

现代美术馆



Selina Ho Chui-fun

Museum Processes in China

The Institutional Regulation, Production
and Consumption of the Art Museums
in the Greater Pearl River Delta Region

Amsterdam
University
Press

FOR PRIVATE AND NON-COMMERCIAL USE
AMSTERDAM UNIVERSITY PRESS

Museum Processes in China

Asian Visual Cultures

This series focuses on visual cultures that are produced, distributed and consumed in Asia and by Asian communities worldwide. Visual cultures have been implicated in creative policies of the state and in global cultural networks (such as the art world, film festivals and the Internet), particularly since the emergence of digital technologies. Asia is home to some of the major film, television and video industries in the world, while Asian contemporary artists are selling their works for record prices at the international art markets. Visual communication and innovation is also thriving in transnational networks and communities at the grass-roots level. Asian Visual Cultures seeks to explore how the texts and contexts of Asian visual cultures shape, express and negotiate new forms of creativity, subjectivity and cultural politics. It specifically aims to probe into the political, commercial and digital contexts in which visual cultures emerge and circulate, and to trace the potential of these cultures for political or social critique. It welcomes scholarly monographs and edited volumes in English by both established and early-career researchers.

Series Editors

Jeroen de Kloet, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Edwin Jurriëns, The University of Melbourne, Australia

Editorial Board

Gaik Cheng Khoo, University of Nottingham, United Kingdom

Helen Hok-Sze Leung, Simon Fraser University, Canada

Larissa Hjorth, RMIT University, Melbourne, Australia

Amanda Rath, Goethe University, Frankfurt, Germany

Anthony Fung, Chinese University of Hong Kong

Lotte Hoek, Edinburgh University, United Kingdom

Yoshitaka Mori, Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music, Japan

Museum Processes in China

*The Institutional Regulation, Production, and Consumption
of the Art Museums in the Greater Pearl River Delta Region*

Selina C.F. Ho

Amsterdam University Press

FOR PRIVATE AND NON-COMMERCIAL USE
AMSTERDAM UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cover image: Museum of American Art in Berlin, Museum of Modern Art, reproduction of the 1936 MoMA exhibition 'Cubism and Abstract Art', exhibition view, 'A Museum That is Not', Guangdong Times Museum, 2011 (photo by Guangdong Times Museum)

Cover design: Coördesign, Leiden

Typesetting: Crius Group, Hulshout

ISBN 978 94 6372 352 7

e-ISBN 978 90 4855 035 7

DOI 10.5117/9789463723527

NUR 692

© Selina C.F. Ho / Amsterdam University Press B.V., Amsterdam 2020

All rights reserved. Without limiting the rights under copyright reserved above, no part of this book may be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means (electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise) without the written permission of both the copyright owner and the author of the book.

Every effort has been made to obtain permission to use all copyrighted illustrations reproduced in this book. Nonetheless, whosoever believes to have rights to this material is advised to contact the publisher.

FOR PRIVATE AND NON-COMMERCIAL USE
AMSTERDAM UNIVERSITY PRESS

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	9
Note on Romanization	11
1. Introduction	13
1.1 Rethinking museums in China	17
1.2 Museum as cultural circuits	33
1.3 The selection of art museums in the Greater Pearl River Delta region	40
1.4 Methods	47
1.5 Book structure	49
2. Revisiting the historical trajectories of modern art museums in China	63
2.1 The path towards the birth of modern public art museums in the Republic of China (1912-1949)	66
2.2 The development of art museums in the People's Republic of China (1949-current)	71
2.3 The changing museum contexts in Hong Kong (1962-current)	86
2.4 Concluding remarks	90
3. He Xiangning Art Museum in Shenzhen	97
3.1 Between the state and the market: a contingent national museum framework	100
3.2 From nationalism to the production of knowledge: the art of He Xiangning	107
3.3 Cross-straits cultural diplomacy and public dialogue on contemporary art	112
3.4 Interpreting contemporary sculpture: possibilities and limitations	118
3.5 Educated youth, provincial visitors, and a diversified national public	127
3.6 Concluding remarks	135

4. Guangdong Times Museum in Guangzhou	141
4.1 Institutional boundaries: the private market, the state, and society	144
4.2 A developmental perspective of cultural globalization	151
4.3 Artistic regionalization: southern imaginary vs northern hegemony	161
4.4 Educated youth and the consumption of 'alternative culture'	164
4.5 Concluding remarks	173
5. Hong Kong Museum of Art in Hong Kong	177
5.1 Museum bureaucracy and its institutional network	180
5.2 The historical painting collection: from the colonial legacy to aesthetic differences	182
5.3 International blockbusters and global cultural capital	185
5.4 National representation and the grandeur of dynastic art	188
5.5 Different notions of the local: from East-meets-West to a local-national-global nexus	192
5.6 Public and counter-public: museum consumption in a city-state	197
5.7 Concluding remarks	211
6. Conclusion	215
6.1 Museum modes of circuits	218
6.2 Implications of the findings	219
6.3 Contributions of the research	226
Bibliography	235
Index	259

List of figures, tables, and illustrations

Figures

1.1 The number of museums in Mainland China (1949-1982, 1985-2017)	19
1.2 The Museum Circuit	37

Tables

3.1	Modes of museum identification of the visitors of He Xiangning Art Museum	129
4.1	Modes of museum identification of the visitors of Guangdong Times Museum	167
5.1	Modes of museum identification of the publics of Hong Kong Museum of Art	200

Illustrations

3.1	The exterior of the He Xiangning Art Museum	98
3.2	The central exhibition lobby of the He Xiangning Art Museum	109
4.1	The rooftop gallery of the Guangdong Times Museum	142
4.2	The main entrance of the Guangdong Times Museum	144
4.3	The artist Gum Cheng and a passer-by drawing portraits of each other in a public area near the Huangbian village, 2014	155
4.4	Visitor at the 'Roman Ondák: Storyboard' exhibition, 2015	166
5.1	The exterior of the Hong Kong Museum of Art, at the stage of renovation, December 2018	178
5.2	'Louis Vuitton: A Passion for Creation' exhibition at HKMoA, 2009	210

Acknowledgements

The bulk of the research for this book was done in preparation for my PhD thesis, submitted to the University of Melbourne (UoM), Australia in June 2018. My research could not have been completed without the help of my former doctoral supervisors, Dr Edwin Jurriëns and Dr Lewis Mayo at the Asia Institute of the University of Melbourne. Their contributions have largely laid the groundwork for this book. My deepest gratitude goes to Dr Jurriëns for his principal guidance and detailed comments on my original thesis. As an expert in media and contemporary art studies, he has given me valuable advice, particularly on audience reception and contemporary art practices. I must also thank Dr Mayo for his thorough review of my original thesis and his encouragement to develop it into a book. I am deeply grateful for his critical questions that challenged my thinking at different times. I have truly benefited from his profound knowledge of the cultural history of China.

I also have benefited from the comments and suggestions offered by the external reviewers of my original thesis, Dr Chow Yui-fai (Associate Professor of Hong Kong Baptist University) and Dr Olivia Khoo (Associate Professor of Monash University), and the anonymous examiner of this book. I am indebted to my friend and interlocutor, Dr Vivian Ting who has constantly discussed with me the subject matter of this research. I thank all of them for their inspirational commentaries that led to several important improvements to this book.

This book has grown out of my interest in museum studies and China studies. How a museum constructs its institutional identity and expresses or diffuses its ideologies through exhibitions and their relationships and networks of cultural production and patterns of cultural consumption is the focus of this research. During an intensive four-year period of research, I have investigated museum-related materials, and interviewed a range of curatorial and managerial staff, as well as visitors, in three museums. They include Feng Boyi, Wang Dong, and Philip Ngan from the He Xiangning Art Museum; Zhao Ju, Cai Yingqian (Nikita), Shen Ruijun, Veronica Wong, and Jacqueline Lin from Guangdong Times Museum; and Eve Tam, Maria Mok, and an anonymous interviewee from the Hong Kong Museum of Art. I would like to express my appreciation to them for sharing their views. Their interviews have given me insights into understanding their practices. I also thank the staff members of the Asia Art Archive, Michelle Wong and Linda Lee, who have offered help in accessing the materials of the Archive. Most of all I thank some 150 anonymous visitors. I appreciate their opinions,

attitudes, and interesting remarks. They have greatly contributed to my analysis of museum consumption in this research.

Undertaking this research required enormous financial support. I must acknowledge the Faculty of Arts and the Asia Institute of the University of Melbourne for their full support of my research. With the support of the Fieldwork Grant (2015-16), and two GRATS funds (2015 and 2017), I conducted my field trips in the three museums and presented my research findings at two conferences, respectively the eighth International Conference of Inclusive Museums (New Delhi, India, 2015), and the tenth International Convention of Asia Scholars (Chiang Mai, Thailand, 2017). I thank the scholars and curators who kindly shared ideas for my work during these trips. In addition, I greatly appreciate the support of Professor Kee Pookong (the former Director of the Asia Institute of UoM), and the help of Dr Zhou Shaoming and Associate Professor Gao Jia, who chaired my academic meetings.

Parts of this book draw on earlier publications but have been substantially reviewed. In the introductory chapter, I draw in part from my publication (2016) 'Between the Museum and the Public: Negotiating the "Circuit of Culture" as an Analytical Tool for Researching Museums in China', *The International Journal of the Inclusive Museum*, 9(4): 17-31, doi.org/10.18848/1835-2014/CGP/v09i04/17-31 (©Common Ground Research Networks, Ho Chui-fun Selina, All Rights Reserved. Permissions: support@cgnetworks.org). In Chapter 3, the findings concerning the museum's institutional regulation and production are derived from my article (2019) 'Curatorial Agencies and the National Cultural Dilemma at the He Xiangnaing Art Museum in China', *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 34(3): 290-305, doi.org/10.1080/09647775.2018.1562361 (copyright Taylor & Francis, <http://www.tandfonline.com>). I also thank Hong Kong artists Clara Cheung and Gum Cheng, and the Guangdong Times Museum for their photos to be included in this book.

I am enormously grateful to Amsterdam University Press (AUP) who supported the publication of this monograph. Dr Jeroen de Kloet and Dr Jurriëns, the editors of the Asian Visual Culture Series, have been supportive in getting this volume published. I am lucky to have worked with Dr Saskia Gieling (Senior Commissioning Editor Asian Studies of AUP), Drs Jaap Wagenaar (Desk Editor of AUP), and Mike Sanders, who helped to bring this book to fruition.

Finally, this book would not be possible without the encouragement of my family, my friends and colleagues, near and far. They are too numerous to list, but I especially thank those who offered help and support with my research. They are Dr Michael Robinson, Dr Helen Ho, Dr Seng Yujin, Ivy Yuen and Jessica Kong. I dedicate this book to the cultural practitioners who work at the forefront of museum politics, and struggle to exercise their agencies in museum work.

Note on Romanization

Names of mainland Chinese are given in the traditional Chinese order and in pinyin: surname followed by given name. Names of Hong Kong and Taiwanese people follow the English spelling adopted by the individual or as found in official sources such as exhibition catalogues.

Place names outside of Hong Kong and Chinese terms or concepts are in pinyin. Where confusion may arise, an additional transliteration appears in brackets, or in a footnote when explanation is required. For place names within the territory of Hong Kong, the original names are used.

1. Introduction

Abstract

The museum enterprise in China has long been seen as a state monopoly. This chapter finds that the contingent roles of the state and the market, the agencies of social and cultural actors in their signifying practices, as well as the notion of museum public, have been neglected in the existing analyses of museums in China. By drawing the constructive, multidimensional model, ‘museum circuit’, it argues that the study of China’s museums should incorporate reflection upon institutional-regulatory changes, processes of cultural production by networks of museum intermediaries, and processes of museum consumption as practices of appropriation, negotiation, or resistance. Based on the model, it suggests an empirical study of the art museal processes that have affected GPRD since the 1990s.

Keywords: Museum studies, China studies, museum circuit, museum public, museal processes

Public museums first appeared in Western European countries in the late eighteenth century against a background of European colonial expansion and the emergence of democratic societies in Europe. Although these public museums in Europe and their counterparts in North America set important museological precedents that have had a global impact, museums in other countries have had different trajectories due to the specific historical, social, and cultural backgrounds against which those museums emerged. In Asia and the Pacific, museums are engaged with postcolonial critiques and state-building projects (see for examples, Macleod 1998; Kreps 2003; Vickers 2007; Lepawsky 2008; Bhatti 2012; Lu 2014; Mathur and Singh 2015; Erskine-Loftus et al. 2016). The museum, as a locus of production, circulation, and consumption of visual culture, has emerged as a state tool of nationalism and has been adopted as a vehicle of modernization in the postcolonial countries in Asia. Their distinctive local discourses have challenged the validity of

Ho, S.C.F., *Museum Processes in China: The Institutional Regulation, Production, and Consumption of the Art Museums in the Greater Pearl River Delta Region*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020.

DOI: 10.5117/9789463723527_CH01

treating museums with a universal discourse that is epistemologically and ontologically the same as Western counterparts. In the twenty-first century, Asian museums are urged to establish their own museologies, aligning the efforts of the West in 'decolonizing' the Eurocentric museum.¹ Museums across the world have become an academic issue that emphasizes global dialogues, cultural specificity, and the need to focus on particular contexts.²

China is at the forefront of museum development in Asia. This book will focus on China's historical, cultural-political, economic, and social contexts (including those of Hong Kong, which was a British colony between the mid-nineteenth and late twentieth centuries), and addresses the specificities of the localization processes affecting its museum culture in the global city-region – Greater Pearl River Delta (abbreviated as GPRD) – from the late 1990s to the present day. It does not only empirically study the art museal processes in the region, but also creates a conceptual framework that can inform the study of museum-making in China, and promote the study of museum agency in other parts of Asia.

Breaking away from the traditional state-centred perspective that primarily focuses on the official narratives, and the characteristics of modernity and nationalism, this book will present China's museum culture in its complexity as processes negotiated and contested by contending forces and diverse actors that exist in different forms of management and levels of governance. By studying how a particular regime of representation can be challenged, contested, and transformed (Hall 1997, 8), I hope this book will provide a stimulus for us to rethink the relationship between the state, museum, and society in Asia. In addition, considering how actors express their alternative messages and negotiate new forms of identities and cultural politics, this book advocates a research paradigm in the study of museum culture in Asia that can promote cultural critique and social changes and strengthen the development of a viable democratic society.

In this book, I treat museums as important cultural organizations that engage in institutionalizing and reinstitutionalizing the structures of history,

1 These concerns were raised in the international conference 'Museum of Our Own: In Search of Local Museology for Asia', organized jointly by the Universitas Gadjah Mada (Indonesia) and National Museum of World Cultures (Netherlands) from 18 to 20 November 2014 in the city of Yogyakarta in Indonesia. The conference aimed to explore the possible existence of a set of museological models and practices that is unique to Asia. See Cai (2015).

2 These aims were highlighted at the 50th Anniversary International Conference, 'The Museum in the Global Contemporary: Debating the Museum of Now', which was held by the School of Museum Studies of the University of Leicester in the United Kingdom in April, 2016. See Walklate (2016).

art, culture, and society. It is problematic to consider museums only as a means for assessing the changing worlds of the state and economy, and to overlook their potential for initiating changes to contemporary cultural politics and social realities. As Timothy Luke (2002, xxiv) notes, museums are 'sites of finely structured normative arguments and artfully staged cultural normalization'. Their products are reflective of individuals' and groups' ongoing struggles to establish what is real, to organize their collective interests, and to gain command over what is regarded as cultural authority. It is important to work out a style of interpretive criticism to articulate how political knowledge and power can be propagated in museum images and narratives, and to analyse what the social realities, normative truths and normalizing events relayed in museum settings are.

Drawing from the field of cultural institutions studies, I view culture as involving specific cultural entities (artefacts and practices) bound by specific institutional frameworks. From a macro-sociological perspective, 'institutions' constitute a sector (or 'system', or 'field') of society – they are not limited to enterprises or cultural organizations which use human and financial resources to achieve certain aims efficiently. They are not identified exclusively with organizational entities but are also linked with specific local structures, explicit rules and norms, forms of exchange, and conventions that structure and pre-structure social actions (Hasitschka, Goldsleger, and Zembylas 2005, 153). More importantly, institutions operate as gatekeepers, controlling access to organizational structures and social fields by generating surplus value, creating scarcity, or transforming cultural goods into commodities. By including artefacts and practices into production, marketing, and reception (or excluding them from these domains of activity), cultural institutions act as a kind of filter that enables or disables the economic and cultural exploitation of artefacts and services; they also create public visibility or obstruct it (ibid, 154).

The theoretical frameworks used in the field of cultural institutions studies differ from traditional approaches to art and culture that focus on the interpretation and understanding of symbolic and aesthetic meaning (approaches such as hermeneutics, phenomenology, and semiotics) and also from approaches that take a solely economic perspective (approaches that exclude the elaboration of non-economic aspects of cultural goods such as symbolic representation and the articulation of social critique). Cultural institutions studies theory instead embraces an explicitly interdisciplinary approach. It holds that cultural goods, which are perceived as both symbolic and material entities, are not subject to a linear process of exchange but undergo various forms of valuation and evaluation while being transmitted

to different contexts (*ibid.*, 149–150). The cultural (institutional) sector constitutes an interface between differing spheres: social structures (classes, genders, ethnic groupings, etc.) interact with cultural formations (forms of expression, styles, values, habits of reception, etc.) and simultaneously overlap with economic interests and political forces.³

This book endeavours to tease out this interface by looking from the perspective of a new cultural agency – the art museum enterprise in China. Considering that museums are increasingly visible players in Chinese cultural politics, they should not be solely viewed as instruments for maintaining dominant political and economic interests – reference to their intersection with other spheres in the social or cultural domains needs to be made. This broader view will serve as a point of departure for examining the meaning and the context of museums in contemporary China.

In this introductory chapter, I shall begin by addressing the fundamental changes affecting museums in the shifting context of China in its post-reform era, and exposing the methodological limitations for examining the museums. In the first section, I question the conventional research framework that privileges the structure and modes of production determined by the forces of state and market, and which reduces reception studies to an instrumental or practical function, and limits the idea of the museum public to the concept found in the public-relations management approach. By highlighting the importance of understanding the complex relationships and new conditions of museums, I argue that research needs to take a holistic approach to the complex processes that affect museums and their relations with different actors, including diverse publics. I suggest utilizing a circuit approach to examine how the museum and its contents are regulated, represented, produced, consumed, and identified. Following the circuit model as explicated in Section 2, my study asks why and how political-economic agents play a regulatory role; what meanings and modes of production are used by the museum intermediaries; how visitors are differentiated from each other, and relate themselves to the museum production-regulation dynamic; and finally, how museums vary under different institutional conditions and address different circuit modes that mediate the relations between the social, cultural, and political-economic spheres. Section 3 will explain the reasons for case studies of the art museums in the Greater Pearl River Delta region. The three art museums chosen are the He Xiangning Art Museum (Shenzhen), the Guangdong Times Museum (Guangzhou), and the Hong Kong Museum of Art (Hong Kong). My research

3 World Heritage Encyclopaedia. 'Cultural Institutions Studies', *worldheritage.org*, http://worldheritage.org/articles/Cultural_Institutions_Studies, accessed 26 January 2018.

adopts ethnographic methods, including content analysis of the museum, and textual analysis of a range of sources such as printed and online documents, including curatorial statements, exhibition/project catalogues, newspapers, and data from interviews with museum professionals and visitors. The primary data was mainly collected between 2015 and 2017. The details are listed in Section 4, which is followed by the final section of book structure.

1.1 Rethinking museums in China

The origin of museums in non-Western countries has been subject to debate. In the context of China, Chinese historian Guo Changhong (2008, 80) has stated that China's modern museum culture can be traced back to the Chinese tradition of collecting cultural artefacts, manifested in the collections amassed by imperial courts and by members of the social elites including aristocrats and literary scholars. He claims that modern China's museums were viewed as an 'imported wonder'. This came about as a result of the increasing acceptance of Western ideas in China in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and the institutional transformations in Chinese society occurring in the wake of the 1911 and 1949 revolutions which sponsored the establishment of museums to facilitate the education of the Chinese people, safeguard cultural artefacts, and promote research. However, Chinese museology also considers the proto-museums to be the origin of the museum institution in China, and that museums are to be seen as Chinese creations rather than imported wonders. The Temple of Confucius,⁴ dating back to the fifth century BCE, was 'the earliest recorded primitive museum in China' (Su 1995, 63).

Regardless of the debate on when and where the modern Chinese museum originated, the country has experienced various localization processes in museum development that go back at least a hundred years. Broadly speaking, the modern Chinese conception of museums emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when Qing scholars and officials began to use the word 'bowuguan' to describe the museums they visited in Europe.⁵ The early Chinese translations of the word 'museum' were

4 Varutti (2014, 25) notes that Confucius' home in Qufu, Shandong Province was transformed into a temple a few years after his death in 479 BC, and his belongings were preserved as 'sacred' objects. The temple officially became a museum in 1994.

5 The word '*bowuguan*' was first used as a term to describe the British Museum in London by Lin Zexu (1785-1850) in his book, *Sizhou zhi* (1835), one of the earliest Chinese books depicting

extremely varied and reflected the translators' different interpretations on the appearances of the museums they had visited and the types of items they had observed in museums (Chang W. 2012, 16-17). The word 'bowuguan' literally means 'hall of extensive things'. 'Guan' signifies a public building. 'Bowu' originally meant 'having an understanding of the reasons for things', and the word mainly carried the connotation of natural history (*ibid.*).

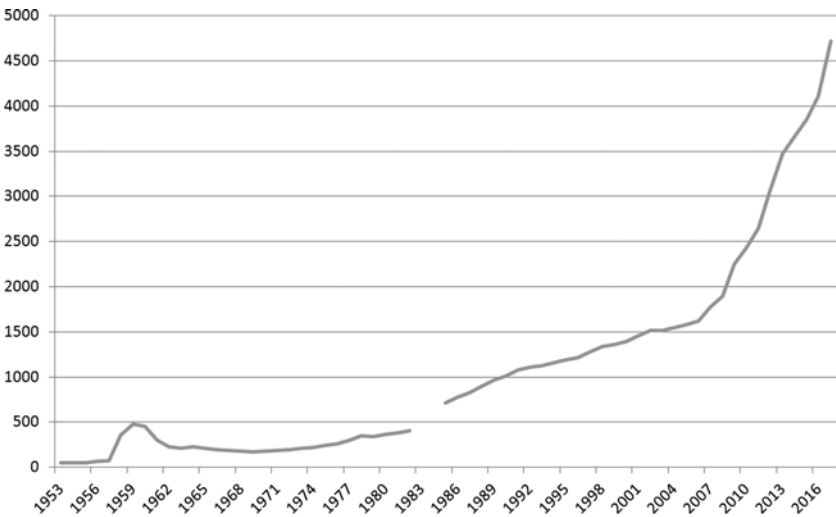
In the late Qing, museums had been founded by Chinese elites to strengthen China through education, above all through the spread of Western science and natural history. (Museums were also established in areas under foreign control, including the treaty ports and colonized territories such as Hong Kong and Taiwan. In particular, Hong Kong had followed a separate path from that of the Chinese mainland since it was ceded to the British in 1841 before the collapse of the Qing Dynasty). Public museums emerged out of the world of revolutionary China that came into being with the fall of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1912). The institutions generally came to distinguish between art museums and museums of other kinds by referring to the latter as 'bowuguan' and to art museums as 'meishuguan' (literally, halls of fine arts). During the Republic of China (1912-1949), both *bowuguan* (museums) and *meishuguan* (fine art museums) were managed by the Education Department of the Nationalist government, and used for developing social education as part of the Nationalists' modernization project. The heyday of this development was in the 1920s and 1930s, but it was disrupted by the war with Japan (1937-1945) and finally ended with the 1949 defeat of the Nationalists in the Chinese Civil War. (After 1949, the Nationalists' museum system was transferred to Taiwan. It then followed a separate path from that of the communist-controlled Chinese mainland.⁶)

The museum enterprise was radically transformed when the Communist Party took power in 1949. New institutional arrangements put *bowuguan* and *meishuguan* respectively under the State Bureau of Cultural Relics (the superseding agency of the present State Administration of Cultural Heritage, abbreviated as SACH) and the Ministry of Culture, leading to the gradual separation of activities between them. Meanwhile, prohibition of the private ownership of antiques led to the disappearance of private museums (Lu 2014, 119-121). In Kirk Denton's account (2014a, 19), the development of museums in the People's Republic of China took place in three

the world's geographies, histories, and politics, covering more than 30 countries on the four continents: Asia, Europe, Africa, and America (Chen 2005).

6 For the development of museums in Taiwan, see Chang (2006), Chen (2008), Vickers (2010), and Huang (2012).

Figure 1.1 The number of museums in Mainland China (1949-1982, 1985-2017)



Source: Data adapted from National Bureau of Statistics of China (2018a)

dynamic bursts. They are the Great Leap Forward (1958-1962), the early post-Mao period (1980s), and the post-Tiananmen period (1990s-present). To summarize Denton's periodization, during the Great Leap Forward, the state expanded the number of museums in the Chinese hinterlands and built national museums for promulgating Mao's view of history. Although severely attacked by radicals during the Cultural Revolution, museums were utilized to revive the memory of the revolutionary past. The first post-Mao flourishing of museums took place in the early to mid-1980s, and served to 'reinstitutionalize' the memory of the past and to emphasize 'spiritual civilization'. In the aftermath of the 1989 democracy movement and the collapse of communist states in Eastern Europe, museums flourished again during the period between the 1990s and the present, and have served to restore waning socialist values and increase patriotism and nationalism.

The above figure charts two significant increases in the number of museums in mainland China since the founding of the People's Republic of China. The first increase occurred around 1958-1960, when Mao was about to embark on the Great Leap Forward, and was articulated by one of the slogans of the day, 'A museum in every county and an exhibition hall in every commune' (*xianxian you bowuguan, sheshe you zhanlanshi*). This surge resulted in a sudden leap in the number of museums from 72 to 360 in 1958, although this was followed by a subsequent downturn during the Cultural Revolution. The Cultural Revolution led to an abrupt break

with the past, and caused a severe blow to the Chinese museum system. The second wave of museum expansion started in 2009. It accelerated in 2012 and 2013, and rebounded in 2017, with these three years recording a staggering increase of over 400 new museums. By the end of 2017 there were already 4,722 museums in existence in mainland China. Compared with the official figure of 365 in 1980, the number of museums has grown more than ten times in the four decades (National Bureau of Statistics of China 2018a). One of the key questions arising from the proliferation of museums is whether this is socially and culturally sustainable. To what (and to whom) are museums relevant in contemporary China?

In addition to the concern of these fundamental questions, this study reveals the recent resurgence of interest in the studies of museums in China. Recent studies (Lu 2014; Denton 2014a; Varutti 2014) have emerged to examine China's museum discourse, which responds to the dramatic political, economic, and social changes that the country has experienced since the launch of its open-door policy in the 1980s. The studies are largely concerned with the political/ideological imperatives shaped by the state's changing representations on history and cultural heritage and the impacts of tourism on museum practices. They transmit genres of expression ranging from modernity to cultural nationalism⁷ or patriotism to the interplay of different ideologies in producing a more heterogeneous culture and polity. These studies provided insights into the ideological 'difference' in state museums between the Maoist past and the post-reform present. However, they adopt a rather 'statist' approach that neglects the role of individual agents (Kloeckner 2015), the relationships between stakeholders and the party-state, and the new hegemonic ideologies relayed through museums (Ku 2014), as well as the alternative or counter-narratives raised by dissenters or the public (Park 2016). In addition, this state-centred approach of studying China's museums tends to look solely at the finished text, which precludes all possible accounts of production, including any competing agendas, and assumes a conscious manipulation by those involved (Macdonald 2006). This approach has ignored the agency of subjects within the operation of state power as well as the contradictions that beset governance practices. The possibility and efficacy of museum politics generated from the cultural sphere in contemporary China has generally been overlooked.

7 The term, 'cultural nationalism' has been coined in previous studies of the state cultural discourse. For example, Wang Jing (1996) has stated that cultural nationalism is used to express the repositioning of the Communist state as the inheritor and promotor of Chinese traditional culture, and its policy on *guoxue* or national studies. Guo Yingjie (2004) also notes that cultural nationalism has revived since the mid-1990s, and was considered by the state as an alternative official ideology after the Marxist-Maoist ideology lost its general appeal.

In her book, *Museums in China: Power, Politics and Identities*, Tracey Lu (2014) presents a historical account of the development of museums in mainland China, from 1840 to the present day. In the part that traces the developments after 1978, she focuses on the issues of ethnic identity and the management of cultural heritage in the eco-museums in Huizhou of southwestern China and the tourism and local cultural changes affecting the site museum of the Mogao Buddhist grottoes at Dunhuang in north-western China. Lu maintains that museums in mainland China have been vested with multiple and diverse roles and responsibilities for developing the economic, social, political, and ideological interests of the modern nation-state. These roles include the following: economically, museums have been used to generate revenue, facilitate the development of tourism, brand the image of a city or a region, and even reduce poverty through the establishment of eco-museums; socially and politically, they have been used as an educational institution to supplement the curriculum of the nation's education, for legitimation of the authority of the CPC and the nation-state, and for presenting a positive image of the state in the world; ideologically, many museums are still disseminating Marxist narratives of historical materialism and cultural evolution through their exhibitions and research works. The book finishes with a general discussion of different aspects of the current museum situation in China, including museum-related legislation, classification, management structures and associations, the impact of globalization, the policy of 'free museum admission', and visitor studies. With much emphasis on social, political, and state actors as the dominant powers in museums, she questions the potential role of the visitors and their place in museums. Lu (2014, 136) has remarked, 'in theory, visitors should be another group of stakeholders in museums'. However, they 'do not have much say' in mainland China. She explains:

First, many visitors are members of factories, schools, public and private companies, etc., and their visits to museums are organized by the organization they belong to. Second, many visits are guided and controlled by the museum through docents, which discourages visitors to develop an independent and critical assessment of museums and exhibitions. Third, visitors are excluded from participating in the decision-making process of museums. (2014, 136)

With reference to the idea of the museum visit in China being a political ritual or even a pilgrimage, Lu (2014, 210) notes that 'the phenomenon remained after the 1980s, but many visitors were tourists or local residents

visiting museums on their own for different purposes'. However, it is difficult to approach the issue in depth if the research is solely based upon casual interviews with a few university students about why they visit museums. When Lu discusses the relation between the museum and the general public, her analysis is based on her general criticisms on the failure of the policy of 'free museum admission', the lack of facilities for the disabled in museums, and other limitations – in particular the lack of a democratic political framework, the lack of a strong sense of social equality within Chinese intellectual communities, and the dichotomy between urban and rural areas. Lu's inevitable conclusion is that museums in China still have a long way to go to be socially inclusive and to genuinely serve and empower the community. In this regard, Lu uncovers the limited nature of public discourse about the museum in China and its lack of potential to engage with differences in ethnicity, with disability or with class.

Lu's anthropological studies on ecomuseums inform us about the involvement of various parties including local governments, private company, scholars, and museologists, and the problems such as the project's disengagement with local villages and the display of exotic cultures to visitors. Nevertheless, her studies are focused on rural regions. We are far from developing a detailed and critical picture of how museums are localized in urban cities which have accommodated over 58% of the total population in mainland China (National Bureau of Statistics of China 2018b).

Kirk Denton (2014b) observes that museums are expected to support the Party's patriotic education programme and 'national learning' (*guoxue*) with renewed emphasis on the imperial past and China's ancient philosophies. He states that China's emergence as a global power relies heavily on memories of the imperial state by reviving the dynastic glory and the Confucian ethical system that had underpinned the state in imperial times. In his book, *Exhibiting the Past: Historical Memory and the Politics of Museums in Postsocialist China*, Denton (2014a) offers an extensive analysis of the state's exhibition culture of the past over the past three decades. His study covers a wider range of museums and exhibition spaces from revolutionary history museums, military museums, and memorials for martyrs to museums dedicated to literature, ethnic minorities, and local history, urban planning exhibition halls and the state sponsored programme of 'red tourism'. He thoroughly analyses the historical narratives in museum exhibits and the way their political and ideological meanings are intertwined with China's changing social and economic situation. Instead of re-emphasizing the idea of China as a hegemonic and monolithic state, Denton presents how state museums interplay different ideological forces including the evolving legacy

of the socialist and revolutionary past, the appeal of the Western ideals of enlightenment, and the commercial culture and commodity fetishism of the market economy in the neo-liberal present. Denton's concern is primarily with the ideological representations that state museums are attempting to convey to their visitors. Nevertheless, he has discussed the forces at play in the shaping of museums and their exhibitions, for instance by describing the negotiation process involving stakeholders in the case of the renovation of the National Museum of China. His concern towards a more fluid interaction between the state and the people deserves closer scrutiny.

In her 2014 book *Museums in China: The Politics of Representation after Mao*, Marzia Varutti seeks to examine the recent changes in display practices, narratives, actors, and architectural styles in Chinese museums. Varutti uncovers the narrative shift from political indoctrination to cultural nationalism that tends to extol Chinese culture, industry, technology and science, and emphasize the role of ethnic minorities in representing the Chinese nation. Specific attention is given to the role of aesthetics as a new mode of display deployed in contemporary museum representations and narratives of the Chinese nation and to the futuristic museum architecture as a facet of museums' enhanced visibility in Chinese cities. It is worth noting that she has provided an overview of the new actors in the Chinese museum world, including the Chinese government, private and state-owned enterprises, museum donors, and museum audiences. However, how these actors involve and exert their agencies in the museum discourse, requires closer scrutiny. Meanwhile, the role of the museum audience deserves further attention. The section on museum audiences contains a brief commentary on audience development in Shanghai and Beijing, and a small-scale survey of museum audiences and their profiles, preferences, and expectations, which was conducted in three museums in Shanghai in 2006. The data has to be reconsidered for a more productive analysis of the museum consumption in the cities, and its relevance to the national identity relayed by the museums under her study.

Other related studies have shown that the official cultural discourse of recent decades has shifted towards the idea of the cultural industry working to preserve the past and to represent the hegemony of Chinese culture (Keane 2011), or towards the contemporary ideology of commerce, entrepreneurship, and market reform, in which city branding, economic competition, and tourism are important factors in creating a consumer market for culture (Denton 2014b). Economic reform has created a new politics of culture. It has not openly reconstructed the institutions of state, but has altered the meaning of CPC rule by eroding the Party's control over

culture (Kraus 2004). In particular, Jane DeBevoise's (2014) has depicted the impact of economic reform on the production of exhibitions and the power relationship between the state and emerging stakeholders as this affected the evaluation and display of artworks in Beijing's National Art Museum of China (*ibid.*, 270). She points out that the economic reform has pressured government-run institutions, including museums, to diversify their sources of financial support. The diversification of funding sources, including attempts to generate fee income by renting out display spaces, the establishment of profit-making galleries, and the organizing of art exhibitions or sales overseas, have decentralized the state system of support for the arts and diminished the role of the Chinese Artists' Association as the primary arbiter of artistic values and standards. Her study informs how the national art museum has been responsive to the dramatic economic changes in China between 1979 and 1993.

In 1997, China resumed the political sovereignty over the territory of Hong Kong under the framework of the 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration. By including Hong Kong, China can be portrayed as formed from the coexistence of capitalism and socialism, using multiplicity and multidirectionality (rather than uniformity and linearity) in configuring the historical time of the nation (Hai 2010, 167). Hong Kong can debunk the myths about universal patterns of cultural practices, such as cultural heritage management, and can testify how political, economic, and social factors influence how the practices proceed (Du Cros and Lee 2007). In the city of Hong Kong, the official museums, once under British control, have not been democratized or liberated in the way that museums purportedly have been in Western countries, where they are regarded as having functioned as vehicles for the promotion of democracy or sites of social transformation and community empowerment. After 1997, the museums of the former British colony were gradually transferred to a new museum structure established by the government of Hong Kong Special Administration Region, under the framework of 'The One Country, Two Systems' policy. On the one hand, as Edward Vickers (2007) notes, museums in mainland China have become a key element in supporting state-centred patriotism but the totalizing official version of Chinese identity is contested in Hong Kong and Taiwan.⁸ On the

8 Vickers (2007) has noted a significant narrative shift from socialism to patriotism in the history museums and memorials in Beijing, Shanghai and Chongqing, and identified the difference with those in Taiwan and Hong Kong. By highlighting the visual representation of the June Fourth Student Movement in 'The Hong Kong Story' exhibition of Hong Kong Museum of History, he argues that the totalizing official version of Chinese identity is contested in Hong Kong.

other hand, research on the local museums is primarily concerned with national narratives and issue of cultural identity in official museums in its postcolonial period. Official museums have become the sites for constructing a national narrative for postcolonial Hong Kong (Stokes-Rees 2011), or for reflecting Hong Kong's cultural hybridity (Man 2010). In the latter thesis, Man Kit-wah (2010, 90) argues that the Hong Kong Museum of Art's juxtaposition of displays of Chinese, Western, and local Hong Kong art is considered a strategic response to some of the cultural and political antagonisms in Hong Kong spanning both colonial and postcolonial spaces and constitute 'ever changing internal competitions of cultural identities'. However, as Joan Kee (2003, 91 and 97) notes, the concept of hybridity attributes a quality of perceived difference to Hong Kong and alludes to the gaze of tourists for the purpose of consumption. She has called for a critical reconsideration of the concept of hybridity, questioning the motives and reasons behind its use. In order to attempt a critical reflection on the institutional use of the categories of culture, difference, or hybridity, and art representation, we should closely examine the actual practices of the museum, specifically how it inscribes particular cultural meanings and identities.

The major research works on Chinese museums are chiefly concerned with political and economic imperatives and their impacts on officially sponsored cultural representation, and identities. Limited consideration is given to human agency and to the different discursive practices of the various actors involved. Research to rethink museums in China becomes crucial, not only because of the shifting of political and ideological boundaries, and the impact of the cultural economy that have been discussed above, but also because public museums are now engaging in, or competing for the representation and interpretation of arts and culture, and the public engagement with other emerging forums and sites. These platforms can be creative clusters, private museums, and other new actors such as the creative labour force, and audience.

Michael Keane (2011) claims that contemporary cultural clusters are fundamentally changing China, causing greater openness and internationalization, leading to an embrace of creative communities, and, in time, possibly leading to unintended changes in social and political attitudes. At societal level, a 'creative class' (Florida 2002) or 'creative labour' (Abbing 2008) has emerged. 'New cultural intermediaries' who are fuelled with 'economic imaginaries', merge work and life, career and self, and reflect the emancipatory promise of the cultural industries (O'Connor 2015). However, criticism points to new forms of creativity-related governance, which has led to the current generation of precarious jobs (McRobbie 2016). Whether

representing a new claim for cultural leadership or a new exploited class, creative labour has become a new factor operating in different sites of cultural production in mainland China and Hong Kong (Chumley 2016; Ho 2016; Chow 2017).

The museum world itself has negotiated some of the changes in distinctive ways. In the early post-Mao period, legislation was issued to regulate the private acquisition and sale of artefacts and to legalize the private ownership of heritage and nongovernmental collections. This paved the way for the development of private museums. Under a robust market economy, private museums, as well as a thriving mass culture and competing forms of entertainment, have seen significant growth. According to the National Cultural Heritage Administration, at the end of 2015, there were 1,110 private museums in mainland China. Compared with the figure of 315 in 1980, the number of private museums has grown more than three times (China Private Museums United Platform Limited 2016). Since the late 1990s, private museums that have sprung up in China were mostly established by enterprises (Zhu 2003). Studies find that private museums have become more distinctive and prominent with their increasing focus on social returns by granting the general public easier access to cultural heritage (Song 2008). Allegedly reflecting the rise of individualism among some individuals in modern China, the establishment of private museums has been regarded as platforms for those individuals to realize their personal ambitions and influence society from various perspectives (Hansen and Svarverud 2010).

Though there is limited reflection on the role and function of museum practitioners, they have the potential to act as cultural intermediaries, functioning as mediators between producers and consumers, actively creating meanings by connecting products or issues with their publics (Curtin and Gaither 2007, 210). Because of stable financial support from the government, funding is not a pressing factor obliging the state museums in China to justify its value in the cultural economy. Museum practitioners, who largely work in a government-controlled environment, are often assumed passive subjects, devoid of any chance of expressing individual identities and personal creativities. Nevertheless, there are cultural workers, particularly independent curators⁹ working in the expanding field of private museums

9 In the 1990s, independent curators emerged for practising 'art exhibitions' in the field of contemporary art. They are amateurs by personal interest or temporary exhibition organizers with adventurous spirits. Though they live in precarious working conditions without much concrete reward, their practices are considered critically important to the future of experimental art. Their exhibitions are closely related to their intellectual background and social aspirations (Wu 2000, 88).

and public museums with a more flexible production network. Museums act as a potential site where creative labour can combine cultural work and individualization (McGuigan 2010). In other words, museum practitioners can have more room to push forward their preferred agendas and create new meanings to products or issues.

The impact of globalization has also been observed in the museum world, with increasing numbers of overseas and tour exhibitions, institutional exchanges with overseas institutions, the use of the Internet for marketing and dissemination of information, the creation of virtual exhibitions, and the employment of new modes of data digitization, exhibition design, and collection management (Lu 2014, 209). Increasing globalization has been affecting how people live and make sense of their lives. It has also been shaping museums' linkages with each other and with other structures, their recreation of history, and their contribution to the production of hybrid cultural identities. The challenge for museums is to develop more complex concepts of the audience, and to develop research that responds to the transformation of identity and the diversity of interpretive communities (van den Bosch 2005). Particularly in China, there is a growing public demand for museums.¹⁰ Museum-going culture is still developing. Museums' concepts are subject to ongoing public discussion and reimagination. The notions of visitors and the public in the museum context deserve closer scrutiny.

In mainland China, museums are no longer presented as serving the 'proletarian masses' – the politicized, homogeneous public imagined in the rhetoric of the Maoist period. The category of the public¹¹ has emerged as a topic of museological enquiry, but the existing related research is limited to a public relations perspective (An 1997; Peng 1999)¹² or to the epistemological

10 In mainland China, since its implementation in 2008, the free admission policy triggered a steady increase in the number of visitors to museums across the country. The number of 'museum visits' has more than doubled from 283 million in 2008 to 850 million in 2016 (National Bureau of Statistics of China 2018a). In Hong Kong, the official attendance figures from 2002–2014 fluctuated, with occasional surges of visitors in 2005, 2007, and 2013, by import of blockbuster exhibitions. The figures were provided by the Hong Kong Museum of Art in email communication on 14 January 2015.

11 In modern Chinese, the noun 'gōng zhòng' or the adjective 'gōng gòng' denotes the idea of the public. The character, 'gōng' covers a range of meanings including public, state-owned, or collective, common, general, equitable, impartial, fair, public affairs, official business, 'father-in-law', and making something public; 'zhòng' means many, numerous, crowd, and multitude; 'gòng' means sharing, joint, together, common, and communists. See *Han-Ying cidian* [A Chinese-English dictionary] (1988, 234 and 910).

12 For example, Shi Jixiang and Guo Fuchun's 2004 discussion of the museum public in terms of its influence, contributions, decision-making power, its level of participation, and its relationship with the museum. In this work the visitor is viewed as one of the constituents of the museum

position taken by operational museology with its strong focus on practical, organizational, and managerial issues. Studies of private museums are largely concerned with museum management, organization mechanisms, professional development, state policies, and legal systems (for examples, Guo 2003; Ran 2003; Zhu 2003). Research of this type focuses on management modes and exhibition and curatorial systems (for examples, Ma 2010; Zhao 2010; Gong 2013; Li 2013; Gao 2014; Bai 2016). These studies are restricted to an instrumental understanding of museums with a lack of critical analysis of the museum practice within its institutional context. Their approach is not particularly suitable for addressing the social and cultural effect of an institution.

In spite of the methodological limitation, local scholars have started to emphasize the cultural role of museums (for examples, Su 1993; Zhao 1993; Lan 2016, 23), and proposed a relationship between museums and society. They discussed the public nature of either history or art museums,¹³ and exhibited a tendency towards discussing the public museum in terms of the idea of 'yi ren wei ben' (people-oriented), and as a charitable cultural

public, external and secondary to the museum management group, and classified according to his/her relationship, importance, or attitude to the museum. These classifications have yielded a dichotomized and hierarchical approach to viewing the relationship between the audience and the museum management personnel, and show a tendency towards a segmentation of the audiences that is based on their compatibility with the institution's policies, practices, and interests. Another piece of public relations-oriented research by Ren Jie (2011), who empirically examines the state-owned historical site museums in China, sees the museum stakeholders as made up of *guanzhong*, the government, and the mass media. Ren examines the two-way communication between the audience and the museum, the reciprocal interaction and conflict between the museum and the government, and the co-operation between the museum and the mass media. Conflicts that are highlighted include those involving the deficient management system that has limited museum autonomy, the difficulty of maintaining public financial resources, and the imbalance between heritage preservation and urban development in terms of their respective economic and social benefits. In such studies, much focus is put on the management function of the institution, particularly the process of communication with its publics, and the shared relationship between the museum and its stakeholders. Both adopt a public relations approach oriented to the 'empirical-administrative tradition' (Dozier and Lauzen 2000, 8).

13 Here are two examples. Cheng Lu (2007) puts forward three concepts of 'publicness' by tracing the general development of history museums in China. These concepts stress the idea of the open access of cultural heritage to all, the museums' responsibilities in public education, and public participation in museum activities. Based on his evaluation of the collection, exhibition, education activities, and facilities of the National Art Museum of China, Chen Rongyi (2006) identifies three development phases of the museum. It was first seen as serving proletarians from 1963 to 1979, and then for artists from 1981 to 2002, and, since 2003, has committed itself to public service by offering docent services, public lectures, school projects, digital information, and a restaurant. He concludes that the three phases have reflected both 'national characteristics' and 'intentional standards' in constructing the art museum in different modalities.

institution intended for the public good.¹⁴ In a more proactive way, museums are considered as ‘producers of knowledge’, in Wang Huangsheng’s words, which are meant to reflect on knowledge from a critical perspective and to construct other possibilities for the formation of culture. Wang is a museum director, formerly at the Guangzhou Museum of Art and currently at the Art Museum of the China Central Academy of Fine Arts. His book, *Zuowei zhishi shengchan de meishuguan* (New experience on art museum [I] art museum as knowledge production) (2012) is a notable work that presents Chinese critical thinking about museum practice. Drawing on his curatorial praxis at the two museums, and his efforts to found new museum journals, Wang stresses the academic role of art museums in the production of new knowledge and in the creation of a wider platform for social access to diverse knowledge and public interaction. He also addresses the role of art museums in reflecting on the museum as a public space where the people are able to freely express and discuss matters of public importance (Wang 2012, 46). The autonomy of the curatorial system upheld by the museums is thought by Wang to be a force that can counterbalance the state’s institutional frameworks, and mediate the relationship between art and society and which can offer other alternative narratives. Wang offers a way to conceptualize contemporary art museums as institutional forms that can potentially support the political democratization of culture. More importantly, Wang arguably represents the new agency of the museum policy maker or leader, someone who creates new awareness about the possibilities for developing museums into open discursive platforms. Although less concerned about suggesting a methodology for researching museums, and heavily relying on an autographical method, the study is an early call for a discursive shift in understanding the museum authority and the politics underlying the constitution of the museum public.

Wang’s idea is close to the Habermasian type of public sphere, which stresses rational communication by a bourgeois class with the aim of advancing the cause of democracy that recently has been stressed in Western museum scholarship. Barrett (2010) traces out how the museum public has been historically constituted in the transition from housing royal collections to being a cultural institution in the West. Because of different engagements with the state, museums developed competing notions of the public. She

14 For instance, a feature on the public education in *meishuguan* (fine arts museums) and *bowuguan* (museums) was published in the National Art Museum of China Journal (2011), and the people-oriented approach was present in both museums. See Cao (2008), or Liu and Wu (2012).

urges museums to engage with Jürgen Habermas's ([1962]1989) theory of the public sphere as a way of reflecting on their identity as sites where 'the people are able to determine and address matters of public importance' (ibid., 81). This concept of 'public sphere' has had broad influence in discourse about the social role of museums in the West. A body of significant literature puts forward the museum's activist role in supporting challenges to injustice racism, human rights, homosexuality, sexuality, terrorism, drugs, and climate change (Janes and Conaty 2005; Sandell 2002, 2007; Janes 2009, 2013; Golding 2009; Cameron and Kelly 2010; Sandell and Nightingale 2012; Golding and Modest 2013). The studies perceive the potential of the museum for supporting social or political activism (Message 2014; Reilly 2018; Janes and Sandell 2019), and are oriented towards a democratic socio-political or policy-oriented context, which they seek to foster.¹⁵ They offer a way to conceptualize contemporary museums as institutional forms with a place in public culture based on new forms of sociality.

The Western concept of the public sphere directly addresses the issue of the democratic politics of a bourgeois public sphere that is separated from the economy and the state (Garnham 1992). It might be difficult to directly address this discourse in a different cultural context where the notion of the museum 'public', and the performance of a public sphere is inevitably different. In China, there was a rise of a new 'cultural public sphere' in the 1980s. Based on his study of the projects on civil justice and rural community, Philip Huang (1993) calls it a 'third realm', 'a space intermediate between state and society in which both participated' (ibid., 224). Based on his study of the intellectual life of three editorial committees in China, Edward Gu (1999, 391) draws up a typology of the space that comprise: '(1) state generated public space, (2) society-originated, officially-backed public space, (3) societal public space, and (4) dissentient public space'. These studies maintain that the Western concepts of 'bourgeois public sphere' and 'civil society' that presuppose a dichotomous opposition between state and society are not applicable to China. Though Chinese scholars have used the concept of 'public sphere' to confirm the role of the museum as a producer of knowledge through the exchange of ideas, how this concept manifests itself in China's museum-public spaces is still generally underdeveloped or under-explored.

15 Many of the studies on social inclusivity and cultural diversity in the Western museums mentioned are undertaken in the context of democracies, democratic culture, or state policies on multiculturalism or cultural diversity (such as in the United Kingdom and Australia) developed in response to decolonization and the migration of people across national and cultural boundaries in the late twentieth century.

Even so, the idea of a differentiated museum public has emerged in China and has developed the notion of visitors. We have noted that in several studies¹⁶ in Chinese since the 1980s, the visitor has become a subject of investigation and the concept of visitor is generally denoted with the word ‘guanzhong’ (meaning ‘audience’ – literally, ‘the assembly of viewers’) in Chinese.¹⁷ Regardless of the terminological nuances between the West and China in the interpretation of museum visitors,¹⁸ in this book, the expression, ‘visitors’ will be used in line with its use in museum texts in English, as generally referring to those who visit museums or other sites. Studies of Chinese museum visitors have been largely oriented to the use of questionnaire techniques and quantitative data analysis for updating knowledge of the visitors’ demographics, motivations, and levels of satisfaction.¹⁹ Qualitative research largely focuses on visitors’ experience and

16 A quantitative study of teenagers’ understanding of a natural science exhibition in a Shanghai museum, conducted by Zhang Songling (1985) in 1983, is considered to be the earliest visitor survey in China. It was followed by a larger-scale report on visitors living in Beijing and Tianjin, conducted by Wu Guowei (1987) and a team specializing in museums from the History Department of Nankai University.

17 In Chinese, ‘Guanzhong’ is a modern word. Its first character, ‘guan’, according to the earliest modern encyclopedic Chinese dictionary (*Ciyuan* 1947), means a scene, the act of travelling, viewing, offering a point of view on a thing or matter, giving official advice, and, by extension, profound thoughts related to Buddhist philosophy and *Yijing* (known as the *Classic of Changes*, *Book of Changes*). Thus, in the contemporary appropriation of the term, ‘guanzhong’ refers by implication to the subject’s responses as well as the extension of awareness or the transcendence of human epistemological constraints.

18 The term visitor first appeared in the English language in the early fifteenth century, and referred to an overseer of an autonomous ecclesiastical institution, such as a cathedral, chapel, college, university or hospital. Holding a role that was more than ceremonial, the visitor played an important function within academic institutions, with a right or duty of inspecting, reporting and settling internal disputes that was stipulated in judicial documents (Blackstone 2009). The historical function held by the visitor of supervising and mediating institutional affairs and those of the people more broadly yields an interesting contrast with that of the curator. The word curator comes etymologically from the Latin *curare* – to care – which arguably implies that curators are trained more to care for their collections than the visiting public (McClellan 2008, 155–158). A visitor now literally means a person visiting someone or some place, especially socially or as a tourist. We can observe that the contemporary appropriation of the term is associated with a sense of place, institution, and people.

19 Much of this literature involves quantitative surveys of visitor demographics, motivations and levels of satisfaction for individual museums (for examples, Chen and Ryan 2012; Mo 2012; Wang T. 2012; Hei 2013). In some cases, attempts have been made to relate the geographical location of visitors and the number of visits to the population of a city (for example, Liu 2009); other work seeks to synthesize the analyses of visitor data from several museums across the country (for example, Wang 2005). In Hong Kong, large-scale cultural surveys are commissioned by the Arts Development Council, a statutory arts body set up by the Government. The studies

interaction with particular works of art, objects, or exhibitions.²⁰ With their strong practical orientation, visitor studies generally help institutions to justify or evaluate their services and programmes, or help governments to formulate their cultural policies and measures. They fail to theorize the relation between museum and visitors in a broader sociocultural context. The study of visitors should give greater account of the visitors' interpretative agency in terms of how they evaluate their own experiences and negotiate their cultural orientations. An in-depth probing of the nature of the visitors' reception of what they experience, and their differences from each other, and their agency in acts of museum consumption is still lacking.

Based on the above reviews and discussion, we can say that there is a need for reflection on China's museological approaches and its research methodologies (which are currently dominated by the perspectives of the state/government and the market, privileging the modes and structures of cultural production in the museum), and a need to rethink the concept of the museum public (which is currently confined largely to a public-relations management approach), and to further develop the notion of 'visitors'. In particular, the dominant state-centred approach neglects the possibility and efficacy of politics generated from within the cultural sphere – particularly from those who are directly involved in cultural production and circulation processes. It also assumes that there is conscious manipulation by those involved in creating exhibitions, and a public that is passive and unitary. The role of human agency, particularly the role of social and cultural actors and their signifying practices as well as the interpretative agency exercised by visitors have been neglected in the discourses connected with

offer statistics on areas like arts creation, arts spending, attendance, box office records, and the presenters of programmes, exhibitions, and screening events. In addition to these, every two years the public museums jointly commission marketing consultants to conduct quantitative surveys of visitors' levels of satisfaction towards various aspects of museum services and facilities. ²⁰ In mainland China, qualitative research is very limited, and mostly found in the theses of university students. The qualitative studies that have been conducted to date include, for instance, studies of teenage visitors' behavioural characteristics (Li 2007), theoretical studies of visitors' behaviour in relation to the spatial design and visual and aesthetic elements in various Expo exhibitions (Zeng 2006), and a study of the art perception of Chinese audiences (Yang 2007). In Hong Kong, efforts have been made by academic researchers using quantitative methods to explore the effectiveness of public programmes at the Hong Kong Museum of Art (Lam 2003) as well as qualitative inquiries into the experience of works of art in museums (Tam 2002) undertaken from a phenomenological perspective. Research has also been done on the processes of meaning-making engaged in by visitors in an exhibition of the Hong Kong Museum of Art, by identifying different modes of experience based on the visitors' personal motivation, interpretation of experiences, and general perception of art and cultural activities (Ting and Ho 2014).

contemporary museums in China. The discussion called for a new method that can provide a broad approach to enable us to conceptualize the cultural construction of museums and which will reveal the institutional dynamics in the museum field, including the complex processes by which different actors and diversified publics participate in shaping museum discourses and practices in China.

1.2 Museum as cultural circuits

A new theoretical framework is proposed in this section to examine the museum as a circuit. The 'museum circuit' model is refined from the 'cultural circuit' model which was developed in the late 1990s by a group of British cultural theorists (Du Gay 1997; Hall 1997; Mackay 1997; Thompson 1997; Woodward 1997) and is based on Stuart Hall's ([1973] 1980) semiological theory of 'encoding/decoding'²¹ and his constructivist view of representation. The idea is aligned with the semiotic and discursive approaches of Ferdinand de Saussure and Michel Foucault. The 'circuit of culture' model not only examines the processes of representation in which meaning is constructed and conveyed through language and other symbolic media but also emphasizes the primacy of power in the dyad of structure and human agency which operates in discursive relationships. The circuit serves as a tool for understanding the process by which culture, knowledge, and power converge. It enables us to analyse the specific conditions of every stage in a communication process unfolding in a given society. There are five major processes, namely production, consumption, identity, regulation, and representation, and they relate to and co-construct each other in the circuit.

'Representation' designates the discursive process of shaping meanings – 'we give things meaning by how we represent them' (Hall 1997, 3). 'Production' designates the process involved in creating the artefact that is being represented. It refers to the culture of organization as well as to the ways in which practices or production is inscribed with particular cultural meanings. However, 'meaning does not reside in an object but in how that object is used' (Baudrillard 1988, 101). Thus, the meaning of an object is

21 The encoding/decoding model of communication was developed by Stuart Hall to challenge the traditional conception of linear transmission of a message from sender to receiver. Briefly, the encoding of a message is concerned with a system of coded meanings created by the sender. The decoding of a message is concerned with how an audience understands and interprets the message encoded by the sender (Hall [1973] 1980, 130).

established through the process of consumption, which is as important as production. 'Consumption' refers to the process by which messages are decoded or interpreted by audiences who use cultural texts or artefacts in everyday life. In many postmodern accounts of the concept, consumption is understood as a productive activity for society, and consumers are seen as being able to develop themselves into citizens who can actively participate in the polity (Mackay 1997, 2). Meanings derived from the production and consumption processes give us a sense of our own identity, which define who we are, with whom we belong, and from whom we differ. Identities are never fixed, individual essences are multiple, evolving, and developing entities that derive from culturally constructed meanings, and exist in all social networks, from the state or national level to the levels of the organization and the public. The last element 'regulation' refers to the processes by which meanings regulate social conduct and practices. It can encompass cultural control mechanisms or conditions, social norms, technology, and institutional as well as economic, religious, and political systems. In sum, the elements overlap and intertwine in complex and contingent ways and they are the elements that are useful for the cultural study of a cultural text or artefact.

In the museum field, the circuit model has been used for discussing the issue of national identity (McLean 1998). However, it has not been widely adopted. This might be due to the difficulty of accessing the behind-the-scenes information necessary to elucidate the processes of production and regulation. Museum professionals are often not open to critical interrogation of their practices because of their personal investments or the political sensitivities involved in museum work (Macdonald 2006, 29). In addition, the methodological difficulties in analysing experiences, the threat of populism, and other practical concerns (i.e. being time-consuming and labour-intensive) contribute to the lack of visitor studies (Kirchberg and Tröndle 2012). In spite of the difficulties of achieving empirical verification in certain key areas of the circuit, there are significant advantages for adopting the circuit paradigm to the study of China's museums.

First, the circuit paradigm diverges from analytical methods in which political and ideological meanings are conceived as being linear, and the production and representation of the museum are overdetermined. The circuit not only emphasizes language and signification (underpinned by the approach of semiotics), but also focuses attention on discourse and discursive practices. The discourse approach tends to place emphasis on politics – the effects and consequences of representation in the field of power – and to stress how a particular discourse and knowledge structure

constructs identities and subjectivities and defines the way certain things are represented and practised. In addition, the circuit seeks to synthesize the analysis of museum production and representation with study of the complex structure of relations and processes of discourse and articulation that operate on micro and macro levels. The older museum research tradition, which has drawn on a model of linear transmission of messages dominated by the political and ideological meanings of museums, largely ignores the competing agendas involved in exhibition-making and programme-running. The model thus helps to address the internal discourses connected with meaning claims, and to identify the role of new agents, and evaluate the operation of their agency in the museum ensemble.

Second, the circuit confronts conceptions of the 'audience' being passive and homogenous. It reconsiders the consumption or reception practices of visitors, a constituency which has generally been overlooked in previous research on Chinese museums. Production and consumption do not exist in binary opposition to each other but combine to form discourses of contested meanings and ensembles of contested and contesting practices (Taylor et al. 2002). The model transcends the limitations of the functionalist, transmission-based paradigm by positioning the museum as a meaning-making, nonlinear, and dynamic communication structure – a structure that can also be seen as a process – operating within 'the politics of signification' (Hall [1973] 1980, 137-138). It is useful for questioning the ideological role of museums in China and in particular their role in producing and transforming ideologies in audiences.

According to Hall, the decoding subjects can have three possible positions: hegemonic-dominant, negotiated, and oppositional. When the subject identifies with the dominant-hegemonic position, s/he operates inside the dominant code that the encoder expects him/her to recognize and decode. In the negotiated position, the subject holds a mixture of adaptive and oppositional decoding elements. S/he 'acknowledges the legitimacy of the hegemonic definitions to make the grand significations (abstract), while, at a more restricted, situational (situated) level, it makes its own ground rules – it operates with exceptions to the rule'. A consumer occupying this position understands the literal meaning but has his/her own way of forming interpretations based on his/her individual background or context. The oppositional position is known as 'globally contrary code', which implies that 'it is possible for a viewer perfectly to understand both the literal and connotative inflection given to an event, but to determine to decode the message in a globally contrary way' (ibid.). Although the consumer understands the intended meaning, s/he opposes or rejects the dominant code.

Lastly, the circuit paradigm is oriented to the project and concept of 'radical contextualization',²² which holds that knowledge depends upon context. Even where there may be differences from British experiences²³ (the context in which the paradigm was originally developed), the circuit model is capable of analysing cultural objects, events, and practices in a wide range of contexts and applications. It is a useful analytical tool for linking the particular (China's social and historical context) and the institutional (museums). The circuit paradigm does not privilege Western models over the diversity of practices that exists in other countries. It enables a museum to be defined as a specific cultural phenomenon that exists at a particular juncture in a given country's history.

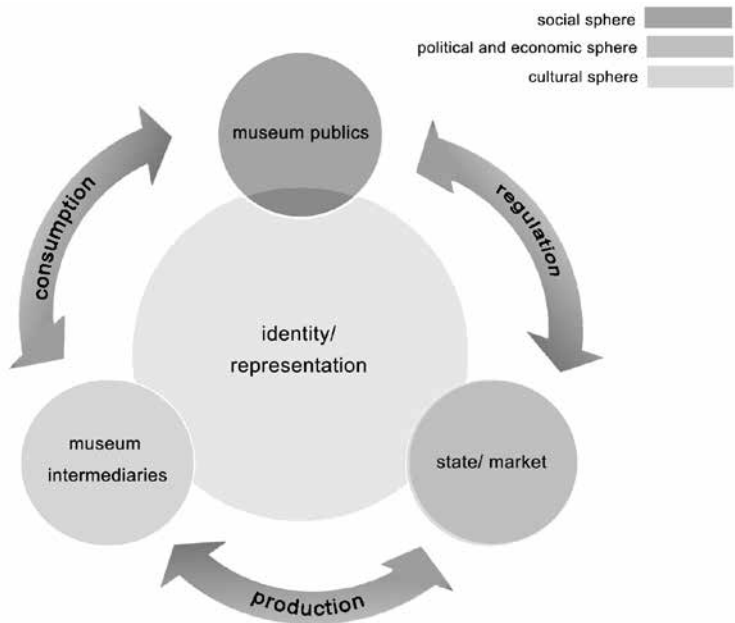
Overall, contemporary museum studies cannot neglect the ever-changing interrelations between power and politics, economics and society, production and consumption, and representation and identity. By taking into account the multiple modes and relationships of these discursive elements and domains of practice, the circuit model provides a powerful tool for exploring the significance of – and the possibilities for – contemporary museums.

To facilitate a productive analysis of museums, I have distilled the components of the model into the diagram below (Figure 1.2). In the museum circuit, the museum constitutes and is located in a circuit which interlinks three processes, namely regulation, production, and consumption. Representation (the process of shaping meaning) and identity (the process of defining oneself and one's relations to others) are key elements embedded in the three processes. Individual elements only have significance when considered in relation to other elements or to the structure as a whole. In the circuit, the state/market, museum intermediaries, and the museum public are the major actors in the political/economic, cultural, and social spheres, respectively. 'Agents' are active actors, who exercise their agency to produce a specific effect. They articulate the interlinking and interlinked processes

22 This was articulated by Larry Grossberg, who held that the choice between the universal and the particular does not bring theory and politics into dialogue with the world. Thus, critical cultural studies refuse to carry a fixed theory but rather seek theories that provide the best answers to the questions posed by the world (Cornut-Gentile D' Arcy 2010, 107-120).

23 The circuit paradigm has had a distinctive critical trajectory in the field of cultural studies. Historically, the Birmingham tradition of Cultural Studies, exemplified by the work of Stuart Hall, can be traced back to the decolonization movement after the Second World War and the formation of the British New Left in the 1950s. The movement of leftist studies of culture in Britain in this period was comprised of two main components: E.P. Thompson and Raymond Williams represented the dissident side of the British Communist Party, whereas Hall belonged to a group of intellectuals coming from the Caribbean and other colonial or postcolonial territories (Chen K. 2010, 101).

Figure 1.2 The Museum Circuit



that surround and inform the practices and discourses affiliated with the museum and affect issues of representation and identity in the museum. These processes are described in more detail below.

My study of regulation focuses on the mechanisms that regulate the museum and how the regulatory agents make use of the museum to represent them. The regulation process entails the question of how the agents of the state or market liberate or limit the institution in terms of governance, management, and organization.

Production involves the production and circulation of the museum’s symbolic and discursive practices. In particular, production concerns the matter of the agency of museum actors within their institutional conditions of production, namely how they articulate the museum’s cultural production activities through collection development, exhibition interpretation and display, institutional networks, and programmes. I use the term ‘museum intermediaries’ to refer to a broader range of actors in the field who take part in museum production processes. As discussed, museum practitioners have the potential to act as cultural intermediaries,²⁴ functioning as tastemakers

²⁴ The concept of the ‘cultural intermediary’ originated from the work of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1984, 359) and refers to a section of middle-class professionals whose work

or producers of meaning, adding value to their practices, and connecting products or issues with their publics. They are increasingly central to the generation of cultural and economic capital and becoming the members of a 'creative class' (Florida 2002). However, my study of museum intermediaries is not concerned with the privileged middle class involved in the mediation of production and consumption, or the dialectical relationship between culture and economy. It is more concerned with the relationship between culture and politics in the museum context of China. Depending on the museum's mission and practices, the actors who we call museum intermediaries can include internal or external curators, artists, collaborators, or other individuals in the museum's organizational networks. In particular, the work of museum curators and their collaborators shapes the production and circulation of symbolic practices, and affects and reflects the conflicts or impasses they encounter in circulation processes. The approach and strategies they use, the impact they make on the construction of museum publics and their identities, and the changes they make to the actions and meaning of the state/market, are major components of the production process. It is essential to identify within a particular museum circuit the main museum intermediaries involved and their particular roles and tasks.

An examination of consumption focuses on the perspectives of museum visitors in experiencing the museum. To assess the consequences or effects of museums, we need to explore how visitors make sense of their museum visits and how they negotiate their relationship with the museum entity. Based on their communication/experience with the museum's products/practices and their interpretative approaches towards the museum, the decoding subjects can have three possible positions: adaptive/integrative, negotiated, and oppositional. As discussed, these three categories of positions are derived from Stuart Hall's theory of hegemonic-dominant encodings and negotiated or oppositional social-individual decodings. Such analysis not only pragmatically facilitates the effective operation of communication between producers and consumers, but also reflects on the social sphere in which local people position themselves in alignment with or in opposition to the museum and the values and models of identity it upholds. In addition, consumption can be a process associated with consumer activism (Kozinet

involved the 'presentation and representation [...] [of], and in, all institutions providing symbolic goods and services'. Bourdieu (1984) describes them as having a lower level of education than average individuals of higher-class origin but as having more cultural and social capital than the average middle-class member. Diverting from the class theory approach, the term was subsequently explored by academics in relation to the role of practitioners in a range of cultural industries following the cultural economy approach (Maguire and Matthews 2014).

and Handelman 2004; Hilton 2007) by which social activists seek to influence how museum exhibitions and activities are produced or circulated in society. In this study, 'museum visitors' refer to those who visit the museum, while 'activists' are those who take social action as a form of resistance against the museum's ideologies and structures of production that are imposed on the general (consumer/museum) public. Studies of these two actors can show how museum consumption functions as appropriation and resistance on the one hand, and challenges the image of a homogeneous public shaped by the dominant forces/agents on the other. So this study is more concerned with the roles of visitors with regard to the politics of signification, and their positioning to the museum sites of consumption. It seeks to expose the dissonance or compatibility between the 'ideal' public envisaged by each museum and the actual public in social reality.

Furthermore, in this circuit-based analysis, culture is viewed as a set of values and institutions, which manifest themselves in the museum's symbolic and real functions, providing the basis for the museum's social communication and its authority. The museum, which constitutes 'a sector of society', can be seen as a symbolic and real counterpart to the political, economic, cultural, and social forces operating in the wider context. It is a circuit involving the interaction of complex forces connected with three interrelated spheres. The political and economic sphere in the diagram refers to the state/market and its mechanisms that regulate the organization of the museum both institutionally and ideologically. The cultural sphere refers to the set of beliefs, values, skills, and knowledge (cultural capital) that shapes social action and cultural change. The actors in the cultural sphere are museum intermediaries and their relations and networks. Their actions are reflected in the museum's various material arrangements and its nonmaterial practices (which can involve any discipline); these represent the cultural codes and rules/principles that govern the social sphere. Furthermore, the social aspect of the museum is the very essence of what makes it a trustworthy public institution. In order to see how the Chinese museum's public functions as an essential foundation of cultural governance, it is important to examine the social sphere of museum discourse in China. Because it does not presume that only one of these factors has primacy in bringing about museum transformation, the model demonstrates the position of the museum as an *interface*, one which undergoes multidimensional transformation driven by the interplay of cultural, social, political, and economic forces. The meaning-making agency of the main actors involved in each sphere informs their struggles in relation to other sets of meanings and, in turn, reflects the broader relations of power and resistance in society.

All in all, the circuit model addresses various discursive elements, including institutional regulation, cultural production and consumption, identity, and representation, and understands these interlinked processes in constructive terms. It also represents a communicative interface between the social, cultural, economic, and political spheres; spheres that are differentiated but interlinked, all of which are important factors for explaining the museum phenomena in China. By reframing the museum model in terms of a 'museum circuit', this study enquires into, firstly, how the museum is institutionally regulated; secondly, how museum intermediaries produce and articulate cultural representations; thirdly, how visitors are differentiated from each other, and relate themselves to the museum production-regulation dynamic; and finally, how museums vary under different institutional conditions and address different circuit modes that mediate the relations between the social, cultural, and political-economic spheres.

1.3 The selection of art museums in the Greater Pearl River Delta region

The 'circuit' model is used to examine three art museums in the Greater Pearl River Delta region. The three representative cases are the He Xiangning Art Museum (Shenzhen), the Guangdong Times Museum (Guangzhou), and the Hong Kong Museum of Art (Hong Kong). Although the art museum is an underexplored category in Chinese museum studies (which primarily focus on *bowuguan* for studying the central state approach of history and culture), it plays an increasing role in both social and cultural spheres. In mainland China, local art elites conceive art museums as active agents of knowledge production (Wang 2012) and platforms for expressing regional artistic perspectives (Asia Art Archive in America 2015). In Hong Kong, art institutions have evolved with increasing relevance to people's lives and the global art market, and art practices have created a form of resistance to the national culture of mainland China (Vigneron 2018). In this book, in spite of focusing on the art museum field, I examine the discourse and practices of art museums from an interdisciplinary perspective. The analysis of the visual materials and nonmaterial practices covered in the art museums under study is not limited to art, but also relates to history and other disciplines such as architecture and cultural materials.

In addition, there has also been little assessment of the differences between different cultural institutions in different regions of China. Scholars working on regionalization in China suggest different possibilities for

undertaking regional analysis and highlighting regional diversity (Cartier 2002). Region-focused analysis constitutes an important move away from viewing history from the perspective of the central state to concentrate on underexplored local and regional cultural processes. An empirical strategy is needed for measuring the regional dynamics of institutionalization over time and analysing how key museum features have been deployed by particular actors in specific regions and to examine how they have been accepted and internalized by citizens in local society.

The region examined is the Greater Pearl River Delta region of southern China. GPRD consists of eleven municipalities, including Guangzhou, Shenzhen, Dongguan, Foshan, Zhuhai, Jiangmen, Zhongshan, Zhaoqing, and Huizhou (in mainland China), and two special administrative regions, Hong Kong and Macao (Zhao and Zhang 2007). Due to their robust economies, intensive urbanization and integration in the past three decades, the region has been developed into a global city-region (Scott 2001), or even the most polycentric one of this kind in the world (Bie, de Jong, and Derudder 2015). Guangzhou, Shenzhen, Hong Kong, and Macao have emerged as the key cities, contributing to the historical evolution of the GPRD towards this global city-region. Hong Kong operates as a major global city and Guangzhou and Shenzhen both as minor ones. Three of them play a role as 'global cities' as defined by Sassen's (2001) in terms of production and consumption of globalized advanced services (Bie, de Jong, and Derudder 2015).

Although they are under different administrations,²⁵ the cities of Hong Kong, Shenzhen, and Guangzhou are geographically linked and have similar cultural characteristics. They share a common origin in terms of regional culture, namely the Lingnan culture (although many of those living in Shenzhen now are migrants from outside the Lingnan cultural zone). Amongst the three cities, Hong Kong stands out as an example of a city-state with complex multiple experiences of colonialism, modernization, global capitalism, and

25 Guangzhou and Shenzhen are prefecture-level cities at the unique administrative level of sub-provincial cities. Although they report to their provincial governments, they possess a higher administrative status than other prefecture-level cities because of their economic or political importance (Bo and Yu 2014). Hong Kong is a Special Administrative Region, administrated by the Hong Kong local government, which maintains its own political and legal system, economic affairs, and external relations with foreign countries under a 'one China, two systems' policy. In terms of the relationship with the central government, there has been economic and political-administrative 're-centralization at the lower levels' (McMillen and DeGolyer 1993; McMillen and Lo 1995). The dialectic of autonomy and integration both in China and Hong Kong, and the positive and negative possibilities of autonomy as dynamic self-governance or isolation, and integration as cooperative interaction or subjugation, have been discussed by McMillen (1998) and Thynne (1998).

‘internationalist localism’ (Chen K. 2010).²⁶ With the implementation of the state policy formulated in the ‘Outline of the Plan for the Reform and Development of the Pearl River Delta (PRD) (2008-2020),’²⁷ and the recent plan for boosting the Greater Daya Bay Area development,²⁸ the social and economic linkages between the three cities have been intensified. Moreover, the three cities have each promoted cultural projects in an effort to be seen as more cosmopolitan. Local governments in GPRD have made agreements for strengthening the arts and cultural exchange with each other.²⁹

At the societal level, local practices such as creating a regional artistic subjectivity, and protecting Cantonese as a regional lingua franca (although Mandarin is arguably dominant in Shenzhen), have turned the region into a contested site, in which the political establishment’s discourses about art, language, identity, and rights can be recontextualized. In the art sphere, contemporary artists and curators have advocated for the regional identity of ‘Canton’ (used here to refer to the wider PRD, which centres historically on the city of Guangzhou, known in English and many other languages as Canton). Notable attempts include the establishment of ‘Cantonbon’³⁰ by artists, and the international display of *Canton Express* as part of the exhibition *Zone of Urgency*, curated by Hou Hanru for the 2003 Venice Biennale (the

26 The idea of an international localism, formulated by the cultural historian Chen Kuan-hsing (2010), has moved beyond the unconditional identification of the nation with the state. According to Chen, international localism acknowledges the existence of the nation-state as a product of history but analytically keeps a critical distance from it and actively transgresses the nation-state boundaries by engaging with the local. It looks for new political possibilities emerging out of the practices and modernization experiences accumulated during encounters between local history and colonial history.

27 The Plan was promulgated by the National Development and Reform Commission in 2008. It was meant to elevate the development of the PRD region to the higher strategic level of national development and to specify the strategy of Hong Kong/Guangdong cooperation as a national policy. The outline aims to deepen cooperation in the Pan Pearl River Delta Region, to construct a harmonious culture, and to elevate the cultural level of citizens, increase innovation, and improve public facilities in urban and rural areas.

28 In 2017, the former GPRD was renamed as ‘Canton-Hong Kong-Macau Greater Bay Area’ as part of the ‘One Bell One Road’ economic initiative of the state.

29 For example, the signing of the ‘Greater Pearl River Delta Cultural Cooperation’ agreement between Hong Kong and Guangzhou in 2003 and a three-year plan (2013-2015) between Hong Kong and Shenzhen.

30 The Chinese artist Chen Tong (originally from Hunan) used the word ‘Cantonbon’ (a hybridized English representation of Chinese words that mean ‘Canton gang’) to describe his independent institution, Libreria Borges. It was established as a bookstore in 1993, and turned into a contemporary art space in 2007. From 2002-2006, Libreria Borges collaborated with Guangzhou-based artists and worked on the project ‘Canton Express’, curated by Hou Hanru (Asia Art Archive in America 2015).

exhibition was restaged at M+ Pavilion in 2017). The 'Cantobon' demonstrated the emergence of a regional artistic subjectivity, and *Canton Express* reflected the significance of the Lingnan regional cultural landscape in the context of rapid globalization and urbanization taking place in China during the 1990s. In addition, the citizens in Guangzhou and Hong Kong jointly engaged in the 2010 pro-Cantonese campaign, which in turn, gained the support from Chinese netizens for protecting Cantonese as a regional lingua franca, and defending their individual linguistic rights (Gao 2012). In 2013, a Cantonese language advocacy group, 'Societas Linguistica Hongkongensis' was set up to continue the campaign. Its spokesman has claimed that the move of PMI (Putonghua as medium of instruction) is a political strategy to promote Hong Kong's integration into the mainland by marginalizing the city's mother tongue (Chu 2017, 204-205). Such debates show the identity of the region as a contested cultural site for recontextualizing the political establishment's discourses. Studies of art museums focusing on GPRD will contribute both to the development of an in-depth understanding of the dynamic regional cultural phenomena and of the wide range of museum contexts that can be found in China.

Studies of contemporary museums in mainland China concentrate on the key municipalities which are directly controlled by the central government, including Beijing, Shanghai, and Chongqing (Denton 2014; Varutti 2014; DeBevoise 2014; Le Mentec 2015; Kiowski 2017), or on peripheral locales/regions such as Huizhou, Dunhuang, Guizhou, Yunnan, and Tibet (Lu 2014; Varutti 2014; Keränen et. al. 2015) where local villagers or ethnic minorities are located. In conceiving this research, I intend to turn away from the Beijing or Shanghai centric approach, and focus on the museum development in urban cities. In examining the art museums that are distinct yet interrelated in their social and cultural conditions, historical background, and geographical locations, I take the approach of case study to optimize our understanding of their significance in relation to the specific institutional regulation, production and consumption conditions in the under-explored southern region of China, GPRD.

Case studies can help provide 'a holistic understanding of a problem, issue, or phenomenon within its social context' (Hesse-Biber 2017, 221) and can shed light on the complexity of an issue by showing the influence of its social, political, and other contexts (Stake 2005). In this research, case studies are not invoked in order to make generalizations about China's museum discourse; rather, they make possible an in-depth examination of the cultural and institutional differences in a regional context, and provide larger implications for the study of museum phenomena in China.

The He Xiangning Art Museum (Shenzhen), the Guangdong Times Museum (Guangzhou), and the Hong Kong Museum of Art (Hong Kong) are most-different cases (Gerring 2008), and they were selected based on the following three main reasons.

First, all three museums are located in the global city-region – GPRD. As mentioned earlier, the region deserves greater attention, because of the significant moves indicated by the government's economic and cultural initiatives, and the emergence of contested cultures and identities. Instead of further highlighting the regional integration perspective underlying the GPRD economic experiment or Greater China unification project, I will explore the regional cultural perspectives, and the contested practices and relationships involved in the three museums. The case studies seek to explore the museums' boundaries of agencies in the global city-region, and the local-global cultural connections that shape global cities in China. The studies will also offer a wider historiography of museum in China that can complement the official version or state-centred approach of studying museums in China.

Second, the three museums differ in their institutional orientations. They present different institutional modes and enable us to address the complex cultural forces that exist at different levels and forms of cultural governance. The He Xiangning Art Museum is the second national modern art museum after the National Art Gallery of China, and the first national art gallery to be named after a political revolutionary leader in China.³¹ The museum was built in 1997, at a historical memorial site connected to the Chinese Communist Party. Established in a distinctive location and at the time of Hong Kong's administrative incorporation into the People's Republic of China (PRC), the museum serves as a unique case for examining the new national cultural context that arose in the late 1990s. Serving as a counterpart and alternative to the state museums, private art museums have become increasingly visible players in China's cultural politics. The Guangdong Times Museum is a private museum founded by a business enterprise. In this idea-driven museum, curators create a public discourse that differs from that of official museums by 'reaching beyond canonical programming

31 He Xiangning and her husband Liao Zhongkai were amongst the revolutionaries who sought to overthrow the Qing Dynasty. Liao Zhongkai was the protégé of the revolutionary leader Sun Yat-sen, and was expected to become the Kuomintang (KMT) (Chinese Nationalist Party) leader after Sun Yat-sen's death. After her husband was assassinated, He Xiangning became an important leader of the leftist wing of the KMT. She had studied art in Japan in the early 1900s, and she used her art skills as a weapon for designing the propaganda work for Sun's military uprising. See Itoh (2012).

to nurture creative processes and cutting-edge practices in the areas of art, design and architecture'.³² The museum's nongovernmental organizational background, its open curatorial attitude, and global multitude provide an alternative institutional model in GPRD, and in China more broadly. The Hong Kong Museum of Art differs from the above two examples; it is an official art museum in the Hong Kong Special Administrative region. Its history can be traced back to 1962 when the British colonial authorities established the museum system in the city. Since the political sovereignty of Hong Kong returned to China in 1997, the museum became directly run by the bureaucrats of the new government. It now aims to preserve and present the cultural heritage of China and promote art with a local focus, while maintaining an international character.³³

Third, the three museums use different representation systems and create different bonds with their publics. The He Xiangning Art Museum is mainly engaged in collecting, displaying, and studying He Xiangning's works but also showcases contemporary art. The museum emphasizes the influential role that it plays in art, academic circles, and society at large.³⁴ Located in Shenzhen, a trans-provincial city accommodating a massive migrant population from across China, the museum has an advantage of drawing a wider implication on Chinese visitors' experience. The Guangdong Times Museum, located in a residential building and embedded in a local middle-class community, seeks to engage its visitors through dialogue and through interactive activities and projects. The Hong Kong Museum of Art positions itself in a wider regional landscape, with a collection covering historical pictures, Chinese ancient artefacts, and the modern and contemporary art of both Hong Kong and China. It encourages leisure and lifelong learning and aims to stimulate the cultural lives of people.³⁵ Adopting different approaches and strategies for the representation of art, the three museums present and circulate meanings differently and offer different experiences to the public. It is also noteworthy that, regardless of their differences in terms of museum collections or displays, the three museums have all worked with overseas partners to organize exhibitions that seek to cultivate a global

32 See 'Guangdong Times Museum', *Ran Dian*, www.randian-online.com/np_space/guangdong-times-museum/, accessed 17 December 2018.

33 See this webpage of Hong Kong Museum of Art, 'About the Museum', http://hk.art.museum/en_US/web/ma/about-the-museum.html, accessed 17 December 2018.

34 See the webpage of He Xiangning Art Museum, 'Introduce', www.hxnart.com/main.aspx?ModuleNo=00&SubModuleNo=02, accessed 17 December 2018.

35 See the webpage of Hong Kong Museum of Art, 'Vision, Mission & Values', http://hk.art.museum/en_US/web/ma/18.html, accessed 17 December 2018.

appreciation of art. Ethnographic research on these three museums which have works of art drawn from different cultural contexts and with different institutional positionings, provides knowledge with wider implications for the study of museum discourse in GPRD, China, and the world.

The three art museums can be regarded as 'strategic research sites' (Merton 1987), which illustrates the problems that appear when 'knowledge' is given (as exhibited in the formal structure and goals of the state/market), and when a gap exists between 'knowledge' and 'reality'. They reflect a dynamic museum reality in which multiple organizational and managerial approaches and strategies of knowledge production, and diverse publics coexist and respond differently to state/government regulations, regional contexts, and broader social and economic conditions. They were strategically used to question the symbolic boundaries of museums that have been predominated by nationalist and economic policy agendas, and to drawing broader patterns with regards to regulation, production, and consumption of museum discourses and practices in the region and in China more broadly.

The method of 'juxtapositional comparison' was also used to compare the three different case studies. In her article, 'Why Not Compare?', Susan Stanford Friedman (2013) suggests using 'juxtapositional comparison' to avoid the political and epistemological problems of traditional modes of comparative thinking (such as identification of similarities and differences), and the opposite danger of insisting on the purely local and the particular in its geohistorical context. The method emphasizes comparative acts of cognition for the production of theory, based on the dynamism of comparison unfolding in the tension between commensurability and incommensurability.³⁶

Using this method, the three case studies are put side by side, each with its own distinctive circuit mode and context. They are read together for their in/commensurability in two dimensions: the relations between the political-economic, cultural, and social spheres, and between the roles and functions of the agents (political and economic agents, museum intermediaries, and museum publics) in each sphere. The method helps maintain the particularity of each circuit, and identifies the new generalities based on what the circuits share. It addresses interconnected phenomena, and offers

36 As Friedman (2013, 40) explains, 'a juxtapositional model of comparison sets things being compared side by side, not overlapping them [...] not setting up one as the standard of measure for the other, not using one as an instrument to serve the other. Juxtaposition can potentially avoid the categorical violence of comparison within the framework of dominance. The distinctiveness of each is maintained, while the dialogue of voices that ensues brings commonalities into focus'.

new insights for reading the museum world as an interconnected entity. More importantly, rather than comparison based on the politics of domination and otherness, it facilitates the comparative analysis of different voices and actors coming out of distinctive and asymmetrical museum contexts. They will offer a comparative complement to our understanding of how different art museums exist at the intersection between the political-economic, cultural, and social spheres, and how their 'in/commensurability' reveals the larger sociocultural and political implications of museum phenomena.

1.4 Methods

This book focuses on museum studies in China, through the use of an interdisciplinary approach that crosses over institutional analysis, exhibition histories, curatorial studies, and visitor research. It also adopts constructive theory and engages with relevant concepts and notions of the 'public' and 'visitors'. The study not only includes extensive reviews and interpretations from scholars, art critics, curators, and art historians about the history and recent development of (art) museums in China, but also conducts empirical investigations into the three museums. The study is undertaken by ethnographic methods including content analysis of the museum, and textual analysis of a range of printed and online museum-related materials, interviews with museum professionals and visitors, and participant observation. The primary research materials were mainly collected during my many fieldtrips to the museums between 2015 and 2017.

Content analysis was used in this research to critically review the museums' representation of content, namely what messages the museums encode, to whom, and how these messages are circulated. The analysis focuses on the museums' meaning-making mechanisms including exhibition texts, policy statement, the museum's mission, collection, public programmes, infrastructure (i.e. the museum building, venue, or space), publication, and media coverage. Investigating archival materials, physical facilities, services, collections, and interpretative aids, this study explores their function and constructed meanings, and reveals how the museums mediate the process of meaning production. It is also with particular interest to the dominant structure and significant changes in their representations, and their impacts on the construction of cultural identities and creation of a particular kind of public.

To provide a more comprehensive and reliable understanding of the cultural production of the museum, I interviewed the museums' directors or/

and curators and asked about their experiences of working in the museum. The interviews helped triangulate the data drawn from content analysis, and encapsulate the construction of *meaning* from the production side of the museum. They also helped elicit the data about the institutional condition of production. The museum professionals interviewed are full-time employees, and they receive a stable income. This book is thus not intended to conduct a sociological class study, or a normative evaluation of their working condition or lifestyle. Its focus rests on their finished work and their discursive/creative effects, and engagement with the politics of signification (including ideological dilemma, and cultural conflicts and public tensions) in the museum context.

To examine why and how visitors consume the contents of the museum, and how they relate to their visiting site, I conducted face-to-face semi-structured interviews with museum visitors aged eighteen or above. The interviews motivated visitors to offer interpretations of their museum experiences and share with me the meaning they construct from experiences with the museum. Some fifty interviews³⁷ were conducted at each museum site, based on a random sampling method. The interview data included the purposes of their visits, expectations, and communication with art/objects/practices, personal interests, beliefs, and prior cultural experiences. The data was categorized by thematic coding³⁸ to identify the important concepts or features of visitors' experiences within their visiting context that inform their modes of museum consumption and 'positionings' (whether adaptive/integrative, negotiated, or oppositional to each museum entity). Visitors

37 Qualitative research is concerned with the process behind a topic or meaning of a subject, rather than for making generalized hypothesis statements. It does not use power analysis to determine the sample size, but instead most commonly uses the criterion of *saturation* – when the collection of new data does not shed any further light on the issue under investigation. In other words, saturation is concerned with the point when discovery of 'the new' does not add anything to the overall story, model, or theory. In practice, it is necessary to specify a minimum sample size for initial analysis. After the minimum sample is achieved, interviews are carried out until nothing new emerges (stopping criterion). Mason (2010) found that the mean sample size was 31 in a sample of PhD studies that used qualitative approaches and qualitative interviews as the method of data collection. A majority of other types of qualitative studies fell within the range of 30–50, including ethnographic research, and a higher proportion of researchers seem to believe that the samples should 'lie under 50'. See Mason (2010). Thus, in this study, the sample size was set to 50, which adheres to the standard of the field to estimate the point at which saturation is likely to occur.

38 Thematic analysis is a useful method for examining the perspectives of different research participants, highlighting similarities and differences, and generating unanticipated insights (Braun and Clarke 2006; King 2004). It is also a useful method to summarize the key features of a large data set in a structured way (King 2004).

were also segmented in order to identify their ‘difference’ in the ways they orient the museum.³⁹ The narrative approach of ‘thick description’ (Geertz 2003) was used to capture the visitors’ experiences and to interpret their meaning and contexts.

‘Participant observation’ as an anthropological fieldwork method was also used to capture how visitors use the museum facilities and services and to identify their interests in the museum. I observed visitors and took field notes on their visible reactions to the museum’s physical facilities and environment as well as on their interaction with other people. It helped triangulate the data drawn from visitor interviews, thereby increasing the credibility of the thematic analysis. In addition, I visited their sites and neighbouring areas, as well as other museums, galleries, art spaces, and cultural creative clusters in the cities. I also had casual conversations with artists and curators in exhibition spaces or academic conferences. All of these have been woven into my contextual understanding of the recent conditions of cultural production and consumption in these museums.

1.5 Book structure

This book is divided into six chapters. This introductory chapter has highlighted the methodological deficiencies in the existing analyses of museums in China. The dominant research framework privileges the museum production determined by the forces of state and market, reduces reception studies to an instrumental or practical function, and limits the idea of the museum public to the concept found in the public-relations management approach. The contingent role of the state and the market, the place of social and cultural actors and their signifying practices, as well as the notion of museum public, have been neglected. To fill the gaps, this chapter offers a new conceptual framework – ‘museum circuit’ and suggests an empirical study of the art museal processes that have affected GPRD since the 1990s. The circuit model is a constructive, multidimensional framework to examine the complex museal processes and relationships in the museum. The model addresses various discursive elements, including institutional regulation, cultural production and consumption, identity, and representation, and understands these interlinked processes in constructive terms.

39 Segmentation studies break visitors into subgroups for purposes of analysis and intervention. Museum professionals and art researchers have long adopted the method to investigate the patterns of art participation and museum experiences (for examples, Doering 1999; Falk 2009).

With the involvement of possible actors including political and economic agents, museum intermediaries, and visitors, it represents a communicative interface between the social, cultural, economic, and political spheres; spheres that are differentiated but interlinked, all of which are important factors for explaining the museum phenomena in China.

Chapter 2 traces the history of and the forces behind the institutional transformation of art museums in China, including those in Hong Kong after 1997. It maintains that art museums in China have undergone various localization processes in response to the dynamic internal and external challenges throughout the history of the country. Art museums emerged out of the nationalist revolutionary period and were used as a place for modern aesthetic education. In the period of Maoist rule, they mainly served to propagate communist sociopolitical ideologies and modernization. In post-reform China, multiple forces including the growing market, the state's cultural policies, urbanization, the development of creative cities, and a growing middle class, have shaped the contexts of cultural regulation, production, and consumption. The final section of this chapter discusses the cultural context of Hong Kong after political sovereignty over the territory was regained by China in 1997. It examines how Hong Kong museums, under the 'tutelage' of the Chinese state, have been reoriented by the new government, and what the contextual changes are that these museums have been facing since 1997. In particular, it analyses the implications of the citizen-led cultural actions that acquired particular intensity with the Umbrella Movement of 2014. The chapter, overall, endeavours to discuss the multiple forces that have been influencing the regulation, production, and consumption of art museums in China. It provides a contextual understanding of the internalization of the structures of art museums by China's successive political regimes and by its changing society. It finally re-emphasizes the need for an empirical strategy for reassessing the involvement of and mutual relations between different agents in art museums.

Chapters 3 to 5 analyse the individual case studies, respectively, the He Xiangning Art Museum (Shenzhen), the Guangdong Times Museum (Guangzhou), and the Hong Kong Museum of Art (Hong Kong). Each of these three chapters begins with a discussion of the institutional structures that regulate the museum and what these structures mean to the political and economic agents engaging with the museum and to the museum organization itself. The chapters then examine the production aspect of the museum, mainly by identifying the scope of intermediaries who are involved in its production, examining their discursive and cultural practices in exhibition, curatorial, and collection development, highlighting their approaches in

representing art and culture, assessing their cultural impacts and analysing the construction of the museum public. Finally, the chapters explore the consumption issues pertaining to the different communicative modes and positions adopted by a differentiated public. On the one hand, I identify the differences in the museum publics based on the visitors' narratives of their own visiting experiences and the communicative practices that they deploy in the museum context and/or their engagement with social criticism and their participation in public discourse. On the other hand, I identify whether or not members of the museum public are oriented to integrating themselves with or adapt themselves to the museum entity, how they negotiate what they encounter in the museum based on their individual situation, or whether they oppose what the museum propagates. These visitor studies reflect the existence of a social sphere in which local people position themselves in alignment with or divergence from the museum systems of value and meaning.

The three case studies will provide a detailed picture of the different institutional discourses underlying the processes of regulation, production, and consumption in the art museum field in GPRD. They strengthen the validity of treating museums as being epistemologically and ontologically different from each other at one level, and comparable with each other at another level. In the concluding chapter, in addition to summarizing the main findings of the case studies, I discuss the different modes of museum circuit they involve, and their in/commensurability in two dimensions: the relations between political-economic, cultural, and social spheres, and the roles and functions of the agents (political and economic agents, museum intermediaries, and publics) in each sphere. The implications of the findings and the possible agendas for future research are included in the discussion. Finally, I conclude with a discussion of the key contributions of this research.

Bibliography

- Abbing, Hans (2008). *Why Are Artists Poor? The Exceptional Economy of the Arts* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press).
- An, Laishu (1997). 'Bowuguan yu gongzhong: 21 shiji bowuguan de hexin wenti zhiyi' [The museum and the public: one of the core questions for museums in the twenty-first century], *Zhongguo Bowuguan* [Chinese Museum], 4, www.cnki.com.cn/Article/CJFDTOTAL-GBWG199704003.htm (accessed 16 November 2015).
- Asia Art Archive in America (2015). 'CANTONBON: A Case Study of Locality, Autonomy and Hybridity since 1993', transc. Hilary Chassé, and ed. Jane DeBevoise,

- 2 April 2015, www.aaa-a.org/programs/cantonbon-a-case-study-of-locality-autonomy-and-hybridity-since-1993/ (accessed 24 June 2019).
- Bai, Qian (2016). 'Guoyou minying tizhi xia de meishuguan moshi' [The modality of nongovernmental art museums under the system of state ownership and civil administration], Master's thesis, Xi'an Academy of Fine Arts, China, <http://cdmd.cnki.com.cn/Article/CDMD-10729-1016090606.htm> (accessed 16 November 2015).
- Barrett, Jennifer (2010). *Museums and the Public Sphere* (Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell).
- Baudrillard, Jean (1988). *The Ecstasy of Communication* (New York: Semiotext).
- Bhatti, Shaila (2012). *Translating Museums: A Counterhistory of South Asian Museology* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press).
- Bie, Jiangbo, Martin de Jong, and Ben Derudder (2015). 'Greater Pearl River Delta: Historical Evolution towards a Global City-Region', *Journal of Urban Technology*, 22(2): 103-123.
- Blackstone, William (2009). 'Of Corporations' in *Commentaries on the Laws of England: Book the First Volume, Book 1*, 455-73, www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/30802 (accessed 24 June 2019).
- Bo, Qin, and Yu Zhang (2014). 'Note on Urbanization in China: Urban Definitions and Census Data', *China Economic Review*, 30: 495-502.
- Bourdieu, Pierre (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
- Braun, Virginia, and Victoria Clarke (2006). 'Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology', *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2): 77-101.
- Cai, Yunci (2015). 'Review of Museum of Our Own: In Search of Local Museology for Asia', *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology*, 25(2): Art. 5.
- Cameron, Fiona, and Lynda Kelly (2010). *Hot Topics, Public Culture, Museums* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars).
- Cao, Yiqiang (2008). *Meishu bowuguanxue daolun* [Introduction to art museology] (Hangzhou: Zhongguo meishu xueyuan chubanshe [China Academy of Art Press]).
- Cartier, Carolyn (2002). 'Origins and Evolution of a Geographical Idea: The Macroeconomy in China', *Modern China*, 28(1): 79-142.
- Chang, Wanchen (2012). 'A Cross-cultural Perspective on Musealization: The Museum's Reception by China and Japan in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century', *Museum & Society*, 10(1): 15-27.
- Chang, Yui-tan (2006). 'Cultural Policies and Museum Development in Taiwan', *Museum International*, 58(4): 65-68.
- Chen, Hui, and Chris Ryan (2012). 'Issues in Museum Management Policies: Evidence from Xi'an, China', *Visitor Studies*, 15(1): 62-81.
- Chen, Jianming (2005). 'Hanyu "bowuguan" yici de chansheng yu liuchuan' [The emergence and development of the Chinese word 'bowuguan'], Paper presented

- at the Academic conference of Chinese Museums Association, Jiangsu, September 2005, <http://cpfd.cnki.com.cn/Article/CPFDTOTAL-ZGBW200509001026.htm> (accessed 24 June 2019).
- Chen, Kuan-hsing (2010). *Asia as Method: Toward Deimperialization* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press).
- Chen, Kuo-ning (2008). 'Museums in Taiwan and the Development of Cultural Awareness', *Museum International*, 60(1-2): 123-131.
- Chen, Rongyi (2006). 'Zhongguo meishuguan de gonggongxing yanjiu' [A study of the publicness of the China National Gallery of Art], Master's thesis, China Central Academy of Fine Arts, China, <http://cdmd.cnki.com.cn/Article/CDMD-10047-2006081333.htm> (accessed 16 November 2015).
- Cheng, Lu (2007). 'Bowuguan di gonggongxing yanjiu' [Study of the publicness of museums], Master's thesis, Nanjing Normal University, China, <http://cdmd.cnki.com.cn/Article/CDMD-10319-2007108147.htm> (accessed 16 November 2015).
- China Private Museums United Platform Limited (2016). *Zhongguo siren bowuguan hangye fazhan baipishu* [White paper on the development of the industry of private museums in China].
- Chow, Yiu-fai (2017). 'Exploring Creative Class Mobility: Hong Kong Creative Workers in Shanghai and Beijing', *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 58(4): 361-385.
- Chu, Yiu-wai (2017). 'Who Speaks for Lion Rock? Pro-Cantonese Campaign (or Lack thereof) in Hong Kong' in *Civil Unrest and Governance in Hong Kong Law and Order from Historical and Cultural Perspectives*, eds. Michael Ng, and John Wong (London: Routledge), 196-213.
- Chumley, Lily (2016). *Creativity Class, Art School and Culture Work in Postsocialist China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- Ciyuan (1947). *Zhengxu bian heding ben* [Chinese phrase dictionary: full revised edition]. (Shanghai: Shangwu Yinshu Guan [Commercial Press]).
- Cornut-Gentile D'Arcy, Chantal, and Lawrence Grossberg (2010). 'An Interview with Lawrence Grossberg. Personal Reflections on the Politics and Practice of Cultural Studies', *Atlantis*, 32(2): 107-120.
- Curtin, Patricia, and Kenn Gaither (2007). *International Public Relations: Negotiating Culture, Identity, and Power* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage).
- DeBevoise, Jane (2014). *Between State and Market: Chinese Contemporary Art in the Post-Mao Era* (Leiden: Brill).
- Denton, Kirk (2014a). *Exhibiting the Past: Historical Memory and the Politics of Museums in Postsocialist China* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press).
- (2014b). 'Exhibiting the Past: China's Nanjing Massacre Memorial Museum', *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, 12(20) No. 2, 18 May 2014, http://japanfocus.org/-Kirk_A_-Denton/4117/article.html (accessed 24 June 2019).

- Doering, Zahava (1999). 'Strangers, Guests or Clients? Visitor Experiences in Museums', *Curator: The Museum Journal*, 42(2): 74-87.
- Dozier, David, and Martha Lauzen (2000). 'Liberating the Intellectual Domain from the Practice: Public Relations, Activism, and the Role of the Scholar', *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 12(1): 3-22.
- Du Cros, Hilary, and Yok-shiu Lee (2007). *Cultural Heritage Management in China: Preserving the Cities of Pearl River Delta* (London: Routledge).
- Du Gay, Paul (1997). *Doing Cultural Studies: The Story of the Sony Walkman* (London: Sage, in association with The Open University).
- Erskine-Loftus, Pamela, Victoria Penziner Hightower, and Mariam Ibrahim Al-Mulla (2016). *Representing the Nation Heritage, Museums, National Narratives and Identity in the Arab Gulf States* (Oxon: Routledge).
- Falk, John (2009). *Identity and the Museum Visitor Experience* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press).
- Florida, Richard (2002). *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life* (New York: Basic Books).
- Friedman, Susan Stanford (2013). 'Why Not Compare?' in *Comparison Theories, Approaches, Uses*, eds. Rita Felski, and Susan Stanford Friedman (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press), 34-45.
- Gao, Xuesen (2014). 'Zhongguo minying meishuguan fazhan wenti tanjiu' [An inquiry into the problems of the development of private art museums in China], *Journal of Tianjin Academy of Fine Arts*, (3): 32-35.
- Gao, Xuesong (2012). "'Cantonese is not a Dialect': Chinese Netizens' Defence of Cantonese as a Regional Lingua Franca", *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 33(5): 449-464.
- Garnham, Nicholas (1992). 'Media and the Public Sphere' in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun (Cambridge, MA/ London: MIT Press), 359-376.
- Geertz, Clifford (2003). *Thick Description: Toward an Interpretative Theory of Culture* (New York: Basic Books).
- Gerring, John (2008). 'Case Selection for Case-study Analysis: Qualitative and Quantitative Techniques' in *The Oxford Handbook of Political Methodology*, eds. Janet Box-Steffensmeier, Henry Brady, and David Collier (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 645-684.
- Golding, Viv (2009). *Learning at the Museum Frontiers – Identity, Race, and Power* (London: Routledge).
- Golding, Viv, and Wayne Modest (2013). *Museums and Communities: Curators, Collections, and Collaboration* (London: Bloomsbury).
- Gong, Mengmin (2013). 'Shanghai dangdai minying meishuguan jingying moshi yanjiu' [A study of the operational mode of nongovernment art museums in

- Shanghai], Master's thesis, East China Normal University, China, <http://cdmd.cnki.com.cn/Article/CDMD-10269-1013273220.htm> (accessed 26 January 2018).
- Gu, Edward (1999). 'Cultural Intellectuals and the Politics of Cultural Public Space in Communist China (1979-1989). A Case Study of Three Intellectual Groups', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 58(2): 389-431.
- 'Guangdong Times Museum', *Ran Dian*, www.randian-online.com/np_space/guangdong-times-museum/ (accessed 17 December 2018).
- Guo, Yingjie (2004). *Cultural Nationalism in Contemporary China: The Search for National Identity under Reform* (London: Routledge).
- Guo, Changhong (2008). 'The Qing Palace: From a Forbidden City to a Public Heritage', *Museum International*, 60(1-2): 78-88.
- Guo, Xiaoyan (2003). 'Zhongguo sili bowuguan de yangtai he cunzai jingdi – yi Chengdu liangjia meishuguan wei li' [The current condition and models of private museums in China: two art museums in Chengdu as examples] in *Meishuguan* [Art Museums], ed. Huangsheng Wang (Guilin: Guangxi Normal University Press Group), Volume A, 18-24.
- Habermas, Jürgen (1962)1989. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press).
- Hai, Ren (2010). *Neoliberalism and Culture in China and Hong Kong: The Countdown of Time* (London: Routledge).
- Hall, Stuart (1973)1980. 'Encoding/Decoding (Encoding and Decoding in Television Discourse, 1973)' in *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies*, 1972-79, ed. The Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (London: Hutchinson).
- (1997). *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: Sage, in association with The Open University).
- Han-Ying cidian* [A Chinese-English dictionary] (1988). (Beijing: Shangwu Yinshu Guan [The Commercial Press]).
- Hansen, Mette Halskov, and Rune Svarverud, eds. (2010). *iChina: The Rise of the Individual in Modern Chinese Society* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press).
- Hasitschka, Werner, Peter Goldsleger, and Tasos Zembylas (2005). 'Cultural Institutions Studies: Investigating the Transformation of Cultural Goods', *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, 35(2): 147-158.
- He Xiangning Art Museum, 'Introduce', www.hxnart.com/main.aspx?ModuleNo=00&SubModuleNo=02 (accessed 17 December 2018).
- Hei, Wenjuan (2013). 'Kejiguan luyouzhe dongji ji manyi du zhishu moxing yanjiu – yi Hefei kejiguan wei li' [Research on tourists' motivation and satisfaction index model for the Science and Technology Museum: a case study of the Hefei Science and Technology Museum], Master's thesis, Anhui Normal University, China, <http://cdmd.cnki.com.cn/Article/CDMD-10370-1014103970.htm> (accessed 16 November 2015).

- Hesse-Biber, Sharlene Nagy (2017). *The Practice of Qualitative Research: Engaging Students in the Research Process* (Third edition) (Los Angeles, CA: Sage).
- Hilton, Matthew (2007). 'Social Activism in an Age of Consumption: The Organized Consumer Movement', *Social History*, 32(2): 121-143.
- Ho, Kiu-chung (2016). *Wenyi laodong: Xianggang chuangzuoren de gongzuo yu richang* [Creative labour: the work and everyday life of Hong Kong's creators] (Hong Kong: Chung Hwa Books Co.).
- Hong Kong Museum of Art, 'About the Museum', http://hk.art.museum/en_US/web/ma/about-the-museum.html (accessed 17 December 2018).
- 'Vision, Mission & Values', http://hk.art.museum/en_US/web/ma/v18.html (accessed 17 December 2018).
- Huang, Philip (1993). 'Public Sphere and "Civil Society" in China? The Third Realm Between State and Society', *Modern China*, 19(2): 216-240.
- Huang, Yi-chih (2012). 'National Glory and Traumatism: National/Cultural Identity Construction of National Palace Museum in Taiwan', *National Identities*, 14(3): 211-225.
- Itoh, Mayumi (2012). *Pioneers of Sino-Japanese Relations: Liao and Takasaki* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Janes, Robert (2009). *Museums in a Troubled World: Renewal, Irrelevance or Collapse?* (London/ New York: Routledge).
- (2013). *Museums and the Paradox of Change: A Case Study in Urgent Adaptation* (Third Edition) (London/ New York: Routledge).
- Janes, Robert, and Gerald Conaty, eds. (2005). *Looking Reality in the Eye: Museums and Social Responsibility* (Alberta: University of Calgary Press).
- Janes, Robert, and Richard Sandell (2019). *Museum Activism* (London: Routledge).
- Keane, Michael (2011). *China's New Creative Clusters: Governance, Human Capital and Investment* (London/ New York: Routledge).
- Kee, Joan (2003). 'Art, Hong Kong, and Hybridity: A Task of Reconsideration', *Yishu: Journal of Contemporary Chinese Art*, 2(2): 90-98.
- Keränen, Lisa, Patrick Shou-Whea Dodge, and Donovan Conley (2015). 'Modernizing Traditions on the Roof of the World: Displaying "Liberation" and "Occupation" in Three Tibet Museums', *Journal of Curatorial Studies*, 4(1): 78-106.
- King, Nigel (2004). 'Using Templates in the Thematic Analysis of Text' in *Essential Guide to Qualitative Methods in Organizational Research*, eds. Catherine Cassell, and Gillian Symon (London: Sage), 257-270.
- Kiowski, Daniel (2017). 'A Museum a Day: New Private Art Museums in Shanghai', *Journal of Contemporary Chinese Art*, 4(1): 45-60.
- Kirchberg, Volker, and Martin Tröndle (2012). 'Experiencing Exhibitions: A Review of Studies on Visitors Experiences in Museums', *Curator The Museum Journal*, 55(4): 435-452.

- Kloeckner, Léo (2015). 'Kirk A. Denton, Exhibiting the Past: Historical Memory and the Politics of Museums in Postsocialist China', *China perspectives*, 2015/1: 66-67.
- Kozinet, Robert, and Jay Handelman (2004). 'Adversaries of Consumption: Consumer Movements, Activism, and Ideology', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 31(3): 691-704.
- Kraus, Richard Curt (2004). *The Party and the Arty in China: The New Politics* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers).
- Kreps, Christina (2003). 'The Eurocentric Museum Model in the Non-European World', *Liberating Culture: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Museums, Curation, and Heritage Preservation* (London: Routledge), 20-45.
- Ku, Ming-chun (2014). 'Museums in China: Power, Politics and Identities', *Asian Anthropology*, 13(1): 84-85.
- Lam, Anne (2003). 'Evaluation of the Effectiveness of Public Programs in Art Museums of Hong Kong', *Asia-Pacific Journal for Arts Education*, 1(2): 22-36.
- Lan, Qingchuan (2016). *Meishuguan de zhixu* [The order of art museums] (Guilin: Guangxi Normal University Press Group).
- Le Mentec, Katiana (2015). 'Chongqing Museums after the Upheaval: Exhibitions in the Wake of the Three Gorges Dam Migrations', *Journal of Curatorial Studies*, 4(1): 108-141.
- Lepawsky, Joshua (2008). 'A Museum, the City, and a Nation', *Cultural Geographies*, 15(1): 119-142.
- Li, Jing (2007). 'Woguo bowuguan qingshaonian quanzhong chubu yanjiu' [Preliminary study of the young museum visitors in China], Master's thesis, Chongqing Normal University, China, <http://cdmd.cnki.com.cn/Article/CDMD-10637-2007076584.htm> (accessed 22 July 2014).
- Li, Ying (2013). 'Minying meishuguan zhanlan yingxia celue yanjiu' [Research on the marketing strategy of nongovernment art museum exhibitions], Master's thesis, Central South University, China, <http://cdmd.cnki.com.cn/Article/CDMD-10533-1014399333.htm> (accessed 26 January 2018).
- Liu, Qingxian (2009). 'Bowuguan yu guanzhong xinxing quanxi de kaiduan – 11.2008 Hennan bowuyuan ru guan guanzhong diaocha fenxi' [A new relationship between museum and visitors: further study of the visitors in the Henan Museum in November 2008], Master's thesis, Jilin University, China, <http://cdmd.cnki.com.cn/Article/CDMD-10183-2009095474.htm> (accessed 16 November 2015).
- Liu, Zhenyong, and Xue Wu (2012). 'Quyu bowuguan (yiren weiben) gongzhong jiaoyu xintansuo – yi huaianshi bowuguan wei li' [New exploration of the 'people-oriented' public education in a regional museum: a case study of the Huai'an City Museum], *Bowuguan yanjiu* [Museum Studies], 2, www.cnki.com.cn/Article/CJFDTOTAL-BWYJ201202010.htm (accessed 16 November 2015).
- Lu, Tracey (2014). *Museums in China: Power, Politics and Identities* (London/ New York: Routledge).

- Luke, Timothy (2002). *Museum Politics: Power Plays at the Exhibition* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press).
- Ma, Yueōu (2010). 'Xianjieduan woguo minying meishuguan yunying moshi fenxi' [Analysis of the operational mode of current nongovernmental art museums in China], Master's thesis, Chinese National Academy of Arts, China, <http://cdmd.cnki.com.cn/Article/CDMD-84201-2010137467.htm> (accessed 12 January 2018).
- Macdonald, Sharon (2006). *A Companion to Museum Studies* (Oxford: Blackwell).
- Mackay, Hugh (1997). *Consumption and Everyday Life* (London: Sage, in association with the Open University).
- Macleod, Roy (1998). 'Postcolonialism and Museum Knowledge: Revisiting the Museums of the Pacific', *Pacific Science*, 52(4): 308-318.
- Maguire, Jennifer Smith, and Julian Matthews (2014). *The Cultural Intermediaries Reader* (London: Sage).
- Man, Kit-wah (2010). 'A Museum of Hybridity: The History of the Display of Art in the Public Museum of Hong Kong and its Implications for Cultural Identities', *Visual Anthropology*, 24(1-2): 90-105.
- Mason, Mark (2010). 'Sample Size and Saturation in PhD Studies Using Qualitative Interviews', *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 11(3): 1-19.
- Mathur, Saloni, and Kavita Singh (2015). *No Touching, No Spitting, No Praying: The Museum in South Asia* (New Delhi: Routledge).
- McClellan, Andrew (2008). *The Art Museum from Boullée to Bilbao* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press).
- McGuigan, Jim (2010). 'Creative Labour, Cultural Work and Individualization', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 16(3): 323-335.
- McLean, Fiona (1998). 'Museums and the Construction of National Identity: A Review', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 3(4): 244-252.
- McMillen, Donald Hugh (1998). 'China: The Dialectics of Autonomy and Integration' in *Institutional Change and the Political Transition in Hong Kong*, ed. Ian Scott (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), 210-233.
- McMillen, Donald Hugh, and Michael DeGolyer, eds. (1993). *One Culture, Many Systems?: Politics in the Reunification of China* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press).
- McMillen, Donald Hugh, and Shiu-hing Lo (1995). 'A Profile of the "Pro-China Hong Kong Elite": Images and Perceptions', *Issues and Studies*, 31(6): 98-127.
- McRobbie, Angela (2016). *Be Creative: Making a Living in the New Culture Industries* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press).
- Merton, Robert (1987). 'Three Fragments from a Sociologist's Notebook: Establishing the Phenomenon, Specified Ignorance, and Strategic Research Materials', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 13: 1-28.

- Message, Kylie (2014). *Museums and Social Activism: Engaged Protest* (London: Routledge).
- Mo, Jiaming (2012). 'Chengshi bowuguan luke manyida diaocha yanjiu – yi Guangzhou bowuguan wei li' [Study of the visitors' satisfaction with a city museum in Guangzhou], Master's thesis, Lanzhou University, China, <http://cdmd.cnki.com.cn/Article/CDMD-10730-1012374053.htm> (accessed 16 November 2015).
- National Art Museum of China Journal* (2011). 'Guanyu meishuguan he bowuguan gonggong jiaoyu de fansi' [The methods of public education in art museums and history museums], (Zhongguo Meishu Chubans Zongshe) [China Fine Arts Publishing Group], 8: 6-16.
- National Bureau of Statistics of China (2018a). 'National Data, National Bureau of Statistics of China', <http://data.stats.gov.cn/english/easyquery.htm?cn=C01> (accessed 24 June 2019).
- (2018b). *China Statistical Yearbook*, www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/ndsj/2018/indexeh.htm (accessed 24 June 2019).
- O'Connor, Justin (2015). 'Intermediaries and Imaginaries in the Cultural and Creative Industries', *Regional Studies*, 49(3): 374-387.
- Park, Jong Phil (2016). 'Review Article of Kirk A. Denton, *Exhibiting the Past: Historical Memory and the Politics of Museums in Postsocialist China* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press 2013), Noriko Aso, *Public Properties: Museums in Imperial Japan* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013), and Clare E. Harris, *The Museum on the Roof of the World: Art, Politics, and the Representation of Tibet* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2012)', *Art Bulletin*, 97(4): 454-457.
- Peng, Hao (1999). 'Qiantan xiandai bowuguan gonggong guanxi' [A brief introduction of the public relations in modern museums], *Zhongguo Bowuguan* [Chinese Museum], 1, www.cnki.com.cn/Article/CJFDTOTAL-GBWG199901014.htm (accessed 16 November 2015).
- Ran, Bing (2003). 'Zijin yonggi yu zhihui de youxi: tan Beijing minying yishu jigou he kongjian' [A game with capital, courage, and wisdom: a talk on nongovernmental art institutions and spaces in Beijing] in *Meishuguan* [Art Museums], ed. Huangsheng Wang (Guilin: Guangxi Normal University Press Group), 9-17.
- Reilly, Maura (2018). *Curatorial Activism: Towards an Ethic of Curating* (London: Thames & Hudson).
- Ren, Jie (2011). 'Yizhi bowuguan gonggong guanxi yanjiu' [The public relations studies of historical site museums], Master's thesis, Fudan University, China, <http://cdmd.cnki.com.cn/Article/CDMD-10246-1011195572.htm> (accessed 16 November 2015).
- Sandell, Richard (2002). *Museums, Society, Inequality* (London/ New York: Routledge).

- (2007). *Museums, Prejudice and the Reframing of Difference* (London: Routledge)
- Sandell, Richard, and Eithne Nightingale, eds. (2012). *Museums, Equality and Social Justice* (London: Routledge).
- Sassen, Saskia (2001). *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
- Scott, Allen John (2001). *Global City-Regions – Trends, Theory, Policy* (New York: Oxford University Press).
- Shi, Jixiang, and Fuchun Guo (2004). 'Bowuguan gongzhong – yige raoou quwei he yiyi de yanjiu lingyu' [Museum public: an interesting and meaningful field of study], *Zhongguo Bowuguan* [Chinese Museum], 2, www.cnki.com.cn/Article/CJFDTOTAL-GBWG200402006.htm (accessed 16 November 2015).
- Song, Xiangguang (2008). 'The Development of Private Museums in China', *Museum International*, 60(1-2): 40-48.
- Stake, Robert (2005). 'Qualitative Case Studies' in *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*, eds. Norman Denzin, and Yvonna Lincoln (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage), 443-466.
- Stokes-Rees, Emily (2011). 'Recounting History Constructing a National Narrative in the Hong Kong Museum of History' in *National Museums: New Studies from Around the World*, eds. Simon Knell, Peter Aronsson, and Arne Bugge Amundsen (London: Routledge), 339-354.
- Su, Donghai (1993). 'Zhongguo bowuguanxue yanjiu zongshu' [Overview of the studies in Chinese museology], *Zhongguo Bowuguan* [Chinese Museum], 4, www.cnki.com.cn/Article/CJFDTOTAL-GBWG199304007.htm (accessed 16 November 2015).
- (1995). 'Museums and Museum Philosophy in China', *Nordisk Museologi*, 2: 61-80.
- Tam, Cheung-on (2002). 'Experience of Works of Art: Approaches of Museums', *Asian-Pacific Journal for Arts Education*, 1(1): 60-70.
- Taylor, Bryan, Christof Demont-Heinrich, Kirsten Broadfoot, Jefferson Dodge, and Cuowei Jian (2002). 'New Media and the Circuit of Cyber-Culture: Conceptualizing Napster', *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 46(4): 607-629.
- Thompson, Kenneth (1997). *Media and Cultural Regulation* (London: Sage, in association with the Open University).
- Thynne, Ian (1998). "'One Country" or "Two Systems" Integration and Autonomy. In Perspective' in *Institutional Change and the Political in Hong Kong*, ed. Ian Scott (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), 234-247.
- Ting, Wing-yin, and Chui-fun Ho (2014). 'Meeting Warhol in the Exhibition: Visitors' Experience with Art in the Hong Kong Museum of Art' in *Hong Kong Visual Arts Yearbook 2013*, ed. Tong Kam-tang (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong), 178-195.

- van den Bosch, Annette (2005). 'Museums: Constructing a Public Culture in the Global Age', *Third Text*, 19(1): 81-89.
- Varutti, Marzia (2014). *Museums in China: The Politics of Representation after Mao* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press).
- Vickers, Edward (2007). 'Museums and Nationalism in Contemporary China', *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 37(3): 365-382.
- (2010). 'History, Identity, and the Politics of Taiwan's Museums Reflections on the DPP-KMT Transition', *China Perspectives*, 83: 92-106.
- Vigneron, Frank (2018). *Hong Kong Soft Power: Art Practices in the Special Administrative Region, 2005-2014* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press).
- Walklate, Jenny (2016). 'The Museum in the Global Contemporary: Debating the Museum of Now, University of Leicester School of Museum Studies Fiftieth Anniversary Conference, 18-22 April 2016', *Museum Worlds: Advances in Research*, 4(1): 205-209.
- Wang, Huangsheng (2012). *Zuowei zhishi shengchan de meishuguan* [New experience on art museum [I] art museum as knowledge production] (Beijing: Zhongyang Bianyi Chubanshe [Beijing: Central Compilation & Translation Press]).
- Wang, Jing (1996). *High Culture Fever: Politics, Aesthetics, and Ideology in Deng's China* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press).
- Wang, Jing (2005). 'Woguo bowuguan guanzhong chubu yanjin – yi shuju fenxi wei jichu' [A preliminary research on the museum visitors in China – based on data analysis], Master's thesis, Jilin University, China, <http://cdmd.cnki.com.cn/Article/CDMD-10183-2005109367.htm> (accessed 16 November 2015).
- Wang, Tong (2012). 'Shenzhen bowuguan (Gudai Shenzhen) zhanlan guanzong pinggu yanjiu' [Visitors' evaluation of the exhibition, 'ancient Shenzhen' in Shenzhen Museum], *Journal of Nanchang College of Education*, 7, www.cnki.com.cn/Article/CJFDTOTAL-LCYY201207030.htm (accessed 16 November 2015).
- World Heritage Encyclopaedia. 'Cultural Institutions Studies', *worldheritage.org*. http://worldheritage.org/articles/Cultural_Institutions_Studies (accessed 26 January 2018).
- Woodward, Kathryn (1997). *Identity and Difference* (London: Sage, in association with the Open University).
- Wu, Guowei (1987). 'Jingjin diqu bowuguan guanzhong diaocha baogao' [Survey report on the museum visitors of Beijing and Tianjin], *Zhongguo Bowuguan* [Chinese Museum], 2: 28-44.
- Wu, Hung (2000). *Exhibiting Experimental Art in China* (Chicago, IL: The David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, The University of Chicago).
- Yang, Xi (2007). 'Meishu de shouzhong – dui guonei meishu gonggongxing wenti de yixiang yanjiu' [Research on art audience: a problem of art publicity in China], Master's thesis, Nanjing University of Aeronautics and Astronautics, China,

- <http://cdmd.cnki.com.cn/Article/CDMD-10287-2007194943.htm> (accessed 17 November 2015).
- Zeng, Xi (2006). 'Xiandai zhanshi bolanhui zhong de guanzhong xingwei yanjiu' [Research of the visitors' behaviour in modern exhibitions and expositions], Master's thesis, Wuhan University of Technology, China, <http://cdmd.cnki.com.cn/Article/CDMD-10497-2006060749.htm> (accessed 16 November 2015).
- Zhang, Songling (1985). 'Dui "haiyang he tade jumin" zhanlan guanzhong yijian de diaocha he fenxi' [Survey report of the visitors' opinion on the exhibition 'Ocean and its residents' at the Shanghai Natural History Museum], *Zhongguo Bowuguan* [Chinese Museum], 1, www.cnki.com.cn/Article/CJFDTOTAL-GBWG198501003.htm (accessed 16 November 2015).
- Zhao, Chunwu (1993). 'Shixi bowuguan de wenhua yishi' [Analysis of the cultural consciousness of museums], *Zhongguo Bowuguan* [Chinese Museum], 4, www.cnki.com.cn/Article/CJFDTOTAL-GBWG199304005.htm (accessed 16 January 2018).
- Zhao, Xiaobin Simon, and Li Zhang (2007). 'Foreign Direct Investment and the Formation of Global City-Regions in China', *Regional Studies*, 41(7): 979-994.
- Zhao, Yi (2010). 'Zhongguo minying dangdai mishuguan cezhan jizhi fenxi' [Analysis of the curatorial system of private contemporary art museums in China], Master's thesis, Minzu University of China, <http://cdmd.cnki.com.cn/Article/CDMD-10052-2010260990.htm> (accessed 26 January 2018).
- Zhu, Qi (2003). 'Zhongguo sili xiandai meishuguan de tizhi' [The institutional structure of private modern art museums in China], *Meishuguan* [Art Museums] Volume A, ed. Huangsheng Wang (Guilin: Guangxi Normal University Press Group), 2-8.