FOREWORD

Although this report substantially overlaps with the formal reporting to the AHRC, it forms a bridge between the end of project report and the production of an extended account in a forthcoming book. The authors wish to make it clear at the outset that this report presents the independent perspectives of the authors who were the investigators on the project and that it does not carry the endorsement of any Tate department. Furthermore, the title of the project and this published report, 'Tate Encounters: Britishness and Visual Culture', should not be confused with other Tate publications.

As we continue with the formal dissemination of the Tate Encounters research project, we are mindful that the project was originally formed in a political and economic landscape distinctly different from the one in which we now present this report. The Diasporas, Migration and Identities programme of the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) was being discussed amongst academics and researchers as early as 2003 and Tate Encounters was on the drawing board by 2005. The newly formed British Coalition Government of 2010 brought the era of New Labour to an end and has now called into question many of the cultural policies built upon its perspectives. Equally, the conclusion of the project coincided with the appointment of a new Director of Tate Britain, the creation of a new post of Director of Learning at Tate (marking the consolidation of Tate Modern and Tate Britain's Learning departments) and a newly designated post of Director of Audiences and Media.

As official positions change and new cultural policies emerge we are concerned that some of the findings of the research may well become oversimplified in their reception and could be enlisted in the dismissal of 'State Multiculturalism', because of the project's critique of instrumentalised cultural diversity policies. There is now a clear criticism from all sides of the cultural debate that highly instrumental approaches to cultural change have failed those who were intended to be enfranchised while leaving those who were puzzled about the need for change disinterested. On the larger question of whether future cultural policy should emphasise a mono or multi-cultural Britain, the picture remains for most muddled.

The larger argument of Tate Encounters attempts to develop a view of contemporary British culture which emphasises the importance of transculture, rather than multiculture, which is, we consider, a more useful position from which to think about Britain's cultural life and heritage. A more fully developed account of the research and this larger argument will be laid out in the forthcoming publication *Post-critical Museology: Theory and Practice in the Museum* (to be published by Routledge in 2012), but what this report aims to present is an interim account and analysis of

how cultural diversity policy was engaged with at Tate Britain. What this summary report hopes to demonstrate is that there is much to be learned from the more obvious limits and failures of the interface between policy and practice. The account offered here holds value for as long as there is interest in the ways in which audiences experience and understand the art museum, and indeed, the ways that Tate Britain understands its approaches to concepts and practices of audience as part of its remit as a nationally-funded institution.

To this end, the report outlines its findings not only in relation to the key questions of its original research proposal, but also as a contribution to future thinking about models of collaborative research practice focused on the relationship between the art museum and the wider social, cultural and public realm in which it is now firmly located and proactively engages with.

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Tate Britain Galleries tripditch

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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PROJECT OVERVIEW

Tate Encounters was an interdisciplinary and embedded project which took place between 2007–10 and was formed through a collaboration between Tate Britain, The Centre for Media and Culture Research at London South Bank University, and Wimbledon School of Arts, a constituent college of the University of the Arts, London.

The project used field methods drawn from Ethnography, Science and Technology Studies, and Visual Cultural Studies. It drew on expertise in Art History, Curatorial and Programming, Media and Cultural Studies and the Social Sciences. The project was an empirically grounded enquiry into national cultural diversity policies and practices and how they were negotiated within a national art museum. It posed a number of questions relating to the relative absence of visitors from Black and Minority Ethnic groups to Tate Britain, focusing in particular on policy, barriers to access, modes of spectatorship, notions of Britishness within the display of the National Collection of British Art, and how ideas of audience and viewer were held and brought into play by Tate staff in exhibition production.

During the fieldwork period the project enlisted the participation of over 600 first year undergraduates from London South Bank University, drawn from largely migrational and non-traditional educational backgrounds who visited Tate Britain and who responded to their encounter through questionnaires and essays. A group of twelve students subsequently took part in an in-depth, two-year study working with a visual anthropologist to explore their responses in encountering Tate Britain and were constituted by the project as 'co-researchers'. Undergraduate students are not normally thought of as being in a position to undertake original research; however, in the project's methodological embrace of reflexivity and a desire to establish democratic accountability in our ethnographic fieldwork, participants were invited, after a three month pilot project, to become project co-researchers through the submission of a project proposal which was discussed and signed off by the research team. The constitution of the co-researcher role was pivotal in establishing the dialogic and multiple voice structure of the fieldwork. It should be noted throughout this report that the project's designation of co-researcher is used by the authors as being synonymous with the research definition of art museum non-attendee, since by declaration they had no interest in being co-opted by the museum and did not understand their participation as an gallery education project. In this sense the co-researchers were voluntary research participants as might be found in many other qualitative studies.

An organisational study involving thirty-eight Tate employees also took place during the production of the Tate Britain exhibition, 'The Lure of the East: British Orientalist Painting' in 2008. The study took the form of anonymised interviews, recorded in written note form. Finally, the

project developed a month long public programme (Research in Process) of interviews, panel discussions and screenings in March/April 2009 at Tate Britain which brought together seventy-two contributors including Tate staff, artists, curators, educators, academics, policy-makers, marketing and new media specialists, and the project's co-researchers to discuss the research findings within the four key research strands: Gallery Education, New Media, Policy and Politics, and Spectatorship and Visuality.

INTRODUCTION

Tate is a public institution owned by, and existing for, the public. Tate's mission is to increase public knowledge, understanding and enjoyment of British, modern and contemporary art through the Collection and an inspiring programme in and well beyond our galleries. Everything we do – from the Collection we care for, to the exhibitions, displays and programme we present, to how we manage the organisation – is done to maximise value for the public.
TATE ONLINE 28.07.10

This report presents an account and key findings of the research project 'Tate Encounters: Britishness and Visual Culture' which was funded by the first national strategic research programme, 'Diasporas, Migration and Identities', of the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) from 2007–10.[1] While the project has and will continue to report in many different contexts and forms for different readerships, the aim of this report is to provide insights and understandings from which new thinking and discussions about museum audiences, and particularly art museum audiences, might usefully be forged for professional stakeholders.

At its most simplified level, the key problematic that Tate Encounters sought to address was the recognition across the UK museum sector and policy-making fields, that despite a significant increase in museum attendance over the preceding decade (supported by free access policies), and despite substantial financial investment by government in targeted education programmes, the demographic representation of minority audiences, primarily classified as 'Black Minority and Ethnic' (BME), remained disproportionately low.

The project also noted that despite a proliferation of commissioned research in this period, both by government and the museum sector, the majority of this research was necessarily limited in its scope and analysis by its instrumentalised nature, invariably framed by the strategic needs of evidence-based policy, contractual auditing, institutional advocacy, or marketing-led initiatives.

Identifying a new independent research opportunity presented by the AHRC, Tate Britain offered itself as a case study to pursue this problematic. An interdisciplinary team of researchers was established through a collaborative partnership with London South Bank University and the University of Arts, London, bringing together the Social Sciences with more conventional Humanities disciplines. From the outset the project identified the need to create a matrix framework of research strands and methodologies in order to develop a more sustained and institutionally inclusive interrogation of the practice and effect of museum

1 See Tate Encounters: Britishness and Visual Culture – Research Programme 2007–09 for an overview of the project. An online version can be accessed at http://www.tate.org.uk/research/tateresearch/majorprojects/tate-encounters/tate_encounters_programme.pdf

activity and policy-making focused on cultural diversity, curatorship and audience development.

As the Tate Online quote above asserts, Tate is committed to maximising 'value for the public', but as this report reveals, understandings of what constitutes 'value' and the 'public' within different practices of Tate Britain can often be fragmented, leading to potential lines of tension and contradiction in the museum's own articulation and mediation of its value and its engagement with the public. While the project was initially focused on 'minority' audiences, and can report in detail on the negative impact and effects of racialised cultural diversity policy, the research rapidly led to the much larger issue of how audiences per se are modelled by the museum, how 'difference' is understood in relation to concepts of 'core' and 'margin', and how increasingly complex relations operate between ideas of public, audience, visitor, viewer and learner.

Throughout the fieldwork period, the project consistently revised its path through the museum by following the questions and issues posed by a group of student volunteer participants from London South Bank University. This group of 'co-researchers' was both defined by the fact that they were the first generation of their families from migrational backgrounds to enter Higher Education and by their open, self-professed rejection of Tate Britain as holding any meaning or invested value to their cultural or social lives. As has already been noted from the analytical point of view the Co-researchers are treated as synonymous with museum non-attendees and whilst this theoretical 'move' remains problematic it is given methodological substance in what follows.

In tracing their encounter with Tate Britain, and following their own accounts of what Tate Britain meant in their daily lives outside of the museum environment, a complex account emerges of how intertwined the issues of identity, subjectivity and nationalism are with new forms of transmigration and globalization. Most significantly, though, is the evidence that these issues are not just framed or influenced by new forms of social media in the digital landscape, but rather that the digital has become and is the medium, the default visual currency, through which the visual is engaged and understood, whatever the environment. This is not to say, that the work of art was not valued as a distinct entity, indeed the students' attention to individual works of art was notable, both historical and contemporary, but the process of interpretation more often than not led out of the museum and away from its own hold on meaning-making and presentation.

Tate Encounters was conceived in what can now be understood as almost a different era, politically, culturally and socially. Its primary field of enquiry was a response to a decade of New Labour government policies in the cultural sector based on social cohesion, widening access and cultural diversity. Instead of thinking about cultural diversity in Britain in terms of a multicultural society, the research points to a new direction of

thinking about British culture as transcultural. This it is argued would take the debate beyond some of the recognised limits and contradictions of multiculturalism, most notably in multiculturalism's conception of British culture as based upon an homogenous and mono-cultural majority, which has been historically 'enriched' by racial or ethnic minorities.

Multiculturalism as politically received and as policy has so far reproduced a mythologised view of a British majority, which under any sustained scrutiny dissolves into a multitude of other groupings based upon historical circumstances, region, locale and socio-economic positions. In contrast, transculturality understands cultural value as being constantly in movement as people move across boundaries and borders of all kinds. To think of British culture as transcultural provides a contemporary starting point for new narratives of British cultural history and memory, which make more sense of the mobile conditions of the present. Whilst Tate Encounters was in its early stages primarily perceived as 'cultural diversity work', its larger findings point towards the need to recognize at both policy and organisational levels of management, the more immanent issues for the museum regarding not only the development but the potential retention of audiences in a society increasingly marked by transculturalism and transmigration – which, if current forecasts of global and local migration, together with social and technological developments of the internet prove correct, will only become more urgent.

Photo: Andrew Dewdney, 2006

The report aims to produce an account of the major findings and analysis of the research that is accessible and useful to professional museum thinking about audiences. This does not mean that the report aims to translate its qualitative narrative and theoretical analysis into a prescriptive account, nor directly make recommendations, which might appear to many as the most useful outcome of research. What the report aims to do for the sustained reader is engage them in dialogue about the existing and familiar modes in which audiences are understood and to do this in a way which interrupts, or suspends the time and space of everyday practical definitions in order to suggest new perspectives and paths of action. In this sense the report is presented as a discussion document, which, it is hoped, will be taken up and used in forums where there is a professional interest in developing new understandings of the museum's relationship to its existing as well as imagined audiences.

Photo: Sarah Thomas, 2008

1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

A   Cultural Diversity and Audiences: Policy and Practices

A1.   **Cultural Diversity Policy (CDP)**
For over a decade New Labour's policies on cultural diversity aimed to address the unequal relationship between different sections of British society in terms of cultural access and entitlement. The interpretation and management of these policies by the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) and Arts Council England (ACE) has revealed a conceptually reductive account of 'difference' with the unintended consequence of reproducing and reinforcing a model of British culture based upon a racialised policy which privileges 'Black, Minority and Ethnic' (BME) categories.

A2.   **Cultural Diversity Policy and Social Inclusion**
The promotion and implementation of cultural diversity policies and initiatives alongside those aimed at social renewal and social inclusion have conflated race (and to a lesser extent ethnicity) with economic and educational deprivation, producing an implicit model of 'deficit' culture against other equally implicit social and cultural norms, for those targeted by these policies i.e. BME.

A3.   **Targeting, Measurement and the Racialisation of Audiences**
In line with many museums, the primary strategic outcome of cultural diversity thinking at Tate Britain has been the adoption of targeting approaches. The practices of targeting are exclusively based upon a consumer and demand-led model of audience which invariably reproduces the division between the core and marginal audiences. The conflation of cultural diversity targeting with social demographic measurement provokes a needs-based approach in programming and encourages data gathering that demonstrates accessibility and inclusivity through its emphasis on the markers and status of difference between core and marginal audiences.

A4.   **Racialisation, Britishness and Identity Politics**
Government policy's interest in aligning discussions of cultural access and social inclusion in national museums with discourses of Britishness, when combined with racialised models of audience, reinforces notions of difference focused upon and engaged through the representational politics of identity.

A5.   **Deficit Models of Cultural Diversity and Learning Practices**
As a consequence of deficit modelling and in response to 'special' project funding, Learning practices in the museum have perpetuated the practices of BME targeting through the development of dedicated programmes and projects based on concepts of 'cultural need' and 'social compensation' reinforcing a form of cultural welfarism.

A6.   **Learning and Cultural Diversity Policy**
The research revealed that both within Tate Britain and for external stakeholders, cultural diversity as a concept, practice and policy has been organisationally managed at a distance from the museum's historical core purposes of acquisition and curatorship. This has been done in order to comply with funding and policy agreements focused on cultural diversity leaving curatorship both removed and isolated from knowledge practices that centre on diverse cultures and reinforcing distinctions between 'core' and 'marginal' audiences.

A7.   **Transnationalism**
The impact of global migration, especially to leading cities, is changing the social and cultural demographic of audiences, organisationally (mis) identified through racialised notions of 'difference' and social exclusion models. Cultural diversity policies and Tate Britain's policies are yet to develop an understanding of the relations between the local and global, and between BME and the international, as categories of future core audience, rather than as a marginal audience of needs.

A8.   **Transculturalism**
Culture is progressively moving along new and non-institutional and non-national lines of distribution, extending beyond the historical and expanding boundary of Europe and US characterised by conditions of mobility and transition, involving the spatial, material and virtual. Instead of thinking about cultural diversity in Britain in terms of a multicultural society, the research points to a new direction of thinking about British culture as transcultural.

B.   Practices of Audience, Viewers and Knowledge

B1.   **Multiple Networks of Audience Engagement**
The research revealed that Tate Britain has no unified conceptual schema that is shared across the organisation for knowing its audiences in qualitative terms, but that it has a number of selective networks within which the agency of different audiences are actively located. Despite Tate's strong and externally coherent brand, there is a high level of internal disconnection between brand values and models of audience engagement, primarily evidenced in and between the Curatorial, Marketing and Learning departments.

B2.   **Multiple Concepts of Audiences**
There is no single definition of audience operating within Tate Britain but rather various forms differentiated across the departments of Learning, Curatorial and Marketing (and Visitor Services), of which some are important to the core purposes of collection and acquisition, whilst others

are important to curatorial and public legitimation. This is most readily understood through the various terms used by different departments, all of which carry very specific sets of conceptual assumptions i.e. public, visitors, audience, ticketholders, viewers, consumers, etc.

B3.   **Restrictive Knowledge of Audiences**
The research evidence demonstrated that whilst the use of social demographics as a measure of audience informs Tate Britain of visitor numbers and types for the purposes of certain kinds of selective reporting, without a corresponding set of sustained qualitative measures, the museum has a highly limited and restrictive knowledge of its audiences and the value they place upon their experience through the meaning-making systems of interpretation they employ independently.

B4.   **Targeting**
In combining public policy minority targeting with the business models of segmented market targeting the potential to realise something for everyone exists, but only according to their existing means and values. That is to say, no significant change can be initiated if the social and cultural domain in which the existing categories operate remain in themselves unchanged.

B5.   **Knowledge of Audiences as Viewers**
At present there is only limited awareness and knowledge within the museum of the multiple and situated forms of knowledge that audiences bring to the museum as viewers gained through experience of being 'elsewhere'. Such knowledges have as yet little ways of being engaged, channelled and distributed across museological practices.

B6.   **Transculturalism and Audiences**
The research argues that any successful account of viewing in an art museum in a contemporary metropolitan setting will in future need to take into consideration transnational population flows that affect the form of the 'museum-going publics'. This is the nature of the transcultural under a new set of global conditions of the movement of peoples. An engagement with transnational as well as national population flows requires the museum to modulate its address, in particular reviewing its practices underpinned by notions of 'acculturation' and 'enablement'.

B7.   **Practices of Viewing and Digital Media**
The notional audiences of the museum held by museum professionals are being met, if not outplayed, by notional versions of the museum held by remote, online audiences. This is something of an unacknowledged role reversal of the cultural traffic flow in which the symbolic value of art perpetuated by museum is being challenged by the cultural value of the public sphere.

B8.   **Audiences and Transmediation**
The ethnographic studies undertaken by the research point to the fact that valued material cultural artefacts, including works of art, are given meaning and interpreted through subjective narratives arising from the life-worlds of subjects. The research argues that there is much to gain by the museum in understanding works of art as part of a globally mediated circulation of images in print and digital forms. Transmediation is the product of the convergence of media in digital forms. All of us are involved in acts of transcoding when we move between and across differently produced media.

B9.   **Audiences and the Transvisual**
The research response to the question of the relationship between identity and viewing works of art moved away from notions of identity as fixed by race or ethnicity and towards ideas that viewing works of art is a relational process involving cultural and media transcoding of various kinds. Transcoding is a form of (visual) literacy in which the subject is able to convert, or translate, the meanings derived in one medium to another and hence is part of the larger concept of transmediation. The now default processes of transmediation which arise in a global mediatised world, taken together with what is identifed as the subject position of the transcultural produces what the project defines as the transvisual, which it characterises as a new mode of seeing.

B10.   **Knowledge Practices, Cultural Authority and the Distributed Museum**
The traditional cultural authority of art is conventionally maintained by a combination of the privileging of a model of aesthetic response together with a view of the objects of collection as having some form of inherent, fixed and potentially universal meaning which is explained by experts and validated by custodial practices. The research argues from its qualitative evidence that this dominant form of cultural authority is challenged by the new conditions of transvisuality outlined above. Traditional art historical and museological cultural authority is in danger of becoming a diminishing interest for an increasingly small cultural minority, whilst the expanding practices of transcoding of images is bringing about the online distributed museum.

B11.   **Modernism, Cultural Authority and Britishness**
The cultural authority of Tate rests upon the intellectual framework of European Modernism and its Internationalist extensions. It is based upon art historical scholarship and curatorial expertise. Modernism informs the aesthetic of the museum and the logic of the display of the collection. Modernism's view of audience is that it can be engaged through creative learning. However, the aesthetic trope and viewing positions of Modernism come into tension with the pre-Modern historic British collection, because its logic makes sense of works in terms of the historically progressive aesthetic canon, rather than in terms of social and historical contradictions of capital, labour and colonialism. Maintaining the dominant cultural authority of Modernism renders the pre-modern historical collection in terms of a non-contradictory British heritage. In contrast, the distributed forms of cultural authority which arise with the transvisual start from a

work's contingent relationship to the present and hence develop notions of value based upon recognition and difference which mark the limits as well as presenting a challenge to the Modernist paradigm.

B12.   **Modernism and Transmediation**
Further research is required in applying the concept of transmediation to studies of visitor experiences. Such research does not lie within the scope of the disciplines of Art History and Museology which have so far provided an inadequate means of accounting for contemporary spectatorial practices in an art museum, nor the expanded visual field of the everyday. At Tate Britain, for example, there is a clear line of tension between the 'contemporary', which immediately suspends an art historical account and leans towards a cultural studies interpretative paradigm. The consequence of this unresolved equation for Tate is that it reproduces yet another binary between contemporary lived culture and modernist art, which places learning/interpretation at the never to be resolved public interface between Marketing and Curatorial as the public translators.

C.   Research Practice and Collaboration

C1.   **Museum and Academy**
Within the narrative of change contained in the research findings there is a strong critique of the historical separation between critical theory produced in the academy and aimed at the museum, and professional practice carried out in the museum. This separation is particularly noticeable across the areas of discourse of Post-colonialism, Cultural and Policy Studies, and Museology. The research argues that this set of institutional demarcations is a guarantee of the reproduction of separate spheres of influence that limits both the objects of critical knowledge and value and the meaning of critical knowledge within the fields of professional practice.

C2.   **Collaborative Research**
Collaboration is often cited as a common model of research practice when in fact practices only meet and work 'in partnership' retaining their specific paradigms and models. In relation to problem-solving research this limits the potential to arrive at new knowledge towards practice-based solutions limited as it is to knowledge-transfer rather than knowledge-exchange which awards equal consideration and responsibility to all bodies of knowledge assembled to engage usefully with the research questions and problems at hand.

C3.   **Practice-led and Embedded Research**
Practice-led research, when combined with reflexive methodologies and interdisciplinary approaches, reunites theory and practice to provide grounded insights that acknowledge and incorporate an understanding of the contingencies of everyday work practices and the complexities of organisational imperatives. Participation in this emergent research

process also creates change in and of itself for participants and the wider organisation who in conventional research methods are usually constructed as the object of research rather than as constituent subjects. This increases not only accountability and transparency of the research process but generates greater forms of ownership of the knowledge produced enhancing the capacity for change. (To this end, the project established at the outset both an independent online archive – at the co-researchers' request – of the project's data which can be accessed at www.tateencounters.org and a series of online [E]ditions that included material generated by the co-researchers, working papers and interviews with Tate staff and can be accessed on the Tate website www.tate.org.uk/research/tateresearch/majorprojects/tate-encounters/editions.)

C4.   **The Value of the Transdisciplinary**
Collaboration is often aligned with interdisciplinary practices which allows insights across disciplines to be brought to bear on a subject. Interdisciplinarity, however, does not question the epistemological assumptions of each discipline and in the context of Tate Encounters the starting point was a recognition of the existing limits of certain disciplines and academic studies to usefully influence or engage with the museum. In developing transdisciplinary practices which forced each discipline and area of expertise into a new discursive and practical relation with each other and with the research subject, the project developed more complex forms of data analysis beyond the conditions of cause and effect and the conventional end-results of 'recipe knowledge' of applied research.

C5.   **Post-critical Museology**
In consideration of the analyses arrived at through the research methodology and outcomes of the project, Tate Encounters proposes a new practice and perspective it has termed Post-critical Museology which has developed from the contrast between the conditions of the production of knowledge of the museum established by the project's own embedded, transdisciplinary, action-orientated collaborative approach and that of other traditional research approaches in which the formal division between the academic research community and the object of research is reproduced.

Photo: Tate Encounters, 2008
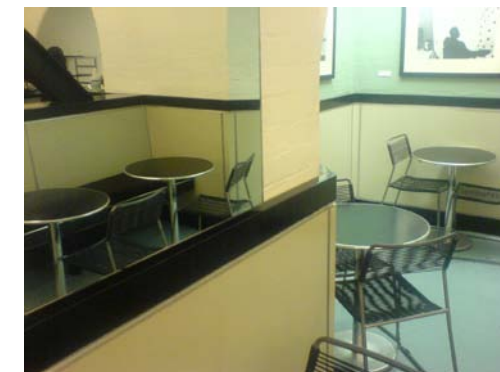
2. CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND AUDIENCES: POLICY AND PRACTICES

2.1   Racialisation, Multiculturalism and Cultural Diversity Policy

Video Still. 'Whirlwind and Millbank'. Tate Encounters 2009

For over a decade New Labour's policies on cultural diversity aimed to address the unequal relationship between different sections of British society in terms of cultural access and entitlement. The interpretation and management of these policies by the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) and Arts Council England (ACE) has revealed a conceptually reductive account of 'difference' with the unintended consequence of reproducing and reinforcing a model of British culture based upon the racialised policy category of 'Black, Minority and Ethnic' (BME).

Cultural diversity policy written from or interpreted through an uncritical racialised view of difference reinforces a regressive view of culture. A racialised view of British culture reinforces an image of a predominantly indigenous White population who share a common heritage and contemporary ethnicity, constituting a distinctly 'British way of life'. Cultural diversity policy was developed to redress the limits of this historical view of Britain as a White monoculture, by recognising that continuing historical migration to Britain had brought about a multi-culture. Multicultural policies and perspectives have sought to recognise and value the contribution to British society of particular migrant communities. In seeking to include historically settled migrant groups as a valued part of British culture, however, State Multiculturalism has collected migrational groups into distinct minorities within the majority culture, who are still identified by racial or ethnic characteristics.

With the expansion of the European community from the 1990s and new patterns of transnational migration, linked with increased globalised economic activity, the limits of British multiculturalism are now being revealed. Multiculturalism was a necessary response to the post-colonial, inward and regressive attitudes of post-war British culture which developed

throughout the 1970s and 80s, particularly in response to the rise of the Fascist British National Party. However, the limits of multiculturalism come starkly into view because in supporting cultural development based upon cultural minorities it unwittingly reproduces a dominant definition of a coherent majority. Such thinking is the basis for all policy discussions that conceive of culture as having a core and margins.

2.2   Cultural Diversity Policy and Social Inclusion

Video Still. Search: A Journey with Deep Rajput. Directed by Sarah Thomas.
Tate Encounters. 2009

The promotion and implementation of cultural diversity policies and initiatives alongside those aimed at social renewal and social inclusion have conflated race (and to a lesser extent ethnicity) with economic and educational deprivation, producing an implicit model of 'deficit' culture for those targeted by these policies defined by the policy category of Black, Minority and Ethnic.

An extensive literature review was conducted prior to and during the research period. From this body of reading the research summarised key developments relevant to the questions being asked specifically in the area of diversity policy and practice. From this the research concluded that cultural diversity policy emerged to address a perceived problem of the lack of inclusion of sections of society who do not participate in publicly funded culture. As such it has become inextricably conflated with the political concern for social cohesion, interpreted through social inclusion and widening participation policies directed at the emergence of what was frequently termed a new British 'underclass' from the 1980s, who were perceived as non-engaged from the work force and not in education or training.

An unforeseen outcome of diversity and inclusion policies was the reproduction of a deficit model of cultural engagement, invariably based on the concept of an established culturally literate elite, 'the 'core' of museum audiences. In the modelling of social categories of society defined as excluded and characterised by cultural lack (working class, black and minority ethnic culture), the question is left unanswered as to what constitutes the culture of plentitude represented by the museum, that is to say, what cultural value does the museum produce or exchange?

2.3 Targeting, Measurement and the Racialisation of Audiences

Photo: Tate Encounters, Mary Ampomah and her daughter. Tate Britain. 2009

In line with many museums, the primary strategic outcome of cultural diversity thinking at Tate Britain has been the adoption of targeting approaches. The practices of targeting are exclusively based upon a consumer and demand-led model of audience which invariably reproduces the division between the core and marginal audiences. The conflation of cultural diversity targeting with social demographic measurement provokes a needs-based approach in programming responses and encourages data gathering that demonstrates accessibility and inclusivity through its emphasis on the markers and status of difference between core and marginal audiences.

The policy of targeting individuals and groups according to BME categories has been adopted nationally in order to produce positive cultural change through monitoring, but structurally, it reproduces racialised thinking. Whilst the intentions that lie behind targeting strategies reflect a democratic impulse – equality in access and participation – the outcomes and effects are limiting precisely because the category reproduces the division between BME and everything that it is not. Thus constituting people according to a target is to reproduce their marginal status and can produce no lasting transformation of knowledge, imagination or creative practice.

The policy of targeting has a limiting consequence in looking to the private sector practices of commercial marketing. Here the language of marketing also shares the tactics employed to segment and target different sections of a market in order to maximise sales, which has been imported into cultural organisational thinking. The problem with the concept of a segmented market for culture is that it reduces the relationship of active creative communication to that of product and consumer in which the market decides and divides according to the principle of exchange.

When public policy minority targeting is combined with the business models of segmented market targeting something is produced for everyone, but only and precisely as separated segments, and reproduced according to the existing social divisions of means and values. There is no coming together

here, no new mingling of cultures, nothing of the social and cultural body is impacted. The market relation to audience prevents the museum from engaging with or identifying the potential for new knowledge and understanding of the very groups and individuals that are being sought within the practices of audience development.

The research argues against the value to museums of quantitative methods of data gathering on the basis of established socio-demographic categories. Demography is an important tool for producing macro views of the social body and for gauging and predicting change. The problem for this research was not with demography itself, but with the naturalisation of the categories used to gather information about race and ethnicity. For the research race is a highly questionable term, which needs to be disaggregated from other categories related to social groups, communities, individual identity, nationality and countries of origin. Without separating these elements the category of race, Black and Asian being the prime example, collapses human difference into an all embracing 'other' in which the normative social body is reaffirmed. The problem then for quantitative research using these categories is simply that they are measuring and quantifying something whose existence is questionable or something that tells you little about the nature or motivation of attendance at the museum.

2.4 Racialisation of Audiences and the Politics of Identity and Representation

Photo: Tate Encounters. Tracey Jordan. 2008

Targeting practices are reinforced and perpetuated by the short-term wins of programmes and exhibitions that are aimed at audiences on the basis of racial, and to a lesser extent ethnic, difference. In setting up this correlation

between art and audiences based on racial similarities, cultural diversity is understood to rest predominantly within the confines of representational practices based on skin pigmentation rather than on cultural or social capital that is understood to be the normative currency of attendance for core audiences. The conversion of these one-off audiences into members of the 'core' audience remains therefore an elusive objective for the museum.

Furthermore, in restricting the apparent interest of minority audiences to representations marked by racial difference, a further slippage is made into the working assumptions that such audiences are characterised by comparatively fixed identities rooted in cultures outside of the national culture, however complex the latter is understood to be. While audiences of racial difference may indeed be interested in representations of difference, the point is that this is not the only area of interest, and is neither necessarily of lesser or greater interest than to those not defined by markers of difference.

From the outset of the project and throughout the fieldwork period, the student co-researchers not only readily identified and resisted the culture of targeting but assertively rejected being exclusively positioned by the museum in relation to identity categories constructed around race and ethnicity. This was demonstrated through their own data generation and ethnographic films which insisted on a recognition of the fluidity of identity and the primacy of subjectivity in relation to forging meaning in and through the visual.

As the students' auto-ethnographic research also revealed, this emphasis on the fluidity of identity arose out of patterns of transmigration and greater movement within the expanded European Union that were distinct from the patterns of migration that essentially underpinned the formation of UK cultural diversity policy, i.e. that of post-war migration from the Caribbean and South Asia.

2.5   Britishness, Identity Politics and Modernism

Government policy's interest in aligning discussions of cultural access and social inclusion in national museums with discourses of Britishness, when combined with racialised models of audience, reinforces notions of difference engaged through the representational politics of identity.

While the politics of identity and representation were actively pursued as part of the project of multiculturalism in the 1980s and 1990s, framed and informed by the debates of Post-colonialism of interest to a generation defined by post-war migration from the Colonies, third generation migrational peoples resist concepts of fixed identity, and demonstrate a significant shift towards concepts of fluid subjectivity and cultural hybridity. The conflation of Cultural Diversity Policy and social inclusion with discourses of Britishness and Identity reinforces notions of fixed identity

Video Still: 'A Bit Hamalainen'. Aminah Borg-Luck. Tate Encounters:. 2009

based on outdated modes of representation of difference that take no account of new transnational flows.

Tate Britain occupies a special position within the discourse of Britishness on three terms. Firstly, since its renaming in 2000 as 'Tate Britain' its association with the nation-state is inscribed into its institutional profile which, secondly, is confirmed by its institutional status as a national museum. Thirdly, it houses and continues to acquire 'on behalf of the nation' works of art that constitute the National Collection of British Art. Although Tate Britain itself adopts a highly fluid and flexible use of the term British in its authorial provenancing of works (e.g. artists in the collection are not necessarily British-born, but may have spent the most part of their careers in Britain), and its exhibition programme incorporates artists outside of any obvious categories of British, identification with the representation of Britain through the displays and exhibitions programme is forged for viewers and understood through the first three terms. As a direct consequence the Britishness of Tate Britain has commanded attention within recent debate about participation in and ownership of British culture.

In seeking to answer its original research questions about how narratives of Britishness are constructed in the displays of Tate Britain, Tate Encounters was rapidly led by the Co-researchers towards the debates being generated by governmental promotions of policies around Britishness, national identity and citizenship in relation to the changing context of European and global migration. In the Tate Encounters' case the uncertainty about national representation was framed in terms of the unresolved politics of multiculturalism, specifically policies on cultural diversity, directed towards the achievement of greater social inclusion and widening participation in culture. In this respect Tate Encounters was founded within and had a remit to produce understandings of how migration and migrational cultural experience enmeshed with the culture of Tate Britain. (This parameter was also defined within the AHRC Diasporas, Migration and Identities programme specification.)

The research found that students categorised as 'other' than white British, rejected and resisted racialised categories and do not see themselves as representative of personal identity or social behaviour. Further they reject fixed notions of identity and embrace more fluid modes of subjectivity based upon transmigration. This would seem to suggest that as an audience they demand a more complex presentation of Britishness than is current, one which would reflect and embrace the importance of subjectivities, cultural hybridity and the transcultural.

One further finding was the extent to which the mono-cultural narrative of Modernism, with its appeal to the aesthetic autonomy of the work of art and the emphasis on aesthetic experience contained within the work of art per se came into conflict for the Co-researchers with the perceived narratives of nationalism which delimited discussion not only of the social and cultural history of British art, but more the wider global history of transmigration revealed in contemporary exhibits. In addition, the sophisticated readings of works of art which were put forward by the Co-researchers clearly demonstrated a familiarity with claims for the aesthetic integrity of the works, but highlighted their individual choices to interpret the works in relation to an expanded field of visual culture unrecognised by the museum's own forms of interpretation. Again, this was not presented as a suggestion for the need of revisionist histories (or narratives of Post-colonialism), but rather for more complex accounts of visual culture and meaning-making within the museum.

Rebecca Cairns. Co-researcher.
Tate Encounters. 2009

2.6 Learning Practices and Cultural Diversity Policy

As a consequence of deficit modelling and in response to 'special' project funding, Learning practices in the museum have perpetuated the practices of BME targeting through the development of dedicated programmes and projects based on concepts of 'cultural need' and 'social compensation' reinforcing a form of cultural welfarism. The research revealed that both within Tate Britain and for external stakeholders, cultural diversity as a concept, practice and policy has been organisationally managed at a distance from the museum's historical core purposes of acquisition and curatorship.

As the 10th anniversary celebrations of Tate Modern have shown, Tate has been immensely successful in attracting over 45 million visitors over the last ten years. Over this period of increased interest in the visual and contemporary arts, the problem has been not the lack of visitors, but of who those visitors are and what value they create. 45 million visitors is a substantial demonstration that the art museum of the 21st century is a great success and that concern about those who do not attend the museum should be understood as the confined, almost technical interest of gallery educators and community outreach programmes, whose remit and often funding is specifically tied to targeted groups. In most respects the research of Tate Encounters found this to be the overriding and naturalised view when raising questions about the composition of audiences.

Taking up significant new sources of funding made available by central and local government, and charitable trusts and foundations, for targeted programmes, Learning has been selectively drawn upon as a service-provider to engage at the local level to offset funding and policy agreements focused on cultural diversity, leaving curatorship both removed and isolated from knowledge practices focused around diverse cultures. In trying to reach 'excluded groups' many successful Learning projects have been realised – and many qualitative accounts of individual change exist – but there is no quantitative or qualitative evidence that over a decade of such initiatives has impacted on the social or cultural composition of Tate Britain's 'core' audiences.

Much of the data in relation to the practices of Learning was gathered during the organisational study of the planning and delivery of the 'Lure of the East: British Orientalist Painting' exhibition at Tate Britain in 2008. This exhibition was identified for practical reasons in that it coincided with the fieldwork period of Tate Encounters. This is a point to be noted, in that in many respects the exhibition presented a particularly single and resonant account of Tate Britain's cultural diversity engagement due to the nature of its subject and relationship in art historical terms with revisionist concerns arising out of theories of the Post-colonial, and specifically the writings of Edward Said and his seminal work 'Orientalism' (1978). A further highly specific context in which the exhibition also became entailed was

the political and cultural aftermath of the London bombings of July 2005 that led to a realignment by New Labour of cultural diversity policies and discussions of multiculturalism and national identity with Islamic culture and Muslim communities.

Direct association with central government policies on cultural diversity and social inclusion were concretely linked, however, to the policies and practices of cultural diplomacy through the partnership with the British Council who worked with Tate Britain to support the touring programme of the Lure of the East along with the funding of a three-year Learning programme, 'Nahnou Together', which brought young people from London and Damascus together culminating in a display that ran alongside the Lure of the East when on show in London.

The organisational study revealed in detail and highlighted how different knowledges were called upon to both deliver against competing agendas of income generation through ticket sales to the core audience and audience development targets and aspirations (in this instance Middle Eastern and Arab audiences) while also maintaining and addressing issues of cultural sensitivity framed by Said's arguments alongside the more immanent context of political and cultural discourses on the Middle East. In practice, this was most explicit in the discussions around the poster image for the exhibition which fluctuated between drawing on the aestheticisation of the Orient, and less decorative idealised images of the 'other'. Further lines of tension also emerged in relation to the interpretation for the exhibition, which equally had to negotiate mediating the art historical discourse of the curatorial project of the exhibition with the contemporary cultural context in which the viewer would engage with the works.

2.7   Organisational Management and Cultural Diversity Policy

At Tate Britain cultural diversity was interpreted across the networks as a problem to be managed and solved. It was understood to be the absence of the visual presence of diversity which is most obviously found in the visible markers of difference. In Marketing and Learning this 'otherness' was translated into the missing BME audience. In acquisitions, cultural diversity was seen as the problem of the missing artworks from Black British artists in the collection. In staff development it was seen as the problem of the missing black and minority ethnic employees in the upper levels of expertise and management. Cultural diversity was therefore not seen in terms of there being anything wrong with or needing to change either the direction of cultural flow, nor with the networks which keep it going, but rather in the demographics of people and objects. The right statistical mix would, the argument presupposes, produce successful cultural diversity.

This argument, however, rests on the limits of a specific discourse of narrow representational cultural politics, based upon the principle of demonstrating equality of opportunity in action, which, as the research indicates underlies much of the thinking about the implementation of cultural diversity policies. From this perspective, cultural diversity policy in practice at Tate Britain, and within the central core departments that cross, produces a set of institutional aims and targets that need to be audited and managed. But while departmental aims of recruitment or collection representation may seek to 'fill the gaps', a connected context of change remains problematic as it conflates skills, knowledge, practice and artworks to a single commonality of difference.

2.8   Transnationalism

The impact of global migration, especially to cities, is changing the social and cultural demographic of audiences, organisationally (mis)identified through racialised notions of 'difference' and social exclusion models. Cultural diversity policies and Tate Britain's policies are yet to develop an understanding of the relations between the local and global, and between migration and the international, as categories of future core audience, rather than as a marginal audience of needs.

All of the project's early engagements with voluntary student participants pointed to the fact that they resisted being addressed through and constituted by race and ethnicity categories. In addition the one criteria of participation, that they or their family must have migrated to Britain, had produced a wide set of migrational journeys. Our voluntary participants had family ties and roots from Malaysia and Bangladesh in the East, through Latvia, Ukraine, Norway, Finland, Poland, into mainland Europe, Eire, Spain, Nigeria, Ghana and on to the Caribbean in the West. All the engagement with participants on the project indicated that the social categories and thinking, which developed with the patterns of post war migration to Britain from the Caribbean and South Asia, no longer fitted with the reality of global migration for an aspirational group in education.

2.9   Transculturalism

Culture is progressively moving along new and non-institutional lines of distribution, extending beyond the historical and expanding boundary of Europe and the US characterised by conditions of mobility and transition, involving the spatial, material and virtual. Instead of thinking about cultural diversity in Britain in terms of a multicultural society, the research points to a new direction of thinking about British culture as transcultural.

The research synthesis reached in this report highlights the importance of the crossing and recrossing of intellectual as well as cultural and spatial boundaries which is signalled by the prefix of 'trans'. The transcultural, for example, speaks more to the experience of global mobility, whether upward, outward or errant, than that of the older terms of migration, immigration and settlement. Transculturality changes the terms of cultural identities worked out within and in relationship to post-war settled British migrant communities.

It is the considered conclusion of this report that the meaning of transculturality represents a challenge to the dominant curatorial tropes of Tate Britain, both that of international modernism and historical Britishness. Global mobility and the transcultural are useful new starting points for working away from both established curatorial epistemes and existing social classifications. The adoption of the transcultural fundamentally changes the social models built into social demographic categories and challenges the metaphor of margin and core. The 'trans' of the transmigration opened up for the research analysis new ways of thinking about visuality as well as mediation which we have reconceptualised in terms of transmediation.

In acknowledging the fluidity of transculturalism, it is possible to move the debate beyond some of the recognised limits and contradictions of multiculturalism, mostly notably in multiculturalism's conception of British culture as based upon an homogenous and mono-cultural majority, which has been historically 'enriched' by racial or ethnic minorities. In contrast transculturality understands cultural value as being constantly in movement as people move across cultural boundaries of all kinds.

Tate Encounters Research Team and LSBU student Co-Researchers, Research-in-Process. Duveens Studio,Tate Britain, April 2009.

From left to right. Back row: Patrick Tubridy, Laura Kunz, Tracey Jordan, Robbie Sweeny, Adekinle Detokunbo-Bello, Mary Ampomah, Deep Rajput, Nicola Johnson Oyejobi, Aminah Borg-Luck. Front row: Cinta Esmel Pamies, Jacqueline Ryan, Dana Mendonca

3. PRACTICES OF AUDIENCE, VIEWERS AND KNOWLEDGE

3.1   Multiple Networks of Audience Engagement

Photograph. Patrick Tubridy. Tate Encounters 2009

The research revealed that Tate has no unified conceptual schema that is shared across the organisation for knowing its audiences in qualitative terms, but that is has a number of selective networks within which the agency of different audiences are actively located. Despite Tate's strong and externally coherent brand, there is a notable level of internal confusion between brand values and models of audience engagement, primarily evidenced in the Curatorial, Marketing and Learning departments.

The organisational structure of Tate and other museums is based upon and reflects a hierarchy of taste and viewing, which travels in one direction only, in the Modernist case, from the vision of the artist, the intermediary of the dealer and private collector, through the authority of the expert curator and historian and hence to an assortment of departments whose job it is to manufacture the audience through marketing, publicity, media and learning.

3.2   Multiple concepts of Audiences

There is no single definition of audience operating within Tate Britain but rather various forms differentiated across the departments of Learning, Curatorial and Marketing (and Visitor Services), of which some are important to the core purposes of collection and acquisition, whilst others are important to curatorial legitimation and public access. This is most readily understood through the various terms used by different departments, all of which carry very specific sets of conceptual assumptions i.e. public, visitors, audience, ticketholders, viewers, consumers, etc.

One of the key insights that the organisational study also made visible was the extent to which tensions between Learning and Marketing emerge around practices aimed at developing audiences. As analysis of the various data sets revealed the initial impression that a stable and coherent understanding of 'audience' existed within the work practices of Tate Britain began to break down beyond the binding ethos of the Tate brand and institutional rhetoric to reveal highly differentiated sets of thought and practice across the departments of Marketing, Learning and Curatorial. For Marketing, which holds arguably the most influential and powerful position within the institution in terms of audience development, courtesy of the significant responsibility it carries to deliver income generation targets and audience numbers, audiences are constructed as consumers, simultaneously defined by socio-economic and biologised categories, and targeted through approaches informed by market research analyses of motivational attendance that form the segmentation models of marketing technique.

Notably, Marketing's concept of audience functions symbiotically with concepts of the 'public' which is essentially defined in relation to the levels of social and cultural capital held by what constitutes the 'core' audience of Tate Britain. Given that the core is predominantly identified as white, middle-class, middle-England, with a higher representation of females, its counterpart, the margin, is subsequently framed as everything that is other and different to the core. In this closed circuit of relations between consumer, audience and public, and between networks of social of cultural value. Marketing's assumed ownership of the relationship with the public within the museum often creates tension between counter-circulating ideas of the public and audience circulating in other departments. This is particularly marked around projects and programmes that are perceived by Marketing as 'cultural diversity work', or more operationally understood as 'audience development', when racialised categories of market targeting are brought into direct play with the programming and work of the Learning department.

In contrast to the 'public' and 'audience' of Marketing, the Learning department's networks of audiences is rooted in the affirmative experience of direct 'face to face' encounters with audiences at the level of individual subjectivities. In attempting to engage with a more critical and democratic sense of cultural hybridity and heterogeneous diversity in the public body

of the museum audience, Learning projects and initiatives invariably seek to link the aesthetic agenda of the exhibition with political and social values at play in the reception of the works and, indeed, within the curatorial argument of the exhibition as a whole. At the level of practice, this is secured by educational and interpretation practice through the engagement and representation of alternative voices and additional, if not alternative knowledge frames, than the aesthetic. In the case of 'Lure of the East: British Orientalist Painting' this involved inviting public figures from different professional arenas (journalism, academia, literature, music, etc) to produce extended labels for individual works of art in order to splinter the museal voice of cultural authority and to engender a more critical and active viewing relationship.

At one level, the practice of interpretation (producing wall panels and texts) reveals itself not only in the Lure of the East, but more generally, as the most problematic within a network of communication, as connections are made and broken between the circulation of meaning played out by the work of art through the various practices of Marketing, Curatorial and Learning. As the interviews with curators revealed, audience is also a highly elusive concept in curatorial practice, although there is a very precise set of practice-based beliefs and understandings that the fundamental curatorial objective is to produce a pleasurable visual experience in which the work of art is enhanced through equally interpretative practices of exhibition design for the benefit of the viewer through the choice of wall colour, lighting, and spatial arrangement.

This emphasis on a prevalent modernist presentation of works of art, to create a predominantly aesthetic experience, extending the tradition of 'taste' founded on connoisseurship, finds a natural corollary with Marketing's concept of the public audience and inherently coincides with the traditions of viewing held by the 'core' audience of marketing strategies.

3.3   Restrictive knowledge of Audiences

Photograph. The Lure of the
East. Tate Encounters 2008

The research evidence demonstrated that whilst the use of social
demographics as a measure of audience informs Tate Britain of visitor
numbers and types for the purposes of policy-monitoring and funder's
reporting, without a corresponding set of sustained qualitative measures,
the museum has a highly limited and restrictive knowledge of its audiences
and the value they place upon their experience through the meaning-
making systems of interpretation they employ independently.

3.4   Targeting

In combining public policy minority targeting with the business models of
segmented market targeting the potential to realize something for everyone
exists, but only according to their existing means and values. That is to say,
no significant change can be initiated if the social and cultural domain in
which the existing categories operate remain in themselves unchanged.

In the research analysis of the organisation, audience is constructed as a
kind of afterthought and conceals the narrow cultural base of value that
connects the public programme to a recurrent audience. This, it is argued, is
achieved through a market segmentation that universalises and biologises
the viewer – children, families and youth – and marginalises those subjects
who are deemed to fit into the sub-categories of Black, and minority
ethnicity. This process is profoundly naturalised primarily because the
education for and induction into the art museum continually reinforces what
is being termed here, the one-way direction of the cultural message. The
management of risk to what are taken as the core purposes of the museum

therefore occlude and exclude the opportunities presented by the new
global condition of visual knowledge, confining it in the dominant paradigm
to what is legitimated in the production of art.

3.5.   Knowledge of Audiences as Viewers

At present there is only limited awareness and knowledge within the
museum of the rich and situated forms of knowledge that viewers bring
to the museum as viewers through knowledge gained through experience
of being 'elsewhere'. Such knowledges have as yet few ways of being
engaged, channelled and distributed across museological practices.

The research identified a key component of such knowledge as a form
of visual awareness developed through an experience of viewing within
different national contexts. The project's recognition of a set of viewers with
the ability to move between several different contexts of viewing led to an
understanding of the importance of transnational experience. The impact
of transnational activity on viewing practices led the project to develop
three terms: transmigration (characterizing the movement of people);
tranvisuality (characterizing ways of seeing); transmediation (characterizing
the increasing role of media in viewing practices).

3.6   Transmigration and Audiences

Photograph. Research-in-
Process. Sophie Orlando. Tate
Encounters 2009

The research argues that any successful account of viewing in an art
museum in a contemporary metropolitan setting will in future need to

take into consideration transnational population flows that affect the form of 'museum-going publics'. This is the nature of the transcultural under a new set of global conditions of the movement of peoples. An engagement with transnational population flow requires the museum to modulate its address, in particular reviewing its practices underpinned by notions of 'acculturation' and 'enablement'.

Transmigration suggests that in order to understand migratory conditions in contemporary Britain one must take account of three factors:

i)   the status of the nation-state border in Europe has been put in question through a series of legal formulations pursuant to Treaty arrangements negotiated under the framework of the European Union. In particular, the guarantee of freedom of movement following the Maastricht Treaty has changed the effects of Nation-state borders within the European Union, as well as some people's experiences of them.

ii)   the change in the nation-state border has led to a different attitude towards border-crossing. A rendering of a border as a boundary to be crossed has led to an understanding of geopolitical space characterised as space to be passed through, travelled across and engaged on a multiplicity of levels. In this approach, the dominance of the nation-state as the principle point of orientation gives way to an orientation across various points some within one nation-state, others outside of it.

iii) the technical facilitation of international travel, the main features of which have been international civil engineering projects, such as the channel tunnel, the no-tax status of aviation fuel that underpinned the expansion of low-cost airlines, and the consequent emergence of mass air-travel.

Through the research's understanding of the factors above experienced by the Co-researchers, it was deemed necessary to draw a clear distinction with migratory forms that characterised international migration in Europe for large parts of the twentieth century. Although, the specific arrangements of such migrations to and from Britain remained outside the scope of the research, the project was informed by bodies of knowledge formed from the corpus of Post-colonial studies emphasising the role of the nation-state as a key nodal point in any apprehension of international migration. International migration, then, from one nation-state to another, is a qualitatively different form from the experience of the Co-researchers. The project's attempt to address that difference brought forth the theory of transmigration – an experience of borders after borderlessness.

The first data, pointing towards this proposition, was collected at the recruitment stage. The inherent bias of the project's enquiry had led us to title our original research project, 'Tate Encounters: Britishness and Visual

Culture, Black and Asian Identities'. Through the recruitment process, the project identified a number of participants who felt inclined to engage with the investigation into migratory practice but who felt unable to take up the mantle of a Black or Asian Identity. Their comments show that they understood their practice as being characterised by a crossing of borders – principally across Europe, but also across the Atlantic and across the Irish Sea. This aspect of the recruitment – the refusal of the interpellation of Black and Asian alongside the insistence on emphasising other kinds of migration was the first key set of indicators that the project needed to develop new propositions to address such phenomena.

3.7   From Visuality to Transvisuality

A theoretical starting point for the research was provided by the concept of 'visuality' – the idea that the way in which we see is a learned behaviour. Visuality rests on the notion that the context in which we learn to see can determine the things that we observe, ignore or otherwise pay attention to. As a key concern within Visual Cultures Studies, 'visuality' acted as a touchstone in the initial stages of the research.

Although visuality was a starting point, the importance assigned to transmigration within the research led the project to re-think its usefulness. If the context in which we learn to see is key, what happens when that context constantly changes? Transmigration suggests that there are populations that are constantly moving between and through different national contexts. This being on the move has an effect on visuality. The way in which such populations see is directly affected by the fact that they look at things in different contexts – being on the move leads to a seeing on the move. The project termed this form of visuality, informed by different national contexts, transvisuality.

The focal point for the grounding of these propositions around transvisuality came from the experience of the project's participants and Co-researchers in terms of their engagement with different art institutions in different national contexts which indicated that their reading of Tate Britain was informed by their reading of the protocols of art institutions elsewhere.

3.8   Practices of Viewing and Digital Media

The notional audiences of the museum proffered by museum professionals are being met, if not outplayed, by notional versions of the museum held by remote, online audiences. This is something of an unacknowledged role reversal of the cultural traffic flow in which the symbolic value of art perpetuated by

Photograph. The Lure of the East. Sarah Thomas filming. Tate Encounters. 2008

the museum is being challenged by the cultural value of the public sphere. The research argues that there is an urgency in developing an account of the ways in which audiences engage with the digital mediation of images in the Tate Collection globally.

If the research questions of the project engaged the wider cultural policy debates centred upon diversity and the problematic discourse of race, its methods of approaching visitor experience directly engaged with another central debate about the impact and effects of digital culture. Over the same period under discussion Britain, along with many other countries has experienced a rapid and unprecedented growth in the distribution and use of digital media technologies. The internet now stands at the centre of a global system of communication and information storage and retrieval. At the end of the twentieth century commentators were still discussing digital media as a new horizon for culture, in little more than a decade it has become the default for knowledge production and distribution.

In everyday life in Britain and moreover globally, historical knowledge and information is being made accessible and available on a hitherto unprecedented scale through highly mediated and personalised computing and internet services and devices. Museum collections and spaces are no exception to the march of digital culture. One of the noticeable effects upon the art museum is that experience of the museum and collection is being customised and historicised by individual members of the public at a pace that the museum finds difficult to keep up with nor can it yet engage with one of the central consequences of digitisation, which has been a challenge to the central authority and expertise of the museum.

Tate Encounters engaged new media documentary practices at Tate Britain, which as an institution was cautious about its engagement with the public's new-found enthusiasm for new media. Tate Encounters raised questions of the use of digital recording in the galleries as well as the visitor experience of Tate Online through student participation in the research, which has led to the development of a wider and more general view of Tate's current and potential engagement in digital culture.

3.9   Transvisuality: Audiences and the Impact of Transmediation

The ethnographic studies undertaken by the research point to the fact that valued material cultural artefacts, including works of art, are given meaning and interpreted through subjective narratives arising from the lifeworlds of subjects. The research argues that there is much to gain by the museum in understanding works of art as part of a globally mediated circulation of images in print and digital forms. Transmediation is the product of the convergence of media in digital forms. All of us are involved in acts of transcoding when we move between and across differently produced media.

In the context of Tate Britain, the move towards thinking about a quality of visitor experience that would not take for granted the artifice of display was an important fact which the Co-researchers drew attention to. No longer is the experience of travelling to several museums in different countries over a sustained period of time the reserve of the museum professional or the privileged sections of a cultural elite. In a sense, one could say that this group of people demonstrate that transvisuality is not, in one sense, a new phenomenon. In another sense, however, the fact that people outside of established cultural elites are comparing the conventions of presentation in one national cultural location with the protocols at work elsewhere, might have a profound impact n the way in which museums think about their audiences and their relationship to a sense of national culture.

Whilst the term transvisual has been adopted to characterise transmigrational cultural processes of seeing it also needs to be located as part of the greater predominance of the visual in the reproductive means of global communication. There is a sense of critical urgency attached to this new delineation of the visual in culture, because, it is argued, visualisation is a locus of globalised cultural change, and it is here, precisely, that the larger and more general crisis of European/Western historical culture is met once more. The overall urgency given to this 'visual crisis of the cultural' suggests that 'criticality' can not be limited to defining new objects of interest and subject framing within the due process of academic scholarship, nor, the traditional sites of the collection and display of the visual, but is to be found in a much wider set of contexts, institutions and practices involved in the production, distribution and consumption of the visual.

3.10   Knowledge Practices, Cultural Authority and the Distributed Museum

Cultural authority which is maintained by an insistence on the inherent, fixed and ultimately universal meaning of the objects of collections, framed by narratives of Modernism, explained by experts, and validated by custodial practices, is of diminishing interest to an increasing cultural minority and demands greater attention.

Historically, the concept of knowledge in the museum has been exclusively identified and owned by those directly responsible for the acquisition and display of works of art. With the expansion of the museum's role into the public realm and the increasing manifestation of audiences as embodied individuals – from the consumer of marketing, the learner of education, the visitor of Information and Experience management, the participant of social media interaction or the viewer of curatorial – the kinds of knowledge being called into play in the display and reception of the work of art is increasingly dispersed across the institution. This has been exacerbated through changes in the cultural and social realm which poses not only questions about how value is attributed to the work of art, but the expertise and authority on which this value is based. The need to rearticulate (if not reclaim) this authority suggests the need for the tacit and implicit knowledge of curatorial expertise to be converted into a more explicit form of knowledge and public knowledge-engagement that connects to other knowledge-bases across the museum.

3.11   Modernism and Transmediation: Visual Culture and Cultural Authority

A promising avenue for further investigation lies in applying the concept of transmediation to studies of visitor experiences. Such understandings do not currently lie within the remit of the disciplines of Art History and Museology, which have so far provided an inadequate means of accounting for contemporary spectatorial practices in an art museum, nor the expanded visual field of the everyday.

At Tate Britain, for example, there is a clear line of tension between the 'contemporary', which immediately suspends an art historical account and leans towards a cultural studies interpretative paradigm. The consequence of this unresolved equation for Tate Britain is that it reproduces yet another binary between contemporary lived culture and modernist art, which places learning/interpretation at the never to be resolved public interface between Marketing and Curatorial as the public translators. The crisis of interpretation across museums emerges not only out of questions about the hierarchy of knowledge to be communicated and the nature of the experience to be engendered in the viewer, but which knowledges should be drawn upon.

Collage. Cinta Esmele Perles.
Tate Encounters. 2007

4. COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH: CONTEXT, METHODS AND MODELS

4.1 The Museum and the Academy: Theory and Practice

Within the narrative of change contained in the research findings there is a strong critique of the historical separation between critical theory produced in the academy and aimed at the museum, and professional practice carried out the museum. This particularly centres on the disciplines and areas of discourse in Post-colonialism, Cultural and Policy Studies, and Museology. The research argues that this institutional separation is a guarantee of the reproduction of separate spheres of influence that limits both the objects of critical knowledge and value and the meaning of critical knowledge within the fields of professional practice.

The reasons for the prevailing separation particularly between the art museum and the academy may seem both obvious and obfuscated, depending on the position occupied. From the art museum's perspective, the historical construction and analysis of the museum in early Museum Studies as a monolithic hangover of the Imperial days of cultural authority established a relationship not only of mistrust, but also contributed towards a progressive scepticism and perceived naivety of the work of the academy, which remained either disinterested or relatively unaware of the ever-increasingly complex economic and political environment in which museums were negotiating and navigating their way towards increased financial independence. The need for this financial independence was prompted not only by Thatcherite policies of corporate self-sufficiency, but necessitated by the fragility of public sector funding, and the subsequent decline in the principles of arm's length funding, all of which coincided with a fiercely competitive commercial environment of the leisure industries that emerged during the heady days of new wealth and cultural choice of the 1980s and 1990s.

A further key factor that played into this dissonant relationship with the academy was also the extent to which in framing museums as a collective object of study to reveal the larger narratives of the agents and organisation of public culture, relatively little attention was paid to the specificity of museum collections, rendering them of equivalent ontological value, despite their distinct historical formations, epistemological histories, and cultural trajectories in contemporary life. This is particularly noticeable in terms of the number of anthologised publications that enter the market as academic course 'readers' for Museum Studies courses. Last but not least, as a consequence of this ontological reduction, the specificity of the modes of presentations and the modalities of spectatorship were also flattened out across different object-based

collections, rendering the idea of the audience a passive by-product or effect of the engagement with objects, rather than an active agent or co-constituent of their meaning and experience within the specific paradigms of the art museum.

This is not to say, however, that Art History, the discipline most associated with the art museum over the last two decades was better positioned or more favorably aligned to the practices of the art museum. For, while sharing an epistemological investment in the connoisseurial project of the art museum, like Museum Studies, the emergence and merging of Cultural Studies into Art history during the 1980s and 90s equally raised the spectacle of the museum as a relic and living testament to Imperial Britain, most notably pursued through the discourse of Post-colonialism. Although, as has also been recently argued with the establishment of World Art History studies in the British academy, the limits of British art history to extend its account to the actual production of migrational British artists beyond the linear narratives of Post-colonialism has also proved reductive, exclusionary and problematic.

Lastly, the perpetuation of Post-Marxist and Post-structuralist critiques which announced the art work either as a material expression of class and difference or as a text to be read and decoded in the absence of the artist or artistic intention, further contributed to an academic positioning that was crucially at odds with the Romantic narrative trope of a national story of art held together by a canon of individual 'geniuses'; in the case of Tate Britain, through such figures as Turner, Constable, Gainsborough and Reynolds.

4.2 The Museum and Academy: Theory and Pragmatism

Throughout the organisational study of the project it became clear to what extent a relationship of doubt and scepticism had emerged between the academy's own theoretical ruminations on the museum and its perceived lack of connection with the 'real work' of the museum and the everyday practices, practicalities and realities in which decisions are made and unmade, along with the circulation of meaning, through a complex inter-relation of socio-economic factors as much as intellectual and aesthetic ones, in the museum. It is perhaps most notably at this juncture of theory and practice that the conditions of non-engagement between the academy and the museum have been and continue to be most defined, ensuring that the common sense, sedimented language of the museum and the theoretical language of the academy rarely but ever meet outside of an educational context, if fleetingly there.

4.3 The Opportunity of Research: Reconnecting Practice, Policy and Theory

It was clear that in order to capture a more grounded account of the individual encounter with the museum an action research based project should be configured to capture how Tate Britain figured in the lifeworlds of migrational individuals rather than at a conceptual level of policy categories or theoretical level of academic studies. Fundamental to this endeavour, and facilitated by the scale of funding available from the AHRC, was the commitment to establishing a sustained longitudinal enquiry and analysis, which could not only test the working assumptions of cultural diversity policy in action, but ensure that a sufficient timescale was realised in which to generate significant quantities of practice-based and participant data well beyond the scoping and economic viability of commissioned research, either for marketing or advocacy purposes.

4.4 The Research Team: Collaboration and Interdisciplinarity

The lead institutions that were finally brought together in the successful application for the project 'Tate Encounters: Britishness and Visual Culture' included London South Bank University (LSBU), a university characterised by its level of high intake of students from BME backgrounds, and University of Arts, London. LSBU became the lead applicant of the project, headed up by Professor Andrew Dewdney, whose work was located in the Social Sciences, while at the University of Arts, London, Dr David Dibosa was entailed through his work in the field of Visual Cultures. At Tate Britain, Dr Victoria Walsh, who was based in the Learning Department (and for the part of the fieldwork period seconded to the Research Department) enabled the project to embed itself within the organisation and provided an understanding of the practices of Tate Britain through her own knowledge and experience of the Curatorial and Learning departments, underpinned by the disciplines of Art History and Aesthetics, and Museum and Cultural Studies.

The choice of these academic traditions and positions was identified as it became clear in discussion between all parties that in approaching questions of migrational audiences, a knowledge base that could trace relations between the life-worlds of participants and the museum was required, as was a field of study that recognised the specificity of the visual, not as defined by the category of art, but as a practice of viewing that connected the visual of the everyday with the practice of viewing and spectatorship inside the art museum.

4.5 Reflexivity: Converting Tacit Knowledge to Useful Knowledge

Reflexivity was a key methodological approach that shaped and informed the progress of the fieldwork and analysis of the research. Reflexivity has become a benchmark in recent sociological research as a mechanism for recognizing that the agency of the researcher is an active ingredient in shaping meaning in the design, execution and interpretation of data. Reflexivity offered the research a means of acknowledging that what was being examined and the method of examination needed to be understood as cause and effect of each other. Reflexivity offered the research a method by which its findings could be verified over the duration of the research in terms of the acknowledgement of the reflex of 'acting back' upon hypothesis and data. In the research, reflexivity was practiced in the form of a regular series of unpublished, recorded exchanges, some in note form, others in audio form, following regular weekly meetings of the research team over a two year period, which were circulated amongst the research team. These notes and discussions were an acknowledged method of steering the research and fed into the working papers published in online editions on the Tate microsite.

4.6 Methodology: Collaborative, Embedded, Problem-solving

The project has been complex and ambitious in seeking connections between three normally separated discourses of the art museum, those of cultural policy, audience development, and the display of works from the national collection of British Art at Tate Britain. Undertaking this task required the establishment of a research team to tackle the problems of its intellectual and practical remit. The collaboration between London South Bank University, the University of the Arts and Tate Britain brought together a group of researchers from different subject backgrounds able to forge a common framework and over the period of three years construct, at first within an interdisciplinary mode, but which over time achieved a transdisciplinary perspective upon Tate Britain.

Intent on avoiding the replication of existing assumptions and categories that had underpinned the dominant social science and market research studies of social exclusion and the museum, the team aimed at creating a research project that benefited from the insights of the 'bottom-up' approach of Grounded Theory, but more particularly the principles of Critical Reflexivity with the ambition that new knowledge could be gained of as much value and interest to Tate Britain as to academic debate and government policy-making. To realise this end the need to fully embed the research project within the art museum was seen as a prerequisite so that highly situated and multi-textured accounts of an action research project and an organisational study of Tate staff could be secured. To this end, three

research assistants were recruited to bring together the necessary skills and approaches of ethnography, visual anthropology and digital media.

One of the valued outcomes of Tate Encounters has been the modelling of research in the museum. As much as the research pursued its original questions and created data from which to provide answers, the design of the research was developmental and dialogic, by which it is meant that the research methods were open to change in the process of establishing a relationship with what and who was being studied. This is where the central value of the project's understanding of reflexivity can be understood. It would have been perfectly possible to have conducted a research programme at a distance from Tate Britain, in the standard default position of external research, which merely seeks access from the institution to the objects relevant to research. Such an approach would not have been appropriate for a collaborative project, nor for one whose social science methods were action-orientated and where half of the research team of six, were employed by Tate. From the outset the project was an embedded part of the Learning and Public programme of Tate Britain and this gave the research its initial context.

4.7 Co-researchers: Status and Methodology

In qualitative research great emphasis is placed upon extensive and detailed documentation of a small number of subjects. In the ethnographic approaches to qualitative research adopted by the project the relationship between the researcher and the researched was not simply one of observer and the observed in which the authority to define a situation in research terms lay exclusively with the researcher.

After the evaluation of a three month pilot project at the beginning of the fieldwork, those participants who wished to continue with the project were asked to propose a project of their own choice, which the research team would facilitate. The implicit structure for this proposal was educational in terms of research practice, but in terms of ethnographic research it was a method through which the project could resolve the problem of the unequal relationship between researcher and those volunteering to be subjects of the research. At the point at which those who took part in the pilot project expressed their interest in continuing for a further year through a nominated project, they were conferred the status of Co-researchers. This was intended to signal the ambition to achieve an equality of voice and authority in relationship to the ethnographic process of documentation, in the research outputs and, more complexly in the analysis and findings.

From this process, the Co-researchers were also invited to submit proposals of auto-ethnographic accounts from which they identified their own questions of practice and research in relation to Tate Britain. These proposals were subsequently shared and discussed in a series of twelve

CO-RESEARCHERS PRODUCTIONS

NAME	COURSE	PROJECT TITLE	OUTPUT
Aminah Borg-Luck	BA (Hons) Media and Society	Tate Encounters and Finnish Roots	Video (3.54) Edition 1
			Video (23.04) Edition 4
		Lie Back and Think of England	Video (20.19) Archive
		A Bit Hamalainen	
Adekunle Detoknbo-Bello	Research Degree	Nollywood Springs Up in London	Video (15.46) Archive
Dana Mendonca	BA (Hons) Digital Photography	What Does Britishness Mean to me	Text. Edition 2.
Jacqueline Ryan	BA (Hons) Arts Management	Travel to Kerela	Image/Text. Edition 1.
		Trading Cultures	Video (13.11)
Nicola Johnson Oyejobi	BA (Hons) Criminolog	Tate and Me	Video (14.08)
Patrick Tubridy	BA (Hons) Digital Photography	Tate Encounter	Video slideshow. Edition 1
		Men Learn to Fly	Video slideshow (3.40) E2
		Reignited Memories, Ellen Terry as Lady Macbeth	Image/Text Edition 3
		The Process of Identity	Image/Text. Edition 4
		Homemade	Video slideshow (6.13)
Robbie Sweeny	BA (Hons) Digital Photography	This is Tate, But This is Britain	Image/Text. Edition 2.
		Art Imitates Life or Life Imitates Art?	Image/Text. Edition 3
Mary Ampomah	BA (Hons) Media & Society	Talking About Paintings	Video (11.21)
Tracey Jordan	BA (Hons) Arts Management	My Journey to London	Text/Video. Edition 1.
		My Journey to Tate Britain	Video (9.34) Archive
Rebecca Cairns	BA (Hons) Arts Management	My Armenian Grandmother	Video (13.12)
Deep Rajput	BA (Hons) Sociology	On Busta Rhymes via Nigel Henderson	Audio over still image Archive
			ditto
		Sikhism via Herbert Draper	
		The Last Judgment. John Martin	
Cinta Esmel Pamies	BA (Hons) Arts Management	Avalanche in the Alps. Philip James de Loutherberg	Video (3.50) Archive
		Where I Come From the Sky is Brightest	Image/Text. Edition 1.
		Identity Remix at Late at Tate. March 2009	Photography/Video. Archive

workshops and further reflections and contributions captured on the intranet and published in various formats of film, photography and writing in a series on online 'editions' that also carried the working papers of the project (Tate Encounters Editions 1–6). Within this selected group of twelve students, five students also enlisted the support of their families to extend their own enquiries into the value and place of Tate Britain in their families' lifeworlds which were documented through film, photography and sound recordings with the support of the team's visual anthropologist.

The project used digital media technologies as the default mode through which participants documented their experience, and final productions of their accounts were screened as part of the programme 'Research in Process', a month long project programme of public discussion at Tate Britain, during which each of the Co-researchers further reflected upon their films and involvement in the Tate Encounters project. In embracing the expanded field of the everyday within a more complex and open terrain than previously determined by the prevailing currency of social capital studies it was possible to reconnect the flows and counter-flows of visual communication between the Co-researchers and their life-worlds offering up both a discursive and visual analysis of the practices of viewing.

4.8   Organisational Study: 'Lure of the East: British Orientalist Painting' (2008)

Photograph. 'The Lure of the East'. Tate Encounters 2008

It was agreed at the development stage of the original research funding application that in order to develop an account of how works of art are experienced and meaning generated through display practices that an ethnographic organisational study of the planning and delivery of an exhibition should be undertaken at Tate Britain. The fieldwork took place between April 2007 to April 2009 and a full time research assistant, with organisational study experience developed a study of the exhibition, 'The Lure of the East' (2008) over a nine month period. The study included thirty-nine interviews with both staff and external individuals connected to the exhibition.

The initial criteria proposed for interviewing members of staff was to be determined by their place within the formal organisation of departments and levels of seniority, relayed by the research co-investigator based permanently at Tate Britain as Head of Adult Programmes. As the weekly reflexive discussions of method and approach to the organisational study unfolded, it became more apparent that the aim of tracing the operative agency of notions of cultural diversity would not be achieved through interviewing within departments or through line management chains. The structure of the organisational study turned out to be more 'ragged' as it moved to capture the currencies of diversity operating across Tate Britain and to follow both explicit and implicit reference points. For example, the research assistant attended the Tate-wide staff diversity meetings (Tate for All) over the period as well as the exhibition project team meetings, in addition to interviewing staff members who were not part of either groups, such as gallery attendants responsible for invigilating it.

The interviews were voluntary and much care was taken in guaranteeing that material from the interviews would have restricted access and be anonymised as far as possible. The interviews were not recorded in order to establish a greater sense of confidentiality, but rather the research assistant kept notes during the sessions which were subsequently written-up as interview reports. The analysis of the material was and remains a lengthy process of methodological translation, involving tracing linguistic and cognitive associations in and across the reports. What the organisational study interviews revealed was the extent to which questions of cultural diversity were treated through a tacit knowledge which was mobilised, claimed and made visible at different moments where the practice of daily work coincided with practices of risk management associated with what was taken to be the sensitive politics of diversity.

4.9   The Value of Qualitative Methods

In the case for support for the research funding the argument was made that audience research in the area of cultural diversity had so far framed the problem of non-attendance in demographic terms supported by quantitative methods. Whilst this identified a potential problem, it did little to explain why art museum attendance was connected with social and cultural factors. Tate Encounters argued that in order to understand the values placed upon museum experience and any potential barriers to access, qualitative approaches would have to be adopted.

The project used a variety of methods for gathering research data. Some, like student surveys, were carried out in order to gain a snapshot of a relatively large group of students. This entailed finding out something of their social and cultural background, whether they had visited Tate Britain before and their initial responses to the museum. We also gained more

detailed snapshots by setting essays on their responses to Tate Britain. But such approaches were not the overall aim of the approach, which was to find out in much more depth and over a longer period of time how voluntary participants experienced Tate Britain and the values it held in relationship to their everyday lives. The research also wanted to gain in-depth accounts of how different Tate employees understood their work in relationship to ideas and policies on cultural diversity. Questionnaires, surveys and focus groups, however many times they might have been conducted would not have provided the project with the quality and depth of response required.

In order to get a sustained and in-depth account of the cultural experiences of participants with migrational family backgrounds, the project needed to meet with them over time to build trust and to sustain their interest in the work of the project. Likewise, with the organisational study of the 'Lure of the East' exhibition the project was interested in building up a complex and textual picture of each employee's approach to working on a common exhibition project. The overall approach to building up a qualitative picture was ethnographic and took a number of practical forms; in unrecorded unstructured interviews where detailed notes were written up afterwards, participants and members of their family were filmed in the gallery, in their homes and in various locations, alongside establishing the means for participants to make their own documents. This mixed-method approach to qualitative data gathering was organized within a matrix which structured the research themes, strands and questions.

The use of a qualitative approach in Tate Encounters enabled the project to develop a series of innovative terms that act to help describe and analyse emerging forms of practice and behaviour. 'Transvisuality' is one such term.

4.10   Fieldwork Audit: Qualitative Evidence

Tate Encounters employed a variety of methods for gathering evidence, most of which were qualitative. It is that body of qualitative evidence, gathered over an intensive two-year period of fieldwork, between April 2007 and April 2009, which provided the basis for the legitimacy of the project's findings and analysis. Some of the fieldwork data is already in the public domain on the two project websites, but much of it remains in unpublished writing, questionnaires, interview notes, video and audio recordings. In terms of the volume and variety of this data two research assistants along with a full time visual anthropologist and 0.75 new media practitioner supported 600 undergraduate LSBU students visiting Tate Britain and Tate Modern which produced, 300 completed questionnaires, 200 essays, 150 hours of video interviews, 12 recorded workshops, 12 in-depth student research projects, and five extended participant family edited ethnographic films. In the organisational study a full-time anthropologist research assistant attended all

internal meetings during the course of the production of 'The Lure of the East' exhibition over a nine-month period and interviewed 38 members of Tate staff.

During the public engagement programme, 'Research in Process', 72 participants, both external and internal to Tate contributed through presentations, interviews, and panel discussions. A team of six researchers met weekly for two years, (totaling 320 hours), in which all aspects of the research were monitored as well as a reflexive methodological practice developed, which led to sixty hours of further recordings within the research team. Beyond the fieldwork period the three investigators met over the following year to develop the resulting analytical framework, from which the findings emerged. In addition the project was joined by five external researchers over three years, who made structured contributions to the research outputs. This condensed summary of the material demonstrates the scale of the project and what is intended by a 'major' research award.

RESEARCH MATRIX. TATE ENCOUNTERS. 2009

THEMES/STRANDS	QUESTIONS	METHODS	DATA
Cultural Policy Public Realm Diversity Practices	1. What factors inhibit migrant and diasporic audiences from forming meaningful and ongoing relationships with the Tate and, by inference, other national museums? 2. How is the Tate configured, or ranked within particularised sets of 'cultural capital' by diasporic family members?	Workshops Student Visits Research-in-Process Organisational Study	600 visits 200 Surveys 250 Essays 14 recorded panel sessions 23 external contributors 34 Tate staff interviews
National Collection of British Art Identities Subjectivities Representation	3. In what ways does the Tate collection constitute a discourse of Brutishness and how does the exhibition and display programme articulate a visual imperialism in which cultural differences have to be read 'against the grain'? 4. How does British visual culture and visual language currently frame, shape and represent diasporic/migrant experience and identity?	Video Ethnography Workshops Participant Documentation Research-in-Process	12 co-researchers productions 6 published ethnographic Films 9 recorded panel sessions 5 external contributors 200 hrs of video
The Digital Encounter Visual Culture Expanded Field Everyday Life	5. In what ways will the cultural encounter between the institutional and work practices of Tate and the diasporic/migrant families be experienced? 6. How are notions of cultural hybridity constructed in and by visual culture?	Intranet sites Workshops Tate Microsite/Editions Research-in-Process	120 student intranet entries 8 recorded panel sessions 18 external contributors

4.11 Social Sciences and the Art Museum

Sociology has had art and culture within its sights since its foundation as a science; Durkheim in religion, ritual and classification; Weber in status groups, symbols and subcultures and Marxist influenced sociology has applied ideas of the ideological apparatuses to an understanding of art, media and culture. From the 1950s onwards, in European and North American universities, the work of sociologists, especially those associated with the Frankfurt School, Adorno, Marcuse and Benjamin, were responsible for enlarging the notion of culture in terms of a new and emergent mass media society. Sociology opened up new ways of thinking about the reception of an established historical European High Culture and in combination with English Literary Studies, most notably in the work of Raymond Williams, developed the field of British Cultural Studies, which Stuart Hall subsequently did much to give critical shape to the idea of culture as something to be struggled for.

The sociological dimension of Tate Encounters was informed generally by a social constructivist and material-semiological inheritance, but its concrete and more localised starting point was the work and thinking of French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu, whose studies of cultural taste in France and the Netherlands led to his work, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (1979). In this work Bourdieu set himself the task of developing a theory that would demonstrate how the larger social organisation of education and labour produced particular cultural subjectivities and tastes. He did this through a combination of empirical research, analysing 1,217 questionnaires on the tastes of different social groups in Paris and a regional town, together with a theoretical analysis which demonstrated how Kant's model of aesthetic disinterestedness was produced by and answered the needs of a particular social class fraction as a form of social distinction. From Bourdieu's work we get the key concepts of cultural capital, to designate the exchange value of knowledge and tastes acquired through social position and education, and Habitus, to define the generative principles of the objectively classifiable practices of the social space.

As the research has pointed to, Bourdieu's theory of distinction is a powerful explanation for art museum attendance and non-attendance on the basis of social class. Recently, a similar survey of taste and cultural activity, carried out by a team of researchers at CRESC a joint project of Manchester University and the Open University, funded by the ESRC, found that in Britain, four decades on from Bourdieu's original experiment, occupation and education remain the single most determining factors upon cultural activity. Whilst this confirmation is a salutary reminder of the entrenchment of social division and cultural difference, for Tate Encounters it represented a programmatic impasse and finally something of an analytical dead end.

4.12 Theoretical Approaches

Sociological research and government policy are familiar partners, as Sociology is enlisted to provide research to inform policy initiatives and in turn to evaluate the impact of policy upon social practice. This sometimes virtuous circle of research and policy is historically underlined in the ways Sociology not only provides a detached science of society, but becomes entailed in society as an intellectual technology of social reform. Bourdieu was keenly aware of the dangers of reification inherent in the social enlistment of sociological knowledge, but his strictures have not stopped the application of his concept of capital exchange, in the form of social and cultural capital, from becoming enlisted and we would say reified in applied research. The concept of social capital and studies of its presence or absence have been harnessed in applied research to produce answers to social problems in the community, the arts, education and training. Tate Encounters was wary of labelling individuals or groups according to definitions of cultural capital, especially since this approach can all too easily lead to operational definitions of groups who are perceived as lacking in certain kinds of received cultural capital.

The research has retained the importance of the concept of capital and labour as part of its analysis, but has turned the focus upon the capital of collection, whilst looking at the viewer in terms of the agency of labour and its forms of global exchange. In following this line of enquiry the research analysis has embraced the broad theoretical territory of the post and hypermodern, delineated by Lyotard, Baudrillard and Derrida, as well as tracking the sociological developments of Lash, Beck and Giddens in thinking about a post-traditional society. In particular the research's quest to understand the agency of the visitor in the art museum, finally took the form of an interest in and application of Bruno Latour's, Actor Network Theory.

4.13 From Interdisciplinary to Transdisicplinary

The research started from an acknowledged interdisciplinary model, which formally sought the joint expertise of Art history, Anthropology and Sociology. In the event the final research team brought together an even richer mixture, including the emergent discipline of New Media and the field of Visual Cultures. This model of interdisciplinarity was based upon the recognized expertise of each individual member of the research team of six people. The interdisciplinary approach also related to the three strands of the research, policy, visuality and media production, and organized the divisions of expertise in the organisation study, the ethnographic film-making, the Co-researchers' productions and the student surveys. During the post-fieldwork period of analysis the three Co-investigators started

RESEARCH MATRIX. TATE ENCOUNTERS. 2009

THEMES	STRANDS	QUESTIONS	PROBLEMATIC
Cultural Policy	**Public Realm** Diversity Practices	1. What factors inhibit migrant and diasporic audiences from forming meaningful and ongoing relationships with the Tate and, by inference, other national museums? 2. How is the Tate configured, or ranked within particularised sets of 'cultural capital' by diasporic family members?	Implicit racialisation in language Identity v subjectivities Difference v diversity (BME) Problematic quantitative taxonomies Targeting and Deficit culture
National Collection of British Art	**Identities** Subjectivities Representation	3. In what ways does the Tate collection constitute a discourse of Brutishness and how does the exhibition and display programme articulate a visual imperialism in which cultural differences have to be read 'against the grain'? 4. How does British visual culture and visual language currently frame, shape and represent diasporic/migrant experience and identity?	Differential production of knowledge Where is cultural value produced? Curation as the management of risk Lack of reflexivity in museum practice No engagement with transnationalism Modernist aesthetics v. expanded field of visual culture
Expanded Field of Visual Culture	**Practices of Everyday Life**	5. In what ways will the cultural encounter between the institutional and work practices of Tate and the diasporic/migrant families be experienced? 6. How are notions of cultural hybridity constructed in and by visual culture?	Paradigm of Modernism v 'the other' The everyday structured out of spectatorship No acknowledgement of the role of media in relaying the curatorial message The transnational not yet part of the museum's discourse

work on gaining an overview of the various specialist discipline approaches in order to develop a meta-disciplinary view. This was undertaken by mapping the various conceptual frameworks entailed in the disciplinary views and identifying common concepts and problematics in relationship to the research questions. In this way the research analysis moved from an interdisciplinary to a transdisciplinary model in which a new synthesis was made possible through the recognition of problems which crossed discipline boundaries.

4.14 The Value of Theory

The project drew upon a number of theoretical arguments and conceptual frameworks as a means to design and direct the practical programme and its methods as well as to develop an analysis of the qualitative data in relationship to the research questions. At the outset the proposed programme adopted a mixed method approach incorporating an inductive, 'bottom up' approach to the qualitative data sets, in which the project devised methods of looking for lexical and conceptual patterns both in the data and in observations in order to develop some sort of hypothesis to which the project could attach meaningful concepts. At the same time the analytic process recognized the constant presence of deductive logic in testing and applying existing theory.

The aim of both of these processes was to genuinely try and get to a new place, a new set of understandings with respect to the project's questions and the design of the research experiments. Theoretical debate within the research process focused upon methodology on the one hand, in terms of how to identify the social within the museum, and on the other, with theory of how to understand the museum in relationship to society. The report has already alluded to the broad theoretical context in which the research started. In thinking directly about art appreciation and cultural value the baseline was represented by the work of Pierre Bourdieu and some of his critical commentators. In thinking about spectatorship the initial literature reviews focused upon the Post-colonial theory and the recent work of Irit Rogoff and in framing an understanding of museum practices, the research was aware of the Foucauldian legacy of application to museums (Tony Bennett, Eileen Hooper-Greenhill).

The dimension of new media within the practice base of the research was framed in terms of the thinking of Jay Bolter and Richard Gruisin around the concept of remediation as well as understandings about digital archives and informational systems forming new systems that profoundly alter our thinking about culture and ways of seeing. In the organisational study of Tate Britain, focused upon 'The Lure of the East', elements of Actor Network Theory, developed by Bruno Latour, particularly its general theoretical tenants rather than its field methodological prescriptions, were

very useful in thinking about the relations of difference between individuals, works of art and ideas which were in play across departments and groups in the production of the exhibition.

The research team recognized from the outset a number of problems in moving between common sense and theoretical uses of language and the adoption of reflexivity, itself a theoretically derived concept, was one mechanism for registering moments of difficulty. The main problem in the use of theory comes at the point of its linguistic retranslation to the concrete world of experience. Theory is turned to in the first instance because in its technical and formal structure it enables the formulation of larger concepts about and overviews of everyday experience. Theory is conventionally the tool set for the analysis of phenomena and it involves key moments of abstraction from concrete everyday experience and its received forms of knowledge and understanding. Theory's abstractions are often technical and employ unfamiliar concepts in order to interrogate and challenge conventional wisdom in the light of new and changing conditions and contexts. However, the overarching aim of the use of theory within research is to return its understandings to the world of the concrete everyday. The research team understood this as the effort to translate theory, without a loss of its specificity, to make what is illuminated in theory clear and accessible within other practices of language. This is to understand that the practices of everyday life contain implicit theory and that theory is itself a practice of everyday life. The aim of the project was to open up the common explicitly theoretical space between the technical academic practices of theory and the equally technical practices of the museum.

4.15   Post-critical Museology

Duveen Studio
Photo: Andrew Dewdney, 2009

In consideration of the analyses arrived at through the research methodology and outcomes of the project, Tate Encounters proposes a new practice it has termed Post-critical Museology which has developed from the contrast between the conditions of the production of knowledge of the museum established by the project's own embedded, transdisciplinary, action-orientated collaborative approach and that of other traditional research approaches in which the formal division between the academic research community and the subject of research is reproduced.

The research recognised the exhaustion of the insights provided by traditional museology and its more radical successor, Critical Museology. Instead, it proposed a more advanced practice of *Post*-critical Museology, relying on the development of experimental practices within the museum setting, as a means of generating an effective set of methods to look at museum activity.

Traditional Museology can be seen as sitting alongside conventional Art history, providing the tools to put into practice the insights offered by art historical knowledge (artist, genre, form, school, nation, historical period). Critical Museology emerged out of a critique of conventional art history, questioning the view that there can be a robust universal standard to assess every object in the world that has been assigned a status as artwork. Critical Museology advanced its critique of traditional Museology through a series of theoretical standpoints. The research recognized this as problematic, since the criticality emerged more from a distanced elaboration of theory rather than from an embedded working through of museum practices. The approach informed by Post-critical Museology within the research took theoretical critique as a starting point but worked through practices embedded within the museum to test out the limits of several perspectives.

Advancing a critical position through embedded practice necessitated the progressive abandonment of critical positions that could only be theoretically sustained. In their place, a closely situated problematic was framed, focussed on difficulties exposed through experimental practices within the museum. The criticality that emerged, then, emerged as much from museum practice as it did from theoretical argument. It brought together theory and practice in respect of the specificity of the problems encountered. It thereby went beyond theoretically informed critiques and is better rendered here as *post*-critical.

5.   RECOGNISING RESEARCH PRACTICE, LEGITIMACY AND VALUE FOR MONEY

Research team 2008

David Dibosa and Aminah
Borg-Luck. AHRC Diasporas
Conference Tate Britain (2010)

5.1   Legitimacy of Research

The academic legitimacy to speak about the findings of Tate Encounters rests upon a number of factors. Firstly, the formal status of the project in terms of its funding award from the AHRC meant that it was consistently formally monitored and assessed first by the 'Diasporas, Migration and Identities' programme and secondly by peer groups through the dissemination of the project's research findings. Further legitimacy in terms of the HEI sector is derived from the academic collaboration with London South Bank University, with its established reputation for Economic and Social Research Council funded research in the areas of family, class, race and sexuality, and from the University of the Arts, London, with its expertise in art theory and visual cultures.

As the research shows, however, although the academy is the traditional ground of expertise in research, museum professionals are rightfully wary of academic researchers who often know little of the practical pressures and exigencies of making an art museum 'work' successfully. The collaborative and embedded nature of the project provided an opportunity for the museum to test a new model of research practice in the museum that provides the means by which a more grounded research practice could be established enabling it to claim new and revitalised forms of academic authority through the development of verifiable research methods that reflect the interests of its own practices, rather than the concerns of the academy.

5.2   Research Fieldwork is not 'Learning'

Tate Encounters was initiated and situated in what was, in 2005, the Interpretation and Education Department of Tate Britain, renamed in 2009 as Tate Learning. As such the research proposal was, in its early stages, seen within the organisation as an Education initiative directed towards cultural diversity, although its relocation to the Tate Research Department when it was established in 2007 readjusted this perception.

A large part of the fieldwork programme was based upon the participation of undergraduate students from LSBU, who took part in various forms of individual and workshop encounters at Tate Britain. In running workshops and facilitating visits for students the research clearly employed formats similar to the projects of Gallery Education. Students coming to the gallery, discussing and recording their experiences, taking photographs and recording video to produce image, sound and text material that was published on the research microsite, is not dissimilar to the activities of other Learning practices or programmes. In addition, the questions about cultural diversity and Britishness (which could be easily related to other comparable widening participation and diversity initiatives in the

department at the time), all led it to be understood as a form of educational outreach; a piece of cultural diversity work itself.

This was and is a profound misconception of the aims of the research which had no interest in converting the research participants to the value and pleasures of the culture of art, but rather sought a view from the outside in order to shed light on the reasons for their refusal to engage with the museum and to understand how they were configured by the museum as the 'missing audience'.

While the connections between a collaborative, qualitative, practice-based research project and the work of Learning in the museum are clearly visible, the distinctions between Learning and research need to be put. The aim of gallery education, or learning is, one way or another, to support the mission of increasing knowledge, understanding and enjoyment of art. Part of achieving this aim involves engaging groups and individuals for whom art is not immediately associated with personal meaning or cultural value. Gallery education and museum Learning has over a long period of time developed many creative approaches to an engagement with art.

In contrast, Tate Encounters wished to engage a specific group of identified non-museum attendees in order to understand their distance from the museum rather than to convert them to the museum or to an appreciation of art. The engagement with participants in the research was precisely based upon their refusal of the museum and a facilitation and enlistment of their perspectives upon Tate Britain, which were always highly sophisticated and developed. Their encounters with the museum and its objects were the starting points for research enquiries into the relationship between Tate Britain and contingent everyday realities as a means of producing a distance from the culture of the museum in order to understand it better.

The participants did produce visual artefacts, photographs and videos, which were screened during the Research-in-Process events at the end of the fieldwork in the context of discussion and response. But displaying the Co-researchers' artefacts, in research terms submissions, was not framed within the museum as a 'creative' visual response as the outcome of a gallery education project might see it, even though their artefacts were indeed profoundly creative in the communicative sense. In this respect, the research had no interest in transforming the Co-researchers' relationship to art nor converting them to museum culture.

5.3   Research is not Consultancy

The growth in the volume and complexity of cultural policies directed at arts organisations since the 1980s has led to a comparable growth in arts consultants and agencies prepared to develop corporate strategy and carry

out consultancy exercises and evaluations for arts organisations. Alongside enlisting external consultants, art museums have developed their own marketing and publicity departments to develop and maintain their brands. Audience research and the strategies of audience development have largely been equated with consultancy and marketing, whose aim has been to provide forms of short-term market-based information using the techniques and classificatory systems of other commodity based marketing.

In contrast, Tate Encounters was longitudinal and the yield of its results much slower. In addition, the research model necessarily questioned the categories and assumptions of its own brief as a means of arriving at new knowledge. The knowledge gained by longitudinal and theoretical grounded research is also much slower to be assimilated to the fields within which its objects and subjects were placed.

5.4   Research on Policy is not Policy-making

A similar set of distinctions also needs to be made about the policy strand of the research. Cultural diversity policy was in operation at Tate Britain over the period of the research and equally matters of cultural diversity informed the AHRC's 'Diasporas, Migration and Identities' programme specification. Tate Encounters participated in diversity forums at Tate as well as tracked the agency of diversity discourse in the organisational study of the Lure of the East (2008).

For the research cultural diversity policy was one of its 'objects' of study, to be tracked and traced in many instances and enactments. One of the results of this process was the development of a critical analysis of the operational limits of diversity policies in the practices of targeting ethnic and racialised groups. Tate Encounters was busily undoing its own as well as diversity policies epistemological discourse as a means to understand the modes in which problems were framed and along which lines of practice they were established. But Tate Encounters did engage with policy makers, those empowered to enact policies and those who may have been understood to be the recipients of such policies, including the Co-researchers, in order to focus upon the processes of policy formation and implementation. This was most evident in the Research-in-Process event and specifically the week-long discussions entitled Art and Politics: Uncertain Practices (March 2010), which took place in the Duveen Studio at Tate Britain.

From the early stages of the project, however, the research team was repeatedly asked to identify what actions needed to be taken, that is to say to produce what is often termed 'recipe knowledge'. But while the level of enthusiasm and interest in the project's emergent and final findings was welcome, the case for resisting these calls to provide specific guidance on policy-making within the institution was consistently reasserted. While

the aim of the research was to identify the obstacles and conditions for developing audiences it has been so in order to provide the institution with the information to develop and implement its own response institutionally, without which longterm change will remain elusive.

5.5   Value for Money

Tate Encounters was successful in gaining a major research grant of £639,442 calculated at full economic cost, for a three-year period. This allowed for 2.5 full time research assistants for two years, four investigators, working variously between one and three years, for between 4 and 12 hrs per week, together with an external part-time consultant. At its height the research team consisted of eight people, each with their own area of investigation, meeting on a weekly basis to monitor progress, review methodologies, and share ideas. The project had a dedicated office and a stock of media equipment to carry out the fieldwork. The programme of work outlined in the submission proved to be ambitious in practice and, as the research gathered momentum, the funded resource was stretched. In practice, as is usual in the Arts, people worked considerably over and beyond the funded allocation in order to meet the agreed outcomes to the high personal standards of all those involved. From the research team's point of view, the calculation of research time, in the application of full economic costing of a maximum award, squeezed the real time required to conduct the work. From the institutional points of view of Tate, AHRC and the universities, the project can be seen to have both generated a volume and interest and should therefore be deemed good value for money.

This point is raised in consideration of the fact that as funding sources come significantly under strain in the current economic and political climate, increasing emphasis is being placed on the role and value of collaborative practice across the academy and cultural sector, and indeed the public and private sector, but as this report may hopefully demonstrate, the production of new and useful knowledge through genuine collaboration, rather than expedient partnership work, is time-consuming and resource-heavy, if it is to be successful in terms of answering its research objectives.

6.   CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

The report develops a series of qualitative frames and analyses through which aspects of Tate Britain's audience practices came under scrutiny during the research, the main ones being: Tate Britain viewed through the microcosm of the production and organisation of an exhibition; Tate Britain viewed through a survey of student responses to an initial visit; and Tate Britain viewed over a two-year period by participants with migrant experiences. These qualitative studies were organized to generate insider and outside perspectives on what Tate Britain meant as a building, in its location, the organization of its spaces, and its housing and display of the National Collection of British Art. In addition the studies generated understandings of the ways in which art is viewed by those who have little or no investment in art, as well as those who have a high investment and whose profession is to organise art for the pleasure or education of others.

The research also set up an elaborate series of discussions about the research questions from those already involved in the project to politicians and policy makers, academics and other museum professionals with the aim of capturing a further series of insider and outsider views of how the external environment impacts upon Tate Britain. These qualitative frames can be valued in their own terms, however, this report offers an attempted synthesis in terms of an analysis which strives to make sense of both the insider and outsider views.

The analysis could be said to reveal or illuminate the deeper workings of a structure of ideas and institutional arrangements which people work to and within. Qualitative research tends to produce compelling narratives rooted in rich and complex accounts drawn from the lifeworlds of participants and the experiences of researchers. The narrative account both produces and is organised by a deeper argument, which comes from the organisation and synthesis of the material in relationship to the active concepts and theoretical positions the research has applied. The analysis is in effect the best argument to be made at this time, taking into account everything that is in play within the overlapping fields in and by which the research was and remains positioned. The specific fields in question have not changed over the course of the research but the political context as well as positions of actors within them have changed. The conclusions of this report are directed at the currently constituted fields of museum practices of audiences and cultural policy.

6.1   Limits of Multiculturalism in Cultural Diversity Policy

From the Tate Encounters analytical position a limit has been reached in the conception of cultural politics based upon representation which underpins

State Multiculturalism and the cultural diversity policies that emerged out of this. In this highly established model of multiculturalism, culture is seen to be made up of identifiable, settled communities, formed along class and ethnic lines, of different sizes, shapes, interests and outlooks, which through cultural diversity policy can be recognized and acknowledged, proportionally, by representations and representatives within cultural institutions. More broadly we have come to understand many of the responses to the Tate Encounters analysis to date as a reluctance on the part of practitioners to abandon the politics of identity and representation as the historic basis for progressive cultural engagement. This it is argued is a sign of a larger intellectual and political problem, which is articulated as the limits of multiculturalism.

In contrast, our research suggests that culture travels along new lines of force, extending beyond the existing institutional boundaries of which the defining feature is that of mobility and transition, involving the spatial, material and virtual. In this view of culture, the challenge is no longer that of achieving fair and proportional systems of representation, but of mapping a new sense of a public realm and acknowledging new kinds of connectedness. In these terms Tate Encounters seriously questions policies aimed at promoting greater inclusiveness based upon a now historical conception of culture.

The rejection of racialised thinking requires the effort to speak/invent a new language of recognising, valuing and living with difference and diversity. The effort to imagine and describe the world and our experience in terms of a new majority is not about dissolving difference through assimilationism in which society is imagined as a collection of individuals, who are really all the same underneath. Nor is it a new majority to be imagined as the sum of its minority and separate parts, this has been the limit and frustration of multiculturalism. The central effort in this new grasp on culture is to make the mechanisms which maintain all of the boundaries of exclusion visible and this can start by an invitation to those who have tried, successfully or otherwise, to cross borders, to describe their experience, as well as by the effort of museum professionals to cross the boundaries of current thinking through the work of analysis.

6.2 Limits of Expert Knowledge and Modernism

There is a very strong direction to the flow of cultural traffic in museum business, which travels, in the standard metaphor, from core to the margins. The source of the cultural flow is normally experienced as the artefact, the material object and the destination of the flow is understood to be the dispersal of culture in widespread appreciation. But whilst the immediate source of cultural value is apprehended as the consecrated art object, in a more complex grasp of the reality, the source of value is

firstly that of the social relations of the production of the object, (most often historically opaque) and secondly, the subsequent processes by and through which the object is acquired and remains a subject of attention of the museum.

In the everyday flow of cultural traffic in the museum, the supply side is separated from the demand side, which in its public sense is the appreciation of value. Because of the naturalised specialist divisions between acquisition, collection and display the side of public appreciation is largely superfluous to many of the organisational processes, which in turn makes the visitor marginal to the reproduction of the values of museum. However, whilst these specialist and expert divisions are preserved, the public is required to attend as a guarantor of public investment in museums, but only as passive witnesses to the process of cultural reproduction. Visitors have to take what is presented to them on trust, as a public function, but one that operates along private and closed lines.

To see the situation in terms of a self-evident majority audience in tune with and matched to the values of Tate Britain, contrasted with stubbornly resistant pockets of the socially excluded, who need to be reached out to and folded into museum culture, is a false start and provides no ground on which to develop audiences beyond the existing concepts of the core. From the Tate Encounters research it is possible to see that the values that Tate expresses elsewhere in its programme and dialogue with artists and curators in terms its internationalism, could equally be expressed in terms of its engagement with and relationship to its national audience. However, it is the view of the research that whilst an outward embrace of a globalised audience could be made, current audience practices at Tate Britain remain limited by a double bind of allegiance to the aesthetic response of educated individuals and a demographic typology which restricts a more detailed knowledge of the terms of encounter.

6.3 Rethinking the Institution: Organisation and Networks

The research concluded that thinking about Tate as a single corporate body, with an organisational structure which translates its mission into operational strategies did little to explain our research data and more specifically to explain how Tate Britain (within Tate) thought about audiences. In coming up with an alternative model of the institution and its organisational structures, the research adopted a conception of Tate as a series of extended networks of differing reach and with variable connections between them. In these networks some messages have the status of top down commands that travel very quickly and directly through all of the networks, whilst other messages remain the provenance and currency of smaller networks whose agency and reach is limited. This is not simply a revised way of talking about departmental organisation, but

of thinking about the public museum in terms of extended networks of governance, diplomacy, markets and the media, to name but a few. It is to think about the museum as extending beyond its walls to include the permanent civil service, art markets and dimensions of broadcast and publishing media. In these networks people and things, such as the objects of collection, ideas, policies are all active elements, with varying degrees of agency in determining what a particular network does and does not do.

6.4   Knowledge, Culture and Change

Photograph. Tracey Jordan. Tate Encounters. 2008

The central and highly abstract overarching argument of Tate Encounters is that whilst cultural institutions hold on to cultural dualism in order to manage their missions and practices, changes in the world and Britain have outstripped the capacity of this binary logic to explain what is currently happening. Whilst the classificatory systems and practical institutional technologies of people and things are all still in place, its explanatory power is near exhaustion. Tate Encounters is not alone in reaching for a model of cultural practice, which centrally recognises the transformations taking place in the processes through which cultural value is currently being lived.

The concepts which seem to us to have practical utility and reach are some of those derived from those intellectual movements of the 1980s which first began to notice and chart changes in the condition of late Modernity. Such changes are centrally associated with what has been labelled as the

Postmodern and its associated epistemological relativism. Far from seeing the stress on the relative, constructed, situated and particularised nature of culture as the cause of the current confusion, we see it as opening up the space for new ways of configuring and connecting cultural production, reproduction and value, which museums could benefit from, if anxieties about change and the possible loss of cultural authority and curatorial control could be allayed.

What seems clear from the research is that cultural authority cannot be maintained by a simple insistence on some kind of inherent, fixed and ultimately universal meaning of the objects of collections, which is represented by the stock of historical expert knowledge and validated by custodial practices. The cultural authority of major national cultural institutions is greatly enhanced precisely at moments when they successfully reshape their practices through a grasp of new movements and patterns in cultural production and consumption and equally, when they are able to jettison residual definitions.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
TATE ENCOUNTERS RESEARCH TEAM

Professor Andrew Dewdney: Project Director/Principal Investigator
Andrew Dewdney is Professor of Educational Development at London South Bank University, where he has been teaching and conducting research since 2000. He was the Director of Photography and Exhibitions at the Watershed Media Centre (1990–93), before becoming the Academic Head of the School of Film and Photography at Newport School of Art (1993–2000). Trained as a fine art painter in the 1960s he became involved in the Sociology of Art at the Royal College of Art and subsequently participated in the formation of Cultural Studies as a founder member of the Department of Cultural Studies at the Cockpit Arts Workshop, (1975–86). He has a longstanding interest in the relationship of theory and practice and is committed to the role knowledge and understanding plays in the service of progressive social and cultural change. He is an author of several books and papers, including The New Media Handbook (Routledge, London, 2006). He is currently on the Editorial Advisory Board of two refereed journals, Philosophy and Photography and Photographies. He is Chair of the Board of DA2, (Digital Arts Development Agency), Chair of the Board of Southwark Theatres Education Project (STEP) and a member of the South Bank Cultural Quarters Directors Group.

Dr David Dibosa: Co-Investigator
David Dibosa trained as a curator after receiving his first degree from Girton College, Cambridge. He was awarded his PhD in Art History from Goldsmiths College, London, after writing a thesis looking at the role of artists in negotiating shame in commemoration. During the 1990s, David curated public art projects. Between 2004 and 2010 he was Senior Lecturer in Fine Art Theory at Wimbledon College of Art. He is currently Course Director: MA Art Theory at Chelsea College of Art and Design in the University of the Arts London. David's published work focuses on visual art and cultural difference. It includes: 'How to Speak Borders' in the Turkish journal *Toplumbilim* (2007); 'Queer Appearances: the Visual Strategies of Gilbert & George' in the Sexualities journal (2009); and more recently, in collaboration with Professor Andrew Dewdney and Dr. Victoria Walsh in a special edition of the journal *Third Text,* 'Beyond Cultural Diversity: The Case for Creativity'commissioned by Arts Council England to consider the future of Cultural diversity policy (2011).

Dr Victoria Walsh: Co-Investigator
Victoria Walsh was Head of Adult Programmes at Tate Britain from 2005 to March 2011 before relocating to the Tate Research Department. Previously, she worked as a freelance curator, project manager and consultant in the fields of visual arts and architecture. She holds an MA in Art History (Courtauld Institute of Art 1993), in Curating (Royal College of Art 1995) and a doctorate on the artist James Abbott McNeill Whistler (1996). She has also worked as a Research Consultant at the London School of Economics on a report into the creative impact of national museums in the UK. As a freelancer she co-ordinated the competition to select an architect for Tate Modern, organised the opening of Tate Modern and assisted with the opening of Tate Britain. She has worked for the Mayor's Cultural Office, organising the Fourth Plinth Project in Trafalgar Square, and has published on the post-war British artists Nigel Henderson, Francis Bacon and architects Alison & Peter Smithson, along side contemporary artists including Gilbert & George.

Morten Halvorsen: Research Assistant
Morten Halvorsen was part-time Research Assistant to the project focusing on its new media aspects and developing the online network for the participants. Morten graduated with an MA in Fine Art from the Kunstakademiet Trondheim in Norway and is a practising artist working in the field of electronic media and open source sound.

Dr Isabel Shaw: Research Assistant
Isabel Shaw did her first degree at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, in History of Art and Archaeology (Africa/Asia). She then obtained an MA in the Anthropology of Art and Visual Culture at University College London. During her MA she became especially interested in anthropological approaches to material culture and consumption. After this MA she carried out a sponsored ESRC CASE PhD studentship in the Department of Sociology at Lancaster University. Here she was influenced by perspectives on socio-material relations from the study of science and technology, and in particular theories such as Actor Network. Her PhD was an organisational ethnography of a multinational producing everyday consumer goods.

Sarah Thomas: Research Assistant
Sarah Thomas was born in Britain but has spent half of her life living and studying in Kenya. She took a BA in Anthropology at the University of Durham, during which time she became interested in photography and travelled extensively. Following this she continued to travel and lived abroad. In 2005 was awarded an AHRC grant to study for an MA in Visual Anthropology at the University of Manchester, where she had the opportunity to explore her interest in ethnographic filmmaking. Her graduation film from this course, shot among the Samburu of Northern Kenya, is now touring the international short film festival circuit.

Dr. Sophie Orlando: Associate Researcher
Sophie Orlando joined the Tate Encounters Research Group as an Associate member in 2008, while she was a doctoral candidate at the Sorbonne, Paris (University of Paris 1: Pantheon-Sorbonne). Her doctoral research centred on the role of art institutions in the process of the re-definition of national identity in an era of accelerated globalization. The dialogue in Tate Encounters between art history, sociology, visual anthropology, and visual culture theories became the focus of Sophie's observations. She pursued a study of the way that Tate Encounters aimed at "turning...dialogues into practices". As part of her study, Sophie spent time interviewing each member of the research team while analysing the archives/documents which had been collected in the process of the research. She also joined in some of the research activities, culminating in her participation in Tate Encounters: Research in Process. She was awarded a PhD by the University of Paris in Autumn 2010 for a thesis titled: *What Makes Britain so Great ? Britishness and British Contemporary art from 1979 to 2010.*

Co-researchers
This report acknowledges its indebtedness to the following co-researchers who so freely and openly gave of their time as knowing research subjects. They participated variously over a two-year fieldwork period, culminating in the productions and presentations they gave during the Research-in-Process events which took place in March 2009. The Co-researchers were undergraduate students at London South Bank University, with the exception of Dekunle Detokunbo-Bello who was an MA student, and Dan Fenton, who at the time was a media technician at the University. The Co-researchers were studying a variety of Humanities subjects ranging from Criminology, Sociology, Media Studies, Arts Management and Photography. They graduated in the summer of 2009 and have since gone on to successful professional employment in a related field. The researchers remain in contact with a significant number of the Co-researchers and continue to recognise their positive spirit of enquiry and search for truth.

Mary Ampomah
Aminah Borg-Luck
Adekunle Detokunbo-Bello
Louise Donaghy
Dan Fenton
Tracey Jordan
Laura Kunz
Dana Mendonca
Nicola Johnson Oyejobi
Cinta Esmel Pàmies
Deep Rajput
Jacqueline Ryan
Robbie Sweeny
Patrick Tubridy

APPENDIX B
[E]DITIONS 1–6, LIST OF EDITIONS AND CONTENTS

(www.tate.org.uk/research/tateresearch/majorprojects/tate-encounters/editions)

[E]dition 1
Diasporas, Migration and Identities
October 2007

Editors: Andrew Dewdney and Victoria Walsh with assistance from Isabel Shaw

Editorial
The aim of the Tate Encounters [E]ditions is to provide regular reports on the progress of the research programme and to develop and engage an audience in issues raised by the work. Such a dialogue would extend the participatory approaches being adopted by the programme and contribute to the wider research aim of encouraging a multiplicity of voices as well as helping to develop the permeability of research we are striving to achieve.

This edition is based upon work carried out in the first six months of the project. [E]dition One consists of papers written by the research investigators reflecting upon and developing different aspects of the original and successful application for the Arts and Humanities Research Council strategic funding programme 'Diasporas, Migration and Identities'; edited entries from the Co-researchers' Tate Encounters intranet site; and, a series of short films based upon video interviews with student participants from London South Bank University. The first edition is therefore very much a first work-in-progress, which has less to say by way of project outcomes and analytical perspectives, but more to say about research design, methodology and the cultural and political context of the project.

The Tate Encounters research project has been funded for three years and has an active fieldwork programme running until February 2009. It will produce a final report in the Spring of 2010. The practical crux of the project involves triangulating: an analysis of cultural diversity policy; in-depth case studies of 'minority' audience experiences of Tate Britain; and a study

of organisational agency and decision-making. One of the main reasons for wanting to do this is to gain a greater analytical overview and deeper insights into how Tate Britain operates in relation to cultural diversity policy and precepts derived from government agencies, academic study and the professional museums sector. It is also being undertaken in order to develop understandings of how Tate Britain and the National Collection of British Art 'become present' within British Culture and resonate or not with wider contemporary visual cultures. This edition includes the first research report for Tate Encounters, which describes how the different dimensions of the research programme have been constructed and a plan of how they will be put into practice.

As will become apparent from the papers published here, the literature review conducted for the original AHRC application pointed to a number of real limits upon existing minority audience studies. As a field of study, museum education and museum audience development is patchy and serious research in this field remains under-funded. Reports and evaluations of targeted audience development projects are often instrumentalised, i.e. they are prone to report on the success of targeted initiatives for the purposes of their own institutional management or funders, or, in the case of DCMS reports, they are based upon scant audience statistics, which indicate little more than the absence of 'minority' audiences. Mike Phillips' paper, 'The View From 2005' (2007) fills out this point in more detail and provides readers with an account of the broader political context in which cultural diversity was shaped and became engaged in policy perspectives.

Tate Encounters argues that in order to find out anything useful or significant for museums about why certain sections of the population do not attend Tate Britain in proportion to the overall demographic of London and the UK, it is necessary for researchers to find ways of engaging the 'the absent audience' in a sustained dialogue. In such a dialogue, the argument goes on, the metaphorical spotlight will also have to fall upon the motives of the questioners, in this specific case the research team and Tate Britain, as much as upon those who are being asked about their apparent absence, if a full understanding of what is happening is to emerge.

This edition also reflects upon how such a dialogue is to be 'staged' or constructed within a research framework. Andrew Dewdney's paper, 'Tate Encounters: Methodological Uncertainties' (2007) interrogates a number of assumptions built into the original application in order to clarify and develop the practical research practices and stresses the primary position of reflexivity in methodology. It also confronts the question of the power/ knowledge relationships between research investigators, research assistants and participants and points towards a greater democratisation of the research process.

The Diasporas, Migration and Identities programme specification invited researchers to 'rethink' the classificatory terms and concepts through which

people have been identified as: belonging to a minority; having an ethnicity; or by racial markers of appearance. The language of the original Tate Encounters AHRC application remained undeveloped on the question of cultural classification and on reflection, this lack of initial clarity reflected a theoretical ambivalence in the framing of participant groups. The original application had, after much discussion, specifically singled out black and Asian students as target groups for the project, whilst also not wanting to exclude newer migrant groups. The criteria for student participation on the pilot project were based upon inward UK family migration in one generation across three and on this basis the most enthusiastic of volunteers reflected a wide and complex range of migrations. This experience has led the project to think more in terms of migrant and migration as generating a meaningful conceptual framework, rather than that of specific minority communities as David Dibosa's paper, 'Migration' (2007) outlines.

The Image/Audio/Text section of [E]dition One contains an edited selection of Web postings of student Co-researchers from London South Bank University. These contributions were made as part of a pilot project, which ran from April to September 2007. The contributors formed an editorial group for the purposes of editing material for this edition. This collection of material elicits some initial responses to the research questions in the form of encounters with Tate Britain and reveals a number of thematic strands. The exploration of the public realm of Tate is strongly present across the entries as is the emergent sense of journeying as a strong feature of 'mobile identities'. The short films made by Sarah Thomas from video interviews with some of the Co-researchers reinforce and embellish these themes.

The Tate Encounters project is now in a major period of fieldwork development with a major programme of activities taking place over the next twelve months, which are outlined in the first Research Report (2007). The project continues to operate in reflexive mode, which has entailed further reflections upon and extensions of practice based methods and collaborative links. It is on this basis that the first [E]dition now invites a wider community of researchers with overlapping interests and concerns to contact us with a view to including accounts of other research in the next edition.

Image/Sound/Text
Tracey Jordan
Joanna Butcha
Francis Manika
Patrick Tubridy
Cinta Esmel Pamies
Aminah Borg-Luck
Jacqueline Ryan
The material presented here is an edited selection of the web entries of Co-researchers from the Pilot Project conducted between April – Sept 2007. Those people listed above made their own edited selection in conjunction with the research investigators and assistants, they also formed an editorial group to

oversee the overall selection. The entries can be viewed in conjunction with the short video films made by Sarah Thomas from longer interviews conducted by Andrew Dewdney and David Dibosa.

Papers

Mike Phillips, 'Migration, Modernity and English Writing:
Reflections on Migrant Identity and Canon Formation'

Mike Phillips, 'The View From 2005: Developing the
Tate Encounters Proposal'

Andrew Dewdney, 'Tate Encounters: Methodological Uncertainties in
Research Design'

David Dibosa, 'Migrations'

[E]dition 2
Spectatorship, Subjectivity and the National Collection of British Art
February 2008

Editor: David Dibosa with assistance from
Sarah Thomas and Isabel Shaw

Editorial
This is the second of six planned reports on the progress of the Tate Encounters Research Project – a collaboration between Tate Britain, London South Bank University and Wimbledon College of Art, University of the Arts, London. The project is part of the Arts and Humanities Research Council's national programme under the title of Migration, Diasporas and Identities. The aim of the [E]ditions is to report upon the progress of the project through the sharing of research material and perspectives. It further aims to engender debate and discussion among research colleagues, museum professionals, students and others seriously interested in the social and cultural role of museums in Britain in the 21st century.

In the light of the recent announcement by the British Government that schoolchildren should be offered at least five hours of high quality cultural activity per week, it seems timely that this second issue of [E]dition should address issues concerning spectatorship, subjectivity and the National Collection of British Art by focussing on gallery education. The heated debate within which Culture Secretary, Andy Burnham, and Schools Secretary, Ed Balls, found themselves, following the launch of the new initiative, 'Find Your Talent'[1], demonstrates the importance of appreciating the disputability of any terrain comprising both education and culture.

1 Lipsett, A. and Ford, L., 'Teachers critical of 'unrealistic' culture target'. (education. guardian.co.uk/artinschools/ story/0,,2256049,00.html. Accessed 1030hrs GMT, 16.2.08)

The advancement of egalitarian agendas, in the wake of the 1960s social upheavals, still impinges on debates concerning mass education and the dissemination of cultural values. At the same time, clarion calls for a return to selective or even elitist approaches to art and knowledge, as criteria for excellence, can be heard. Such appeals underscored the remarks of the former Culture Secretary James Purnell. Launching the recent McMaster Review of government support for the arts, in January 2008, Mr Purnell underlined a shift away from targets but towards excellence within funding criteria, saying, "I want us to review the role that Government and public funding can play in enabling excellence, how we can move from top-down targets to empowering and risk-taking[2]."

Although Tate Encounters has not rendered an analysis of government policy, per se, as a primary object of research, we acknowledge that key aspects of our investigation remain susceptible, albeit indirectly, to shifts in government policy. By such means, we remain mindful that the contestability of education and culture stems from their proximity to fault-lines that are sensitive to fluctuations in policy as well as to deeper historical shifts. Such awareness renders the discursive terrain of art and education increasingly complex.

The complexity of the discursive terrain inhabited by art and education continually undermines the direct applicability of policy propositions regarding their efficacy. From the perspective of research, there is a prior need to articulate the ways in which different social forces and political interests have allied themselves with declared aesthetic positions. By focusing on Tate Britain, the Tate Encounters research programme aims to refract emerging questions of audience experience, through the lens of a national arts organization situated at the heart of the ongoing debate. The naming of Tate Britain and its relaunch in 2000 placed it at the centre of critical enquiries concerning Britishness and culture as well as the future role of a national art museum, housing the National Collection of British Art.

[E]dition Two approaches the issue of Tate and its education culture through the selective presentation of current and ongoing research material. The six planned [E]ditions were always intended as work-in-progress reports of the research programme, published to encourage dialogue within the research community. This second publication comprises critical reflection in the form of two further research papers, together with video interviews and participant material in the form of slide-shows and photo-essays. 'Faction' – a combination of fact and fiction – has also emerged as a further means of foregrounding critical reflexivity on the part of the research team. In faction, a series of personalised narratives, both factual and fictional, become vehicles for drawing into research activity the emotions, affects and attitudes that are traditionally excluded within conventional approaches to research. Faction as a transvaluation of affect within research is discussed by Mike Phillips in this [E]dition.

2 'Promoting excellence, cutting bureaucracy: Sir Brain McMaster is to lead a review of how the Government supports excellence in the arts, Culture Secretary James Purnell.' Press Release: Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 10 January 2008. (www.culture.gov.uk/ Reference_library/Press_ notices/archive_2007. Accessed 27.2.07 1620hr)

Material has been drawn from across the Tate Encounters research group – consultants, investigators, Co-researchers and participants – as a means of investigating Tate Britain, its galleries and its education projects. It must be acknowledged, however, that many of our deliberations have taken place against the backdrop of a range of critical interventions in debates concerning art and contemporary culture, most notably the work of Stuart Hall. Indeed, Hall's presentation, Black British Art: Reconstituting the Canon[3], held in dialogue with the Director of the Association of Black Photographers (Autograph), Mark Sealy, has been noted as a direct reference in a number of discussions within the Tate Encounters research group.

This [E]dition contains two positioning papers from the research programme, which are intended to give further definition to the field of study. It is hoped that they will help locate debates around gallery education in terms of broader developments at Tate. Victoria Walsh's paper, 'Tate Britain: Curating Britishness and Cultural Diversity', offers a context for current debates on the role of cultural diversity, particularly against the backdrop of shifting cultural policy priorities within the post-multiculturalism era. The paper situates such debates within the institutional context of Tate and its development. It discusses the continual re-articulation of educational practice and policy in the light of broader institutional change. Andrew Dewdney's paper, 'Gallery Education and Research: Late Modern Practices and Recent Political Histories', offers an account of the discursive formation of gallery education in Britain, which demonstrates the relationship between gallery educational practices, social and economic change and cultural politics. The paper argues that the active and participatory nature of much recent gallery education is rooted in the cultural politics of progressive change. Furthermore, it suggests that practice-based research methodologies need to take account of this.

This [E]dition includes its first guest contributor, Felicity Allen, Head of Interpretation and Education at Tate Britain, who has contributed a paper, 'Situating Gallery Education'. The paper adopts an approach that draws on personal biography to discuss the development and growing status of gallery education over the past three decades. It advances the view that contemporary gallery education methods owe much to the social and cultural practices of communication developed within the Women's Liberation Movement. We welcome her contribution, as much as we look forward to receiving submissions from other researchers and professionals in respect of the arguments and analysis put forward here.

In addition to written texts, this [E]dition sustains its critical approach through the media arts practices of its participants and Co-researchers. Louise Donaghy's photo-essay identifies surveillance as a visible aspect of her experience of Tate Britain and, by extension, of contemporary British culture. Dan Fenton's short film looks at Victorian and post-war buildings of his immediate environment located between Tate Britain and Tate Modern. His work contemplates the effects of residential environments on the development

of personal and cultural aspirations. Robbie Sweeny's photo-series also constructs images of the urban environment to create contrasts that aim to locate Tate Britain as an expression of British identity that remains distant from experiences in his own life-world. Dana Mendonca's article explores the negotiation of her Slovak-British identity. Patrick Tubridy's artwork continues his investigations into the relationship between family and the transmission of cultural values through the generations.

Disentangling the current lines of argument, in as vexed a debate as the role of education and culture in national life, might prove to be difficult. Attempts to tackle such difficulties do not, however, stand as methodological weaknesses. In fact media interest in the present government's attempt to engage culture as part of its strategies of social cohesion demonstrates the timeliness of the funding of the Tate Encounters research project by the Migration, Diaspora and Identities programme of the Arts and Humanities Research Board. Without further research of a rich and sustained order, current debates on 'culture-and-society' run the risk of political hubris. Consequently, a danger emerges of getting cultural as well as educational policies and programmes seriously wrong. The range of contributions in this [E]dition point towards productive ways of approaching what might seem to be an impossible task.

Image/Sound/Text
Louise Donaghy
Laura-Eleua Kunz
Dana Mendonca
Robbie Sweeny
Patrick Tubridy
Andrew Dewdney in conversation with Felicity Allen
Victoria Walsh in conversation with Mike Phillips

The contributions in this section reflect the growth of the research project since its first participants joined in April 2007. Among the work showcased here is material drawn from the ongoing practices of the Co-researchers who have been engaged with Tate Encounters since its inception. Alongside such material, contributions are also presented from work produced by the participants who joined the project more recently in Autumn 2007. Since that time, the entire research team have been using a dedicated intranet site to discuss emerging issues. Through their participation in the intranet forum, the investigators recognized that the discussions taking place on the intranet resonated with debates emerging more broadly within the museums and galleries sector. As a mean of reflecting the parallels between debates within and beyond the research project, it was decided to include, in this [E]dition, excerpts from interviews addressing the development of long-standing cultural policy issues in Britain over the past two decades. In one interview, principal investigator Andrew Dewdney speaks to Tate Britain's Head of Interpretation and Education, Felicity Allen. In the other, co-investigator Victoria Walsh speaks to Tate Britain's former Curator: Cross-cultural, Mike Phillips.

3 Black British Art: Re-constituting the Canon', Stuart Hall in conversation with Mark Sealy, Tate Britain, April 2006. (www.tate.org.uk/onlineevents/webcasts/stuart_hall. Accessed 27.2.08 1630hrs)

Papers

Felicity Allen, 'Situating Gallery Education'

Andrew Dewdney, 'Making Audiences Visible: Gallery Education, Research & Recent Political Histories'

Mike Phillips, 'Some Preliminary Thoughts on Faction'

Victoria Walsh, 'Tate Britain: Curating Britishness and Cultural Diversity'

[E]dition 3
Visual Culture and the Expanded Field
May 2008

Editors: David Dibosa and Andrew Dewdney
with assistance from Sarah Thomas

This issue marks a half way point in [E]ditions, which was planned as a platform for a series of working papers, visual essays and the publication of selected research data, to accompany the two year fieldwork period of the Tate Encounters research project. Reflecting on the first three editions, it seems that the research group is beginning to recognize a supplementary function for the [E]ditions. In addition to opening up our discussions to ongoing dialogues within the wider research community, the [E]ditions provide a catalyst for the collective reassessment of critical positions on key issues within the research group. In the current [E]dition, the issue of Visual Cultures has been brought into that process.

The working papers on Visual Cultures presented in this [E]dition are a discursive form of writing in which we attempt to relate the experiences of the fieldwork to a larger field of critical enquiry. In doing this, we are attempting to refine and clarify our own explanatory framework. Such writing supplements the range of approaches taken in the development of our critical responses: each of us in our different ways keep notes of meetings and discussions; we write-up fieldwork interviews; we produce short papers for our seminar series. The working papers published here operate as a necessary working through of larger arguments and perspectives to test their practical application. The reason for wanting to make the papers publicly available arises from our overall methodological approach, which emphasises the importance of critical reflexivity and is action-orientated and participatory. We want to develop dialogue both with our participants and with other researchers whose work intersects with that of our own.

David Dibosa's paper, 'Besides Looking: Patrimony, Performativity and Visual Cultures in National Art Museums', is an exploration and a further elaboration of the relations between the development of visual media

practices within the research – what we have previously indicated as stemming from practice-based research approaches – and transmigrational visual cultures. David asks how perspectives derived from the study and articulation of Visual Cultures, (Hall, Mirzoeff, Evans, Rogoff) might usefully frame our understanding of transmigrational 'viewing strategies' and more specifically the practices of Tate Encounters' participants. He introduces an important counter to the idea that either the art museum or the research framing can address the transmigrational viewer other than in an engagement at the point of viewing. This stresses the dynamic, rather than settled, historical sense of migrant experience that has become contained in notions of 'heritage', and ethnic categorisations. He looks to performativity to offer a way out of the impasse of categorisation and his focus upon transmigrational experience as fluid leads him to the idea that a corresponding art museum viewing strategy might be that "which has not yet been seen" or "a kind of seeing on the move".

Andrew Dewdney's paper, 'The Visual in Culture and Visibility in National Art Museums' develops from the argument that the art museum still relegates the social reception of art to the margins of its practices and in doing so restricts the articulation and elaboration of viewer's experience to the normative contemplative response. As a point of departure from what is considered an impasse, he points to the increasing centrality of the visual within everyday life in which personal media now offers a means of broadcast media as well as a ready means of social record. In this respect, the papers of both Dibosa and Dewdney look to the expanded field and to expanded practices of the emergent field of the academic study of visual culture to find ways forward in the development of the social practice of the museum. Dewdney's paper notes that just as there are restrictions of viewing contained in the art museum's practices of exhibition and display, so commercial visual media also restricts the possibilities of collective expression. It does so through the continued differences in product markets and divisions within the language and forms in which media is produced. Both papers, however, finally rest upon a discussion of the media practices within the research and find signs of hope that emergent uses point towards forms of articulating what is provisionally being framed as 'seeing on the move'.

At the end of the first six months of the project, we took the decision to offer our participants the opportunity to become Co-researchers, most of whom were, at that point, first year undergraduate students. The notion of constituting our research participants as equal members of the research team arises from two aspects of our methodological approach. Firstly, the research framework settled for an ethnographic method which emphasises participation in the research process. Indeed, we are interested in research projects which explore issues of the ownership of research findings and the status of voices within the research community. The decision to offer participants 'co-researcher status' was our response to these interests. The second aspect of methodology that informed our decision on co-research arose out of our concern to place reflexivity at the centre of data collection.

In this sense the idea of co-researcher brings researcher and participants together within a common framework. This move clearly raises further questions regarding research skills.

A further six months on, at the end of the first year of the fieldwork, the original group continue to work upon and refine their projects within the larger framework of the research. In this issue Patrick Tubridy, a founding co-researcher, continues his own reflections in images and words upon his encounter with Tate Britain in looking at John Singer Sargent's painting of Ellen Terry as Lady Macbeth. What is of interest here, and discussed in detail in Dibosa's paper for this issue, is the line of enquiry centred upon patrimony. In addition, a further group of eight participants have made research project proposals which we have discussed with them in detail and accepted as the starting point for further development. Of particular interest here is Dana Mendonca's proposal and image/text sketch for project upon her own shifting identity within the recent expansion of the European Union.

In addition to the working papers in this issue, there is an ethnographic 'video essay' by Sarah Thomas in which she presents a series of three video extracts from the accumulating body of video-recording that she has been making. Through extracts, connected by short pieces of writing, which reflect upon method. Sarah Thomas begins to illustrate the distinctive features of an approach to visual ethnography that responds to the subject of the research, as well as to the conditions in which it is being conducted. There is evidence for suggesting that what Dibosa articulated as a kind of 'seeing on the move' is now reflected in the ways Thomas is responding as a visual anthropologist to the conditions in which the project is being conducted and those of participants' lives. The extract from the interview of Deep Rajput visiting Forbidden Plant in London's Covent Garden and the discussion that takes place between Rajput and Thomas has a rich resonance with what is being pointed to more theoretically as the expanded field of visual culture and could be seen to constitute 'thick visual description'. Equally, the conversation between Nicola Oyejobi, Rajput, and Thomas 'wandering' in Tate Britain's galleries is a pointer towards the importance of social dialogue for an emergent interpretative framework.

In this [E]dition one can observe the beginnings of a correlation between three distinct forms of practice: discursive writing, video ethnography and photography. The most obvious form of this is that the Co-researchers' photographic practices become the subject of comment and analysis within the discursive papers, while, at the same time, serving as illustrations to points of analysis. This is the case with the inclusion of the photographic project of Robbie Sweeny, which is accompanied by his own written reflections on the process of making a picture in the Duveen Galleries at Tate Britain, during the exhibition of neo-classical sculpture, Return of the Gods. This participant practice is then the subject of comment in Dewdney's paper in this issue. In these ways the co-researcher's own reflections upon their practice become precise exemplifications of more general framing of observations. The video ethnography also begins the process of relating

theory and practice. In this sense, the observations generated through visual ethnography provide a means for the research group to work out the theoretical and conceptual architecture of the project. Such observations are being written in the field, so to speak, close to the practical, organisational, and ethnographic studies that parallel the practical projects of our participants and Co-researchers. The research group consider that at the end of the first year of fieldwork they have established the main elements of a centred and grounded project, which over the next year can engage the original research questions in more detail and depth.

Image/Sound/Text:
Dana Mendonca
Robbie Sweeny
Sarah Thomas
Patrick Tubridy

This issue of Image/Sound/Text contains contributions from Sarah Thomas, visual anthropologist and Tate Encounters Research Assistant and three of the project's LSBU student Co-researchers, Dana Mendonca, Patrick Tubridy and Robbie Sweeny. The material is of different orders, but shares the common concern to use visual material as research data.

Through the work of Thomas the project has built up a considerable collection of video interviews and recordings of gallery related events. In this edition she has edited four short 'films', which are strong illustrations of the project explorations of the relationships between cultural identities, art museum encounters and visual cultures. They consist of; a video recording of Thomas visiting the place of work and home of May Ling, the mother of Jacqueline Ryan a co-researcher; a recording made of a visit of Deep Rajput to the 'Forbidden Planet' shop in London's Covent Garden; a video recording of Deep Rajput and Nicola Oyejobi in discussion with Sarah Thomas at the Tate Britain and a more complex edited film of participants' responses to an 'entry' video recording at the start of their Tate Encounter, entitled "I am".

The contributions of the Co-researchers reflects the working out and development of specific points of encounter with Tate Britain. Sweeny reflects upon the process of making a photograph in the Duveen Galleries which attempts to bring a domestic world into the space of the art museum. Mendonca provides an outline of a proposed project to explore identity in relation to migration, settlement and time. Tubridy's photo-text focuses upon his continued challenge to the Britishness of Tate's historical collection in relationship to his Irish cultural identity.

Papers:
Andrew Dewdney, 'The Visual in Culture and Social Visibility in
   National Art Museums'
David Dibosa, 'Besides Looking: Patrimony, Performativity and Visual
   Cultures in National Art Museums'

[E]dition 4
Post-critical Museology
October 2008

Editor: Andrew Dewdney

Editorial

The title of this edition of working papers announces a position that Tate Encounters is developing in relationship to the field of museum studies, and to the art museum itself. Post critical museology establishes itself upon an argument that whilst theoretical analysis has revealed the European museum as a product of specific post colonial and state knowledge/power discourses, most museums have not significantly changed their organisational and knowledge hierarchies to which the critique pointed. In the view taken here, the analysis of the museum achieved by critical museology has a practical corollary, as well as social trajectory, which is to overturn the central historical hierarchy of museum knowledge, not only in theory, but in practice[1]. In the terms of this argument, the practical corollary of critical museology is understood as the effort to change the practices of museums along the path of their 'democratisation', or, put another way, towards the realisation of the museum as fully public.

Over the last decade the critique of the European museum as an institution of regulation within a particular system of knowledge/power has been elucidated and established as an interdisciplinary academic discipline. Museum studies as Macdonald (2004) says, has 'come of age' and as we would add, is now taught in a wider variety of undergraduate and postgraduate courses in UK universities. Such a development is a cause for celebration for a number of reasons, not least amongst them being: that it reflects the continuing enjoyment of museums; it contributes to the further professionalisation of occupations in museums; and it establishes the academic base of a new field of enquiry. However, these very successes also represent an obstacle to the realisation of the critical project.

The first problem is that Museum Studies, as organised in higher education, raises the question of how this new body of knowledge becomes useful. Museum studies as a discipline has been operationalised by universities within the framework of a new vocationalism, which is rooted in a culture of educational audit. Not only is the organisation of learning on museum studies courses subject to audit culture, but also the world to which this 'teaching and learning' about the museum is directed. Within cultural policy, museums are now included as part of the 'creative industries', and conceptualised around an economic audit. Thus the museum is subsumed within an operational field of the economic marketplace and its goal of exchange for profit. The 'learning

1. The distinction being made here between theory and practice is between the abstraction of knowledge, most clearly recognised in the practice of theory, the work mostly carried out in the academy and the theory of practice, constituted in the knowledge, or, 'know how', of those who practice in the museum.

and teaching' of museum studies is, in this sense, conducted as training for business, which is to say, business as usual in the museum. Here the audit cultures of learning and teaching and the audit culture of the museum elide.

The second and related problem is that the trajectory of critical museological knowledge remains precisely directed at undoing the 'usual' business of the museum. The effort here has been to understand the development of the museum as a knowledge/power system, or network, which operates to limit, or rather unwittingly thwart, the extension of the public realm. The burden of the critical project of museology has been to demonstrate how the museum positions both subject and object in what we might now term a 'double gaze'. On the one hand, the critical effort has been to see and reveal how the curatorial practices of collection and display constitute historical artefacts as bearers of particularised meaning – about nations, cultures, histories, peoples – and on the other, how exhibitionary practices position the possible gaze of the spectator and construct particularised audiences. Now all of this knowledge is 'out there' in papers, books, journals, spoken at conferences and as part of the flow of virtual information, inclusive of this work. Critical museology is a currency amongst other currencies, a knowledge amongst knowledges to be accrued and held by individual knowledge holders – curators, educationalists, academics. But what of the institution that is the museum itself? How has critical museology impacted upon the practices they sought to bring into critical focus? Such a question deserves to be taken seriously and demands, beyond what is possible here, that we look at contemporary museums from a post-critical museological perspective. What it has been possible to focus upon in this volume is Tate Britain as one example of the state of post-criticality.

This volume brings the project's methodological and theoretical frameworks together with its cultural histories and ethnographic practices, to focus upon Tate Britain and the experience of the people who constitute its' networks. As Tate Encounters begins to consider how to elucidate its fieldwork findings, the papers presented in this edition show in some measure, how it is employing reflexive modes in order to consider the construction and legitimacy of the voice of research. In this reflexive mode a moment of accountability is reached. This is to say that in framing an approach to any account of Tate Britain, as the product of research, the position of the researcher becomes accountable (understood here as accountable to a peer community and the public purse) as a holder and speaker of certain knowledges. The starting question in the papers presented becomes; "how did I become a speaker of these (un)certain knowledges?"

There are a number of ways in which the papers in this edition approach the question of an accountability of voice in relationship to Tate Britain, each of which reflect the different research dimensions of the programme and the strategies thus far employed. In 'The Self that Follows the Discipline: Visual Cultures and the Tate Encounters Research Project', David Dibosa addresses the issue of accountability as someone producing knowledge through research, by focusing upon the formation as well as the speaking of the self.

In doing so, he questions any simple objectifying notion of the research process and outcomes:

"In making myself accountable in the ambit of a research project, I could be seen to be under-writing the more generalized claim that account-ability serves a function in the democratization of knowledge. Under the aegis of democratic knowledge much can be promised: researchers can claim to have set aside their favourite things such as the cloak of invisibility or the shield of impartiality – devices designed to protect them from the effects of their thinking. In the current era, during which invisibility has given way to increasingly radiant transparency, we researchers are called to become more explicit about our own motives, to reveal more of our predilections, to confess our artistic indiscretions, and even to hint at our intellectual promiscuities."
DIBOSA (2008)

David Dibosa's strategy of accountability is the reflexive mode and moment where he puts himself firmly in the frame. He looks at his subjectness as a means of revealing his knowledge formation, which he locates within the experience of a migrant family and in relation to his own social mobility. The strength of this reflexive position is that it engages a history and narrative of the racialisation of social life. David Dibosa indicates the journey through critical museology to his current position, that of post-critical museology, which he defines as the interrogative mode:

"To question an institution and its practices is seen as a means of placing the viewer's cultural agency in the service of the development of his/her subjectivity rather than in conformity with the institution's objectifying strategies. The status attributed to such questioning is not without difficulty, however. For, to constitute the conditions of a museum encounter in terms of a question – what is it that I am doing here? What do I want from this situation? Where I am? – leads, as one can see, to a questioning of the self: What is being asked of me in this situation? Who is asking? Who am I?"
DIBOSA (2008)

A related question, of how the racialisation of thought/language has been entailed in cultural policy, is taken up in relationship to the framing of the Tate Encounters research method in Andrew Dewdney's paper, 'Identity, Difference and the Art Museum', which was written specifically to engage with the Department of Culture Media and Sport (DCMS), and Tate's Diversity Forum. The paper identifies certain elements of an internal critique of one of the key assumptions of the project's formation. Tate Encounters originally framed the problem of the museum achieving a balanced/inclusive, i.e. multicultural, audience, within what we now see as a racialised set of social categories, categories drawn in part from social science classifications of race and ethnicity. The classifications of migrant individuals and families into ethnicised and racial groups were contained in the original application. These were revealed to reinforce the categories

by which difference is defined, rather than to discover new things about difference through encounter:

The rejection of racialised thinking requires the effort to speak/invent a new language of recognising, valuing and living with difference. This is something which potentially takes place everywhere, but also has a formal engagement in specific critically reflexive contexts, of which research is one, education another, and creative practice yet another. In our research team it remains something which comes in and out of focus and we struggle to give words and meaning to it. Dewdney (2008) The exploration of difference, and the effort to detach its intellectual reach from the politics of labelling, is the subject of Mike Phillip's contribution to this edition in this short paper, People Who Look Like Me. Here Phillips continues to add to the attempt to understand the problems of contemporary cultural diversity policy in terms of his own and others participation within the formation of the Black Arts movement.

In this context, the Black Arts moment, reflected a break with traditional modes of representation, but it was more than that, because it offered up a visual polemic focused on skin colour, and in the process, began to redefine the way that migrants could see images; and it also began to reshape the way that the rest of the country could see the imagery of black people's identity. "Blackness" had been invented – 'people who look like me'. Phillips (2008) The issue for Mike Phillips is that the pole of positive difference established by the term and cultural associations of British Black Arts, was returned by a dominant and 'White' authority as a limiting category.

The problem for people who subscribed, however mildly, to notions of racial exclusivity, was to do with language. In a context where they continually rubbed shoulders with whites, and where their claim to equal treatment was based, (whether they liked it or not), on a liberal and integrationist model, the language of racial assertion created difficulties. So, in the assimilationist marketplace of multiculturalism, the euphemism emerged as a way of signalling ideas without precisely articulating them. 'People who look like me' became a shorthand for communicating disapproval of mixed race relationships, homosexuality, and various kinds of educational processes. The phrase also indicated a catchall defiance of the entire integrationist project. Phillips (2008)

Mike Phillip's paper continues to place an understanding about the racialisation of culture, and the problems of finding an alternative language and set of perceptions of difference, squarely in the foreground of any consideration of cultural ways of seeing. It is another way of holding the project to account and of discussing accountability. Critical reflection on methodological assumptions is the starting point for Isabel Shaw's paper, 'Situating Method: Accountability and Organisational Positionings', which cautiously begins to outline the complexities involved, not only in conducting an organisational study of Tate Britain, but in doing so from

the position of a research project uneasily but productively sited within the institution it seeks to understand. Once again the question of the constructedness of voice in relation to knowledge is addressed, here in the specific terms and framework of science and technology studies, which provides a resistance to the various forms of pressure upon social science research to deliver knowledge as facts and proofs which can be directly engaged in social policy.

The importance of the issue of accountability is underlined in Isabel Shaw's paper, which is the first of three papers planned to map out the dimensions of the organisational study conducted by Isabel Shaw as part of the Tate Encounters research programme. The organisational study was undertaken to achieve the project's aim of examining

"whether and how notions of Britishness are reproduced through the professional practices by which the collection is continually produced"

(TATE ENCOUNTER'S RESEARCH PROGRAMME, 2007: 28).

The strategy adopted for this aspect of the fieldwork originates within the field of science and technology studies, and in particular our interest in the utility of concepts derived from Latour and Law's work on Actor Network Theory. The question of accounting for the voice of research is here at the outset:

"The aim of this working paper is to discuss and initiate a practice of accountability as part of the research process. By this, I mean the processes by which research findings are found and represented: the conceptual tools that inform this, the relationships that are negotiated as part of ethnographic research, and the discriminations that are performed as part of research in processes such as methodological considerations and analysis (McLean and Hassard, 2004: 508–511)".

SHAW (2008)

More than this, Shaw recognises that the Tate Encounters research project is not easily or necessarily separate from what it is seeking to understand and describe.

"Tate Encounters' ambivalent position as a research project within an organization that is also the focus of study, requires a reflexive methodology that continually accounts for existent and potential organisational positionings and relations."

SHAW (2008)

Shaw's paper can be regarded as laying the early foundations upon which the structure of the organisational study will be laid out in subsequent

papers. What is achieved in this first account is a demonstration of the use of a reflexive mode in relationship to the object of study.

The question of the legitimacy of voice to speak in and about the museum with confidence and authority, i.e. to be listened to, is central to the Tate Encounters project, which is founded upon and continually engages with the centrality of diversity and difference. This is taken up in Andrew Dewdney's paper, 'Identity, Difference and the Art Museum', in which he identifies how the Tate Encounters fieldwork mediated the relationship between project participants and Tate Britain, in order to create the terms on which their occupancy of the museum gained authority – the authority to be taken seriously:

"Tate Encounters operated as 'a secret door' into the deeper recesses and workings of the museum through which they [student participants], could develop greater understandings and develop further insights into their own reactions and experiences. Simply put the project legitimated their presence in the museum and gave them the status needed to overcome their initial reactions or what might be termed barriers to access."

DEWDNEY (2008)

The position of participants as Co-researchers is focused upon in the practical ethnographic work of the project, and in the edition, where Sarah Thomas's visual ethnographic essay can also be understood as addressing the issue of the authority of voice in the museum. This is true in the way it centres on Patrick Tubridy's project to trace the authority of his interest in Tate Britain to his family in West Clare, Ireland. And, in the way Sarah Thomas challenges the medium she is using and the rules she acquired during her training as a visual ethnographer. The visual essay can be taken as a form of critical practice, or even, practice as research, a method Tate Encounters has invested in relationship to the Co-researchers.

The interrogative mode articulates a context for the field ethnography conducted by Sarah Thomas and Patrick Tubridy. The visual essay of Sarah Thomas, "Can you stop clicking Patrick? One thing at a time; you can do that later can't you?!" can be understood as the interrogative mode in action. The journey to West Claire contains two projects; that of Patrick Tubridy, a project co-researcher who is a recently qualified photography graduate, now wishing to investigate and make sense of his past through photography, and; that of Sarah Thomas, a visual anthropologist and project researcher who is engaged in an ethnographic process of producing video documentation of Tubridy's experience. The video essay follows and narrates the centrality of migration in museum spectatorship, and specifically embodies and gives concrete detail to transmigration as a key mobilising concept, and how global mobility creates a greater sense of fluidity to identity. In Patrick Tubridy's own words:

Initially I never thought that I would have been so divided in my thinking as I was. But from day one I found that to be interviewed on camera about my birthplace put me in a position of having to be a Londoner explaining and describing what it was like as a child growing up in that place, or a tour guide giving a walk through a lost civilisation's ruins.

TUBRIDY (2008)

Sarah Thomas makes the same point in reflecting upon her practice:

I shall also reflect on how I feel my own experience of being a transmigrational person has aided my ability to respond to a variety of fieldwork situations, and how the insertion of digital visual technology (video and photography) into the ethnographic context gives rise to particular sets of data and creates a particular kind of constructedness – of both the ethnographic moment and the visuality employed within it.

THOMAS (2008)

The reflexive and interrogative mode is very much in evidence in the film 'Lie Back and Think of England' by Aminah Borg-Luck, a co-researcher. This is Aminah's second film (the first was published in the first volume of [E]ditions) in which she essays on the subject of nationality and its meaning as part of identity. Both films start from Tate Britain and ask the question, is it possible to 'see' or 'experience' an identity located in nation within the national collection of British art? The first film is structured as a journey to Finland, where Aminah's mother grew up and where her grandmother still lives.

The commentary muses on how the cultural inheritance of Finland is or isn't part of her identity. In the second film, the journey is continued across the shifting border of Finland and Russia in order to question national and physical borders in a globalised movement of people. The second film returns the journey to Tate Britain, and returns the question of the relationship between Britishness and Tate Britain in an edited interview with Andrew Dewdney. The answers given by Aminah and Andrew about art and nationality are interestingly symmetrical, and reject any simple historical notion of nation. Instead, they stress how a sense of place is a stronger formative dimension of identity.

This edition also contains the project proposal of Sophie Orlando, a research student from the Sorbonne, supervised by Professor Phillippe Dagen, who, as part of her PhD. (La notion de britannicite dans l'art contemporain britannique des annees 1980 a nos jours) is undertaking a specific study of Tate Encounters: Britishness and Visual Culture. This study focuses upon the formation of the research within British cultural policy discourse and will attempt to understand how they are reflected in the subsequent shaping and operation of the project. We welcome this study in the spirit of its central reflexive mode and are more than interested in how her study sheds light upon the ways in which our project has constructed its field and its objects.

This volume of Tate Encounters [E]ditions posits the idea of post critical museology, and starts to populate it with cultural histories, methodological problems, and practical questions. In doing this, and in seeing what has been achieved as the current state of the post critical art, a picture emerges of something which is highly engaged and struggling to reconnect with a social and political account of culture and actions within it. As we look at it in what is for the project its birth pangs, we see something necessarily messy, in tension, and full of life:

In Tate Encounters we have crept up upon this larger and more abstract politics of culture not through polemic, but through the embedded and engaged process of 'narrating ourselves' within and towards the institution. Our stock of research practices have developed from the continuing encounter with the institution, what it is to be there, how that feels, how we engage, what responses we receive.

DEWDNEY (2008)

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Thomas S. (2008) "Can you stop clicking Patrick? One thing at a time; you can do that later can't you?!", Edition 4. Tate Online

Papers
Isabel Shaw, 'Situating Method: Accountability and Organisational Positionings'
Mike Phillips, 'People Who Look Like Me'
David Dibosa, 'The Self that Follows the Discipline: Visual Cultures and the Tate Encounters Research Project'
Andrew Dewdney, 'Identity, Difference and the Art Museum'. This paper was written by Andrew Dewdney to specifically engage with the Department of Culture Media and Sport, (DCMS) and Tate's Diversity Forum'.
Sophie Orlando, 'Proposal for study of the Tate Encounter Team'
Sarah Thomas, '"Can you stop clicking, Patrick?": Thoughts on a Transvisual Ethnography'

Image/Sound/Text
Aminah Borg-Luck
Sarah Thomas
Patrick Tubridy

[E]dition 5
Reflecting on Reflexivity and the Transdisciplinary
July 2010

Editor: Victoria Walsh

In the editorial of the last [E]dition, published in October 2008, Tate Encounters articulated a position of 'post-critical museology' which proposed a trajectory towards a new model of research practice that, while recognising the significant contribution of recent museological studies, identified the limits of engagement with and influence this body of work has had upon the museum itself. The core of this argument rested upon the recognition of the separation of knowledge constructed by theory outside of the museum in the academy on the one hand and on the other, the instrumentalised knowledge of the museum produced by the vocational ethos of museum studies courses.

The perspective that Tate Encounters adopted, as an embedded, interdisciplinary and collaborative project, focused on bringing the substantive work of the academy into closer alignment with the everyday contingent practices of the museum as much as to bring the concerns of the museum into closer discursive alignment and engagement with the knowledge and expertise of different academic disciplines, many of which have themselves remained differentiated within the academy itself. As a consequence of this stance, Tate Encounters had to be alive to its own potential to falter and fall into prescriptive research practice, framed by academic or museological interests. As Arjun Appadurai has noted of academic research:

"What do we mean when we speak today of research? … Like other cultural keywords, [research] is so much part of the ground on which we stand and the air we breathe that it resists conscious scrutiny. In the case of the idea of research, there are two additional problems. First, research is virtually synonymous with our sense of what it means to be scholars and members of the academy, and thus it has the invisibility of the obvious. Second, since

research is the optic through which we typically find out about something as scholars today, it is especially hard to use research to understand research."

APPAADURAI, 1999

The research team consistently addressed this potential methodological pitfall by adopting a highly reflexive-interpretive approach to research design and analysis using enhanced participant modelling and dialogic data gathering during the fieldwork period. In contrast to critical museology's project of 'revealing' power-knowledge relations within the institution, Tate Encounters identified itself with what Alvesson and Skoldberg have described as 'R-reflexivity': reconstructive reflexivity as opposed to 'D-Reflexivity', which seeks to deconstruct its object of attention. As they state:

"R-refexivity is about developing and adding something. It means bringing in issues of alternative paradigms, root metaphors, perspectives, vocabularies, lines of interpretation, political values and representations; re-balancing and reframing voices in order to interrogate and vary data in a more fundamental way. R-reflexive practices are employed to illuminate what is left out and marginalized: the (almost) missed opportunity, premature framing, the reproduction of received wisdom, a re-enforcement of power relations and unimaginative labeling. They provide alternative descriptions, interpretations, results, vocabularies, voices and points of departure that could be taken into account, and show some of the differences that they would make. R-reflexivity aims to open up new avenues, paths and lines of interpretation to produce 'better' research ethically, politically, empirically and theoretically."

(ALVESSON & SKÖLDBERG, 2000)

A major component of the Tate Encounters fieldwork that aimed to test and open out to public scrutiny this approach was a month-long programme of public discussions with seventy-two project participants and contributors that took place in the galleries of Tate Britain from February to March 2009. Each week of this programme, 'Research in Process', centred on a key theme that underpinned the project's set of research questions and emergent findings: the role and impact of gallery education; the space and place of digital technology within curatorial and museological practice; the status of difference within the formation and practice of cultural diversity policy; and, the nature of the 'encounter' with Tate Britain by the project's student Co-researchers. (Recordings of all the discussions can be accessed at http://process.tateencounters.org/)

While [E]dition 6 will report on the final research findings of Tate Encounters, this edition builds on the 'Research in Process' by extending the invitation to two of the programme's external session chairs, Peter Ride and Raimi Gbadamosi, to reflect, from their own practitioner perspectives, on what emerged of interest and value to them. In addition, two of the student participant/Co-researchers, Cinta Esmel Pamies and Aminah Borg-Luck, contribute articles generated from their encounter with Tate Britain during the

fieldwork period. As with Cinta Pamies' article derived from her BA dissertation on the marketing practices of Tate, Silaja Suntharalingham also contributes an article from her MA dissertation (Leicester) 'Tate Triennial 2009: Defining Cross-cultural Strategies at Tate Britain' which inherently built on her own first-hand experience of working at Tate Britain and witnessing various curatorial developments and discussions unfold around the ideas and practices of cultural diversity and its relation to concepts of Britishness and the global.

In seeking to open up further questions of the consequences of the separation of knowledge practices and production between the academy and the museum, the project also secured generous contributions in the form of extended ethnographic, semi-structured, interviews from three leading academics in the fields of the sociology of race, cultural policy and art history: Les Back, Tony Bennett and Donald Preziosi.

While each of these contributions offers insights and reflections from individually specific disciplines, a notable set of common concerns and themes usefully emerges in terms of a critically reflexive enquiry into the relation between the categorizing processes of art and culture with: nationalism, racism and modernism; the production, spatialisation and usefulness of discipline-led knowledge; and, the processes of globalization and digital development that new forms of cultural and capital flow are bringing within the sphere of culture itself. What these contributions collectively reveal is the level of disconnection between the lived contingencies of everyday life and practice, its conditions, struggles and contradictions, with the totalizing accounts of art and culture that are generated by disciplinary knowledge and theory, and subsequently taken up by cultural institutions, including the museum. The questions that inherently arise from this centre around how can ambiguity, complexity and contradiction be valued and understood within a theory of practice and a practice of theory which is a necessary condition if a materialization and reidentification of the social within the public cultural realm is to be realized.

For Donald Preziosi fundamental questions need to be revisited about what constitutes the idea of art and indeed what motivations informed the European invention of the category and 'phantasm' of art which art history has worked in conjunction with to produce 'paradigms of difference'. As art history has perpetuated these paradigms, the need to ask the question 'who benefits' has become more urgent, and, despite the proliferation of museum building and museum studies, the question of how to 'step off the carousel' persists, calling into question not just the practice of art history, but the role of the museum as part of the interpretive machinery that sustains difference through its 'stagecraft' of display. In engaging with these issues, alternative disciplines such as 'artisanal anthropology' offer for Preziosi a way forward by reconnecting the idea of art with the processual knowledge of the artistry that produces it. Inherent within this move is a challenge to the predominant aesthetic mode of the art museum's modernist reification of the art object.

As Raimi Gbadamosi argues in his paper 'Scuffles in the Cathedral', despite the promise and ambition of the Tate Encounters project, from his role as an external commentator on the student Co-researchers' visual documentation of their encounter with Tate Britain, the pervasive category of art within the museum undercut the value of their work as research as they 'inevitably became involved in the discourses of art' and their 'interventionist capabilities' were 'eroded (not completely)'; or as Gbadamosi puts it, 'Tate performs its magic.' But as he also argues, a more complex account of what might constitute Britishness also emerged through the Co-researchers' ethnographic accounts, which, moving beyond an engagement with art solely in terms of the politics of representation, suggests what could be gained in the recognition of multiple readings of works held in Tate Britain: 'It was important to see other possibilities for Britishness that were not apologetic or self-conscious in their incarnation. Understanding these new narratives are important in understanding modes of consumption, recognising that the multiple reading of the same artefact no longer simply means foreign-ness. And that disparate readings do not necessarily mean opposition to ideas of Britishness, it may simply indicate codes of new ownership.'

Aminah Borg-Luck's reflexive account of her participation in Tate Encounters, as one of the student Co-researchers, describes and embraces the value of contradiction as she unravels her conflicted and conflicting journey through both Tate Britain and the Tate Encounters project, noting that: 'I had the feeling that Britishness was both irrelevant and integral to me, that I absolutely was and was not Finnish and that the awe that the Tate Britain building encouraged was both off-putting and dazzling. I believed the very contradiction of all the contradictory impulses I had was worth pausing on as it offered its own insight.' Reflecting on the initial perception and avid rejection of the project's 'call' on racialised identities, Borg-Luck works through her own subtle and complex negotiation of her personal background and relationship to the framing and politics of identity through the discussion of her two films 'Lie Back and Think of England' and 'A Bit Himalyean', noting 'that as identities (national, personal, other) tend to be in a constant state of flux, attempting to locate any fixed or stable Britishness in Tate Britain's galleries was hugely problematic'.

This negotiation between concepts of difference and Britishness, between diversity and the nation-state, reflected in cultural diversity policies of the last decade, invariably leads to the questions that Gbadamosi identifies as the political backdrop of Tate Encounters: 'How much difference is too much? What sort of difference is immediately desired. How does one identify useful difference?' But as Les Back argues in his interview, the ground on which to begin to discuss such questions has been overlaid by political narratives of Britishness and arguments for social cohesion and integration that have obscured and elided the 'infinite traces' of history which need to be mined in order to produce a 'better understanding of British culture'. With reference to Salman Rushdie's observation, 'History happened abroad for the British', Back's questions turn on 'is an integrated

society always good?' and 'what makes a good society?', noting the etymological roots of 'integrate' are 'to make like'.

But as Back also discusses, a significant disjuncture between the value of academic knowledge and debate on race and nationalism and its impact on both policy and the 'ordinariness of everyday life' is notable, highlighting the degree to which the usefulness of such knowledge is dependent on the 'politics of reception'. In this respect, Back echoes a point also made by Preziosi, that while much knowledge and debate has over the last twenty to thirty years been embraced and engaged with through conferences and public events, including within the museum, such discussions including those of Post-colonialism in the 1980s, represented too much of a 'quick win' in the cultural realm, leaving the terms of reference essentially contained at the level of discussion, rather than producing change at the level of practice or institutional policy.

At sobering points in their interviews both Back and Bennett claim that the forces of racism and conditions of social inequality have never been so redolent in the UK following over a decade of New Labour government. For Back, New Labour 'completed Thatcher's project of profound individualism', while for Bennett the Party's consistent denial of the role of Class subsumed class difference within policies of social cohesion that inevitably led to 'deficit' models of cultural access, rather than an acknowledgement and engagement with social difference on its own terms, thus exacerbating social division. But as Back reflects, the role that Sociology has historically played in the formation of cultural policy has also contributed to political confusion around how to approach the relation between race and nationalism, as 'massively political struggles about the terms of reference' in the 1980s became part of the problem not the solution, leading to the current dilemma of how to find 'another way to talk about Britishness that can face the past without guilt.' Furthermore, the prevalence within Sociology to think of nationalism in relation to the nation-state, to regard the State as the basic unit of Sociology, dis-acknowledges the need to 'look across' and understand the complex conditions and lived reality of post-colonial and more recent global migration. In failing to make these connections through a 'methodological nationalism', theories of the global are being generated and embraced that further dislocate knowledge from the conditions of struggle in which they are socially and culturally grounded.

While discussions of globalization concern Bennett, the need to scrutinize the processes of governance at the social level remain a primary concern in understanding the agency which cultural institutions hold in contemporary culture. Retracing the origins of his interests in museums, Bennett discusses his emerging scepticism of cultural studies in the 1980s, which while recognising the importance of figures such as Stuart Hall, left him unconvinced that the spatially separated out politics of resistance could intervene and change the flow of cultural capital. Pursuing a project to identify the institutional mechanism of policy processes, his pivotal role in the creation of cultural policy studies led to a direct engagement with

museums as sites of cultural production that need to be better understood as complex organizations of different value systems within the public realm, rather than simple monolithic organizations. To this end, he reflects on the role and potential of collaboration between the academy and the museum and the potential to create a new paradigm of the public intellectual which moves beyond the political technology of the academic intellectual, issuing truths from above as a privileged 'seer'. As he concludes, what is needed is a different framing of the social than critical sociology has hitherto offered, which in part is answered by Bruno Latour's call for the development of flat ontologies of the social; a model that can recognize the museum as a network of practices and flows within and without, connecting it to the public and social, the national and global. In this respect, Latour's project of 're-assembling' and 'retracing the social' has offered Tate Encounters a useful methodological counterpoint to critical museology, by reconnecting the cultural and the social through the opening out of the relationship between the viewer and the work of art, museum practice and policy, the everyday and theory without prioritizing any one position or account. As Latour writes:

"... in the old paradigm you had to have a zero-sum game – everything lost by the work of art was gained by the social, everything lost by the social had to be gained by the 'inner quality' of the work of art – in the new paradigm you are allowed a win-win situation: the more attachments the better ... the more 'affluence' the better. It is counter-intuitive to try and distinguish 'what comes from the viewers' and 'what comes from the object' when the obvious response is 'to go with the flow'. Object and subject might exist, but everything interesting happens upstream and downstream. Just follow the flow. Yes, follow the actors themselves or rather that which makes them act, namely the circulating entities."

(LATOUR, 2005)

As Andrew Dewdney noted in the Editorial to [E]dition 4 titled 'Post-critical Museology', it has been through the mixed methodology and practice of Tate Encounters as a transdisciplinary, embedded project, defined by critical reflexivity, that 'we have crept up on this larger and more abstract politics of culture not through polemic, but through the embedded and engaged process of 'narrating ourselves' within and towards the institution. Our stock of research practices have developed from the continuing encounter with the institution, what it is to be there, how that feels, how we engage, what responses we receive.'

It is from a position within Tate Britain also that Silaja Suntharalingam contributes her paper 'Tate Triennial 2009: Positioning Global Strategies at Tate Britain' which discusses how the museum is grappling with the issues of Britishness, nationalism, migration and identity within a political and cultural arena of debate around multiculturalism, diversity and the global. As Suntharalingam acknowledges in her introduction, her paper is subject to values she has adopted through her position of work at Tate Britain

(now located in the Development Department), but equally draws on her first hand experience of working in the Education department and being closely networked to the Tate Encounters project and the Cross-cultural programme. As an exhibition, Tate Britain's triennial is aimed at putting the spotlight on the contemporary condition of British art, but in the hands of the external curator Nicolas Bourriaud the 2009 Triennial also came to represent a provocative intervention into discussions of what constitutes and defines the category of British art, and by implication Britishness. As Suntharalingam notes: 'For Bourriaud, contemporary British art at this moment is defined by an alternative form of modernity which supersedes postmodernism. In his definition, artists are no longer bound to cultural roots, singular artistic practices or linear histories, but rather free to to roam across boundaries and practices, locating their work in fluid 'cross-cultural, cross-border negotiations', which he defines using a new term 'altermodern'. The key points of the manifesto [Bourriaud on the 'altermodern'] are that

"Multiculturalism and identity is being overtaken by creolisation: Artists are now starting from a globalised state of culture"

and

"Artists are responding to a new globalised perception. They traverse a cultural landscape saturated with signs and create new pathways between multiple formats of expression and communication."

For Suntharalingam, the arguments of Bourriaud's 'Altermodern' exhibition coincide with a recognition at the level of practice within the museum for the need to move beyond static notions of identity tagging and labelling, reflected in the work of the Learning Department at Tate Britain, the formation of a working group 'Tate for All', and in the research work of Tate Encounters, leading her to conclude that 'In order to continue to reflect the ever-changing culture outside the gallery walls, the 'global' at Tate Britain should retain a discursive, self-reflexive and critical approach across all areas of work, in order to avoid definitions of culture becoming static', and to meet the gallery's mission statement of 'reflecting the world in Britain and Britain into the world.' The account put forward by Suntharalingam can perhaps be usefully read as an encouraging counter-point to Les Back's discernment of a growing sense of 'melancholic nationalism' that is seen to be emerging within different strata of British cultural life and society.

Not unsurprisingly, the majority of contributors to this edition touch upon the impact of the world wide web and the development of digital technology on the experience of identity and access to culture. But while Tony Bennett recognizes new counter-flows of cultural capital at the global level, Donald Preziosi is less optimistic about the democratizing claims of new technology, noting his encounter with 'artistic concentration camps' in the middle of the Australian desert where artists are being trained to reproduce and imitate forms and styles of artistic production

already taken up by the international art market. Peter Ride's paper, reflecting on the week of discussions on the relation between the museum and Web 2 in the Research in Process programme, however, opens up a far-ranging discussion from what is the relationship between newness and innovation, the changing spatialisation of knowledge, the challenge to institutional ordering of knowledge and information, and the conflict between authority and expertise and public participation. What emerges throughout this discussion, however, is the degree to which the museum's need to engage with and respond to the interactive nature of the web has forced open a series of difficult questions and recognitions that, despite some deep knowledge of 'core visiting audiences' gained through market research and visitor studies, fundamental issues about the nature of the encounter between the work of art and the 'public' which have historically been suspended and displaced by the modernist art museum (in its self-dislocation from the social) now need addressing. As Ross Parry states,

'We don't take that big step back and ask what is meant by 'public' and 'society' and how they fit together. We are so used to using industry shorthand that we don't trouble ourselves to ask the philosophic questions.'

For James Davis, Online Collection Editor, the challenge for the museum rests on the fact that 'in creating an interactive website you are creating tools and services, not information. So you have to ask what people want.' Continuing to quote Davis, Peter Ride's paper returns us in part to Preziosi's starting point of how the category of art (and its corollary art history) functions and to whose benefit, for, as Davis notes, to take up the interactive nature of the Web

'leads to an ontological debate. If we allow ourselves to say that the reproduction online or in any other media may have as much value as an original artwork we allow that audience to change on a fundamental level.'

In short, paradigms of difference are potentially relocated to the public sphere rather than formed and contained within the closed parameters of professionalized practice and knowledge. For Ride, the challenges presented by the digital to the museum are not just of interest in relation to the specificity of the medium, but rather

'it may be to think how the institution changes in its approach to change itself. If it maintains a position of irreconcilable differences or if it finds an approach to negotiate them.'

Finally, Cinta Esmel Pamies' paper 'Into the Politics of Museum Audience Research' brings together and traces the emergence of the 'public' as audience in museum culture in the UK over the last twenty years, resituating a history of Visitor Studies and Market research practice at Tate within museological and cultural policy analyses of the relation between the State, governance, accountability, and the rise of consumer-orientated modelling of audiences

within corporate strategies. This empirical account is, however, framed within a personal counter narrative of resistance and scepticism which Pamies describes:

'Explicitly and implicitly combining media theory, museum studies, sociology, visitor studies, philosophy and political philosophy, this extended paper is considered a piece of ritual resistance. Using and adapting the academic setting inevitably connected to the imposition of shared cultural norms, this piece aims to increase reflexive awareness of the fundamental sources which cause the previously stated feelings of exclusion and oppression upon entering an art museum.'

This is a position that emerged for Pamies through her participation in the Tate Encounters project as one of the student Co-researchers and her subsequent detailed research (which formed her BA dissertation) into the practice, policy and theory of audience research and development within the UK museum sector, taking Tate Britain as a case study.

Perhaps what mostly typifies all of these contributions is a desire for a more complex, open-ended method of enquiry, analysis and telling of the historical formation and contemporary experience of the relation between the contingencies, pleasures and struggles of lived experience with the continuities of meaning-making and interpretation that cultural and academic processes of knowledge-production seal off behind what Preziosi calls 'the firewall of the Enlightenment'. In bringing together in this edition reflective contributions from participants, practitioners and experts, including the disciplines of Sociology, Art History, Cultural Policy, Digital Media, Museology and Cultural Studies, the hope is to bring the questions and issues of Tate Encounters that they all connect to, into a common discursive realm that can produce knowledge and insights of as much interest and value to the museum as to academic debate. In attempting to move beyond the position of Critical Museology, to that of a practice-based theory of the museum, what the project has proposed as Post-Critical Museology, the hope and ambition is that a restaging of the central problematic of missing audiences, audiences constructed by paradigms of difference, can be relocated in the missing account from within the museum. By focusing on the connections and disconnections in the network of practices within the museum, between the museum and the academy, and between the public realm of the everyday with the public realm of the museum, the attempt is made to open out an analysis of the relationships between the marginalized diasporic viewer and the work of art in order to build a situated account of the encounter rather than the conceptualized one of theorized discourse or the statistical or conceptual one of policy.

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Papers

Aminah Borg-Luck, 'The Tate Encounters Research Process: A Research Participant's View'

Cinta Esmel-Pamies, 'Into the Politics of Museum Audience Research'

Raimi Gbadamosi, 'Scuffles in the Cathedral: Of Principalities and Powers'

Peter Ride, 'Shiny and New: Reflections on 'Resolutely Analogue? Art Museums in Digital Culture'

Silaja Suntharalingam , 'Tate Triennial 2009: Positioning Global Strategies at Tate Britain'

Image/Sound/Text

Interview with Les Back

Interview with Tony Bennett

Interview with Donald Preziosi

[E]dition 6

Post-critical Museology: Locating Audiences in the Art Museum

To be published June 2011

Editors: Andrew Dewdney, David Dibosa, and Victoria Walsh

Papers

Sejul Malde, 'My Encounter with Tate Encounters'

Andrew Dewdney, 'Lost in Translation: Interpretation, Theory and the Encounter'

Image/Sound/Text

Interview with Les Back

Interview with Paul Goodwin

Interview with Yudhishthir Raj Isa

Paul Goodwin interviews Raimi Gbadamosi

Mark Miller interviews Faisal Abdu'allah

APPENDIX C
TATE ENCOUNTERS: RESEARCH IN PROCESS

Friday 20 February – Friday 20 March 2009
Public Programme Information

www.tate.org.uk/britain/eventseducation/talks/
tateencountersresearchinprocess

What does the Britain in Tate Britain mean to you? What is your encounter with Tate Britain and how would you describe it? Whose and what history and culture is represented by the National Collection of British Art? How do you relate to discussions around national culture and identity?

Tate Encounters: Britishness and Visual Culture, a three-year major research project, has been investigating these issues with students from London South Bank University for the last eighteen months.

The project now invites members of the public along with artists, academics, curators, policy makers and Tate staff to discuss these and other questions from their own personal and professional perspectives. In addition to these live research encounters, there will also be programmed screenings of films and interviews made during the course of the project.

The overall aim of the programme is to extend the range of people contributing to the research project and to establish the beginnings of a public dialogue and debate about the research questions and emergent findings. The programme will also mark the conclusion of the project's fieldwork period.

The objectives of this month long research programme are framed by four related areas of interest: education practice within the museum; the status of digital media in museum practice and culture; the racialisation of cultural policy and the role of museums in social regeneration; and narratives of British visual culture through curatorship.

Programme A: Education Practice at Tate 1970 – present
Chair: Dr Victoria Walsh/ Observer: Dr Malcolm Quinn
In considering how museums have significantly reconfigured their relationships with audiences over the last decade and given how Learning as a department carries a notable responsibility in developing audiences,

this series of interviews with present and past members of Tate staff aims to create an understanding and account of how Education practice within Tate has historically evolved from information and explanation to interpretation, engagement to participation, informal knowledge to professional research.

Questions to be considered in this programme in relation to Education practice are:
—   Since its inception what are the historical legacies of the original Education Department within the operation of Tate and more recently Tate Britain?
—   Where has Education been historically positioned and now?
—   What kind of agency does Education hold within the production and reproduction of knowledge within Tate?
—   What is its relationship to a research practice?
—   How does it configure its publics?

Programme B: Resolutely Analogue? Art Museums in Digital Culture
Co-chairs: Professor Andrew Dewdney/Peter Ride
At the outset the research project Tate Encounters chose to use new media for volunteer participants to record their own encounters with Tate Britain as well as a research tool for reflexive documentation and commentary. This took the practical form of a dedicated intranet site and the use of mobile digital recording. In using new media the project made a number of assumptions about how undergraduate student participants used new media, how this related to the ways in which a national art museum understood the potential of new media and what the use of new media might produce as research data. Having now completed two years of fieldwork, the project is now reflecting upon its initial assumptions and raising a number of critical questions which it aims to share and extend with a wider group interested in the development of new media in relationship to museums.

Some of the initial questions relate to the following:
—   To what extent does the web visitor have agency to 'act back' or to 'author' their interactions with museum websites?
—   How is new media being conceived as an 'interpretative' or 'augmenting' dimension of the museum experience and with what effects?
—   How do museums see and understand the value of the use of personal mobile media within the museum?

These questions have been grouped under the title 'Resolutely Analogue? Art Museums in Digital Culture' to signal the tension between change and continuity, between new media enthusiasms and traditional museological practices. Issues such as the use of media in the gallery centered on authority and provenance, ownership and copyright, and user engagement will also be discussed throughout the week's programme.

Programme C: Visual Culture, Transmigration and Spectatorship
Chair: Dr David Dibosa/Observer: Dr. Raimi Gbadamosi
How do we enrich the field of research? In what ways can we make the most of the vast array of experiences that are brought to a research project through researchers, participants and those with whom the investigation comes into contact? Tate Encounters took up such a challenge by inviting its participants to take a full role in formulating the focus of research. In doing so, participants moved beyond the conventional roles that would situate them as respondents to research questions. Instead, they were asked to generate their own questions within a 'nest of concerns' focussing on national identity, contemporary patterns of migrations and Tate Britain, in its capacity as a national cultural institution. The participants formulated their questions through the generation of visual media productions, such as films, slide-shows and audio material. Such productions were seen as the starting point of a research trajectory – lines of enquiry that intersected with one another as the investigation into migrations, national culture and visuality progressed. As each participant established and followed their own line of enquiry, they ceased to be considered as 'participants' and became recognized as 'Co-researchers'.

The concerns of the Co-researchers became new points of departure for the Tate Encounters investigation. To engage with such concerns, the Research Group actively collaborated in the generation of visual media productions. Video interviews with the Co-researchers formed part of that collaborative process. Alongside such collaboration, ethnographic films were made to outline the life-world context through which the Co-researchers concerns were shaped. In this strand, screenings of the Co-researchers' visual media productions will be held alongside screenings of ethnographic films providing a life-world context. A series of panel discussions and presentations will take place, bringing together the Co-researchers' work with the ideas of artists, critics, theorists, academics and policy-makers who share their concerns. The 'Seeing on the Move' strand can be regarded as a 'cat's cradle' of views, drawing on perspectives from a range of vantage points within a broad intellectual field.

Programme D: Art and Politics: Uncertain Practices
Co-chairs: Dr Mike Phillips/Dr Victoria Walsh
Three years ago the research project Tate Encounters set out a number of original research aims which explicitly bound together the spheres of politics and art. Indeed on many accounts, from within the recently established field of museum studies, the foundation and dynamic of the museum is essentially that of a politics of the public and as such the Tate Encounters research programme is fundamentally a study in cultural politics. Firstly it framed Tate's role in holding the National Collection of British Art at Tate Britain as a practice of the political representation of nation. Secondly, it framed government cultural diversity policy as a politics of civil society.

After two years of fieldwork Tate Encounters is in the process of elaborating a number of understandings about the ways in which Tate Britain produces and reproduces itself and its audience organisationally and how a group of voluntary participants with migrant backgrounds engaged with and made sense of Tate Britain as audience members. In this respect, Tate Britain has been understood as a cultural site and a potential 'contact zone' in negotiating transcultural, generational and class identities.

The project now aims to locate these emergent findings in the wider context of enumerating the recent history of the development of cultural diversity policy and to understand its politics and cultural outcomes. This programme aims to critically scrutinise the intellectual and political roots of cultural diversity policy through examining understandings of the politics of the policy process, and the ways in which museums responded to diversity policy. In addition, it wishes to look at the impact of a changing social demographic upon traditional cultural institutions in relationship to contemporary cultural forms of expression.

In more detail the programme is interested in examining received thinking about multiculturalism, cultural pluralism and cultural diversity as a way of identifying both older limits and new possibilities for progressive cultural change. In doing this, the project recognises the need to look at the ways in which such debates were informed by intellectual and practical thinking about race and ethnicity.

APPENDIX D
SELECTED OUTPUTS

Key outputs of the project include a book based on the project titled 'Post-critical Museology: Theory and Practice in the Museum' which will be published by Routledge in 2012. Further research is being carried out through the successful award of the AHRC Collaborative Doctorate (Museology Call) taken up by Victoria Young who is working with Tate Marketing and Tate Research looking at the relationship between audience demographics, marketing taxonomies and curatorial and learning notions of audience and a second AHRC/CDA application has been submitted to consider the use of digital media across departments at Tate Britain at the interface with audiences.

The project created a month long public programme of screenings, talks and discussions (March/April 2009) in the Duveens Studio at Tate Britain, which brought together 72 contributors from key stakeholder groups to discuss and respond to the research findings within four research themes: Gallery Education, New Media, Policy and Politics, and Spectatorship and Visuality. All of the events were recorded and archived on the project's website, www.tateencounters.org which also carries information about the project's aims, programme, schedule and events. Tate Online currently hosts five editions of working papers (as downloadable pdfs) and multimedia productions produced by the student participants as part of their research practice, which are available: http://www.tate.org.uk/research/tateresearch/majorprojects/tate-encounters/editions.shtm/ Edition 5 'Rethinking Collaboration through the Transdisciplinary' (ed. V Walsh) was published online in July 2010 and Edition 6 'Post-Critical Museology: Locating Audiences' (ed. A. Dewdney & V. Walsh) is due to be published in May 2011 and will contain the final documentation and reporting of the project.

Academic Beneficiaries
In terms of the academic beneficiaries of the research the project has been identified of interest to Humanities research practice in terms of its collaborative interdisciplinary approaches evidenced by the conference invitation from the AHRC/DMI conference in Leeds 2009 and contributions to two expert workshops on collaboration and practice-led research organised by the Director of the AHRC/DMI in February 2011 (Dewdney/Walsh). Further presentations on method at The Impact of LSBU Research on London and Londoners at LSBU on 18 June 2008 (Dewdney & Walsh); 'Issues of Cultural Democracy and Democratising Research Practices', Democratisation of the Research Process, SPUR/ LSBU jointly sponsored with InHolland University, September 2007 (Dewdney). An interview with Dewdney, Dibosa and Walsh was also carried out for the AHRC/DMI programme and is available at: http://www.diasporas.ac.uk/podcasts.htm.

In 2008 Tate Encounters was one of six projects shortlisted for the Times Higher Education Awards in the category of 'Research Project of the Year'.

In Visual, Material and Cultural Studies, the qualitative data has allowed for the analysis of a conceptual overview of contemporary subjectivity in relationship to digital culture. There are two key important achievements here, which have significance for the ways in which the visual and visuality have been considered in relationship to viewing positions in museums. As has been noted, the research articulates two related concepts of meaning generation, that of the transvisual and transmediation. The first signifies an important shift in the relationship between subject position and culture brought about by migrational processes and the second articulates the recoding processes brought about by digital culture. Taken together the articulation of the viewing position of the contemporary subject suggests sources of cultural authority, which lie beyond the traditional expertise of the museum specialist. This new synthesis will, we believe, open up further avenues of research as well as encourage new approaches in art, media and gallery education. Papers in relation to this have been given: 'Technologies of Seeing: Painting, Photography and the Art Museum', Photography, Archive and Memory, Roehampton University, June 2009 (Dewdney); 'Teaching Visual Arts in the UK and France: A Comparative Perspective' at the Courtauld Institute of Art (June 2010), organised in association with Institut Francais, Haut Conseil de l'education artistique et culturelle, Paris (Dewdney); 'Teaching and Research as Media Production', Challenge of New Media: Teaching and Learning in the New Media Ecology, Watershed Arts Centre, Bristol, December 2008 (Dewdney)

Throughout the project, Tate Encounters disseminated its emergent and final findings in order to inform debate and policy formation at both the level of government and the museum sector. This included presentations to the Department of Culture, Media and Sport to coincide with Black History Month (October 2008); Tate National department (2008–10); 'New Practices in Museums' (Dibosa, Nov 2008); 'Into Transmission: Tate Encounters and National Museums', University of Zurich (Oct. 2008); 'Migration in Artists Work: Irit Rogoff and David Dibosa, UAL, Jan 2009; at Iniva on 'Tate Encounters, Identity and Migration' (Dewdney, Nov 2009) in an event co-sponsored by LSE Global Governance to mark the publication of Volume 3 of The Cultures and Globalization Series; and at a major three day international conference 'From the Margins to the Core' at the V&A. in March 2010. This paper will appear as a chapter in the forthcoming publication of the conference published by Routledge in 2011. In August 2010 a paper was also presented at the International Conference on Cultural Policy Research in Finland titled 'Curating Cultural Diversity at Tate Britain: Practice, Politics and Theory (Walsh) and a further article ''Cultural Inequality, Multicultural, Natioanlism and Global Diversity; was published in a special edition of Third Text *Beyond Cultural Diversity: The Case for Creativity* which was commissioned by Arts Council England (2010). A conference was hosted in relation to this publication at City University in March 2011 at which the paper 'Cultural Diversity Policy: When Policy and Politics meet Practice in the Art Museum' (Walsh).

APPENDIX E
DEVELOPMENT OF RESEARCH QUESTIONS FOR AHRC FUNDING PROGRAMMES

A.   Research Questions: Tate Encounters: Britishness and Visual Culture: Black and Asian Identities (2005/6)

1.   *In what ways does the Tate collection constitute a discourse of Britishness and how does the exhibition and display programme articulate a visual imperialism in which cultural difference(s) have to be read 'against the grain'?*

2.   *How does British visual culture and visual language currently frame, shape and represent diasporic/migrant experience and identity?*

3.   *How are notions of cultural hybridity constructed in and by visual culture?*

4.   *In what ways will the cultural encounter between the institutional and work practices of Tate and the diasporic/migrant families be experienced?*

5.   *How is the Tate configured, or ranked within particularised sets of 'cultural capital' by diasporic family members?*

6.   *Are there generational lines of difference in the subjective modes and social tactics of interaction with the Tate and its activities and if so what are they?*

7.   *What factors inhibit migrant and diasporic audiences from forming meaningful and ongoing relationships with the Tate and, by inference, other national museums.*

B.   Research Questions: Tate Encounters 2 – AHRC Large Follow-on Grant Application, submitted 2009; unsuccessful but eligible for resubmission

Andrew Dewdney and Victoria Walsh

'Understanding Cultural Difference, Networked Communities and Cultural Value in the Art Museum'

8.   *What differential forms and relations of knowledge are brought into play in the production of value at the point of display of the work of art?*

9.   *How does the experience of the work of art in the museum relate to other practices of taste and consumption?*

10.   *How does the value derived from the apprehension of the unique work of art relate to its status and circulation in digital culture?*

11.   *In what ways does self-elective cultural difference interact with the value systems and modernist paradigm of the museum?*

12.   *How is cultural difference enacted and translated within professional languages of communication between visitors and users?*

13.   *Where does the socio-aesthetic production of value for the work of art reside and how is it communicated to the museum?*

C.   Research Questions: AHRC Collaborative Doctorate (Awarded 2010)

'Art Museum Attendance and the Public Realm: The Agency of Visitor Information in Tate's Organisational Practices of Making the Art Museum's Audience'

Supervisors: Andrew Dewdney and Victoria Walsh

14.   *What are the key factors that have contributed to the focus upon audience as an aspect of the public role and value of the museum and how has this shaped audience research?*

15.   *What has constituted the evidential base of audience research and how has this been understood by museums?*

16. *How has the museum responded and engaged with established models of audience and with what effects?*

17. *What is the relationship between the demographic paradigm of audience and notions of audience(s) held by museum practitioners?*

18. *What relationships pertain between Tate's organisational strategies of public engagement, the cultural offer and audience demographic information?*

19. *What are the identified limitations of current audience research models for the public art museum?*

20. *In what ways are new practices of audience information gathering developed within the organisation and how are they subject to change?*

21. *What are the moments in and through which the organisation identifies the social basis of its own practices in relation to cultural value and what forms do they take?*

D.   Research Questions for AHRC Collaborative Doctoral Award – Awarded May 2011

'Cultural Authority and the Art Museum: The Use of Digital Video in the Visitor's Encounter with the Work of Art'

Supervisors: Andrew Dewdney and Victoria Walsh

22. *Who uses video at Tate and what for?*

23. *What professional competencies are entailed across the use of video at Tate and what demarcations exist between professional and amateur use of the medium?*

24. *How is the medium of digital video understood in relationship to establishing ideas of documentary or ethnographic record?*

25. *How do visitors, given permission, use digital video as a means of engagement with the art museum spaces and objects?*

26. *How does the specific visual culture of the video user inflect, shape and form their use of video in the museum?*

27. *What codes and conventions of mediation are employed in the use of digital video to interpret works of art and how are such mediations understood and valued by museum professionals?*

28. *What are narrative codes inscribed in the use of digital video to interpret works of art on display in Tate's galleries?*

29. *To what extent could the act of video recording in relationship to an established art museum work be understood as a performance and what value would video as performance have for the museum?*