning. Unlike some museum exhibitions, which target a mass audience, it is recommended to choose specific groups of people for this type of socially inclusive programme. For my thesis, disabled people were chosen, and the relationship between disabled people and non-disabled people was focused upon. This was because discrimination arising from disability can be seen as a key aspect of exclusion, and the consideration of disability 'touches upon our very sense of 'self': who we think we are and what others define us as being, and the relationships between the two' (refer to 1.3 Supra). Because disabilities vary according to their impairments, it is impossible to address multiple issues within one programme. My case study, therefore, narrowed the focus to visually impaired people and their experience in galleries, as this combination could be seen as one of the most

challenging (refer to 1.3; 2.5.3 Supra). The process of targeting audiences is also beneficial in enhancing museum staff's knowledge and familiarity of them.

6)

It is my recommendation that programmes should be designed allowing 'self' and 'other' to interact within a museum environment so that bridges can be built between them. Museums may be viewed as instruments of mass communication, where visitors learn about subjects and topics through the medium of museum objects (refer to Chapter 5). However, sometimes exhibitions are limited to telling a one-sided story despite efforts to be a 'post-museum' (refer to 5.5.1 Supra). It is difficult to represent totally multicultural views in museum exhibitions. More attention has been paid to museum events than to the alternative or additional learning methods of exhibitions. My thesis particularly paid attention to socio-cultural learning in museums, because it includes interaction between 'self' and 'other' (refer to Chapter 5). And my thesis examined a case study of a workshop in which visually impaired participants and sighted participants appreciated art objects together. The results of this research confirmed that the workshop enhanced mutual understanding, that is the understanding of others, differences, similarities and (re)discovery of self (refer to Chapter 7 and 8). Participants in the workshop learned how others gained knowledge. Unlike being taught by museum exhibitions and accepting museums professionals' opinions, participants obtained multicultural viewpoints. My questionnaire survey with qualitative analysis evaluated their attitude changes. When museum practitioners create workshops, it is necessary that they have a clear learning outcome in mind, which is to change museum visitors' attitudes towards the Other, by using socio-cultural learning with the Other.

9.4 Limitations of my study

During my study limitations were recognised and have been addressed in the main text. However, for clarity these are now presented together in this section. When considering my methodology, these potential issues include the small sample size (refer to 6. 3. 5 Supra) the mixture of methods (refer to 7.3 Supra), the apparent incompatibility of case study and questionnaire methods (refer to 7.3 Supra), and treatment of the questionnaire method as qualitative research (refer to 7.3 Supra) as well as potential concerns about the multidisciplinary nature of cognitive learning and socio-cultural learning (refer to 1.5.5 Supra).

With respect to my main fieldwork, issues include possible influence from my involvement and the choice of questionnaire respondents, together with the possibility of predisposition affecting results of my main fieldwork (refer to 6.3.5; 7.3.8 Supra).

Regarding my preliminarily fieldwork, the difficulty of gaining adequate quantitative survey data about social inclusion and museums, due to Japanese unfamiliarity with the issue of social inclusion (refer to 6.9; Chapter 2 Supra) and the confusion over the subject matter: 'disabled people' and 'visually impaired people' (refer to 6.3.5 Supra), raise potential concerns about the objectivity of these interviewees (refer to 6.3.3 Supra).

These issues were recognised and addressed at the relevant point within the thesis. As a researcher, it is important to recognise the limitations of one's work and appreciate that it could be extended under different circumstances and can be improved by further study. In the next section, certain recommendations are made for further work reflecting and building upon issues identified by my research.

9.5 Recommendations for further research

Constrains of time and length limited the scope of my research. Given more time, it could be extended to broader academic fields as well as further museum practice.

My first recommendation for further research is to undertake a bigger trial. Although the qualitative results arising from my case study were adequate for my research (refer to Chapter 7 and 8), a larger number of samples would supply better validation of my research result.

Secondly, following up the workshop participants and reviewing their experiences is recommended. My fieldwork research concluded that there were participants' attitudinal changes towards people with 'difference' (refer to Chapter 7 and 8). The workshop experiences also motivated participants to do something new. Follow up research is necessary to confirm workshop participants' long-term attitudinal change. Such further research could also investigate the long-term effect of museums' social role in social inclusion.

The third recommendation for further research, as well as museum practice, is widening the target audiences. 'Self' and 'other' is a fundamental relationship within society. In turn, 'other' can be anybody who has a 'difference' in society. The 'difference' varies, for instance, in terms of religion, gender, race, sexual difference, cultural and geographical differences, class and social differences, generation and so forth. Moreover, 'difference' also varies amongst disabled people depending on their experiences and their impairments (refer to Chapter 1 and 4). Therefore, future targeted audiences could be any sets or groups of people who have 'difference', or other groups of disabled people who have different types of disabilities.

Further inclusive activities can be developed, organising other types of programmes involving different forms of museum collections for bridging 'self' and 'other' following my theoretical study, methodology and model.

The final recommendation is conducting further fieldwork following my methodology but in different locations. My fieldwork was conducted in Japan; however, this workshop can be organised in any museum or gallery. The subjects of the museum exhibitions (in which the workshop is conducted) as well as the abilities and characteristics of participants can be various due to its a flexible structure. If the results are similar, it suggests that the model can be applied throughout the sector. Alternatively, if the result is dissimilar, it may reveal unique characteristics of an area or nationality. Either way, it is important to be 'thinking globally' and 'acting locally' as Corker and Shakespeare (2002: 15) recommended.

Additionally, my preliminary fieldwork can also be improved with further work. A relatively small sample of semi-structured interviews in my study was sufficient to obtain a general idea of Japanese museum practice towards disabled users. Yet, it may be useful to secure additional quantitative information. Moreover, although the lack of familiarity of the notion of 'social inclusion' in the Japanese museum world constrained my study, it may become a recognisable notion in the future. However, this was not the main focus of my research.

9.6 Conclusion

Together with my research question, 'can museums and galleries contribute to the creation of an inclusive society, enhancing the understanding of difference as well as self and other?', my aspiration was the development of a discourse about disability,

exclusion/inclusion, museum and 'self' and 'other' in the museum world. Secondly, I would hope that improvement in the museum world would be reflected in society in general. This was very challenging, as it required investigating the mechanism of exclusion, developing socio-logical learning models in museums and of *thinking* disability *sociologically*. However, all those challenges were inevitable in dealing with such in-depth and multidimensional issues.

My thesis successfully answered my research question as a 'qualified yes', and suggested a method of application. If my recommendation of six processes (refer to 9.3.2 Supra) is realised, and my inclusive model of the relationships between museums and the public (refer to 9.3.1; see Figure 16) exercised, museums and galleries can contribute to the creation of an inclusive society, enhancing the understanding of 'difference' as well as 'self' and 'other'.

My study particularly paid attention to museums and galleries' socio-cultural learning. My main fieldwork was set up firstly to obtain new information about socio-cultural learning found missing from existing literature. Secondly to demonstrate social inclusion practices in museums, which has the potential to initiate people's attitudinal change towards the Other or people with 'difference'; and thirdly to support my hypothesis and contribute answers to my research question.

My fieldwork data provided original information about socio-cultural learning with strangers, as well as socio-cultural learning with the Other (disabled people) (refer to Chapter 7 and 8). According to the results, museum workshop participants' interpersonal intelligence and intra-personal intelligence were enhanced during the workshop (refer to Chapter 7 and 8). Non-disabled (sighted) people's attitudes toward disabled (visually impaired) people changed through face-to-face socio-cultural learning with 'other'. They learned that 'we are all the same and different' (refer to

Chapter 7 and 8). This is the first step of inclusion, and my fieldwork suggested that socio-cultural learning in museums has a great potential to contribute to socially inclusive activity in any society. Thus, my thesis created new knowledge of socio-cultural learning with strangers as well as with the Other (refer to 8.3.5, 8.3.4 and 9.3.1).

Furthermore, my thesis contains further information and discussion regarding inclusion/exclusion, museums, disability, and visually impaired people. First, my thesis conducted an extensive literature review of each topic. To conduct this survey, my study successfully combined discussions within Disability Studies and Museum Studies. Second, it included a presentation of the contemporary social, cultural and political context of museums in Japan (refer to 3.2 Supra) as well as the contemporary social, cultural and political context of disability in Japan (refer to 3.3 Supra). Social policies and laws relating disability, disability movement, 'barrier-free' and 'Able Art Movement' were related topics that my research discussed (refer to Chapter 3). Third, it developed the ideological discourse of exclusion as well as a method of inclusion regarding 'self' and 'other' (refer to Chapter 4 and Chapter 5). Sociological discussions as well as museum communication and educational theories were introduced. Fourt, my thesis introduced the Symbolic Interactionism approach to Museum Studies. This created an explanation of the role museums need to assume to work effectively in society. This also explains what happened when museum workshop participants interacted with 'other'. Fifth, my thesis introduced current Japanese museum practice towards disabled users and visually impaired users, by conducting preliminary fieldwork of semi-constructed interviews. Sixth, my research examined the 'barrier-free' concept in Japanese society as well as in the Japanese museum world using both literature and fieldwork results (refer to Chapter 2, 3, and 8).

Considering the wide-ranging issues which my thesis involved, there are many possible contributions from my thesis. For example, my study may support museum professionals' advocacy of the usefulness of their museums to society. Second, my thesis may be of relevance to museum practitioners who already are carrying out social inclusion activities. Using my model of interactive learning as a protocol, they can theorise their practices and justify their socially inclusive museum programmes, helping 'mainstreaming' of the equality agenda inside museums (refer to 9.3.2 Supra). It may also contribute to museum visitors and professionals 'mapping disability' and sharing the perspective of the Other (refer to 8.4.2 Supra). Third, the practical application of my thesis may contribute towards the development of a method of art appreciation for visually impaired museum users. It could also contribute to the debate of whether visually impaired museum users can enjoy two-dimensional visual art without touching (refer to 8.4.3 and 2.5.3 Supra). Using the results of my thesis, museum professionals may counter the criticism of not offering tactile museum objects to visually impaired people.

Overall, this thesis investigated museums' social role as a tool for the realisation of a socially inclusive society, specifically looking at disability issues. Museums and galleries can connect people by providing an inclusive space, together with cultural objects. They can enhance the museum users' understanding of 'self' and 'other', by promoting an understanding of the mechanism of exclusion, methods of inclusion and which relationships they should work for. Socially inclusive society is not just for the 'minority' or the 'disadvantaged' but also about ourselves; the 'other' is a responsibility for 'us' all. Museums and galleries need to work towards enhancing the relationship between 'them' and 'us'. As the issue of social inclusion involves the cultural, social

and ideological perspectives of 'self' and 'other', an understanding of the system of exclusion was, therefore, essential. Without knowing this, a real understanding of inclusion cannot be gained. There is a danger that the practice of inclusive approaches in museums will only encourage a shallow acceptance of 'difference' or unequal attitudes of 'tolerance' towards 'other'. This research alone cannot hope to fully impact upon individuals' attitudes or indeed all museum policies and practices. However, my research did provide an answer to the research question and contributed to the development of a discourse about disability, exclusion/inclusion, museum and 'self' and 'other' in the museum world (Japanese, English and elsewhere). Furthermore, if this research persuades those who struggle to find 'self' or understand 'other', to think sociologically, that 'we are all the same and different' and that 'other' exists inside 'us', one of my aims for this thesis has been fulfilled. My aspiration is that my thesis will ultimately contribute to an improvement in social well-being, understanding, and celebration of 'difference'.

> The identity of the self is intimately bound up with the identity of the other (and vice-versa), that self and other are constantly in flux, and that they are both similar as well as different (Fay 1960: 233).

Appendix

Appendix 1: Questions in the interviews

Note that all interview responses were recorded fully in Japanese, but only selected content has been translated into English where relevant to this thesis. The audio recordings are available in the CD.

A) Able Art Japan, Yoshiyasu Ōta

Q.1) At present, Able Art Japan tends to lead museums. Do you think ideally museums should do this kind of activities, rather than you?
- If the answer is museums- why?
- If the answer is Able Art Japan or non museums- why?

Q.2) Do you have any idea why museums do not do these types of activities and play their social role proactively?

Q.3) Have you been contacted by other museums regarding this activity?

Q.4) What kind of reaction and feedback have you received from audiences and museums (people with disabilities and non- disabilities)?

Q.5) What kind of changes (museums, society, people with disabilities, people with non- disabilities) are you expecting through your (Able Art Japan's) activities?

Q.6) Are you going to work with museums?
- If the answer is yes -Why museums?

B) MAR, Hoshino Masaharu
B) MAR Shiratori Kenji
C) AXIS Gallery is not applicable)
D) Takayuki Mitsuhima in VIEW

Q.1) Why and how did you start this activity? Why did you undertake this task?
Q.2) Is the reason you commit to VIEW's activities because you agree with Able Art Japan's concept or do you have your own belief?
Q.3) Do you think it is better if art museums lead these sort of events [workshops looking at art works together with visually impaired people] or is it better that public groups do?
      - Museums- why?
      - MAR or VIEW (non museums)- why?
Q.4) Do you have any idea why museums did not do this type of activity proactively?
Q.5) Are you going to continue or add to this user friendly practice to people with disabilities proactively?
      - If yes, what kind of activities will you add in the future?
      - If yes, why do you think it is necessary; and for whom?
      - If no, why not?
Q.6) Have you approached other museums in order to work together or do you do this activity on your own as an independent?
Q.7) What kind of reaction and feedback have you received from the audience (people with disabilities and non-disabilities)?
Q.8) What kind of reactions and feedback have you received from museums?
Q.9) Is there any particular reason why you chose museums for your workshops, not other locations such as gardens, zoos and aquariums?
Q.10) Is there any change in your mind after seeing this exhibition in relation to yourself?
Q.11) What do you think of "Social model of disabilities"? Do you have any activities addressing this issue?
Q.12) I heard you were invited to join the American programme in which you and American artists collaborate and create the artworks together. Could you tell me about it?

E) Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum (TMAM), Hiroshi Matsuki

Background: In this interview, I could not record the interview, the reason being that the curator wanted to talk to me informally. Therefore, the script was written based on notes which I took during the interview. I also have attended the rehearsal for the special viewing day for people with disabilities (9th of September) (although I could not attend the special viewing day itself).

Q.1) I understand that the Special Viewing Day for people with disabilities started after the Able Art Exhibition. What has been changed after the exhibition in terms of the museum's policy?

Q.2) Is this activity only a temporary affair or is it now the museum's permanent policy?

Q. 3) Are there differences of opinions or hesitation inside museums towards the activities of social inclusion (or celebrating arts by people with disabilities)?

Q. 4) What do you think of "Social model of disabilities"? Do you have any activities addressing this issue?

Q. 5) When I checked the website, I could not obtain any information for the special viewing day for the disabled people. Why do you not publish this information on your website?
- Do you send information to the organisations and schools for people with disabilities?

Q.6) Have you been contacted by other museums regarding this activity?

Q.7) Do you intend to influence other museums proactively in terms of working for users with disabilities and playing a social role?

Q.8) Would you like to work with other institutions such as Able Art Japan, NPO, civilian, and other museums and galleries?

F) Setagaya Art Museum, Naoyuki Takahashi

Q.1) The events in Setagaya Art Museum were lead by Able Art Japan. Could you explain the background?
- Did do you want to involve NPO proactively or was it due to financial reasons?
- Visitors may think that these events are collaboratively created by you and Able Art Japan. Do you have any concern about that?

Q.2) Would you like to work with other institutions such as Able Art Japan, NPO, the public, and other museums and galleries?

Q.3) It seems difficult for the public to understand the relationship between the events entitled 'Public Society and Museums' and the exhibition.
- Is there any reason why you advertise them as related events for the exhibition?
- If you don't emphasise the relationship, could you tell me why?

Q.4) Did all members of museum staff support the idea that the events will be held in the Setagaya Art Museum? Did you aim to enhance the museums' social role to the public? Or are there any oppositions in the museum?

Q.5) Will you organise such events or exhibitions which emphases your social role?

Q.6) Can I ask some questions regarding disabled people? Are your comments in the exhibition catalogue based on the 'social model of disability'?
- Have you set 'social model of disability' or 'social inclusion' (although I did not use the term) as your museums' objective?

Q.7) Do you intend to influence other museums proactively in terms of working for users with disabilities and playing a social role?
- If yes, have you got any plans?
- If no, why?

Q.8) Have you receive any comments or expectations from both disabled and non-disabled museum users after dealing with disability art?

G) National Museum of Western Art (NMWA), Yōko Terashima

Q.1) Is there any difference in your museum after you became an Independent Administrative Institution (*Tokubetsu gyosei hojin)?*

Q.2) Do you have any examples of your museum playing a social role?

- What do you think of the "Social model of disabilities"? Do you have any activities addressing this issue?
- Do you have any facilities, training, exhibitions or policies etc for users with disabilities - physical access and psychological access?
- What do you think about social inclusion?
- You have many objects from western world, which may be useful to teach cultural differences. Do you have any activities or policies to address cultural differences using your objects?

Q.3) How do you find the co-operation between Able Art Japan and the Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum, such as having the special viewing day for people with disabilities?

Q.4) I know you welcomed the NOP's approach. Would you like to work with other institutions such as Able Art Japan, NPO, the public, and other museums and galleries?

Appendix 2: Methods of analysing data from interviews: sub-categories

Objectives

- To record a picture of Japanese museum practice supporting (or not supporting) visits of disabled people.
- To identify what kind of museum experience disabled visitors (visually impaired users) have in Japan.
- To explore attitudes amongst Japanese curators towards museum visits by disabled people.

Sub-categories found during indexing and cross-sectioning

Relating to current situations of Japanese museums
A- The social role of museums –1),4)
B- Museums need to change their bureaucratic natures and their attitudes towards disabled visitors and civilians –2),3)
C- Disabled people, as well as civilians, need to know their way of negotiation towards authority (museums) and society –2), 3)
D-1 Museums do not have expertise with disabilities –1)
D-2 Museums need special preparation (except attitudes) for inviting disabled visitors –1)
E- Other problems in museums –1), 2), 3), 4)
F- Museums need to take leadership of social inclusion activities (esp. disability issues, museums for People) – 2) ,3),4)
G- Suggestions and expectations for museums –1), 3), 4)
H- About Social Model of disabilities, Approach to social change –1), 3), 4)
I- Other organisations' approaches to museums' change –1), 2), 3), 4)
J- Problems and difficulties of collaboration between museums and other organisations –4)
K- The change after the collaboration –3)
L-1- You will continue to work with museums (to other institutions), with other institutions (to museums) –2), 3), 4)
L-2- Museums as centres of culture –4)
Relating to workshops – may be useful for the main fieldwork
M- Interaction between selves and others help understanding differences
N-1 Museum Access Group activities changed you
N-2 Museum Access Group can contribute to change attitudes (of people with and without disabilities) towards disabilities and society

Categories founded during open coding

1) Museums' involvement with disabled visitors and disabled artists.
2) Difficulties and problems in museum visits for visually impaired users.
3) Interviewees' recommendations addressing these problems.
4) Museums as a centre of culture and society.

Appendix 3: Questions in the workshop questionnaires

Q.1) Age
Q.2) Sex
Q.3) What do you do? (Student- in primary, junior high, high school, university, others, Housewife or Househusband, Unemployed, Part-time worker, Volunteer, Retired, Worker, Self-employed, Other)
Q.4) Are you interested in these? (Art, Art museum, Society, Welfare, Disability, Equality, Communication, Play, Community, Education, Volunteer, NGO, NPO)
Q.5) How often do you visit art museums, museums and/ or galleries? (I had never been, Almost never, Not often, Often (2, 3 times in a week, Once a week, Once a month, ….times a year)
Q.6) Other than the person who answered number 5 as "Often", why do you not visit
Q.7) What is the difference between seeing the exhibition alone and together with people?
Q.8) What do you think about how this workshop was organised?
Q.9) Is there any change in your mind after seeing this exhibition in relation to disabilities and non-disabilities?
Q.10) How different for you was this workshop from other museum events such as exhibitions, other workshops, discourses, symposiums, forums, guided tours?
Q.11) How do you feel about the fact that you looked at pictures with strangers?
Q.12) If you are a visually impaired person and have attended the Special Day for Disabled People, is there any difference between that day and this workshop?
Q.13) Is there any change in your mind after seeing this exhibition in relation to yourself?
Q.14) Please write freely.

Appendix 4: Matrix of the profile of participants who answered questionnaires

Place		Disability	Age	Sex	Job	Frequency	Interests
AXIS Gallery							
	A-1	S	3	F	FW	5	VA,AM, S, P
	A-2	S	3	F	FW	5	VA,AM
	A-3	S	2	M	S	5	VA,P
	A-4	S		F	U	7	VA,AM,C,NG
	A-5	S	2	F	O	5	
	A-6	S	1	F	S	7	ALL
	A-7	S	2	M	S	5	VA,D
	A-8	S	2	M	S	3	E,C,NG
	A-9	S	1	F	S	4	VA,R
	A-10	S	2	F		4	VA,P,C
	A-11	V	5	M	FW	2	VA, AM,S,W,D,E,R,P,Ed, NG
Setagaya Art Museum							
	S-1	V	3	M	FW	4	AM,S,W,D,R,P,V
	S-2	S	5	M	FW	7	VA,AM,W,D,E,P,Ed
	S-3	S	3	F	FW	7	VA,AM,S,W,D,Ed
	S-4	S	4	F	V	6	ALL
	S-5	S	3	F	S	5	ALL
	S-6	S	2	F	S	5	VA,AM,Ed
	S-7	S	2	F	S	5	VA,AM,W,D,Ed
	S-8	S	2	F	FW	4	VA,AM,S,W,D,R, C
	S-9	V	5	M	SE	5	VA,AM,W,R,P,C
	S-10	S	2	F	U	5	ALL
	S-11	V	4	F	U	5	AM,P
	S-12	S	4	F	SE	4	VA,AM,S,W,D,C,Ed,V,NG,NP
	S-13	S	4	M	SE	3	VA,S,W,D,E,R,P,C,Ed,V,NG,NP
	S-14	S	2	F	S	7	AM,S,R
	S-15	V	4	F	U,V	4	VA,AM,S,W,D,E,R,P,C,Ed,V
	S-16	S	4	F	V, FW	4	W,D,Ed
	S-17	V	5	M	FW, S	4	
	S-18	V		F	H	4	VA,AM
	S-19	S	1	F	S	2	

S-20	S	2	F	FW	6	VA,AM
S-21	S	3	F	O	2	W,D
S-22	V	3	F	S	3	W
S-23	S	4	F	O	3	VA,AM,S,W,D,E,R,P,C,Ed
S-24	S	3	F	FW	5	VA,AM,S,R,C
S-25	S	4	F		5	VA,S,D,R,Ed
S-26	S	3	F	FW	3	R,P,C
S-27	S	3	M	O	5	VA,AM,D,E,P,Ed
S-28	V	4	F	H	5	VA
S-29	V	5	F	H	5	W,D,E,R,P,C,Ed,V,NP
S-30	S	3	F	PW	5	VA,R,P,C,V,NP
S-31	V	5		FW	3	NG
S-32	S	2	M	S	5	VA,W,D,R,P,C,V,NP
S-33	S	4	M	FW	4	VA,Ed
S-34	V	7	M	U	1	R,P
S-35	S	3	F	PW	6	VA,AM,R
S-36	S	2	M	FW	5	VA,S,D,C,Ed,V,NP
S-37	S	1	F	S	6	VA,AM
S-38	S	2	F	FW	4	VA,W,D,E,R,P,Ed,V
S-39	S	2	F	FW	3	VA,S
S-40	V	3	F	FW	4	W,C,Ed
S-41	V	4	F	H,V	3	VA,S,W,D,E
S-42	S	3	F	FW	3	VA,AM
S-43	V	3	M	FW	2	VA,S,R,P
S-44	V	3	F	FW	3	
S-45	S	6	M	V,R, SE	7	
S-46	S	3	F	FW	5	VA,AM,R,C,NG,NP

Disability: V- Visually impaired, S- Sighted

Age: 1- Under 19, 2- 20 to 29, 3- 30 to 39, 4- 40 to 49, 5- 50 to 59,
    6- 60 to 69, 7- Over 70

Sex: F- Female, M- Male

Job: S- Student, H- House wife or husband, U- Unemployed,
    PW- Part time worker, V- Volunteer, R- Retired, FW- Full time worker,
    SE- Self employed, O- Other

Interests: VA- Visual Art, AM- Art Museums, S- Society, W- Welfare,
    D- Disability, E- Equality, R- Relationship & Communication,
    P- Play, C- Community, Ed- Education, V- Volunteering, NG- NGO,
    NP- NPO, ALL- All

Frequency of visiting museums:
    1-Never, 2- Rare, 3- Seldom, 4- several times a year, 5- once a month ,
    6- once a week, 7- 2 to 3 times a week or more

Appendix 5: Methods of analysing data from questionnaires: sub-categories

Objectives

- To investigate soft outcomes of the change in museum participants' attitudes and values towards the Other or people with 'difference' (in my case, people with visual impairments).
- To examine how attitudes changed (if at all) through socio-cultural learning, involving interaction, in a museum environment.
- To assess whether participants' interpersonal intelligence and intra-personal intelligence are developed through the workshops.

Sub-categories founded during indexing and cross-sectioning

Relating to Communication
A- Other people's opinions – 1)
B- They enjoyed communication – 1), 2), 3), 4)
C- Communication and different ways of looking at art works – 1), 2) (also see G)
Relating to Disability
D- Understanding disability, differences – 2)
E- Limitations – 2)
F- Encouragement – 2)
Relating to ways of looking at artworks
G- Communication and different ways of looking at art works – 1), 2) (also see C)
H- Different ways of looking at art works, new discovery –2), 4)
I- Difficulties –1), 2), 3)
Relating to Museum practices
J- Suggestions, practical advices or requests for improvement– 4)
K- Appraisal – 4)
L- Museums' closed image) – 4)
M- Differences from other museum activities – 4)
N- Communication, face-to-face interaction, equal, interaction – 1), 4)
Others
O- No response – 5)
P- Encouragement – 1), 2), 3), 4)
Q- Limitations – 4, 5)
R- Nervousness, difficulties – 1), 2), 3), 4)

Categories founded during open coding

1) Interactive communication
   a. Interactive communication with strangers; learning with strangers
   b. Knowing other people's opinions through interaction
   c. Knowing the self reflecting the interaction with others (strangers)
   d. Encountering 'strangers'; understanding 'others' reflecting 'self'
   e. (Re)discovery of 'self'
2) Different ways of looking at (seeing) artworks
   a. Discovery of the different ways of looking at (seeing) artworks
   b. Are they different? Are we the same?
   c. Who is 'us' and 'them' or 'self' and 'Other'?
3) Disabilities
   a. What are disabilities?
   b. What is it like having disabilities?
4) Museum practices
   a. Improving museums' closed images
5) Other issues

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