Sport, Museums and Cultural Policy

By

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Volume 1 of 2

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Volume One

Abstract

Britain is widely considered to be the birth place of modern sport. Given this fact, it could be expected that the representation of sport within British museums would be extensive. However, the discussion of sport in museums within the existing literature is limited at best and, where it does occur, has a focus primarily on sport specific museums. Therefore, this thesis examines the development of sport in museums and the motivations and barriers which have influenced its development. Placing sport in museums within the wider context of cultural policy between the period of 1997 and 2012, the study explores the impact of sport in museums within wider social and economic agendas.

Due to the lack of existing evidence concerning the subject area, the study draws on extensive fieldwork conducted by the author with individuals working in the fields of cultural policy, museum practice, and academia. In addition, focus groups and questionnaires were carried out with members of the public to ascertain perceptions towards sport as a subject matter for museums and the potential of sport to increase and change museum audiences. In addition, there is an in-depth evaluation of the *Our Sporting Life* exhibition programme in order to establish the impact of sport in museum against the widely used museu-m methodology frameworks, the Generic Learning Outcomes and Generic Social Outcomes.

The findings of this research demonstrate that sport in museums responds to a range of wider cultural policy objectives which support economic and social outcomes. These include: improving individual's knowledge and understanding; providing enjoyment; supporting health and well-being agendas; and building stronger communities. In addition, the evidence establishes that sport attracts new and different audiences to museums and suggests that this may impact on the visiting habits of these individuals in the long-term. However, the findings also demonstrate that there are significant barriers to the delivery of sporting exhibitions in museums, most notably access to sufficient funding and inadequate knowledge and availability of relevant sporting collections.

Therefore, this thesis presents the first conclusive evidence that sport in museums is both relevant and valuable as a subject matter for museum discourse, and argues that this alone suggests a need for increased funding to support further development of activity in this field.

Keywords: Sport; Museums; Cultural Policy; Audiences; Impact

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ABSA	Association of Business Sponsorship for the Arts
ACE	Arts Council England
ACGB	Arts Council of Great Britain
AELTA	All England Lawn Tennis Association
AHRC	Arts and Humanities Research Council
ALMAUK	Archives, Libraries and Museums UK
AMA	Association of Metropolitan Authorities
AMA	Associateship of the Museums Association
BP	British Petroleum
BSSH	British Society for Sports History
CDA	Collaborative Doctoral Award
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
CEMA	Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts
DCLG	Department for Communities and Local Government
DCMS	Department for Culture, Media and Sport
DCSF	Department for Children, Schools and Families
DFEE	Department for Education and Employment
DFES	Department for Education and Skills
DFE	Department for Education
DNH	Department for National Heritage
FA	Football Association
FIFA	Federation Internationalle de Football Associations
GEM	Group for Education in Museums
GLO	Generic Learning Outcome

GSO	Generic Social Outcome
HEI	Higher Education Institute
ICOM	International Council of Museums
ICSHC	International Centre for Sport History and Culture
ILFA	Inspiring Learning for All
IFI	International Football Institute
IOC	International Olympic Committee
KPI	Key Performance Indicator
LA	Local Authority
LAA	Local Area Agreements
LEM	Learning in European Museums
LGA	Local Government Association
LOCOG	London Organising Committee of the Olympic Games
London 2012	London 2012 Olympic Games
MA	Museums Association
MCC	Marylebone Cricket Club
MDO	Museum Development Officer
MEAL	Museum of East Anglian Life
MLA	Museums, Libraries and Archives Council
NDPB(s)	Non-Departmental Government Body (Bodies)
NFM	National Football Museum
NHRM	National Horse Racing Museum
NIACE	National Institute of Adult Continuing Education
NMDC	National Museums Directors Council
NML	National Museums Liverpool
NMM	National Media Museum
NPG	National Portrait Gallery
NRS	National Readership Survey
OED	Oxford English Dictionary

ONS	Office for National Statistics
PSA	Performance Service Agreement
RA	Royal Academy
RCMG	Research Centre for Museums and Galleries
RFU	Rugby Football Union
RRM	River and Rowing Museum
SHCG	Social History Curators Group
SHLG	Sporting Heritage Learning Group
SHN	Sports Heritage Network
SMG	Science Museum Group
SROI	Social Return on Investment
SSN	Subject Specialist Network
TNA	The National Archives
UEFA	Union of European Football Associations
UK	United Kingdom
V&A	Victoria and Albert Museum
WLTM	Wimbledon Lawn Tennis Museum
WRM	World Rugby Museum

Chapter One: Introduction

Britain is widely considered to be the home of modern sport.[1] However the collection, preservation and display of Britain's sporting heritage in museums has largely been ignored.[2] At the time of writing, only two texts specifically related to sport in museums have been published and even then, the focus has been on sport specific museums, rather than how museums in general approach the topic of sport.[3] The lack of interest in sport in museums in not confined to the academic sector. Sport in museums was excluded, whether consciously or not, from several significant museum development programmes which stemmed from cultural policy objectives in the 1990s and early twenty-first century, and above all, the opening ceremony of the London 2012 Olympic Games failed to include one single reference to the nation's sporting past. The indifference to sport in museums is not because of an absence of examples of sporting exhibitions held in museum venues. In 2012 alone, over one hundred exhibitions were held in museum venues across England, and this was merely the culmination of such activity spanning over fifty years. Consequently factors exist which have prevented the examination of sport as a subject matter for museums and with it an understanding of how sport in museums has developed, the context of both sport and museums within wider cultural policy development, and an appreciation of if, and why, there is a place for sport in museums.

However, the inadequate data capture and evaluation processes used within the cultural sectors has meant that the evidence of sporting exhibitions has been lost. This makes piecing together the development of sport in museums from existing literature, and with it, a picture of the development of sport in museums, and an argument for

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[1] As seen in Holt, R. *Sport & The British: A Modern History,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989 and Norridge, J. *Can we have our Balls Back Please? How the British invented sport.* London: Allen Lane, 2008.

[2] Phillips, M. *Representing the Sporting past in Museums and Halls of Fame.* New York: Routledge, 2012. p.5.

[3] Hill, J., Moore, K., and Wood, J. *Sport, History and Heritage: An Investigation into the Public Representation of Sport.* Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2012; Phillips, M. *Representing the Sporting past in Museums and Halls of Fame.* New York: Routledge, 2011.

the relevance of sport as a topic for museums, difficult. Therefore, a combination of field-work and existing literature will inform the author's argument and support a greater understanding of the subject of sport in museums.

1.1 Situating the research

In 1922, Walter Sparrow argued for a national sporting museum to be opened in Britain.[4] Sparrow maintained that the combination of the wealth of sporting history, along with the opportunity to use sport for social change and education, meant that such a proposition was obvious. Indeed, Britain has long been associated as the home of sport.[5] From the violent beginnings of early sporting activity, to the modernisation of sport in the twentieth century, Britain played a significant role in developing and moulding some of the world's best loved sports.[6] However, a national museum of sport never materialised and sporting exhibitions prior to 1948 continued to be held in non-museum venues with a focus on the celebratory elements of sport. For example the 1933 Hutchinson House exhibition which aimed to use sport as a means of social improvement and integration into English society for young Jewish boys, using trophies and medals as the objects on display.[7] These exhibitions demonstrate that well before sport was used as a museum subject, it was considered to be an opportunity to support social change and impact on wider cultural agendas. The focus of these early exhibitions on the triumphant aspects of sport has often caused historians to be wary of using sporting exhibitions and museums to support their arguments.[8] Although even at the time of writing in 2012 there are museums which still choose to address sport in this way, most reflect sport similarly to any other museum subject, with a focus on the subject within wider contexts.[9]

It was not until the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A) hosted an exhibition in 1948, linked to the London 1948 Olympic Games, that the first sporting exhibition was

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[4] Sparrow, W.S. *British Sporting Artists from Barlow to Henning.* New York : C. Scribner's Sons. 1922. p.9.
[5] As seen in Holt, R. *Sport & The British: A Modern History,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.
[6] Ibid.
[7] British Pathe news reel. *"Mr Jardine….speaks at last!"* London. 15th May 1933. Accessed August 1st 2013. http://www.britishpathe.com/video/mr-jardine-speaks-at-last/query/International
[8] See for example Vamplew, W. 'Taking a Gamble or a Racing Certainty: Sports, Museums and Public Sports History'. *Journal of Sport History* 31, no.2. (2004):p.178.
[9] Ibid.

actually held in a museum.[10] Even then, the exhibition was not curated in the traditional sense of a museum curator deciding on the relevant images and the narrative they wished to tell, instead it was the result of a competition with objects of varying quality on display and was publically condemned by the press and art critics alike. However, the exhibition marked an increase in the use of sport in museums over the coming years which culminated in the opening of the 1949 National Gallery of Sporting Pastimes in London, the 1953 *Football and the Fine Arts* touring exhibition discussed in detail in Chapter Three, and the opening of the Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC) Museum.[11] These three examples represent the wealth of opportunities open to museum exhibitions of sport: the discussion of the history of sport in general within the National Gallery of Sporting Pastimes; the discussion of sport through local and regional contexts in museums whose primary focus is not sport, as seen in *Football and Fine Arts;* and the discussion of a singular sport through one museum dedicated to narrating its history, as seen in the MCC Museum. Therefore, the opportunities for museums to reflect the sporting heritage of the nation is not new, and significant examples have been evident for over fifty years. This fact makes it even more remarkable that the study of sport in museums is still relatively ignored.

The mid twentieth century also witnessed the first steps towards the development of cultural policy in England, when the Arts Council was created in 1946.[12] With it came the first real understanding that government was responsible, whether consciously or not, for investing and supporting the arts. As a result, funding for cultural activity became a realistic possibility and, although there have been few examples since, *Football and the Fine Arts* which was largely funded by Arts Council money.[13] In addition, *Football and the Fine Arts* demonstrated that by including locally relevant

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[10] Organising Committee for the XIV Olympiad, London, 1948. *The Official Report of the Organising Committee of the XIV Olympiad.* London: Organising Committee for the XIV Olympiad, London, 1948. p.197. http://library.la84.org/6oic/OfficialReports/1948/OR1948.pdf
[11] The Sydney Morning Herald. *London's remarkable new gallery of pictures.* Tuesday 8th March, 1949. Accessed January 31st 2014. http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/18106109; Physick, R. *The Representation of Association Football in Fine Art in England.* A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor Of Philosophy, University of Central Lancashire. April 2013. pp.220-22. Accessed September 1st 2013. http://clok.uclan.ac.uk/8509/1/Physick%20Ray%20Final%20e-Thesis%20(Master%20Copy).pdf;
[12] Arts Council England. *The History of the Arts Council*. London: ACE. Date Unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/who-we-are/history-arts-council/
[13] Physick, R. *The Representation of Association Football in Fine Art in England.* A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of Central Lancashire. April 2013. p.229.

objects and narratives, the exhibition became appealing to a wide range of audiences and many museums which hosted *Football and the Fine Arts* reported hugely increased audience figures.[14] Therefore, by the mid-1950s, sport in museums seemed to have been established as a subject matter for museums and had even been granted public funding. In return for this funding, there is evidence that sport developed the audiences of museums by both number and type. However, as discussed above, to date the study of sport in museums and its effect on museum audiences has still not been undertaken on any level.

Despite this flourish of activity in the 1950s, the interest in sport in museums appears to dissipate rapidly. There are pockets of activity throughout the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, with the creation of several sport specific museums, but in general there is little evidence that sport had much attention as a topic for museums during this time.[15] This could be purely because the records of such exhibitions have been lost, and the lack of interest in the subject area subsequently has meant they have remained that way. However, it is not until the late 1980s and early 1990s that evidence of sport in museums begins to appear again with examples such as Stuart Clarke's *Homes of Football*, a touring exhibition which illustrated all aspects of footballing culture.[16] Two factors joined together to create a suitable environment for this renaissance in sport in museums at this time. Firstly, museum staff who had studied history during the 1970s and 1980s were influenced by the works of academics such as E.P.Thompson.[17] Thompson argued that the working classes were not only the consumers of history, but also the makers of it. Therefore the history of everyday culture was just as relevant to museums as the traditional focus on 'high' culture had been, and the gradual development of the field of 'social history' followed.[18] High culture is the representation of the activities of the upper and middle classes, as opposed to the

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[14] Ibid. p.230.

[15] For example the *Leamington Spa Museum* exhibition of tennis heritage in 1972 and the opening of the *National Horse Racing Museum* in 1983.

[16] Brabazon, T. *Playing on the Periphery: Sport, Identity and Memory.* London: Routledge, 2006b. pp.7-40.

[17] Thompson, E.P. *The Making of the English Working Class*. London: Victor Gollanez. 1963.

[18] Moore, K. 'Sport in Museums and Museums of Sport: An Overview'. pp.93-106, in *Sport, History and Heritage: An Investigation into the Public Representation of Sport,* edited by Hill, J., Moore, K., and Wood, J. Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2012a. p.94.; Moore, K. *Museums & Popular Culture.* London: Leicester University Press, 1997. p.75.

'low' culture of the working class. These museum professionals were beginning to take a role of authority in museums at this time and their influence on museum practice, combined with a slow decline in museum visitor figures, gave rise to what is often termed the *New Museology*.[19] For the first time, the focus of museums began to be on external factors and a reflection of audience needs, rather than through a dictatorial approach of teacher and student. Consequently, everyday history and popular culture, including sport, began to be considered as suitable subject matters for use in museums by many museum professionals. To illustrate this point, in 1997 Moore published *Museums and Popular Culture* as part of the Museum Studies Department at Leicester University's *Contemporary Issues in Museums* series.[20] A cross-over text that aimed to appeal to both academics and museum practioners, Moore demonstrated that popular culture was relevant as a subject matter for museums to collect, interpret, and display and is still considered to be the "best research" in the field.[21] By valuing the audience and their interests, he argued that popular culture provides a lens for many new audiences to access museum collections, and create more relevant museum exhibitions. Within the text, Moore examines the role of sport within popular culture and its relevance to museums and his work still represents the only museum focussed academic literature which discusses sport in museums.[22] Other museum publications have continued to omit the study of sporting exhibitions, despite the empirical indications which suggest that the evidence of such exhibitions could support arguments connected to impact and audience agendas.[23]

The second influence which supported the increased interest in sport in museums in the 1990s was the change in government management of cultural activity in Britain. Prior to 1992, culture, heritage, media, and sport had all existed separately in different government departments. As such, it was difficult for government to exert any control, support, or guidance on the cultural activities of the nation. However, in 1992, this began to change when the Prime Minister, John Major, created the Department for

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[19] Vergo, P. Introduction. *The New Museology.* 1 – 5. London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 1991.

[20] Moore, K. *Museums & Popular Culture.* London: Leicester University Press, 1997.

[21] Brabazon, T. *Playing on the Periphery: Sport, Identity and Memory.* Routledge. 2006. p.46.

[22] Although, Hughson, J., Inglis, D., and Free, M. *The Uses of Sport.* London: Routledge, 2005. pp.72-90 conduct a detailed exploration of the position of sport within popular culture which provides a wider context for sport in museums.

[23] See for example the works of museum education specialist, Eileen Hooper-Greenhill.

National Heritage (DNH), the first department with a specific remit for cultural activity, on the basis that cultural activity was a means to support economic growth.[24] For the first time, the DNH brought together the fields of sport, media, and culture within one department. In addition, Major also established the National Lottery which provided a mechanism for distributing new funding for cultural activity.[25] In return for this investment, Major expected cultural organisations to demonstrate their value to wider agendas, in other words, prove their impact. This led to the beginnings of a debate which still survives at the time of writing, that is, should publically funded cultural activity exist purely for the sake of cultural expression, or should there be wider outcomes?[26] This debate exploded when New Labour came into power in 1997, and cultural policy began to take centre stage in government strategy. Following on from Major's confidence in the importance of culture for economic growth, New Labour believed that culture also provided a route to solve social issues of exclusion and support community cohesion, making the pressure on cultural activities to support wider objectives even greater.[27] As a consequence, they renamed the DNH as the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS). The term 'culture' had never before been directly referred to within a government department and the resultant policies of the DCMS had a focus on an inclusive approach to the arts and culture with a vision which aspired to improving the quality of life for all, using cultural activity as a catalyst.[28] Although there is empirical evidence from those working within the museum sector that sport in museums responds to many of these wider cultural policy objectives, to date, there have not been any studies on the actual impact of sport in museums against any of them. In addition, the division between the words 'sport' and culture' in the title of the department, demonstrates that there was still a perceived separation between the two, and that sport was something different to culture.

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[24] Major, J. *John Major: The Autobiography*. London: HarperCollins. 1999. p.404.

[25] Major, J. *Mr Major's Speech at English Heritage Conference.* 1994. Online. Accessed January 31st 2014. http://www.johnmajor.co.uk/page1131.html

[26] See for example Myerscough, J. *The economic importance of the arts in Britain*. London: Policy Studies Institute. 1988; Matarasso, F., *Use or ornament? The social impact of participation in the arts.* London: Comedia. 1997; Tusa, J. *Art matters: Reflecting on culture.* London: Methuen. 2000; Miza, M. *Culture Vultures: Is UK Arts Policy damaging the Arts?.* London: Policy Exchange. 2006; Belfiore, B. ''Defensive instrumentalism' and the legacy of New Labour's cultural policies'. *Cultural Trends* 21, no.2 (2012): pp.103-111. See also Belfiore's earlier arguments on this subject in 2002 and 2006

[27] Smith, C. *Creative Britain.* London: Faber & Faber. 1998. pp.22-24.

[28] Ibid. p.2. and pp.22-24; Labour Party (the). *Create the future: A strategy for cultural policy, arts and the creative economy.* London: The Labour Party. 1997.

Although there have been many discussions about this schism in general,[29] none have been specifically directed to how this has affected the development of sport in museums, or how it effects the attitudes of those working in, and with, museums towards the relevance of sport as a subject matter for museums.

Immediately prior to New Labour taking power, Major's DNH had commissioned David Anderson, the then Head of Learning at the V&A, to conduct an investigation into the opportunities for museums to better support audiences, and consequently, the potential impact on wider cultural policy agendas. In 1997, under New Labour, Anderson's report, *A Common Wealth* was published, and became a seminal report arguing that museums had a significant role to play in supporting cultural objectives through audience development.[30] Anderson argued that museum education was under-used and under-valued and that this limited the ability of museums to work with a wide range of audiences. He concluded that in a landscape where museums needed to demonstrate their value to society in return for investment, museum education and audience development were the obvious routes.[31]

Therefore, a combination of government policy, combined with substantial evidence of the need to revolutionise museum practice in order to support these cultural objectives, led to a significant investment in the museum sector over the subsequent fifteen years. This investment included programmes such as Renaissance in the Regions which aimed to support regional museum activity by better educating the museum workforce and creating partnerships between museums and community venues.[32] However, there is no record in the literature of any of this activity being related to sport. There are sporting exhibitions which took place during this time, but none are directly linked to this influx of cultural spending on supporting audiences. This is surprising considering the policies of New Labour had a focus on audience

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[29] See for example Greer, G. 'Football counts as culture just as much as opera does.' *The Guardian*. March 24th March 2008. Accessed June 1st 2014.
http://www.theguardian.com/music/musicblog/2008/mar/24/footballcountsasculturejus
[30] Anderson, D. *A Common Wealth: Museums and Learning in the United Kingdom.* London: Department of National Heritage. 1997.
[31] Ibid. pp.4-5. and p.29.
[32] Re:Source. *Renaissance in the Regions: a new vision for England's museums*. London: Re:Source. 2001. p.5. Accessed March 31st 2013. http://www.museumsassociation.org/download?id=12190

development, and exhibitions as far back as *Football and the Fine Arts* had demonstrated the ability of sport to increase museum audiences.

Furthermore, the period between 1997 and 2012 saw two major sporting events take place in England, the 2002 Commonwealth Games in Manchester, and the London 2012 Olympic Games in 2012. In addition, the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA) European Championships had been held at venues across England in 1996, and therefore of direct relevance to the period of this study. All three events produced cultural programmes which aimed to illustrate the nation's cultural achievements. However, the issues which divide sport and culture appear to again have been prevalent in the development of these cultural programmes, with none of them having a focus on activity specifically about how sport can be represented through cultural programming, for example, in museums.[33] By the time London was announced as hosts of the 2012 Olympic Games, the fission between the two sectors was illustrated by Wood (2005) in an appeal for sport and culture to be united to demonstrate Britain's sporting heritage. Yet still the formal documentation of the London Organising Committee of the Olympic Games (LOCOG) relating to the cultural programme, the resulting activity which made up the Cultural Olympiad, and the opening ceremony on London 2012, had no mention of sport.[34]

Irrespective of the lack of formal planning and inclusion of sport within the cultural programmes of these major sporting events, however, there was still substantial museum activity delivered which supported all three major sporting events listed above, culminating in nearly one hundred exhibitions alone as part of the *Our Sporting Life (OSL)* exhibition programme, which aimed to tell the sporting story of local people

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[33] See for example Andrews, N. *Cultureshock evaluation report.* Publisher Unknown, 2003. Accessed June 1st 2014. https://www.academia.edu/5615347/2002_Commonwealth_Games_cultural_programme_evaluation_report; Garcia, B. *Evaluation of Cultureshock, North West Cultural programme for the 2002 Commonwealth Games.* Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 2003; London Organising Committee of the Olympic Games. *Cultural Olympiad.* London: LOCOG. Date Unknown.

[34] Wood, J. 'Olympic opportunity: realising the value of sport heritage for tourism in the UK.' *Journal of Sport Tourism* 10, no.4 (2005): pp.307-321; London Organising Committee of the Olympic Games. *Cultural Olympiad.* Online. Date Unknown; Garcia, B. 'The London 2012 Cultural Olympiad: A Model for a Nationwide Cultural Legacy'. *Culture @ The Olympics* 14. no.4 (2012): pp.29-34. Accessed on June 1st 2014. http://www.culturalolympics.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2012/06/14-4-Garcia2012UKWideCulturalOlympiadC@tO29-34.pdf

and communities using a template exhibition which could be toured to venues around the country.[35] *OSL* was instigated by the Sports Heritage Network (SHN), a partnership of sport specific museums in the UK with an aim to increase the knowledge and use of sporting heritage.[36] The work of the SHN also includes a mapping project of sporting collections held in museums in the UK, and a seminar series drawing together academics and practioners to discuss the future of sporting heritage.[37] There has been little discussion in the literature about the work or the findings of the SHN, despite its record of activity.

Vamplew (1996) and Moore (1997) have argued that sport in museums should be given greater attention to understand both its place as a relevant subject for museum study, sports history, and for its potential impact on audiences.[38] However, although there has been a gradual increase in the study of sport in museums during the early twenty-first century, much of this interest is specifically focussed on sport specific museums rather than how sport is a relevant topic for museums in general, and little attention has been given to the impact on audiences, with literature tending to focus on the display and choice of objects.[39] Therefore, at the time of writing, questions

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[35] King, L. *Our Sporting Life Interim Report.* 2011. Unpublished, made available to the author.

[36] King, L. *Our Sporting Life Interim Report.* 2011. Unpublished, made available to the author. p.5.

[37] Hood, A. *Sports heritage network mapping survey: an overview of sports heritage collections.* The Sports Heritage Network. 2006. No longer available online; Arts and Humanities Research Council. *Sport, History and Heritage Research Network.* London: AHRC. Date unknown. Accessed June 1st, 2014. http://www.ahrc.ac.uk/Funded-Research/Pages/Sport-History-and-Heritage-an-investigation-into-the-public-representation-of-sport.aspx

[38] Vamplew, W. 'Sports History, Sports Myths, and Sports Museums.' *Social History in Museums: Journal of the Social History Curators Group* 22. (1995-1996): pp.32-33; Moore, K. *Museums & Popular Culture.* London: Leicester University Press, 1997. pp.106 – 134; See also Moore, K. 'Attracting new audiences: The National Football Museum, England.' *M: Museums of Mexico and the World* 2 (2004); Moore, K. 'Foreword.' xi-xv. in *Representing the Sporting past in Museums and Halls of Fame.* edited by Phillips, M. New York: Routledge. 2012; Moore, K. 'Marketing Sports Museums: Attracting New Audiences?' *Revista de Museologia* 22, no.2 (2003a): pp.29-32; Moore, K. 'Sports heritage and the re-imaged city: the National Football Museum, Preston.' *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 14, no.4 (2008): pp.445 – 461; Moore, K. 'Sport History, Public History, and Popular Culture: A Growing Engagement.' *Journal of Sport History* 40, no.1 (2013): pp.401-417.

[39] See for example Brabazon, T. *Playing on the Periphery: Sport, Identity and Memory.* London: Routledge, 2006; Phillips, M. *Deconstructing Sport History.* New York: State University of New York Press, 2006; Phillips, M. 'Historian in the Museum: Story spaces and Australians sporting past.' *Australian Historical Studies* 41 (2010): pp.396-408; Phillips, M. *Representing the Sporting past in Museums and Halls of Fame.* New York: Routledge, 2011; Vamplew W. 'Replacing the Divots: Guarding Britain's Golfing Heritage.' in *Sport, History and Heritage: An Investigation into the Public Representation of Sport.* edited by Hill, R., Moore, K., and Wood, J. Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2012; Vamplew, W. 'Renamed, Refurbished and Reconstructionist: Comparisons and Contrasts in Four London Sports Museums.' in *Historians in the Museum: Representations of the Sporting Past in Museums and Halls of Fame* edited by Phillips, M. London: Routledge, 2011.

surrounding the role and value of sport as a topic for museums have been largely overlooked.[40] Therefore, this thesis will seek to understand, in the context of cultural policy between 1997 and 2012, what were the limitations and opportunities for sport in museums which effect existing practice, particularly in relationship to audiences and impact? The geographical boundaries of this research are limited to the study of museums in England. Only those museums which either hold or are working towards the museums Accreditation scheme managed by Arts Council England (ACE) will be considered relevant to this study. Accreditation is founded on the Museums Association's (MA) definition of a museum, discussed further in chapter two.[41] As such, those museums which are working towards or hold the award abide by a consistent set of delivery and ethical guidelines. This allows a fair comparison across the museum sector and also assumes a certain ethos is held by those working within these museums on which to base assumptions. Therefore, museums which are run as commercial ventures for sports clubs and therefore not able to apply for Accreditation are excluded from this study, for example the Liverpool Football Club Museum. The exceptions will be those museums which seek to explore the history of a whole sport within a museum and therefore, although part of a commercial venture, seek to narrate the history of a sport, rather than through the promotion of a specific club, such as the Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC) Museum and the Wimbledon Lawn Tennis Museum (WLTM).

In addition, the term 'sport specific museum' will be used to define those museums with a primary remit to present topics associated with sport. There are many museums in England which could be considered to have a link with sport. However, for the purposes of this study, and in terms of those museums which have a specific focus on sport, only museums which have at least one gallery of the exhibition space devoted to exploring the history of the sport connected to the museum objects will be considered a sport specific museum.

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[40] See for example Johnes, M., and Mason, R. 'Soccer, Public History and the National Football Museum.' *Sport in History* 23, no.1 (2003): pp.115–131; Moore, K. 'Sport in Museums and Museums of Sport: An Overview.' 93-106, in *Sport, History and Heritage: An Investigation into the Public Representation of Sport,* edited by Hill, J., Moore, K., and Wood, J. Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2012.
[41] Museums Association. *Code of ethics: Museum definition.* London: Museums Association. Date Unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.museumsassociation.org/ethics/code-of-ethics.

Therefore, this thesis aims to reflect the current position of sport in museums in England within the wider cultural landscape. It will explore the relevance of sport as a subject matter for museums, and the ability of sport in museums to respond to both cultural policy objectives and ideological attitudes between the years of 1997 and 2012, concluding on the impact of sport in museums on audiences. The following research questions will form the basis of this study.

1.2 Research Questions

This thesis aims to explore the position of sport in museums and will seek to address the following research questions:

1. Why, and to what extent, are sporting exhibitions relevant as a subject matter for museums in England?

2. What have been the main motivations and barriers for the delivery of sporting exhibitions in museums in England prior to 2012?

3. Do sporting exhibitions in English museums attract new and different audiences to traditional museum visitors?

4. What is the impact of sport in museums in England?

The limited evidence available in the literature and from museum evaluation means that to seriously consider these questions, extensive field work was needed. As a result, a framework was established of combined research methodologies which would allow the capture of many disparate views and opinions across wide geographical and thematic areas from those working in, and with, museums, and from the audiences and potential audiences of sport in museums.[42]

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[42] Denzin, N. & Lincoln, Y. *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications Ltd.2011. pp.285-6.

1.3 Methodology

The selection of research methods was influenced by a number of factors including the research model and framework established as part of the pre-set stipulations of the PhD research funding programme, and the researcher's background and experience in museum practice, research and evaluation.

The research project is funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council's (AHRC) Collaborative Doctoral Awards Scheme.[43] The scheme aims to "encourage and develop collaboration and partnerships between Higher Education Institution (HEI) departments and non-academic organisations and businesses". The partnership supporting this study involves The International Football Institute (IFI) at the University of Central Lancashire (Preston) and the National Football Museum (Manchester). A working agreement and history between the two organisations pre-dated this project and helped to ensure a firm footing in understanding between both the University and the Museum. The co-operation between the two partners and the author has allowed greater access to sport museum venues through networks such as the Sports Heritage Network (SHN).[44] The partnership supported the author to deliver two international conferences with a theme of sporting heritage in 2012. The first conference was organised in partnership with the SHN and had a focus on sport in museums. The second was specifically tailored to understand more about the place of football in museums and was delivered in partnership with the International Football Institute. Both conferences brought together delegates from the academic, museum, cultural, arts, sport, and education sectors from across Europe to discuss sport and museums in a wider context. The findings of many conversations and discussions held with the author during these conferences have supported the author's understanding of the field and the development of this study.

The author's prior knowledge of both the museums sector and HEIs brought both positive and negative viewpoints to the research programme. That prior knowledge of

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[43] Arts and Humanities Research Council. *Collaborative Doctoral Awards.* London: AHRC. Date unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.ahrc.ac.uk/Funding-Opportunities/Pages/Collaborative-Doctoral-Awards.aspx
[44] Founded to promote Britain's sporting heritage.

both sectors existed in the first place, added unavoidable bias to the research.[45] The author had been a museum professional for ten years prior to embarking on the study. During this time, the author had worked within national museums, the government arms-length organisation for museums, the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA), assessed aspiring candidates for the Associateship of the Museums Association, and tutored undergraduates on cultural studies programmes at two universities. This provided a greater understanding of current issues and debates affecting the sectors, a network of contacts to easily draw upon to begin the research programme, and prior knowledge of working in partnerships between HEIs and museums. This prior knowledge will have influenced the author's decision making process in determining the types of contacts and networks to use, and the type of evaluation methodology to use. It also meant that the author had pre-conceived beliefs about how specific organisations and individuals might respond to the research programme. The belief and value system of the researcher are inevitable in any research framework, and not necessarily detrimental to the resultant findings.[46] "There is no pure, objective, detached observation. The effects of the observer's presence can never be erased".[47] Therefore, although the pre-existing opinions and beliefs of the author are present, they are unavoidable and do not inhibit or bias the resulting study. The following section establishes the methodological approaches used in this study.

1.4 Qualitative Analysis Approach

To answer the research questions, the research model employed a qualitative approach. This can be defined as:

> An approach that allows you to examine people's experiences in detail, by using a specific set of research methods such as in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, observation, content analysis, visual methods and life histories or biographies.[48]

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[45] Robson, C. *Real World Research.* Chichester: John Wiley and Sons. 2011. p.29.
[46] Mertler, C.A., and Charles, C.M. *Introduction to Education Research.* London: Pearson, 2010. p.345.
[47] Denzin, N. & Lincoln, Y. *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications Ltd, 2011. p.416.
[48] Hennink, M. Hutter, I. & Bailey, A. *Qualitative Research Methods.* Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications Ltd. 2011. pp.8-9.

Qualitative evaluation allows a greater depth of understanding in comparison to quantitative analysis,[49] and this is particularly true when trying to understand a research question that is more interested in the concept of "why", than of "how many".[50] Qualitative research has become a recognised form of detailed evaluation and analysis. It requires skill from the researcher in choosing an appropriate range of research methods to provide answers to the pre-determined research questions.[51]

The justifications for using a qualitative approach were two-fold. Firstly, the research questions demanded a clear understanding of how professionals across a range of disciplines viewed the topic of sport in museums. The use of questionnaires, interviews, and on-line research tools was important to identify the underlying issues, concerns, and possibilities available in this field. Follow up in-depth interviews and discussions were required to understand more fully specific responses.[52] Secondly, the research questions required answers that highlighted opportunities for future practical delivery in this field. A quantitative research approach would have failed to outline key weaknesses and opportunities by overlooking the underpinning values of both individuals and organisations. In addition to a detailed literature review, the methods used within this study were participant observation, questionnaires, interviews, and focus groups.

1.5 Participant Observation

Denzin (2009) states that the observer should share as closely as possible the life of those being studied, and that a variety of techniques will be used, including interviews, analysis of documents, and direct observation of events and activities.

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[49] Patton, M. Q. *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods.* Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2002. p.14.
[50] Hennink, M. Hutter, I. & Bailey, A. *Qualitative Research Methods.* Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications Ltd, 2011. p.10; Punch, K. F. *Introduction to Social Research: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches.* London: Sage, 2005. p.3.
[51] Denzin, N. & Lincoln, Y. *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications Ltd, 2011. p.4.
[52] Davies, M. B. *Doing a Successful Research Project: Using Qualitative or Quantitative Methods.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. p.29.

> Participant Observation is a commitment to adopt the perspective of those studied by sharing in their day-to-day experiences.[53]

There are issues of validity to this method of research, for example, that at any time those being studied may have motives or bias against the research. However, a general consensus of detailed field work can help to remove this bias and ensure legitimacy in the data collected.[54] The benefits of this method include the ability of the researcher to have first-hand access to those being studied, gain confidence of the participants, and observe over a longer time-frame.

As part of the author's observational studies, she joined the executive committee of the Sports Heritage Network (SHN) in September 2011. The SHN was established in 2003 as a result, with the aim to "increase the understanding and awareness of sports heritage in the UK".[55] In the first stages, the participation of the author was as an observer. However, by January 2012 this had changed to an active contribution. The author supported the SHN's flagship exhibition programme, *Our Sporting Life,* by evaluating the programme's impact on learning and social outcomes for publication within the project report.[56] In addition, the author secured additional funding for the SHN's work and was successful in achieving two funding allocations from Arts Council England, the first for £5,000 in April 2012, and the second for £15,000 in April 2013.[57] The funding has allowed the SHN to establish an online platform, branded the National Sports Museum Online, with the aim of drawing together all activity, collections, networks, and information with a sporting heritage theme coordinated and managed by the author.[58] The funding also supported the author to set up a newsletter and social media networks to allow greater communication processes between sectors and individuals; share knowledge and best practice; create partnerships; and publicise events and activities with a sport in museums theme. These activities will continue until at least 2015 and have all supported the knowledge development of the author

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[53] Denzin, N. K. *The Research Act: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods.* New Jersey: Transaction Publishers. 2009. pp.185-186.

[54] Ibid. pp.201.

[55] Sports Heritage Network. *About us*. Date Unknown. No longer available online.

[56] Sports heritage Network. *Our Sporting Life Report*. 2013. Unpublished, made available to the author.

[57] This funding was made available through the *Subject Specialist Network* strand of *Arts Council England's* activity.

[58] The *National Sports Museum Online* is in development at the time of writing.

and therefore the development of this study. Although the aim of the SHN is to support all sports heritage in the UK, the executive committee is made up only of the national sport specific museums.[59] This means that although membership of this organisation gave the author a significant insight into current discussions about sport in museums, the information was biased towards sport specific museums. In addition, although general discussions were held with members of the executive committee, these meetings only took place bi-monthly for four or five hours and did not provide the author with enough information about the thoughts of those working in sport specific museums. The executive committee does not have membership from all sport specific museums in England, and therefore the author needed to establish a range of alternative research access in order to gain a completely representative picture of both sport specific museums and the wider museum sector in terms of sport in museums. Therefore, the author conducted significant research within those working within the museum sector; people who could be considered to be both audiences and potential audiences of sport in museums; and people working in wider relevant organisations and established during the process.

1.6 Questionnaires

The most suitable method to achieve a good level of response from different members of the museum community was to establish an online survey approach using a questionnaire through the online survey tool SurveyMonkey.[60] This allowed the questionnaire to be professionally published and provide easy access for respondents to complete the form, and the author to analyse the data. Presser defines survey and questionnaire methodology as:

> Any data collection operation that gathers information from human respondents by means of a standardized questionnaire in which the interest is in aggregates rather than particular individuals.[61]

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[59] These include the National Football Museum; The River and Rowing Museum; The Wimbledon Lawn Tennis Museum; The World Rugby Museum; The Marylebone Cricket Club Museum; and the National Horse Racing Museum.
[60] SurveyMonkey. *Home page.* Online. Date unknown. Accessed May 20th 2014. https://www.surveymonkey.com/?ut_source=header.
[61] Presser, S. 'The Use of Survey Data in Basic Research Use in the Social Sciences.' p.95. in Turner, C. F. & Martin, E. (Eds) *Surveying Subjective Phenomena*. Russell Sage Foundation, 1984.

The benefits of this approach to this study are: firstly, the ability to reach large numbers of potential respondents across a large geographical area; and secondly, the ability to target respondents through their job titles, organisations, membership of specific social media networks and professional networks, ensuring access to people who potentially have relevant comments to make. Limitations to this approach include the fact that questionnaires traditionally have a low response rate.[62] Respondents have to allocate time to complete them no matter how brief or relevant to their work. To counteract this, a wide variety of networks were used to ensure the questionnaire was distributed to as many people as possible within the timeframe. Additionally, using an online medium may have alienated some potential respondents, and excluded some from having access to the questionnaire at all. For example, some smaller independent and voluntary museums operate almost exclusively off-line. To counteract this, additional methods and networks were used to reach additional contacts, for example regional museum newsletters. Finally, there is always a risk that the respondents come from the extreme of views on any given topic. Those in the middle ground don't have strong feelings either way and are so less likely to commit the time needed to respond. In this case, those with a passion and interest for sport in museums, or those with a belief that sport is not a relevant topic for museums, are most likely to respond. This is unavoidable and other approaches were employed to ensure a breadth of responses and opinions were achieved. The following sections outline the different questionnaires used to inform this study.

1.6.1 Questionnaires with Staff of Sport Specific Museums

Appendix I details the questionnaire distributed to staff at the relevant sport specific museums in England, as defined above, and responses were received from nine of the eleven museums.[63] The questionnaire was distributed via electronic mail, although respondents could request a paper copy for completion by hand. Of those that did not

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[62] Gratton, C., and Jones, I. *Research Methods for Sports Studies*. London: Routledge, 2010. p.130.
[63] Responses were received from the National Football Museum; The River and Rowing Museum; The Wimbledon Lawn Tennis Museum; The World Rugby Museum; The Marylebone Cricket Club Museum; The National Horse Racing Museum; The National Hockey Museum; The National Badminton Museum; The National Fencing Museum

respond, the British Surfing Museum had only just opened at the time of distributing questionnaires, and the author had had no prior contact with the Brooklands Museum at the time of distribution, which provide reasons for the lack of response from these organisations.

1.6.2 Questionnaires with Staff of Non-Sports Specific Museums

The questionnaires used to understand the thoughts of museum professionals in general, as detailed in Appendix II, were distributed through a variety of networks as illustrated at figure 1.

Figure 1: Examples of Distribution Networks used for Museum Staff Questionnaire

The Group for Education in Museums Jiscmail (online)	The Social History Curators mailing group (online)	The Association of Independent Museums mailing list (online)
Sports Heritage Network Newsletter (online)	The Museum Development Officers Forum (online)	The Heritage Jiscmail Group (online)
The Sports and Recreation Alliance newsletter (online and in print)	The British Society for Sports History (BSSH) mailing list (online and in print)	Sport-Culture-Society Jiscmail (online)
The National Archives mailing list (online and in-print)	Linked-in community sporting networks (online)	The authors own database of museum, sport and cultural professionals (online)

Source: Author's research

The use of these combined networks meant that the questionnaire had the potential to reach every museum in England. Access to the questionnaire was online, although respondents were given the option to print out and hand-write responses and return to a postal address. This process aimed to canvas a wide breadth of people with access to the internet. Online questionnaires traditionally have a greater success rate than hand-written postal versions and are also less constrictive in terms of time, finance, and final analysis.[64] The majority of people the research aimed to achieve responses from, use the internet as a matter of daily business. Therefore this approach was not

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[64] Gratton, C., and Jones, I. *Research Methods for Sports Studies*. London: Routledge, 2010. p.130.

only the most time and cost effective, but also likely to achieve the greatest number of returns.

In total, fifty-one responses were received from museum and heritage professionals from a range of different types of organisations. Analysis of the data in detail, demonstrates that although twenty-eight percent of the respondents had already delivered sport specific museums programmes, the rest had not. Even where experience of delivering sporting exhibitions was not present, the responses are likely to have been from those already with a specific interest in the subject of sport and therefore skew the data in favour of sport as a subject matter for museums. Even with this in mind, the number of responses can be considered to be a representative sample of the sector and provide an indicative view of museum professionals as a whole towards sport in museums and audiences.

1.6.3 Questionnaires with Staff of Sporting Organisations

The author's discussions with the SHN had established that sporting organisations were key to the future of sport in museums. Consequently, the author sought to understand the perceptions of those working for sporting organisations towards spot in museums, and more specifically the heritage of their own sport and its potential to be used as a subject for museum study. Appendix III illustrates the questionnaire used. The questionnaire was distributes to the author's existing contacts, contacts held by the members of the SHN executive committee, and through the Sports and Recreation Alliance's newsletter, a copy of which is sent to every sport's governing body in the UK. In addition, the author used social media sites such as Linked In and Facebook to connect with sporting organisations. However, even with this extensive approach, only five responses were received from the sporting communities.

1.7 Interviews

Interviews and discussions themselves create a new form of meaning.[65] The process of discussing individual stories and experiences produces new found knowledge and understanding of a particular subject area. It creates a communal breadth of knowledge about a particular topic.

> Storytelling, to put the argument simply, is what we do when we describe research …, and what informants do with us when they convey the details and courses of their experience. The approach does not assume objectivity rather it privileges positionality and subjectivity.[66]

Interviewing allows the interviewee to explore respondent's thoughts more fully and allows for complex issues to be developed. It also uncovers issues which may have been impossible to determine prior to the interview itself. On the negative side, it provides very little factual information and general issues tend to be left unexplored.[67] The value of interviews and oral testimonies was considered to be a vital inclusion to this research model. The ability to discuss issues relating to the research questions with respondents in-depth; to understand decision making processes; factors prohibiting the use of sport in museums; and audience development opportunities for example were fundamental. The transcripts of the interviews are not present within this study. Interviews were conducted in a conversational style that did not allow for verbatim note taking. In addition, many of the respondents are active professionals working in the cultural industry and many comments and discussions were not appropriate for publication.

1.7.1 Interviews with Staff of Sport Specific Museums

To further understand the answers received to the questionnaire from those working in sport specific museums, the author conducted informal follow up interviews, either

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[65] See for example Holstein, J. A., and Bubrien, J. F. *Inside Interviewing*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications Ltd, 2003. p.4; Bruner, J. *Acts of Meaning.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1990.
[66] Reissman, C.K. 'Analysis of Personal Narratives.' 331-345. in *Inside Interviewing* edited by Holstein, J. A., and Bubrien, J. F. London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2003. pp.331
[67] Klenke, K. *Qualitative Research in the Study of Leadership*. Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing Ltd, 2008. p.126.

by telephone or in person dependant on time and distance limitations, with all respondents.

1.7.2 Interviews with Staff of Non-Sport Specific Museums

The author also conducted ten follow up conversations with respondents from the general museum sector questionnaire, again via telephone conversations and, where possible, face to face meetings. The ten additional meetings were selected from organisations which both had and had not experience of delivering sporting programmes, and included professionals from a range of organisations.

1.7.3 Interviews with Staff of Sports Organisations

The author was able to conduct two telephone conversations with respondents from the sports organisations to the author's questionnaire. The low response to the questionnaire meant that the sample was limiting, and the other three organisations which completed the questionnaire chose not to be interviewed, providing reasons of time as the main constraint.

1.7.4 Interviews with Staff Working within the Cultural Field

To understand the position of sport in museums within the wider cultural sphere, the author also conducted a range of interviews with cultural sector staff. These were staff working in over-arching cultural organisations such as Arts Council England (ACE) and the Department for Culture Media and Sport (DCMS), as well as academics working in the field of cultural studies and sports history. Interviews were conducted in person and via the telephone to allow for flexibility. The interviews used open-ended questions in a conversational style, and the range of respondents meant that although some questions were asked to everyone, the discussions were tailored around each individual case.

1.7.5 Interviews with Sporting Exhibition Visitors

To understand more fully the reasons audiences choose to visit sporting exhibitions, and the type of audiences, the author conducted brief on gallery interviews. The interviews were deliberately kept short to ensure the minimal amount of disruption to the visitor's experience. The museums involved were all either hosting temporary sporting exhibitions: Bradford Industrial Museum; Ironbridge Museum; North Lincolnshire Museum; Weston Park Museum, Sheffield; or have a permanent exhibition about sport: the Museum of Liverpool. Visitors were chosen at random (every tenth visitor) and in total seventy-two responses were gathered. The responses to the data were in an annotated form not suitable to be replicated in this study, however, Appendix IV illustrates the questionnaire used as the framework for the discussion with exhibition visitors.

1.8 Focus Groups

Two types of focus groups were conducted during this study: the first being focus groups with individuals representing the cultural sectors; and the second being focus groups with the general public. Focus groups are "collective conversations, or group interviews".[68] They can offer a valuable insight into thoughts about a particular subject area, and allow participants to interact with each other to develop ideas and opinions. However, they also have negative factors for consideration, including the tendency for participants to "make-up" answers with the pressure of spectators.[69]

Focus groups were conducted with those working within professions connected to sport in museums. These were used to understand thoughts and opinions towards the theme of sport, museums and cultural policy as illustrated at figure 2.

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[68] Denzin, N. & Lincoln, Y. *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications Ltd. 2011. p.545.
[69] Kruger, R.A. *Focus Groups: A Practical Guide for Applied Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2008. pp.12-13.

Figure 2: Focus Groups - Museum, Cultural and Academic staff

Title	Audience type	Participants
Focus Group 1 – Queens Hotel, Leeds.	Museum Development Officers (MDOs)	• Michael Turnpenny, MDO South Yorkshire • Alan Bentley, MDO West Yorkshire • Dieter Hopkins, MDO, Moors and Coast
Focus Group 2 – Residential home, Halifax	Museum staff with a focus on learning and audience development	• Jennie Forrester, Freelance Consultant Museums and Archives • Kathy Cremin, Freelance Consultant, Museum and Archives • Alison Bodley, Curator, York Museums Trust • Alison Glew, Project Manager, MyLearning website[70] • Emma King, Freelance Consultant, Museums and Archives • Jael Edwards, Freelance Consultant, Museums and Archives (responsible for delivering ACE objectives for learning in Yorkshire)
Focus Group 3 – Headingly Stadium, Leeds	Sport and Art Conference[71] participants	Thirty professionals from the sectors of sport, arts, and culture. The author delivered a presentation and conducted a question and answer session with the delegates in the form of a focus group
Focus Group 4 – Experience Barnsley meeting room (out of hours)	Heritage Show and Tell[72] programme participants	Twenty-five professionals from the academic, art, culture, art, sports, and community archives sectors took part in a focus group

Source: Focus groups conducted by the author

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[70] *MyLearning* is a website which links museum resources to learning providers.
[71] The *Sport and Art Conference* was organised by the University of Leeds and took place in September 2013.
[72] *Heritage Show and Tell* brings together professionals from the heritage sectors to discuss current issues.

The individuals concerned have extensive experience of delivering museum and cultural programing, and an understanding of how museums can benefit and are relevant to audiences. The focus groups aimed to draw out participant's answers towards the author's four research questions, and establish an understanding of the place of sport in museums within a wider cultural context. The focus groups were delivered in venues identified as suitable by participants to cater for their diverse geographical spread. All focus groups were delivered outside of museum venues and away from managers directly responsible for the participant's day-to-day activity. This was to ensure participants could be as open as possible in their responses to questions and comments. Initial questions were based specifically on the four research questions, however the author allowed participants to discuss issues freely with each other. This allowed for a greater contextual understanding of the place of sport in museums within the participant's professional understanding.

In addition, focus groups were conducted with members of the public. These aimed to establish public perception towards sport in museums, its importance as a museum subject in terms of the public, and its relevance to both communities and individuals. The focus groups participants were self-selecting, signalling their wish to be involved in response to adverts in the local museum, library, and social meeting places. Even with a range of target advertisement settings, there was limited interest in attending, and the majority of the attendees classed themselves as museum users as illustrated at figure 3.

Figure 3: Focus Groups - Audiences

Title	Participants	Community	Sex	Age	Museum user or non-user
Focus Group 1	Participant 1A	White. British ABC1	Female	33	User

Title	Participants	Community	Sex	Age	Museum user or non-user
	Participant 1B	White, British ABC1	Female	41	User
	Participant 1C	White, British ABC1	Female	25	User
	Participant 1D	BME ABC1	Female	33	User
	Participant 1E	BME C2DE	Female	38	User
	Participant 1F	White, British C2DE	Female	28	Non-User
	Participant 1G	White, British C2DE	Female	44	Non-User
Focus Group 2	Participant 2A	White, British ABC1	Male	50	User
	Participant 2B	White, British ABC1	Male	28	User
	Participant 2C	BME ABC1	Female	33	User
	Participant 2D	BME ABC1	Female	28	User
	Participant 2E	BME C2DE	Male	31	Non-User
	Participant 2F	BME C2DE	Male	40	Non-User
Focus Group 3	Participant 3A	BME C2DE White.	Male	63	User
	Participant 3B	British C2DE	Female	67	User
	Participant 3C	White, British C2DE	Female	58	User
	Participant 3D	White, British C2DE	Female	63	Non-User
	Participant 3E	White British ABC1	Female	36	Non-User

Source: Focus groups conducted by the author

The prominence of attendees who classed themselves as museum-users at times made it difficult to establish the views of non-users towards sport in museums, but despite this, it was possible to achieve an indicative view from both perspectives. The meetings were conducted in library meeting spaces to ensure a neutral environment for participants. Questions posed to the participants were aimed towards the author's research questions one and three. However, participants were encouraged to discuss together additional areas of interest with relevance to the subject matter and were free to ask additional questions. The inclusion of museum users helped to establish a more unbiased discussion about what museums have to offer than if the group consisted of non-users alone and just the author.

Therefore, the combination of research methods provides a substantial body of raw data which can inform the answers to the research questions. However, as with all research, there are limitations with the evidence uncovered. These limitations have been discussed within the methodology above, and are not considered to represent a significant threat to the integrity of this research.

1.9 Thesis Structure

This thesis aims to situate sport in museums within the wider cultural landscape of England between the years of 1997 and 2012. Whilst doing so it will explore how and why sport is relevant to the programming of museums and what impact it has on museum audiences.

Chapter two briefly traces the development of the 'museum' from the imposing didactic teaching establishment of the nineteenth century, to the transition of the museum in the 1990s and early twenty-first century to institutions which work in partnership with their communities, reflecting society and audience needs. This chapter will establish why popular culture, and therefore, sport, is a relevant subject matter for museums.

Chapter three discusses the historical progress of sport in museums from the early examples of sporting exhibitions in non-museum venues for the purpose of social improvement, to the establishment of the Sports Heritage Network and the delivery of the exhibition programme, *Our Sporting Life* in 2012. The chapter explores the plea from Walter Sparrow for the creation of a national sports museum, and examines what could have been the inception of such a venue, in the National Gallery of Sporting Pastimes.

Chapter four explores the existing practice of sport in museums. It begins with an examination of the motivations and obstacles which have effected decisions to establish sport specific museums, and then explores the barriers and opportunities which influence the use of sport in non-sport specific museums.

Chapter five examines the changing cultural policy objectives between 1997 and 2012 and their influence on museum practice. The chapter begins with a discussion of the Conservative government's establishment of the Department for National Heritage (DNH) and the creation of the National Lottery to set the scene for New Labour's approach to cultural policy in 1997. Exploring the arguments related to the intrinsic and instrumental value of culture, the chapter charts New Labour's growing investment in museum activity, and with it, an ever increasing demand for evidence of the impact of museum activity on audiences. The chapter culminates with a discussion of the approach to cultural policy by the Conservative - Liberal Democrat coalition government which came into power in 2012, specifically the effects of the economic down-turn in the UK and a more hands-off approach to financing and supporting cultural activity in the country.

Within this context, chapter six explores the audiences of sport in museums. Specifically, the chapter defines the traditional audiences of museums in England in general, and then conducts a comparison between these audiences and those of sporting exhibitions. The chapter concludes by discussing the similarities and differences between these audiences, and therefore what opportunities exist for the sport in museums to encourage a change in museum audience demographics which supports cultural policy directives and museum ideology.

Having established the relationship between cultural policy and sport in museums in chapter five, and the relevance of sport in museums to audiences in chapter six, chapter seven explores the concept of 'impact' in museums. By doing so, this chapter defines what is meant by the term impact, and establishes key methodologies available to measure impact in museum venues. In turn, this establishes museums as mechanisms to support cultural policy and outputs, specifically in terms of audiences.

Chapter eight has a specific focus on the impact of sport in museums. Drawing on the conclusions from the previous chapters, it provides evidence of both the economic and social impact of sport in museums. The chapter culminates with a detailed exploration of *Our Sporting Life* by measuring the impact of the programme against the museum

sector standards for evaluation of the Generic Learning Outcomes and the Generic Social Outcomes.

The conclusion will revisit the evidence and arguments discussed throughout the thesis, and will close with a discussion of the contribution made by this study.

Chapter Two: Museums, Popular Culture and Sport

This chapter will explore the definition of the term 'museum' and examine the development of the museum from its early routes in the eighteenth century to the present day. An important element of this discussion will be the position of popular culture as a subject matter for museums. Primarily this will involve a study of the original stance of the museum sector as educational institutions with a focus on 'high' culture as opposed to the cultural activity of the everyday, and the gradual progression away from this understanding to the place of museums as representations of all cultural activity and expression. Finally, the chapter will explore the place of sport within popular culture, and within this, the position of sport as a subject matter for museums. It is first necessary to establish a definition of the term 'museum' and explore the origins and early development of the museum sector.

2.1 Defining the Term 'Museum'

To understand how sport is relevant to museums, it is first necessary to define the term 'museum'. By the late twentieth century, the discussions pertaining to a definition for museums appears to permeate academic thought throughout the field. [1] As Kavanagh (1994) states, "museum people have struggled in committee after committee, in national and international settings, with ease and with great difficulty to put meaning into the word museum".[2] Writing in 1997, at the beginning of the boundaries of this research, Moore conducted a detailed examination of the definition of museums and their purpose. Moore states that many academics choose not to

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[1] See for example Bennett, T. *The Birth of the Museum.* London: Routledge. 1997; Black, G. *The Engaging Museum: Developing Museums for Visitor Involvement*. Oxon: Routledge. 2005; Ginsberg, V., and Mairesse, F. 'Defining a Museum Suggestions for an alternative approach.' *Museum Management and Curatorship* 16 (1997): pp.15-33; Hein, H. S. *The Museum in Transition: A Philosophical Perspective.* Washington: Smithsonian. 2000; Hooper-Greenhill, E. *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture.* London: Routledge, 2002; Hudson, K. 'Attempts to Define 'Museum'. pp.371-379. in *Representing the Nation: A Reader. History, Heritage, Museums*. edited by Boswell, D., and Evans, J. London: Routledge, 1999; Kavanagh, G. *Museum provision and professionalism.* Oxon: Routledge. 1994; Moore, K. *Museums & Popular Culture.* London: Leicester University Press, 1997.
[2] Kavanagh, G. *Museum provision and professionalism.* Oxon: Routledge. 1994. p.1.

define the term as they believe to do so would be too constrictive.[3] This is evident in the works of Kavanagh (1994), MacDonald (1996) and Bennett (1997) who assert that to define the term museum is an impossible task, mainly because museums are influenced by their place in time, cultural and social stimuli, and political motivations.[4] As such, these over-arching factors are in continual flux and it is impossible to identify a single definition because as soon as a definition is in place, the institution it describes changes. Consequently, it is not so much that there is a contested definition, but that understanding what a museum is and does is difficult to ascertain.

Despite this difficulty in establishing a definition within academic texts, the Museums Association (MA) provides a useable definition of museum to establish a generic understanding of what a museum is and does. The MA is the UK wide membership body responsible for supporting museum sector staff and the development of museums.[5] As such, the definition is used by those working in the field. In addition, the non-departmental government body responsible for museums in England, Arts Council England (ACE) use the MA classification to define museums in their development of policy documents and directives.[6] The MA definition supports Moore and Keene's argument that a central facet of a museum is the material culture it holds and will therefore be used to define the term museum within this thesis:

> Museums enable people to explore collections for inspiration, learning and enjoyment. They are institutions that collect, safeguard and make accessible artefacts and specimens, which they hold in trust for society.[7]

The definition presented by the MA demonstrates however that two key factors must exist to define a museum, firstly a collection and secondly an audience. Moore (1997)

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[3]Moore, K. *Museums & Popular Culture.* 1997. p.13; Kavanagh, G. *Museum provision and professionalism.* 1994. p.3; Weil, S. E. *Rethinking the Museum.* Washington DC: Smithsonian Institute. 1990. p.31.

[4] Bennett, T. *The Birth of the Museum.* 1997. pp.2-4; Kavanagh, G. *Museum provision and professionalism.* 1994. pp.3-4; Macdonald, S. J. "Introduction," pp.4-7 in *Theorizing Museums. Representing Identity and Diversity in a Changing World*. edited by. Macdonald, S. J. and Fyfe, G. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers. 1996.

[5] Museums Association. *About Us.* Museums Association Online. 2013. Accessed September 1st 2013. http://www.museumsassociation.org/about/frequently-asked-questions

[6] Prior to ACE supporting museums, the *Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA)* had used the MA definition of museums between 2001 and 2011.

[7] Museums Association. *Code of ethics: Museum definition.* London: Museums Association. 2013. Accessed March 7th 2013. http://www.museumsassociation.org/ethics/code-of-ethics.

argues that the presence of material culture makes museums unique among other types of institutions and venues, a belief that is echoed by Keene (2006).[8] Material culture is the physical evidence of any culture, including items such as objects, photographs, and documents. However, a museum is not only defined by the material culture it holds, but equally by its ability to ensure people are able to access the collections. The work of Falk, Dierking, and Hooper-Greenhill consistently demonstrate that learning and audiences are central to the purpose of museums.[9] In addition, Moore (1997) argues that "education or perhaps more correctly, learning, is the purpose of every museum activity……the unique ability of museums, is a centre for "learning" through material culture".[10] According to Moore, then, although material culture is important, it is how material culture is used with an audience, specifically in terms of supporting learning, which transforms the organisation into a museum. Therefore, a museum is a collection and the experience of that collection gained by an audience. Consequently, where the institution focuses on the object, it is a collection and not a museum. Where the institution focuses on the audience, it is a visitor centre or visitor experience and not a museum.[11] The next section will establish the different types of museum which exist in England at the time of writing.

2.2 Museum typology

Within England it is estimated that there are over two thousand five hundred museums, of which one thousand eight hundred have received the museum standard of accreditation managed by ACE.[12] The museum accreditation scheme is the benchmark for museums in England, and therefore any museum which holds accreditation can be said to abide by the MA definition of a museum.[13] All museums are not the same, however, and within England alone there are many different types

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[8] Moore, K. *Museums & Popular Culture.* 1997. pp.23-25; Keene, S. 'All that is solid? Museums and the postmodern'. *Public Archaeology* 5, no. 3. (2006): pp.185-98.
[9] See for example Falk, J., and Dierking, L. *Learning from museums.* Lanham: AltaMira Press. 2000; Hooper-Greenhill, E. *Museums and Education.* London: Routledge, 2007
[10] Moore, K. *Museums & Popular Culture.* 1997. pp.23-25
[11] Hein, H. S. *The Museum in Transition: A Philosophical Perspective.* 2000. pp.2-4.
[12] Museums Association. *About Us.* Museums Association Online. 2013. Accessed September 1st 2013. http://www.museumsassociation.org/about/frequently-asked-questions
[13] Arts Council England. *Accreditation Standard.* Online. 2011d. Accessed January 2nd 2013. http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/media/uploads/pdf/Accreditation_standard_print_friendly.pdf

and categorising them can be difficult.[14] Therefore, Ambrose and Payne (2012), authors of Museums Basics, the core text book for museum studies, developed a typology of museums to clarify the complexity of museum type.[15] The typology shows five intersecting categories as illustrated at figure 4.

Figure 4: Typology of Museums

Category	Description
Classified by Collections	General museum Art Museum Archaeology Museum Ethnography Museum Science Museum Natural History Museum Industrial Museum
Classified by who runs them	Government Museum University Museum Municipal Museum Independent Museum Commercial Company Museum
Classified by the area they serve	National Museum Regional Museum Local Museum City Museum
Classified by their audience they serve	General Public Museum Educational Museum Specialist Museum
Classified by the way they exhibit their collections	Traditional Museum Historic House Museum Open-air Museum Interactive Museum

Source: Ambrose and Payne (2012).[16]

The classifications outlined by Ambrose and Payne demonstrate that museums are complex institutions where each museum can be defined by a range of different criteria. Ambrose and Payne explain that these are just "some" of the types of museum that exist and not an exhaustive list, again demonstrating that the breadth of museum type is considerable.[17] The typology presented by Ambrose and Payne, however, provides a framework to order and understand museum type and allow comparisons and contrasts to be made. The next section will explore why the museum

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[14] Ambrose, T., and Payne, C. *Museum Basics*. Oxon: Routledge. 2012. p.9.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid. p.10.
[17] Ibid.

as a type of institution was created in the first place, and how this has developed over subsequent years to the situation in 2012.

2.3 The Transition of the Museum

Although museums in 2012 on the whole work towards the MA's definition, this has not always been the case. For that purpose, it is important to understand why museums were originally established, for what purpose, and how this has since altered. Initially, a museum referred to university-type establishment, with the word museum deriving from the Greek form 'mouseion' or "seat of the muses", until the seventeenth century, when it began to be used to denote collections of curiosities.[18] The development of these early museums continued and by the end of the eighteenth century, the idea of a building to house a collection of objects for research, display, and public access was well established across Western Europe.[19] For example, the Capitoline Museum in Rome, which can trace its origins to 1471, opened to the public as a museum in 1734, The British Museum opened in London in 1753, the National Museum of Natural History of Spain, opened in Madrid in 1772, the Louvre, Paris in 1793, and The Rijksmuseum (originally the National Art Gallery), in Amsterdam in 1800. The trend for museums spread to America with the opening of the Peale Museum, Baltimore, in 1786, before moving further afield as the colonial influence of Europe grew. Although there was an interest in creating museums based on large individual collections for the purposes of display in its own right, or the benefit of the collections owner, the principal motivation which led to the extensive growth of museums during the nineteenth century, was the use of museums for social welfare purposes. Bennett (1995 and 2007) argues that the working classes were seen as being in need of social improvement and that the ordered display of objects narrating the story of humanity, brought together in a venue which provided an alternative to other leisure activities, could support this social improvement. In other words, "museums were…consciously designed to 'socialise' people and uphold a stable social structure".[20] Moore (2012) is in agreement with Bennett, and argues that

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[18] Vergo, P. Introduction. *The New Museology.* London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 1991. p.2.
[19] Bennett, T. *The Birth of the Museum.* 1997. pp.2-4.
[20] Ibid. pp.70-71.

"traditionally, the purpose of museums was to identify and validate high culture, defined in binary opposition to popular or 'low' culture".[21] That is, those from the higher classes depicted their version of human history in museums as an informative and instructive lesson to those from the lower classes. As a result, museums became instruments of education, specifically designed to teach and bestow, rather than to share and understand. Consequently, working class history was seen as unimportant and not reflected in museums.

The MA's definition of the term museum as discussed earlier in this chapter, was created in 1998, and was a reworking of an earlier version which focussed more on museums doing things for audiences, than with them, and reflecting the belief that museums were for instructive purposes.[22] However, the new version established in 1998 suggests that the museum sector had shifted towards a more enabling role. Instead of operating as a teacher/student relationship, the description attempts to redefine museums as a facilitator that is responsible for supporting the visitors' understanding and interpretation of objects, rather than providing implied meaning from subjective viewpoints. The use of words such as 'enable' and 'explore' demonstrate this shifting emphasis. The move towards an enabling role is reflected in a wealth of museum-focused academic material during the 1990s and early twenty-first century.[23] These works suggest that museums were undergoing a transition period, realigning their focus from conservators and protectors of objects, to engaging in a dialogue with their audiences about material culture. The next section will explore this transition and the reasons which led to the refocus of museum activity.

During the late 1980s and early 1990s then, the museum sector experienced a transition period, commonly referred to as *The New Museology*.[24] Cultural Historian,

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[21] Moore, K. 'Sport in Museums and Museums of Sport: An Overview'. pp.93-106, in *Sport, History and Heritage: An Investigation into the Public Representation of Sport,* edited by Hill, J., Moore, K., and Wood, J. Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2012. p.94.

[22] Moore, K. *Museums & Popular Culture.* 1997.p.13. The previous definition of a museum used by the *Museums Association* was "A museum is an institution which collects, documents, preserves, exhibits and interprets material evidence and associated information for the public benefit".

[23] See for example Hein, H. S. *The Museum in Transition: A Philosophical Perspective.* 2000; Hooper-Greenhill, E. *Initiatives in Museum Education.* Leicester: Leicester Museum Press. 1989; Keene, S. 'All that is solid? Museums and the postmodern'. *Public Archaeology* 5, no. 3. (2006): pp.185-98.

[24] Vergo, P. Introduction. *The New Museology.* 1 – 5. London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 1991.

Neil Harris argues that museums during this time moved from a state of "authoritarian experimentalism", where the institution instructed the individual, to a period of "existential scrutiny", where the institution faced unprecedented questioning of its purpose from both internal and external forces, both political and community in focus.[25] Some have argued that the transition towards audiences and away from purely object based activity is nothing new for museums, and that museums have always been about engaging with the public and interpreting material culture to support an understanding of human-kind.[26] However, the transition which took place in the late 1980s and 1990s was not so much about a new focus on the audience, but about redefining who the audiences of museums were, understanding different types of audiences, and beginning to work with, instead of merely for, audiences.[27] As discussed above, traditionally, museums were established and developed to teach and instruct, dictating an elitist world-view towards the masses. As a consequence, the subject matter presented in museums had drifted away from the topics which interested the mass population and led to museum visitor demographics being skewed away from the working classes, and in steady decline.

Consequently, three primary factors began to support the transition of museums from elitist to inclusive organisations, each of which had a direct bearing on the other.[28] Firstly, museum audiences in the 1980s were in decline and not representative of the population as a whole.[29] Moore combines research from a number of authors which evidences the decline in audience visits, and a lack of breadth of participation from different types of audiences stating primarily that most museum visitors are from wealthy, middle class backgrounds and do not reflect the "demographic profiles …. of the general population".[30] Moore draws from the work of Merriman, who argues that the lack of interest in those visiting the museum, or the experience they have during

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[25] Harris, N. *Cultural Excursions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1990; Harris, N. "Polling for Opinions." *Museum News*. (September / October 1990): p.50.

[26] See for example Anderson, R. 'The access issue is nothing new'. 44-46. in *'Museums for the People'?* Institute of Ideas. London: Institute of Ideas. 2001; Moore, K. *Museums ad Popular Culture.* 1997.

[27] See for example Wright, P. 'The Quality of Visitors Experiences in Art Museum'. pp.119-148. in *The New Museology* edited by Vergo, P. London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 1991; Hooper-Greenhill, E. *Museums and Education.* London: Routledge, 2007. p.1.

[28] Harris, N. *Cultural Excursions*. 1990; Harris, N. 'Polling for Opinions'. *Museum News*. (September / October 1990): p.50.

[29] Moore, K. *Museums & Popular Culture.* 1997. p.15.

[30]Ibid.

their visit, is a significant issue in increasing visitor numbers and widening audience profiles.[31] Consequently, museums in the 1980s were not reflective of the public in general and so the public did not feel museums were worth visiting. The low visitor figures represented a significant threat to museums which were funded largely by the public purse. Unless museum staff could demonstrate that they attracted a significant amount of people to their venue who therefore benefited from the public investment, it was unlikely that the continued funding for the venue would be granted. As a result, museum staff, largely led by visitor studies departments and networks, began to take an interest in understanding how to develop audiences and attract new audiences to museums.

The second influence on the transition of museums was the work of E.P.Thompson and the publication of his text *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963). E.P.Thompson "pioneered the recognition of the richness of a culture he saw as largely created by working people themselves" and gave rise to a new understanding and importance placed on the working classes as creating culture, not just consuming it.[32] Thompson's work led to the development of the field of social history, placing a focus on working class history in contrast to traditional elitist interpretations and transformed attitudes of those working in the museum sector towards the representation of popular culture. As a result, Thompson directly influenced the training of a new breed of museum worker who was stimulated to value the common as much as the elite in terms of cultural history, and their beliefs and practice gradually begin to permeate the museum sector. Wright provides evidence for this new trend in his chapter within *The New Museology* (1991), where he implores museum professionals to use research and practice skills to change direction, do something new, and throw off the outdated model of museum as maestro.[33] This is supported by the work of Ginsberg and Mairesse in 1997, who state that a museum is led by the values of those which work in it. Consequently, if a museum curator feels the purpose of a museum is to represent a breadth of social history, then naturally the institution

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[31]Merriman, N. 'Museum Visiting as a Cultural Phenomenon'. in *The New Museology.* edited by Vergo, P. London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 1991. p.146.

[32] Thompson, E.P. *The Making of the English Working Class*. London: Victor Gollanez. 1963; Moore, K. *Museums & Popular Culture.* London: Leicester University Press, 1997. p.75.

[33] Wright, P. 'The Quality of Visitors Experiences in Art Museum'. pp.119-148. in *The New Museology* edited by Vergo, P. London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 1991.

will be led in this direction.[34] The third influence on the transition of museums came from the 1980s onwards when government policy began to require museums to demonstrate their value to society in terms of external criteria and agendas. This development towards the instrumental value of museums taking the forefront is discussed at length later in chapters five and seven, but Weil (2002) exemplifies the effect it had on museums by stating that museums needed to make a case for their value to wider society in order to ensure their sustained funding.[35]

Therefore, a combination of internal and external influences based on deeply held beliefs of those who worked within museums, coupled with the requirement to establish the value of museums in return for financial support, affected the transition of museums towards presenting a more representative picture of the historical past. This is not to suggest that after this transition museums were suddenly no longer about elitism, or that they managed to construct exhibitions by remaining completely objective and neutral to political, economic and social influences. It does, however, demonstrate a change in acceptance towards working class culture and the recognition that commonplace objects are valuable to historical inquiry and directly relevant to the story of human-kind. The next section explores how the transition of museums led to an interest in popular culture as a topic for museum display.

2.4 Defining the Term 'Culture'

There are many different competing definitions of the term 'culture'.[36] As Inglis argues:

> Almost anyone who has every written anything about culture
> has observed, it can mean a lot of things, some of which
> complement each other and some of which do not.[37]

Williams (1983), one of the pioneering minds in this field, refers to 'culture' as "one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language",[38] and Inglis (2006)

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[34] Ginsberg, V., and Mairesse, F. 'Defining a Museum Suggestions for an alternative approach'. *Museum Management and Curatorship* 16 (1997): p.17.
[35] Weil, S. E. *Making Museums Matter.* Washington DC: Smithsonian Institute, 2002; Weil, S.E. *A Cabinet of Curiosities: Inquiries into Museums and their prospects.* Washington DC: Smithsonian Institute. 1995.
[36] Inglis, D. *Culture and Everyday Life.* Oxon: Routledge. 2006. p.6-7.
[37] Ibid. p6.

draws on the work of Williams to assert four primary meanings of culture used in today's society as being 1) 'high culture', connections to "human perfection" and therefore a position of superiority;[39] 2) the cultural development of an individual; 3) cultural products and activity, for example museums, books, television; and 4) the "whole way of life" to encompass all aspects which make up a society.[40] For the purposes of this study, the forth meaning will be taken to define the term 'culture'.

Although these definitions provide a means of explaining the different forms of culture, there have been numerous debates which argue that the generation of culture itself is guided, whether willingly or not, by those in positions of power within each individual society.[41] Consequently, the development of cultural ideology and cultural production is steered towards the principles held by the ruling classes in any society. In turn, this seeks to perpetuate the ideas and opinions of these ruling classes and maintains a reality which is most consistent and supportive of their interests.[42] Therefore, attempts seeking to democratise museums by exploring cultures which have not been traditionally displayed in museum environments, for example sport, may be hampered by internal belief systems of middle-class museum professionals, whether intentionally or not. Bennett coins the phrase "reading the past" to allude to the fact that assumptions, perceptions, and ideological bias are impossible to avoid in the interpretation of the past in the museum environment.[43] He argues that the very act of choosing an object and placing it within a museum context is littered with layers of prior interpretation and bias which influences the interaction between the visitor and the exhibition.[44] Consequently museum displays offer a certain view of reality that is built of the constructs of the present day, the perceptions of the curator and other involved museum staff, and the previous ideology which the visitor brings to the museum. However, in the context of this study, these belief systems are unavoidable, and the actions of those working within museums towards creating a more inclusive

[38] Williams, R. *Culture and Society 1790 – 1850.* New York: Columbia University Press. 1983. p.87.

[39] Williams, R. *Culture and Society 1790 – 1850.* New York: Columbia University Press. 1983. p.xvi

[40] Ibid; Inglis, D. *Culture and Everyday Life.* Oxon: Routledge. 2006. p.6-7.

[41] Inglis, D. *Culture and Everyday Life.* Oxon: Routledge. 2006. p.10.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Bennett, T. *The Birth of the Museum.* London: Routledge. 1997. pp130-135.

[44] Ibid. pp146 – 147.

environment must be judged on face value as a transition towards creating a more evenly presented interpretation of culture.

2.5 Defining the Term 'Popular Culture'

Before it is possible to understand the development of popular culture in museums, it is first necessary to establish a definition of the term. The term 'popular culture' has been discussed and debated during the past twenty years without consensus on an exact definition.[45] The individual expressions 'popular' and 'culture' have proved difficult enough to define of themselves.[46] Parker (2011) argues that "scholars of popular culture and cultural studies have taken a certain perhaps perverse pride in not defining their subject",[47] concluding that:

> Nearly all common definitions are inapplicable to any but recent times. Definitions of popular culture as 1) quantitatively superior, 2) qualitatively inferior, 3) mass culture, 4) a product of "the people," 5) a battlefield for hegemony, or 6) a chimera to postmodernism, have much to offer, but none is completely satisfying.[48]

Parker contests that a change in questioning should be developed, whereby the question of who has the authority to attribute something to popular culture should be asked. In turn this helps to identify key themes of what constitutes popular culture. Parker asserts that scholars should look towards archaeological theory to determine a more humanist approach to the term by analysing patterns of consumption, creation, and usage. The difficulty of Parker's argument is that it also fails to define what popular culture is and reiterates prior theories and ideas. It is helpful in drawing

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[45] See for example Bennett, T. 'Marxist cultural politics: in search of 'the popular''. *Australian Journal of Cultural Studies* 1, no. 2. (1983): 2-28; Fisk, J. *Reading the Popular*. Oxon: Routledge. 2011; Fisk, J. *Understanding Popular Culture.* Oxon: Routledge. 2010; Gans, H. *Popular Culture and High Culture*. New York: Basic Books. 1999; Hinds, H., Motz, M. F., and Nelson, A.M.S. *Popular Culture Theory and Methodology: A Basic Introduction.* Winconsin: University of Winconsin Press, 2005; Lamont, M., and Fournier, M. *Cultivating Differences: Symbolic Boundaries and the Making of Inequality.* Chicago: University of Chicago. 1992; Moore, K. *Museums and Popular Culture.* 1997; Mukerji, C., and Schudson,M*. Rethinking Popular Culture.* Berkeley: University of California Press. 1981; Russell, D. 'What is popular culture?' *Social History in Museums: Journal of the Social History Curators Group* 17 (1990): 5-10; Storey, J. *Cultural Theories and Popular Culture: An Introduction.* Harlow: Pearson. 2008; Strinati, D. *An Introduction to Theories of Popular Culture*. London: Routledge. 2005.
[46] Moore, K. *Museums & Popular Culture.* 1997. p.2.
[47] Parker, H. "Toward a Definition of Popular Culture." *History and Theory* 50 (2011): p.147.
[48] Ibid. p.169.

together the existing arguments but moves little further towards its quest for a definitive definition. Thus, it is possible to conclude, as Bennett's does, that academics have become too entrenched in putting a label on something that is completely undefinable.[49]

However, in 1997, Moore considered the variety of definitions used to explain popular culture and concluded that:

> Popular culture is not so much defined by what it is, as what it is not. Popular culture is whatever is not defined as high culture…It is viewed either as a mass culture imposed by a cultural industry to maintain power by the ruling elite, or alternatively as a genuine, creative cultural expression from below.[50]

Moore alludes here to Marxist philosophy, and more recently, Gramsci's theory that the working classes are in a constant struggle with the ruling classes. The ruling class in turn attempts "to impose its rule on other classes", sometimes with success and sometimes through a process of negotiation, but that in the main, the power of the elite is usually strong enough to exert its influence on mass culture.[51] As a consequence, popular culture is therefore affected and modelled by the social, political and economic surroundings of any given time and the influence imposed by the ruling classes. In addition, Moore alludes to the "genuine, creative cultural expression from below" founded in the theories of Fiske and Willis.[52] Here, the alienation of the working classes is so great that cultural expression is formed as a counter position to the elitist rule. For Inglis and Hughson, this proposition fails to explore the issues present which effect working class culture within society and are, therefore, attractive, but insufficiently grounded in theoretical rigour to provide a suitable definition to the term 'popular culture'.[53]

Therefore, due to the relevance of Moore's work to this study and the issues with defining both popular and culture addressed above, Moore's definition which

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[49] Bennett, T. 'Popular Culture: A Teaching Object'. *Screen Education* 34 (1980): p.18.
[50] Moore, K. *Museums & Popular Culture.* 1997. pp.2-3.
[51] Inglis, D. and Hughson, J. *Confronting Culture*. Cambridge: Polity Press. 2003. pp.102 – 104.
[52] As explored by Hughson and Inglis. Ibid. pp.106-107.
[53] Ibid.

encapsulates both Gramsci's theory and that of genuine creative expression from below will be used as the definition for the purposes of this thesis. The next section will explore the relationship between popular culture and museums.

2.6 Popular Culture as a Subject Matter for Museums

As discussed earlier in this chapter, until the late twentieth century, museums were concerned with depicting the history of the middle and upper classes. Working class history, and with it, popular culture, was seen as irrelevant to museum programming. However, the interest of museums in popular culture stems from the academic work of E.P.Thompson (1963) and Bourdieu (1984, 1991).[54] Thompson's work is an holistic review of the role of working-class culture in the narrative of society. He establishes the working-class as the makers of culture, not just consumers of a culture imposed from above.[55] It is possible to draw from this that the subject matter exhibited within the museum should not just reflect elitism but society as a whole and thus include popular culture. Moore (1997) argues that there was a change in the type and number of people choosing to work in museums from the 1970s and 1980s and that this "owes much to the democratization of higher education since the 1960s, and the political radicalisation of generations of graduates from the 1980s".[56] The opportunity for more and different people to study at university, understand the different types of concepts available by which to explore museum display and object interpretation effected the changes seen in museums under the topic heading of social history. Moore argues that social historians choose to democratize museums and demystify the exhibitions and collections held within and, as a consequence, popular culture has become firmly rooted as a sub-heading underneath social history. Although many museums choose to interpret sport under subjects such as art and science, in general the exploration of sport as a subject matter for museums, remains under social history. This has meant that sport has been marginalised, largely because social history itself, as a fledgling

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[54] Bourdieu, P. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1984; Bourdieu, P. *The Love of Art: European Art Museums and Their Public*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1991; Thompson, E.P. *The Making of the English Working Class*. 1963.
[55] Burgess,C. 'The Development of Labor History in UK Museums and the People's History Museum'. *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 76 (2009): p.27; Thompson, E.P. *The Making of the English Working Class*.
[56] Moore, K. *Museums & Popular Culture.* London: Leicester University Press, 1997. p.33.

topic in museums, had been marginalized, and consequently funding and resources to support sporting exhibitions has been limited. The marginalisation of social history has also something to do with the perception that social history represents low culture. The change which positioned it as a central museum subject has therefore been a process which confronted the accepted norm of museum display and exhibition, and consequently that of the representation of elitism over the everyday.

Moore (1997) discusses his own background as a museum professional and states that he was strongly influenced by the work of Thompson, commenting that many other graduates during the 1980s were "attracted by the possibility of developing people's history outside of an elite academic environment," and that this gave rise to a greater interest in social history.[57] In addition, Bourdieu's research in the 1960s and 1970s was translated into English in 1984 and 1991 and concludes that "museums reproduced for visitors the existing class-based culture, education and social systems", and reinforced issues of class, segregation and otherness, rather than creating arenas of inclusion for the general public as a whole.[58] The timing of the translation of Bourdieu's work, coupled with the new generation of museum professionals influenced by Thompson and established in jobs working in the museum sector, led to the development of a refocusing of museum theory which placed the visitor at the centre of the museum experience and a value on the everyday, and with it, popular culture.[59]

The effects of the works of Thompson and Bourdieu were first reflected in the museum through museums such as the People's Palace, Glasgow. Moore (1997) states that the 1980s saw a gradual change, influence substantially by the exhibitions and displays mounted at the People's Palace which reflected popular culture. Consequently, this saw museums in other cities, for example Liverpool and Newcastle, direct attention towards a more balanced view of working-class life, representing the working-class as a vibrant culture in its own right, rather than a subordinate under-class with little

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[57] Moore, K. *Museums & Popular Culture.* 1997. p.74-76.
[58] Bourdieu, P. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1984; Bourdieu, P. *The Love of Art: European Art Museums and Their Public*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1991; Vergo, P. Introduction. *The New Museology.* 1 – 5. London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 1991.
[59] Barrett, J. *Museums and the Public Sphere.* Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012. p.3

intelligence, creativity or knowledge.[60] The People's Palace aimed to work with people from across the city to display their own collections and reflect the story of the city's inhabitants. Moore and Suggitt argue that the People's Palace gave direct rise to the People's Show exhibitions, the first being staged by Walsall Museums and Arts Gallery in 1990.[61] The *People's Show* exhibitions used individuals own collections and took place in venues around the country. According to Suggitt, the *People's Show* aimed to "demonstrate the pleasure of collecting and show the secret world behind people's front doors". It enabled visitors to enjoy a diverse range of material culture, to reminisce and share their own pasts, but also for museums and for wider public society to celebrate the eclectic range of collections and their combined collectors' interests. In essence, museums were reverting to their origins in the sense of basing their exhibitions on the collections of individuals. However, for the first time, these individuals came from working class backgrounds and told the story of everyday life. Suggitt (1990), in his analysis of the *People's Shows*, argued that where museums display private collections in an effort to depict the everyday, curators struggle to surrender complete control in favour of the private collector, and, therefore, professional attitudes and principles of museum staff have a direct bearing on the content and interpretation of museum exhibition and display.[62] Consequently, the gap between professional practice and professional intent was still significant even though the willingness to move towards a more equal partnership was evident.

To capture the increasing need to represent popular culture in museums, in 1997 the Museum Studies department at Leicester University, one of the world's preeminent academic research departments in the field, commissioned the publication of a text specifically concerned with popular culture as part of its *Contemporary Issues in Museums* series.[63] In *Museums and Popular Culture,* Moore (1997) demonstrates that the material culture of the everyday can be analysed using the same methods as any other object, and that it provides a narrative relevant to the story of the past, thus

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[60] Moore, K. *Museums & Popular Culture.* 1997. pp.75-76.

[61] Ibid. p.82; Suggitt, M. 'Emissaries from the toy cupboard'. (Review of the *People's Show*, Walsall). *Museums Journal* 90, no.12 (1990): pp.30-33. However, a similar show was held in 1989 at Stevenage Museum, entitled *Collectomania* displaying collections of local residents as referenced in Pearce, 1992.

[62] Ibid. pp.30-33.

[63] Leicester University, School of Museum Studies. *About the School.* Online. Date Unknown. Accessed January 31st 2014. http://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/museumstudies/about-the-school.

having a value to museums.[64] Moore uses Pearce's model of material culture, a model which demonstrates the relevance and value of objects to museum display, to position popular culture as relevant subject matter for museums.[65] Moore states that "material culture gives the only direct route into the lives of ordinary people in many cases; it is all that they have left behind".[66] Essentially, Moore establishes that museums are facing a time of flux, where the representation of the everyday is becoming increasingly relevant. At the time of writing, the text is still the only piece of literature which examines the role of popular culture in museums, and as such is directly relevant to this study. Brabazon (2006) revisited Moore's text and discussed the analysis with Moore at length.[67] Brabazon established that the contents of Moore's book were still just as relevant ten years since publication, and that the issues and constraints facing popular culture in museums were no different. In addition, Brabazon is in agreement with Moore in the absolute relevance of popular culture to museums venues. She argues that curatorial attitudes are primarily in control of the decision making process in terms of what topics and themes are displayed but that "once it is realised that everything has potential value, depending on the perspective of the viewer, the focus for a curator changes".[68] For Brabazon, the transition of museums to places which explore the everyday, immediately supported the inclusion of popular culture. This stance is reflected by Polley (2010) who argues that the popular culture provides museums with an opportunity to explore "heritage from below" and that the use of popular culture "complements the museum and heritage establishment's growing interest in the objects and locations of everyday life".[69] Therefore, the interest in popular culture within museums began to grow from the 1980's in order to make museums more relevant to the general public.

However, Moore (1997) argues that although museum curators value popular culture as a subject matter, they had yet to grasp the importance of the material culture of

[64] Moore, K. *Museums & Popular Culture.* pp106-134.
[65] Ibid. pp.3-4; Pearce, S. *On Collecting*. Oxon: Routledge. 1995.
[66] Moore, K. *Museums & Popular Culture.* 1997. p.40.
[67] Brabazon, T. 'Museums & Popular Culture Revisited: Kevin Moore and the politics of Pop'. *Museum Management and Curatorship* 21, no.4 (2006a): pp.283 – 301.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Polley, M. '"The Archive of the Feet": Field Walking in Sports History'. *Journal of Sport History* 37, no. 1 (2010): p.141.

popular culture.[70] He asserts that, initially at least, museum staff tended to focus primarily on labour history and that as a consequence, museums were inclined to portray popular culture narrowly through an analysis of leisure pursuits and the top-down perception that the working-class are a subservient culture. Moore contends that, as a result, a new breed of independent museums began to be established from the 1970's onwards, led by individuals frustrated by the lack of inclusion of every day culture, and specifically *their* everyday culture, within local authority and national museums. To begin with, these museums were likely to address their collections with a formalist approach; representing the history of the topic as a historical narrative rather than within a wider social context. Lumley (2005) for example, states that a visit to an historic house is more likely to focus on the quiet, sedentary country life than the reality of war, famine or politics that would have affected the house over the period of its history. Similarly, folk museums are more likely to discuss the merits of farm equipment than the reality of everyday pressures and concerns facing people, whether ordinary or eminent.[71] As a result, these attempts at the representation of popular culture, often missed the opportunity to contextualise popular culture within wider society and limited the relevance of the history told as a consequence. In addition, the narrow representation of history through these sites meant that popular culture museums were often viewed as a nice thing to do, but not a core activity of the museum. This in turn hindered the position given to popular culture within the museum sector as whole, rather annexing it to a subject tackled within social history, rather than investing in the topic for its own right. Therefore, popular culture had been established, to some extent, as a subject for museums by the end of the twentieth century. The relevance of the popular culture was based on the premise that it gave museum activity more relevance to the general public. The next section will therefore explore why popular material culture increases the relevance of museums to audiences.

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[70] Moore, K. *Museums & Popular Culture.* 1997. p.78.
[71] Lumley, R. 'The debate on heritage reviewed'. 24. in *Heritage, Museums and Galleries: An Introductory Reader*. Oxon: Routledge. 2005.

2.7 The Value of Popular Material Culture

Many discussions have taken place about the reasons why popular material culture makes museums more relevant to more people.[72] Moore (1997) explores at length why popular material culture is important and concludes that it is because individuals place a value on the objects connected with issues of local and national identity, that the objects foster a sense of community, and that objects emphasise familial connections.[73] In essence, popular material culture establishes and supports individual and community identity and it is here, according to Moore, that the true importance of material popular culture can be found.[74] In agreement with Moore's argument, Brabazon (2006) asserts that popular culture allows the individual to use popular material culture to recollect their own past.[75] She argues that although popular material culture provides a route for the individual to access their memories, the gap between living history, the individuals own recollections, and the history witnessed within a museum, is often too great however to make museum displays of popular culture completely relevant to people. Brabazon asserts this is largely because a static museum venue and real life are so far removed: "the popular cultural past is owned by those who live it: it is not squeezed behind glass".[76] This assertion, however, ignores the fact that museum studies consistently demonstrate that inanimate objects support individuals to remember and reflect, with the lack of animation in the objects seemingly of little consequence. For example, Merriman (1991) explores the relationship of museums to the individual, concluding that the past has different

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[72] See for example Bickford, A., Doering, Z. D., & Smith, S. J. 'Spiders are coming!: An exhibition background study for the National Museum of Natural History.' *Institutional Studies Report* 92-4. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution. (1992); Gee, J. P. 'Identity as an analytic lens for research in education.' *Review of Research in Education* 25 (2001): pp.99–125;Harter, S., Bresnick, S., Bouchy, H., & Whitesell, N. R. 'The development of multiple role-related selves during adolescence.' *Development and Psychopathology* 9 (1997): pp.835–853; Wilkening, S., & Chung, J. *Life stages of the museum visitor: Building engagement over a lifetime*. Washington, DC: AAM Press. 2009.

[73] Brabazon, T. *Playing on the Periphery: Sport, Identity and Memory.* London: Routledge, 2006. p.71.

[74] See for example Edensor, T. *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life.* Oxford: Gammon, S., and Ramshaw, G. 'Editorial: Placing heritage in tourism.' *Journal of Sport Tourism* 10, no.4 (2005): 225–227; Kaplan, F. *Museums and the Making of Ourselves: The Role of Objects in National Identity.* London: Francis Printer Publications. 1996; Ramshaw, G. and Gammon,S. 'On home ground? Twickenham Stadium Tours and the construction of sport heritage.' *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 5, no.2. (2010): 87-102.

[75] Brabazon, T. *Playing on the Periphery: Sport, Identity and Memory.* 2006.

[76] Ibid. p.71.

meanings to different people.[77] Different perspectives will exist about different periods in time and there is no single, fixed truth. As such, the past is examined in terms of the *personal*, that which is specifically relevant to the individual, and the *impersonal*, that which is of no relevance to the individual but of interest through their desire to understand different times and cultures. Merriman's findings suggest that elitist society views the past from both a personal and an impersonal stance, and that all museum displays have relevance and interest to the elitist visitors which form the biggest portion of the museum visiting population. In contrast, the mass public tend to relate primarily with the personal, particularly those stories which directly have meaning and relevance to their own, and support their own perception of identity. Consequently, museum visitors are likely to visit institutions only if its stories are of direct relevance, and are connected to their personal interests or about industry and activities central to their own history. In essence, museums depict a story about a particular time, event, person, or theme from the past. The aim of the story is not only to provide a greater understanding of a specific topic, but to provoke a deeper knowledge and questioning of how the story reflects the present and future, and how it impacts on the individual and society as a whole.

Similarly, Hein examines the process of learning within a museum environment as part of his 'Constructivist' theory, that is:

> that learning in the museum represents meaning-making by museum visitors – that these meanings are mediated not only by museum objects and the way in which they are presented (exhibited) but also powerfully by the visitors' culture, previous personal experience, and conditions of their visit – is recognised as an essential consideration for museum education.[78]

Therefore, according to Hein, learning is a process of incremental steps by the individual, where knowledge and information is continually reformed, re-assimilated, re-evaluated, and re-processed in response to new stimuli and experiences, with the

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[77] Merriman, N. *Beyond the Glass Case: The Past, the Heritage and the Public in Britain.* London: Continuing International Publishing. 1991.
[78] Hein, G. 'Museum Education'. in *A Companion to Museums Studies.* MacDonald, S. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2010. p.347.

framework of the individual's own culture and prior knowledge impacting on the meaning-making process. Hein's theory exemplifies how individuals learn within the museum environment and that experiences cannot be pre-determined as each visitor will explore the venue through a different route, with a different visitor party composition, and with different expectations. This results in an entirely different encounter, with exclusive learning possibilities available to each individual based on prior knowledge, understanding and experience. Therefore, the individual background of each visitor uniquely impacts on the experience of that visitor to a museum.

By the end of the 1990s, in line with the increased importance placed on individualism, museum staff had also begun to recognise the importance of using 'intangible' heritage, that is, heritage that is not purely written and material evidence, to give a greater voice to those represented in museum exhibitions.[79] Alivizatou (2006), at the forefront of this research, explains the term 'intangible' heritage as follows:

> Intangible heritage suggests a holistic understanding of what is cultural heritage by acknowledging the significance and value of oral and living practices and expressions that are related to objects, monuments and cultural spaces.[80]

Thus, 'tangible' heritage consists of material culture, objects and artefacts, whereas 'intangible' heritage is made up of oral histories and living practices, that have a direct relevance to objects, events, places, and people. The use of intangible heritage supports a better contextualised story of the objects and period of history, and for recent popular culture, intangible heritage is valuable. On the whole, historians and museum professionals recognize the value of non-physical cultural material to shape the story of the past, particularly in terms of understanding the everyday. Munjeri (2004) argues that the mere expression of placing cultural value on something, often

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[79] See for example Alivizatou, M. *Intangible Heritage and the Museum.* Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press. 2012; Alivizatou, M. 'Museums and Intangible Heritage: The Dynamics of an 'Unconventional' Relationship'. *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology* 17 (2009): 47-57; Boyle, P. 'The Intangible Heritage: a Challenge and an Opportunity for Museums and Museum Professional Training'. *The International Journal for Intangible Heritage* 1 (2006): 53-66; Kurin, R. 'Safeguarding intangible cultural heritage in the 2003 UNESCO Convention: a Critical Appraisal'. *Museum International* 56, no. 1-2 (2004): 66-77; Stefano, M. *Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage.* Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2012.
[80] Alivizatou, M. 'Museums and Intangible Heritage: The Dynamics of an 'Unconventional' Relationship'. *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology* 17 (2006): p.48.

removes it from the very context which gave it significance, but by appreciating the associated intangible heritage related to physical objects, it ensures they remain rooted within context, and of relevance to the public.[81] Therefore, the use of intangible heritage to support objects and artefacts in museum exhibitions and programmes, further supports the execution of popular culture as topic for museums. Consequently, the theme of popular culture has gradually become accepted as a topic for museums. The presentation of the topic is supported by both tangible and intangible heritage. Within the theme of popular culture, however, there exist a myriad number of sub-themes. One of these sub-themes is sport. The next section will explore the literature which relates to the theme of sport in museums.

2.8 Defining the Term 'Sport'

As discussed above, at the time of writing, the previous twenty-five years of museum development has been dominated by discussions concerning the relevance of museums to the general population. However, sport has not been a focus for any museum texts. Even within texts that discuss museum learning, developing museum audiences, or ensuring greater participation to museums, the author failed to find even one example of a case study or a reference which discussed the topic of sport in museums. Therefore, even though the primary objective within the museum sector during this time is about ensuring the relevance of museums, it appears that sport, one of the most popularised subjects in Britain, is not significant in achieving this aim. Before it is possible to explore further the place of sport in museums, it is first necessary to define what is meant by the term 'sport'.

In comparison with the terms 'museum' and 'popular culture', the term 'sport' seems to be equally difficult to define. *Sport England*, the non-departmental government body responsible for supporting the development of sport in the UK itself has not defined the term. At the time of writing *Sport England's* website asserts that "There are many different opinions as to what constitutes a sporting activity and the sports

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[81] See for example Munjeri, G. 'Tangible and Intangible Heritage: from difference to convergence.' Museum International 56, nos.1-2 (2004): 12-20; See also Vecco, M. 'A definition of cultural heritage: From the tangible to the intangible.' *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 11, no.3. (2010): p.324.

councils do not have their own definition of sport".[82] To ensure clarity, therefore, this thesis will use the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* definition: "An activity involving physical exertion and skill in which an individual or team competes against another or others for entertainment".[83] The next section will explore the position of sport as a subject within popular culture and its relevance therefore to museums.

2.9 Sport, Popular Culture and Museums

The position of sport as a separate entity to art and culture has been in existence since the mid-nineteenth century.[84] There are three main reasons why this is the case. Firstly, sport is frequently not considered to be cerebral and therefore not sufficiently high brow or intellectual enough to exist as a topic within cultural discourse. Secondly, sport is often not viewed as artistic, in fact even oppositional. As a consequence, if sport is not art, it is therefore not culture. Finally, sport is regarded as low culture, drawn from everyday life and therefore not relevant as a subject matter where culture is defined through the lens of high art, or elitist.[85] However, with the transition in the latter half of the twentieth century towards a representation of everyday culture, the position of sport as a cultural subject became more favourable. For example, Greer (2008) stated that "Football counts as culture just as much as opera does" and argued for the positioning of sport as a construct of individual and communal identity defining cultural experience just as much as the traditionally accepted 'high' arts.[86] In addition, Hughson, Inglis and Free (2005) argue that sport is unique in its ability to cross the divide of high and low culture because of its ability to offer "a collective celebration of national identity".[87]

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[82] Sport England. *Sports that we recognise*. London: Sport England. Date unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.sportengland.org/our-work/national-work/national-governing-bodies/sports-that-we-recognise/

[83] Oxford English Dictionary. *Sport.* Oxford: Oxford English Dictionary. Date Unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/187476?rskey=2wM3Ft&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid

[84] Inglis, D. 'Cultural Agonistes: Social Differentiation, cultural policy and Cultural Olympiads'. *International Journal of Culture Policy* 14, no. 4 (2008): p.464.

[85] Hughson, J., Inglis, D., and Free, M. *The Uses of Sport.* Oxon: Routledge. 2005. p.84 – 90.

[86] Greer, G. 'Football counts as culture just as much as opera does.' *The Guardian*. March 24th March 2008.

[87] Hughson, J., Inglis, D., and Free, M. *The Uses of Sport.* Oxon: Routledge. 2005. p.77.

Welsch (2005) explores the four defining factors which have allowed sport to be more freely considered as art, and consequently as a subject of relevance to museums.[88] These briefly comprise 1) the movement of art from rigid presentation on canvas and sculpture, to a more fluid perception of what constitutes artwork for example Tracy Emin's *Unmade Bed*; 2) the motivation of art to explore and interpret everyday life; 3) the blurring of lines across artistic boundaries; and 4) the rejection of classification between high and low culture in art, leading the way to the exploration of popular culture, and within this, sport.[89] Consequently, the conflicting issues which existed and prevented the examination of sport, and still exist within some organisations which consider themselves to be representative of high art, or traditional art, are gradually disappearing, or at least, being redefined. As a result, the position of sport as an art form and cultural subtheme, where academics such as Hughson and Moore are able to study single pieces of sporting ephemera within an artistic context, has become possible.[90]

In addition, Bourdieu argued that there are cultural gatekeepers who decide what constitutes culture and what does not and it is this which positions a subject as relevant for museum study or not.[91] Essentially, the more influence a person or organisation has, the more they are able to influence what becomes regarded as cultural activity. An example of this can be seen in the case of the National Football Museum in Manchester under the direction of Kevin Moore. Moore was able to gain legitimacy for the organisation by taking a seat at many of the city's cultural tables, thus affecting a conceptual shirt which placed a value on sport as a subject matter for museums. This in turn allowed the subject of sport to be regarded more generally as a relevant subject matter for museum activity. There is also a link between the theoretical study of sport in museums and its practical application in the case of Moore, whereby the study of sport in Moore's book *Museums and Popular Culture* comes to fruition in the creation of the National Football Museum.[92]

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[88] Welsch, W. 'Sport – viewed aesthetically and even as art?' in *The Aesthetics of Everyday Life*. Eds. Andrew Light and Jonathan M. Smith. New York: Columbia University Press. 2005. pp. 135 – 155.
[89] Ibid. p.137 -8.
[90] Hughson., J. and Moore, K. ''Hand of God', Shirt of the Man: The Materiality of Diego Maradona.' *Costume* 46, no.2 (2012): pp.212-225.
[91] Swartz, D. *Culture and Power.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1997. p.1.
[92] Moore, K. *Museums & Popular Culture.* London: Leicester University Press, 1997.

There are examples in the literature which argue that sport is relevant, and, indeed, part of culture, for example Boyle and Haynes (2009) who identify sport as one of the two "great forces of twentieth century popular culture", Gammon, Ramshaw and Waterton (2012) who stress that "sport is undoubtedly a central part of culture", and Hughson, Inglis, and Free (2005) who argue that sport is a driver for cultural and economic development, the terms 'sport' and 'culture', have consistently remained contested bedfellows.[93] In addition, many articles and books separate the terms sport and culture, even if their argument is based on the premise that sport is actually part of culture.[94] This provides a recurrent impression that sport is somehow 'other' to culture. As discussed earlier within this review, museums were traditionally established to narrate the history of high culture. Although a significant transition in museum activity began during the 1980s and 1990s, the process is still, at the time of writing, far from complete. Therefore, Moore (2012) argues that sport as a cultural topic faces even more difficulties in acceptance to museums than the wider field of popular culture, largely because "sport is perceived by many as not to be part of culture, but to be separate, and indeed, perhaps in opposition to it".[95] Consequently, where museums are seen as central to cultural activity, sport is not, instead being viewed as a polar opposite which explains the limited use of sporting heritage within museum studies texts. Nevertheless, sport is clearly positioned as a topic within popular culture, and as such is relevant as a topic for museums accordingly.

It is possible to draw comparisons between the representations of music as a topic of popular culture in museums, and sport as a topic of popular culture in museums to

[93] Gammon, S., Ramshaw, G., and Waterton. E. "Examining the Olympics: heritage, identity and performance." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 19, no.2 (2012): p.119; Boyle, R., and Haynes, R. *Sport, the Media and Popular Culture.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 2009. p.2; Hughson, J., Inglis, D., and Free, M. *The Uses of Sport.* Oxon: Routledge. 2005. pp72-93; Moore, K. *Museums and Popular Culture.* London: Leicester University Press. 1997. p.106.
[94] See for example Boyle, R., and Haynes, R. *Sport, the Media and Popular Culture.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 2009; Coaffee, J. 'Sport, Culture and the modern state: emerging themes in stimulating urban regeneration in the UK.' *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 14, no.4 (2008): 377 – 397; Hill, J. *Sport, Leisure & Culture in Twentieth Century Britain.* Baskingstoke: Palmgrave, 2002; Jarvie, G. *Sport, culture and society: an introduction.* London: Routledge, 2006; Rowe, D. 'Culture, sport and the night-time economy.' *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 14, no.4 (2008): 399-415.
[95] Moore, K. 'Sport in Museums and Museums of Sport: An Overview'. pp.93-106, in *Sport, History and Heritage: An Investigation into the Public Representation of Sport,* edited by Hill, J., Moore, K., and Wood, J. Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2012.

demonstrate the relevance of sport to museums. Brabazon and Mallinder (2006), Bateman and Bale (2008) and McCleod (2011) assert that not only are music and sport similar in terms of their relationship to popular culture and the public, but that they intersect one another, thus influencing and affecting each other.[96] Therefore, the ability of music to ensure museums are relevant to the general public, bears a resemblance to the ability of sport to ensure museums are relevant to the general public. For example, King (2006) explores the relationship of white control over blues music in the *Delta Blues Museum*, Clarkdale, Mississippi.[97] King's arguments revolve around how museums support an understanding of authenticity and public memory in the shaping of the past, demonstrating that the museum curators use specific methodologies to meet the expectations of the visiting white tourists, whilst simultaneously presenting a faithful image of blues music and heritage in the Mississippi Delta.[98] The article demonstrates that music plays a central role in chronicling the past and it supports narratives from different perspectives, thus allowing museums to use music as a medium to communicate difficult histories. Likewise, Leonard (2007; 2010) argues that popular music is directly relevant to museum displays and exhibitions, and demonstrates that by including popular music, museums widen audience appeal to museum exhibitions and activities, develop a greater understanding about the importance of ordinary life and, in particular, the influence of music in shaping society. Leonard asserts that popular music is as relevant to museum exhibitions as any other topic, and the development of understanding the importance of intangible heritage supports this argument. Not only is the theme of music relevant to the objects associated to its history, but the oral traditions, developments, and statements demonstrated through music is vital to understanding human society.[99] Leonard's arguments echo those of Moore in relationship to sport

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[96] Bateman, A., and Bale, J. *Sporting Sounds: Relationship Between Sport and Music.* London: Routledge. 2008; Brabazon, T., and Mallinder, S. 'Popping the museum: the case of Sheffield and Preston'. *Museum & Society* 4, no.2 (2006): pp.96 – 112; McCleod, K. *We are the Champions: The Politics of Sports and Popular Music.* Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd. 2011. p.1.

[97] King, S. 'Memory, Mythmaking, and Museums: Constructive Authenticity and the Primitive Blues Subject'. *Southern Communication Journal* 71, no.3 (2006): pp.235-250.

[98] Ibid.

[99] Leonard, M. 'Constructing histories through material culture: Popular Music, Museums and Collecting'. *Popular Music History* 2, no.2 (2007): pp.147- 162; Leonard, M. 'Exhibiting Popular Music: Museum Audiences, Inclusion and Social History'. *Journal of New Music Research* 39, no.2 (2010): pp.171-181.

and popular culture, although there are relatively few additional studies that explore the impact and inclusion of music in museums.

One example which does exist, demonstrates that popular culture as a museum topic of itself is not enough to ensure success. Brabazon and Mallinder (2006) analyse the differences and similarities between the National Centre for Popular Music in Sheffield, and the National Football Museum (NFM) in Preston.[100] The former closed down after just over a year, and the latter moved to Manchester in 2012 with a continually increasing audience base. Brabazon and Mallinder conclude that the success of the NFM was in its ability to relate both tangible and intangible heritage to wider social, cultural and economic contexts, whereas the failure of The National Centre for Popular Music was in its lack of direction, inability to embrace material culture under the title of 'museum', and ineffectiveness in communicating the relevance of the institution to the press and public. Consequently, according to Brabazon and Mallinder, the NFM's understanding of the relevance of popular culture to museums, specifically in connecting with the individual and their place in wider society, as asserted by Moore, also the Director of the NFM, in his 1997 text, was ultimately the contributing factor to the museums success.

To demonstrate the synergy between the material culture of sport and that of museums, Moore (1997) demonstrates that sporting objects can be approached in the same way as other objects for museum classification, exhibition, and interpretation.[101] To illustrate this claim, Moore analyses the football used during the 1966 football World Cup finals using standard museum techniques and classification processes.[102] Consequently, through this analysis Moore demonstrates that a sporting object can provide a range of social, economic, and cultural responses, appeals to a differing

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[100] The *National Centre for Popular Music* opened in April 1999 and was funded by the *Heritage Lottery Fund*. It failed to attract enough visitors to make it financially viable and closed just over a year later in June 2000. The *National Football Museum* opened in Preston in 2001 funded by contributions from the HLF of £9.6 million, the North West Regional Development Agency of £2.6 million, and undisclosed amounts from the Professional Footballers Association and the Football Trust.

[101] Moore, K. *Museums & Popular Culture.* pp.106 – 134.

[102] See for example Hughson., J. and Moore, K. ''Hand of God', Shirt of the Man: The Materiality of Diego Maradona'. *Costume* 46, no.2 (2012): 212-22; Moore, K. *Museums & Popular Culture.*1997. pp.107-134; Nathan, D. 'John Unitas's jacket and other objects of importance'. *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice* 16, no.4 (2012): pp.543-563.

audience to the traditional 'high' culture of museum exhibitions, has the ability to educate and inform equally as well as other museum objects, and provides a relevance to contemporary visitors to museum venues, collections, and provision. Hughson and Moore (2012) continue this theme and analyse the shirt Diego Maradona wore during the 1982 football World Cup final. The findings of Hughson and Moore again demonstrate that the sporting object is relevant to museums; however, there is the additional claim the object is also an artistic piece in itself, and a representation of the artistry of sport.[103] The arguments of Hughson and Moore demonstrate how sporting objects are valuable pieces of material culture, representing not only the sporting past, but providing an insight into political history, cultural change, and societal development.

In addition, Johnes and Mason (2003) investigate the environment of the museum as a space to deliver sporting exhibitions. They argue that museums are the ideal venue to explore sports history due to the communal atmosphere of a museum being similar to that of a sporting venue. The environment therefore, according to Johnes and Mason, allows the museum to reflect the social sphere and support the individual to reflect on both personal and communal identity. Additionally, Johnes and Mason argue that the emphasis placed by museums on factual accuracy and their ability to interpret meaning supports a greater insight into the history of sport and allows the facts to be brought to life.[104] They conclude that museums provide a space to communicate the history of sport with the public which places both the object and learner at the centre of the inquiry. Therefore it is clear that sport is a relevant subject matter for use in museums. However, there is little written in the literature that specifically discusses sport in museums. The next section will explore the subject areas that most closely reflect sport in museums and the development of interest in the topic up to 2012.

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[103] Hughson., J. and Moore, K. ''Hand of God', Shirt of the Man: The Materiality of Diego Maradona'. *Costume* 46, no.2 (2012): pp.212-225.
[104] Johnes, M., and Mason, R. 'Soccer, Public History and the National Football Museum'. *Sport in History* 23, no.1 (2003): pp.115–131.

2.10 Sport in Museums

Therefore, a number of factors converged to place sport as a suitable topic for museum study. Firstly, the changed understanding and interest of museum professionals towards everyday culture and demystifying museums meant that sport became a relevant subject area for discussion. Only once popular culture had become acceptable for museum study, was it possible for sport to become so too. Secondly, the changing perception of art and what constitutes art, meant that there was now an opportunity to discuss the position of sport as an art form, or at least, its representation through art. Finally, as discussed later in this study, the influence of cultural policy on museums to draw a wider audience, with many museums recognising an opportunity for sport to achieve these aims at the same time as supporting wider ethical concerns about the attempt to democratize museums.

It was not until the late twentieth century that an increased interest in the material culture of sport began to develop in the literature. This was influenced by a range of factors including the improved position of popular culture and within it, sport, the amplified position of culture within political decision-making and urban regeneration, and the growing understanding of the ability of sport to underpin individual and community identity and cohesion (both discussed later in this chapter). However, even with this increased interest, prior to 2012, academic interest in sport in museums was erratic, as Phillips (2011) contents:

> Even though sport historians have been involved with museums ….. and there is an identifiable body of relevant literature, it is fair to assert, as Tara Brabazon does, that 'sporting museums have garnered little critical attention.[105]

Although there is much written about sports history, there is little specifically concerned with sport in museums. Where such literature does exist, it is primarily concerned with sport specific museums, rather than how the topic of sport is holistically addressed across the museums sector. For example, in 2012, Phillips

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[105] Phillips, M. *Representing the Sporting past in Museums and Halls of Fame.* New York: Routledge, 2011.
p.5.

published the first text with a specific remit to explore sport in museums, *Representing the Sporting Past in Museums and Halls of Fame*.[106] The use in the title of 'in museums' instead of 'in sports museums', suggests that the text is a compendium of how sport is expressed through *all* museums. However, although there are some discussions of sporting objects within national and local authority museums within the text, Phillips states clearly in the introduction that his book is about "the sport museum".[107] Therefore, even though an understanding of the relevance of material culture and museums has developed, it has only gone as far as to include sport specific museums. Even when the evidence is presented through the discussions of Moore's work which includes the wider museum sector, Phillips fails to grasp the difference between how sport is reflected in sport specific museums and non-sport specific museums. This lack of understanding is compounded by chapters discussing sporting objects within non-sports specific museums, such as O'Neill and Osmond's (2012) exploration of *Phar Lap* in the Melbourne Museum, which seem to be ignored in both the typology of sports museums (discussed below) presented by Phillips and the general discussion of sport in museums.[108] O'Neill and Osmond argue that if non-sports specific museums harness the potential of sporting objects and exhibitions, it will allow them to develop their educational potential, widen audiences, and increase visitor figures, and in turn it provides increased opportunities for the use of sporting collections.[109] These are key points in presenting an argument for the relevance of sport in museums and yet they are largely ignored in Phillips' text. The key to the confusion in the text appears to be Phillips' understanding of what constitutes a museum, for example, the term museum is used alongside 'halls of fame' without identifying the differences between these two institutions on a number of occasions. A hall of fame being more concerned with celebrating the achievements of sportsmen, women, and teams than with depicting a historically accurate and socially contextualised history.

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[106] Ibid.

[107] Ibid. p1.

[108] O'Neill, M. and Osmond, G. 'A Racehorse in the Museum: Phar Lap and the New Museology.' 29-48, in *Representing the Sporting Past in Museums and Halls of Fame*. edited by Phillips, M. New York: Routledge. 2012.

[109] Moore, K. 'Foreword.' xi-xv. in *Representing the Sporting past in Museums and Halls of Fame.* edited by Phillips, M. New York: Routledge. 2012. p. xii.

Phillips does attempt to provide clarity to the field of sport in museums by developing a typology of sports museums by defining four different categories of sports museum: academic; corporate; community; and vernacular.[110] These four categories bear no resemblance to the typology of museums identified by Ambrose and Payne (2012), discussed earlier in this chapter, and therefore makes it difficult to understand where the different types of museums that exist, fit with Phillip's typology. In addition, there is no reference to the formalised museum accreditation programme managed by Arts Council England (ACE) or similar in other countries, which makes it difficult to differentiate between what is a relevant museum for Phillips typology and what is not. Consequently, the typology is a useful tool to begin exploring the complex nature of sport in museums because it outlines for the first time some of the different types of venues concerned with the material culture of sport, but its basis in theory is lacking in an understanding of how museums approach the material culture of sport, or the complex nature of the museum sector itself. Therefore, the typology essentially provides a loose classification system of venues which display the material culture of sport, rather than a typology of sports museums. The focus on sport specific museums continues in Boorish and Phillips' (2012) special edition of *Rethinking History*, sport history is defined as "material culture and cultural spaces in sport and history," and they draw together academics to discuss the importance of the material culture of sport.[111] The fact that such a special edition was commissioned in the first place at least suggests that the material culture of sport has been recognised as relevant in supporting the narrative of the history of sport. However, the focus on sports specific museums rather than the wider opportunities for sport in museums, as well as an emphasis on tangible objects to the exclusion of the intangible, demonstrates that there is still a limited understanding of what the material culture of sport is, and where it can be found.

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[110] See for example O,Neill, M. and Osmond, G. 'A Racehorse in the Museum: Phar Lap and the New Museology'. pp.29-48, in *Representing the Sporting Past in Museums and Halls of Fame*. edited by Phillips, M. New York: Routledge. 2012.

[111] Boorish, L., and Phillips, M. 'Sport history as modes of expression: material culture and cultural spaces in sport and history'. *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice* 16, no.4. (2012): pp.465-477.

The year after Phillips' *Representing the Sporting Past in Museums and Halls of Fame* was published, Hill, Moore and Wood (2012) produced *Sport, History and Heritage*.[112] Hill, Moore and Wood go further than Phillips in their exploration of the history of sport as represented within museums and other venues. The text is not concerned specifically with the representation of sport in museums, but does discusses the issues facing the field of sport history in terms of its lack of connection with museums, and what can be done to bridge this gap.[113] Although the text provides some insights into how sport is represented in museums, it has a focus on either specific case studies of sports museums or sports history methodology, where each chapter has a clear and concise message and subject matter. Consequently, this means that the text fails to explore what is exceptional about sport in museums. There is no over-arching argument about the role and value of sport in museums or a demonstration of how sports history and museums can work together successfully. As a result, the text serves more as a marker that sport in museums is becoming of greater interest to both academics and practitioners than as a study of how sport in museums supports wider agendas and the potential for development or opportunities to progress the field. There is also a small pocket of interest in sport in museums from those connected with sports tourism studies.[114] The interest within these texts is more focussed on the ability of sport in museums to increase tourism and economic output however, rather than the focus of this study on the ability of museums to attract new and non-traditional audiences to museums for purposes of social and cultural development, and such much of the contents are largely irrelevant. Thus, at the time of writing, although there is an increased interest in the topic of sport in museums, there is a

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[112] Hill, J., Moore, K., and Wood, J. *Sport, History and Heritage: An Investigation into the Public Representation of Sport.* Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2012.

[113] See for example Moore, K. 'Sport in Museums and Museums of Sport: An Overview.' 93-106, in *Sport, History and Heritage: An Investigation into the Public Representation of Sport.* 2012; Physick, R. 'Football and Fine Art.' in *Sport, History and Heritage: An Investigation into the Public Representation of Sport,* edited by Hill, J., Moore, K., and Wood, J. Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2012; Vamplew W. 'Replacing the Divots: Guarding Britain's Golfing Heritage.' in *Sport, History and Heritage: An Investigation into the Public Representation of Sport.* edited by Hill, R., Moore, K., and Wood, J. Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2012.

[114] See for example Gammon, S., Ramshaw, G., and Waterton. E. 'Examining the Olympics: heritage, identity and performance.' *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 19, no.2 (2012): 119-124; Gammon, S. 'The Construction of Sport Heritage Attractions.' *Journal of Tourism Consumption and Practice 3.* No.1 (2011). Accessed on April 23rd 2013. http://www.tourismconsumption.org/JTCPVOL3NO1RAMSHAW.pdf; Gammon, S., and Ramshaw, G. *Heritage, Sport and Tourism: Sporting Pasts – Tourist Futures.* London: Routledge, 2007; Ramshaw, G. Representing the sporting past in museums and halls of fame. *Annals of Leisure Research* 15, no.3 (2012): 312-313.

clear gap in understanding about what exactly sport in museums is, which museums are relevant to sport in museums, and how sport in museums impacts on wider agendas. Therefore, the next section will explore the issues that prevent sport in museums being examined more clearly.

2.11 The Separation of Academic Theory and Museum Practice

Although the interest specifically connected to sport in museums is only beginning to develop at the time of writing, the field of sports history is extensive. Johnes (2008) and Moore (2013) argues that there is almost too much written about the sporting past and that often what is written has no specific purpose, being instead research for research sake.[115] Vamplew (1989) argues that the inability of sports historians to work with other organisations, for example museums, has prevented them from placing sports history within wider social, economic, environmental, and cultural contexts.[116] Vamplew asserts that the field has therefore concentrated too much on facts, and not enough on the role and value of sport. In agreement with Vamplew's argument, Moore (2012) asserts that the main issue preventing this robust approach to sports history is the lack of a relationship between sports historians and museums. Moore argues that if this relationship could be developed, it would offer a new direction and quality of understanding within the history of sport. To support this argument, it is possible to explore examples where sports historians have addressed the issue of the material culture of sport, but the separation between the theoretical discussion and museum practice renders the resulting findings deficient. For example, Booth (2005) explored the history of sport by examining its associated historical material culture, but the resultant analysis has too narrow a focus and there is no discussion of the importance or relevance of the object.[117] Likewise, Phillips, O'Neil and Osmond (2007) evaluated the use of film, photography and monuments to support the study of the sporting past in their paper which aimed to demonstrate sports history should not just be about the

[115] Johnes, M. 'British Sport History: The Present and the Future'. *Journal of Sport History.* 35, no.1 (2008): p.66; Moore, K. 'Sport History, Public History, and Popular Culture: A Growing Engagement.' *Journal of Sport History* 40, no.1 (2013): 401-417.

[116] Vamplew, W. 'Australian sports history: a research agenda'. *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 6, no.2 (1989): p.252.

[117] Booth, D. 'Evidence Revisited: Interpreting Historical Materials in Sport History'. *Rethinking History* 9, no.4 (2005): pp.459-483.

written word.[118] Phillips, O'Neil and Osmond suggest that sports historians should employ a range of sources within their research, but fail to address the potential of all material culture, and the opportunity to work with museums to access such objects. Similarly, Hardy, Loy and Booth (2009) developed a typology of sporting material culture which demonstrates recognition of the importance of the object. However the framework is limited on two counts. Firstly, it fails to draw on museum classifications and typology and instead looks towards history as traditionally connected to categorizing the written word. This makes the framework unwieldy and difficult to align to museum classification. Secondly, it fails to draw on the work of wider sporting heritage experts such as Moore, who had already developed significant arguments within this field by 2009 to support typological development.[119] As a result, the article provides a general overview of the types of sports material culture that might be found, organizing them into arbitrary segments but with no real wider exploration of the potential practical uses of the typology, or the benefits to the public or public organisations. Finally, Gammon's (2011) consideration of what sporting heritage is, discusses only in terms of sport-specific sites and there is no reference to how the use of objects or the use of museums could support the field.[120] These examples demonstrate that material culture itself is not valued or understood sufficiently by those writing about sporting heritage for it to be included within studies developed by the majority of those working in the fields of sports history and tourism. The lack of references to museums demonstrates that there is a lack of communication and understanding between the two fields. Therefore, the majority of sports historians fall short of understanding either the breadth of opportunity available in terms of sporting collections held in museums, or what constitutes material culture in the first place. The example of Johnes and Mason (2008) above, however is an example of a sports historian (Johnes) and a museum theorist (Mason) working together to explore sports

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[118] Phillips, M., O'Neil, M., and Osmond, G. 'Broadening Horizons in Sport History: Film, Photographs and Monuments'. *Journal of Sport History* 34, no.2 (2007): p.287.

[119] Hardy, S., Loy, J., and Booth, D. 'The Material Culture of Sport: Towards a Typology'. *Journal of Sport History* 36, no.1 (2009): pp.129-152.

[120] Gammon, S. 'The Construction of Sport Heritage Attractions.' *Journal of Tourism Consumption and Practice 3.* No.1 (2011).

history through museums and confirms Moore and Vamplew's argument that there is a greater need to combine the fields of historical practice and theory.[121]

Vamplew (2004) argues that one of the main reasons for the lack of interest by sports historians in using museum collections is linked to the belief that sport specific museums cater "for the nostalgia market, thus often institutionalizing the "good old days" and allowing misplaced views of a "golden age" to breed myth and misconception".[122] However, Vamplew argues that whilst some sports specific museums attached to specific clubs have tended to focus more on the successful features of the club's history rather than a more realistic approach, in general, museums utilise sporting objects with the same professional rigour as any other collection. Vamplew maintains, therefore, that sports historians should have no concerns about using these collections. In agreement with Vamplew's argument, Moore (2012; 2013) contends that the reason sports historians have tended to avoid the use of museums in their research is largely because sports historians believe material culture, and museum display, is less valid than written history.[123] Considering Moore is writing on the outer boundaries of this thesis, it is safe to assert that there is still a gap in both perception and practice between those working in the fields of sports history and their use of museums and material culture in 2013.

2.12 Conclusion

Since the 1900s museums have gradually undergone a transformation which has transformed the motivation of museum activity from dictatorial improvement centres, to organisations which work in partnership with their audiences and reflect visitor interests. Consequently, no longer are museums the vestiges of 'high' culture they once were with the implications that history is something which happens to the general public, rather than is created and experienced by them. Instead, the field of

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[121] Johnes, M. 'British Sport History: The Present and the Future'. *Journal of Sport History.* 35, no.1 (2008): pp.65-71.

[122] Vamplew, W. 'Taking a Gamble or a Racing Certainty: Sports, Museums and Public Sports History'. *Journal of Sport History* 31, no.2. (2004):p.178.

[123] Moore, K. 'Foreword.' xi-xv. in *Representing the Sporting past in Museums and Halls of Fame.* edited by Phillips, M. New York: Routledge. 2012. p.xii; Moore, K. 'Sport History, Public History, and Popular Culture: A Growing Engagement.' *Journal of Sport History* 40, no.1 (2013): pp.401-417.

social history, established and developed during the 1970s and 1980s through the influence of E.P.Thompson, created a platform for museums to begin to explore the field of popular culture, as witnessed in the exhibitions of the People's Palace and the *People's Show.* This platform allowed museums to concentrate on the fact that audiences were individuals whose visit to a museum was not couched in terms of merely self-improvement, but in terms of enjoyment. Audiences wanted to visit exhibitions which reflected their own culture, or had some relevance to their own lives, and the dropping visitor figures of the 1970s and 1980s demonstrated that the traditional subject matter of museums did not provide this. The publication of Moore's text *Museums and Popular Culture* in 1997, demonstrated that popular culture was being discussed amongst museum professionals and had been deemed worthy as a subject within the Museum Studies Department at Leicester University's *Contemporary Issues in Museums* series.[124] Not only did Moore's text successfully situate popular culture as a subject matter for museums, but his study of the relationship between sport and museums, argued effectively for the position of sport as a relevant subject matter for museums. However, since Moore's text, there has been limited interest in the subject of sport in museums, with both Moore and Vamplew consistently requesting fellow academics to explore the subject in more depth.[125] Where sport in museums has been investigated, it has tended to concentrate on sport specific museums, and ignore the wider impact of sport as a subject matter for the museum sector in general. This has left a void in the knowledge and understanding of sport in museums, particularly in terms of how the topic of sport has developed as a museum subject and the impact of sport in museums on wider cultural objectives. Chapter three will therefore begin by exploring the historical development of sport in museums.

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[124] Moore, K. *Museums & Popular Culture.* 1997.
[125] See for example Moore, K. *Museums & Popular Culture.* London: Leicester University Press, 1997. pp.106 – 134; Vamplew, W. 'Australian sports history: a research agenda'. *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 6, no.2 (1989): p.252; Vamplew, W. 'Sports History, Sports Myths, and Sports Museums.' *Social History in Museums: Journal of the Social History Curators Group* 22. (1995-1996): 32-33.

Chapter Three: The Historical Development of Sport in Museums

This chapter will explore how sport has developed as a subject matter for museums. Although the aim of this thesis is not an examination of the history of sport in museums, it is necessary to have an understanding of the historical context to understand its influence on the development of sporting exhibitions in museums in the present day. Therefore, this chapter will explore the first discussions about the relevance of sport as a topic for museums, by examining a text written in 1922 by sporting writer and illustrator Walter Sparrow.[1] Within this text, Sparrow argues that there is a need to create a national sporting museum in England, demonstrating that, at the time of writing, sport as a subject for museums has been debated for nearly one hundred years. However, the literature has largely ignored the historical development of sport as a topic for museums.[2] After Sparrow's text, it was nearly seventy years before the subject was discussed at length again in a special edition of the journal *Museum,* published in 1991. The theme of the journal was sport in museums, and authors Canevacci, Drury and Triet were amongst the first since 1922 to discuss the relevance of sport to museums.[3] Even though *Museum* is a respected museological journal, the study of sport in museums was again largely ignored in the literature until Vamplew (1996) and Moore in (1997) began to argue for the relevance of sport as a subject matter for museums.[4] This lack of interest in sport in museums has meant that there is little evidence or analysis about sporting exhibitions. This means that a

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[1] Wikipedia, The Online Encyclopedia. *Walter Shaw Sparrow.* Accessed June 1st 2014. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Walter_Shaw_Sparrow; Sparrow, W.S. *British Sporting Artists from Barlow to Henning.* New York : C. Scribner's Sons. 1922.

[2] For example, Moore's work provides some of the most comprehensive discussions about sport in museums, and yet it is rarely cited in other academic work.

[3] Canevacci, M. "The anthropological interpretation of sport: a task for museums." *Museum* 170, no.2 (1991): pp.74 – 76; Drury, J. "Sport in a Museum?" *Museum* 170, no.2 (1991): pp.63 – 66; Triet, M. A. "Sports Museum is also a business." *Museum* 170, no.2 (1991): pp.82 – 85. Previous articles tended to focus specifically on one institution, for example Honkannen, P. "The Sports Museum of Finland." *Museum* 160 (1988): pp.222-223.

[4] Vamplew, W. 'Sports History, Sports Myths, and Sports Museums.' *Social History in Museums: Journal of the Social History Curators Group* 22. (1995-1996): 32-33; Moore, K. *Museums & Popular Culture.* London: Leicester University Press, 1997. pp.106 – 134.

chronological study of the history of sport in museums is a difficult proposition and piecing together the development of sport in museums is often confusing and limiting.

However, between 1997 and 2012, there was a gradual rise in the interest in sport and museums, with academic research largely being addressed by four fields of study, museum studies, culture and policy studies, sports history, and sports tourism. The field of museum studies and the research of sport in museums is represented primarily through the work of Moore which, as discussed in chapter two, demonstrates that those debating the theoretical context of museums, have ignored, misunderstood, or are unaware of, the role sport has to play in museum activity.[5] In addition, although academic interest in the field increased in the early 1990s, it remained pre-occupied with sport specific museums and failed to analyse the use of sport as a subject matter within museums in general.[6] As a consequence, there is a misconception that, until recently, sport has mainly been addressed in sport specific museums.[7] Therefore, this chapter will provide a brief analysis of the historical development of sport as a subject for museums, charting its development from 1922 to the present day. The next section will begin this exploration by investigating the argument put forward by Walter Sparrow in 1922, of the need to create a national sports museum.

3.1 The Case for a National Sports Museum

Walter Sparrow was the son of a colliery owner from North Wales. Sparrow's upbringing gave him significant empathy for the working classes and he combined this with an extensive schooling in the sciences and art.[8] Best known for his work on sporting artists, Sparrow's (1922) argument for a national sports museum was based on his belief that sporting art is as relevant and powerful as any other form of art, and that the creation of a museum specifically concerned with sport would begin to

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[5] See for example Moore, K. *Museums & Popular Culture.* London: Leicester University Press, 1997.
[6] See for example Phillips, M. *Representing the Sporting past in Museums and Halls of Fame.* New York: Routledge, 2011.
[7] Moore, K. 'Sport in Museums and Museums of Sport: An Overview.' 93-106, in *Sport, History and Heritage: An Investigation into the Public Representation of Sport,* edited by Hill, J., Moore, K., and Wood, J. Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2012. p.2.
[8] Wikipedia, The Online Encyclopedia. *Walter Shaw Sparrow.* Accessed June 1st 2014. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Walter_Shaw_Sparrow

demonstrate this fact.[9] Sparrow's introduction establishes the conflict between sport and art which existed in the early twentieth century and validates the importance of painters such as Barlow and Wootton:[10]

> Both Barlow and Wootton have been excluded from the National Gallery, and by officials who think it right and proper to show in a French painting by Manet how soldiers executed the Emperor of Mexico, Ferdinand Maximilian. In recent years the National Gallery has been among the "movies," but its many shifts and changes have brought its official art-criticism no nearer to sportsmanship.[11]

The reference to the National Gallery being one of the "movies" suggests that the National Gallery was a more progressive gallery, more likely to be interested in subjects such as sport, however even here, sporting pictures were not considered relevant for museum display. Sparrow continues to explain the complete lack of interest, and at times, ridicule, in sporting art that existed:

> No public gallery in England, please note, does justice to sporting painters; and no thorough attempt has yet been made to show at a public exhibition how sport in art has fared since Barlow's time.[12]

The derision of sporting art is confirmed by a conversation Sparrow had with an art dealer about sporting pictures. Sparrow asked the dealer if he ever bought sporting pictures, and recounts the response, ""Sporting pictures? No, I never touch them!" The scorn in his voice implied that he would lose his reputation if he bought a Stubbs, or a Wootton, a Marshall or a Ferneley".[13] Again, Sparrow confirms that sport as a subject for serious academic study or museum display is wrongly, in his opinion, considered unacceptable. Finally, Sparrow argues that one of the main issues surrounding sport in

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[9] Sparrow, W.S. *British Sporting Artists from Barlow to Henning.* New York : C. Scribner's Sons. 1922. p.10.

[10] Francis Barlow lived from 1626 – 1704 and is commonly regarded as the "father of British sporting painting".BBC Online. *Francis Barlow.* Online. Date unknown. Accessed January 31st 2014. http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/artists/francis-barlow; John Wootton lived from 1682 – 1704. He is best known for his use of landscapes depicting sporting scenes. BBC Online. *John Wootton*. Online. Date unknown. Accessed January 31st 2014. http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/artists/john-wootton

[11] Sparrow, W.S. *British Sporting Artists from Barlow to Henning.* New York : C. Scribner's Sons. 1922.p.7.

[12] Ibid. p.9

[13] Ibid.

art derives from the art world itself. As many sporting artists are funded by wealthy benefactors, there is a belief among other artists that this inhibits their artist expression. Consequently, the art which is produced is sub-standard to other artistic works.[14] Sparrow argues vehemently for the right of sport in art to be accepted as a valid genre of art, and demonstrates throughout the text that those working with sporting subjects have to be equally, if not more so, adept as their non-sporting counterparts, due to the nimbleness of the subjects being painted (mainly horses and dogs). Thus, at the time of Sparrow's text, museums and galleries refused to display sport in art, art dealers refused to buy it, and the artist community itself believed it to be of a lower standard to other art. For this reason, Sparrow begins to build a case for sport to become a represented topic in museums and galleries across England through pictures, objects, and associated ephemera to demonstrate it has a place as a museum topic. Therefore, even in the early twentieth century, arguments putting forward the case of a national sports museum existed, and demonstrated that sport was a relevant subject matter for museums, even though there was much opposition towards it.

To support his argument, Sparrow discusses the Royal Academy's (RA) Sports Exhibition at the Old Grosvenor Gallery, London in 1891.[15] There is little evidence available about this exhibition, but Sparrow suggests that it was largely populated with paintings of hunting and racing. Although these two sports were also the main focus of Sparrow's text, there is an implication in his writing that sport in museums should focus on sport in general.[16] Sparrow argues that although the exhibition "was good, but not good enough", and although he does not explain what he means by this statement, it infers that it was neither of a good enough quality, nor significant enough to allow a change in view point towards sporting exhibitions.[17] Consequently he argues that another exhibition is needed to further the understanding of the place of sport as an exhibition subject, and the RA is best placed to deliver such an exhibition, due to its focus on both art and science – the intersection, in Sparrow's opinion, of sporting art.

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[14] Ibid. p.10.

[15] The Royal Academy was established in 1768 to promote and support artists, artistic practice, and access to the arts. Royal Academy (The). *About Us*. Online. Data unknown. Accessed January 31st 2014. https://www.royalacademy.org.uk/about-the-ra

[16] Cook, T. 'Foreword' in Sparrow, W.S. *British Sporting Artists from Barlow to Henning.* New York : C. Scribner's Sons. 1922. p. vii.

[17] Sparrow, W.S. *British Sporting Artists from Barlow to Henning.* New York : C. Scribner's Sons. 1922.p.9.

Ultimately, though, Sparrow argues that this would again be a short term objective and what is really needed is a national museum of sport.[18] He argues that this would allow for the first time, works of sporting art to be collected together for display, research, and learning, and that not only would it display sporting art, but also act as a lens to understand changing society. Sparrow is outlining for the first time, the case for a British museum of sport:

> Consider the useful and necessary things that the Sports Museum would do. Sport in art is a great deal more than sport plus art (as in illustrations of sporting methods), or than art plus sport (as in masterpieces). It is also a manifold history, in which all that belongs to sport (like the breeding of pedigree hunters, racehorses, and hounds) is represented side by side with changing customs and costumes, and with a great many landscape interests which belong for ever to the gradual changes made in country life since Barlow flew hawks.[19]

However, an exhibition at the RA was never held, nor was there any venture established to create a British Sports Museum. The pressures of post-war economic concerns left from the First World War in 1918, coupled with the issues outlined by Sparrow facing sport in art, were probably too considerable to overcome at this time.[20] Sparrow's work, though, demonstrates that nearly one hundred years before this study, a clear case for the creation of a museum of sport in England had been argued, and yet no movement towards such a museum has ever been made. However, in terms of sport as a subject for museums in general, there has been a significant development between 1922 and the present day. This includes the earliest exhibitions about sport which utilised the subject to support social change and development in London. The next section will explore these exhibitions in detail.

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[18] Ibid. p.10
[19] Ibid.
[20] The *First World War* was the "first instance of total war" involving nations across the world. Imperial War Museum. *The First World War.* Online. Date Unknown. Accessed January 31st 2014. http://www.1914.org/about/about-the-first-world-war/

3.2 Early Sporting Exhibitions and Social Change

After the 1891 RA exhibition, the author was unable to identify another sporting exhibition which took place in England until 1933, when an interest in the use of sporting exhibitions to support social change had developed. In the first instance, the *National Sporting Trophies Exhibition in aid of "The Dockland Settlements"* between 2 April 24th to May 6th was mounted at Shell Mex House in London, in 1933.[21] There is little evidence about the exhibition itself although it most likely formed part of the official opening ceremonies of Shell Mex House itself, and to cement the alliance between the two companies which had joined together to create Shell Mex Limited, the owners of Shell Mex House. Shell Mex Limited was created when petrol companies British Petroleum (BP) and Royal Dutch Shell merged their UK operations in 1932, making Shell Mex House its head-quarters in 1932.[22] Several coincidences combined to make holding such an exhibition possible. Firstly, the merger created Shell Mex Limited in 1932 and created a global giant in the petrol industry. The considerable wealth and need for consummating the union of the partners, brought about the right conditions for an exhibition to celebrate the sporting successes made from petrol. Secondly, the companies that merged to form Shell Mex Limited had a tradition of participating in the sport of motor racing thus its links to sport and a keen interest in the topic of sport were already in existence.[23] Finally, the location of Shell Mex House in London's Docklands placed it within distance of some of the poorest communities in London and associated charities and organisations who were already working to support social change. These organisations included the Docklands Settlements, a "network" of centres which existed to support the "social and spiritual welfare" of those living in the area.[24] Mounting an exhibition about sport was therefore an ideal opportunity to launch the new brand of a new company, Shell Mex Limited, at the same time as deliver an early example of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). CSR involves a

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[21] Anonymous. *National Sporting Trophies Exhibition in aid of "The Dockland Settlements" held at Shell Mex House Strand, London, W. C. 2 April 24th to May 6th, 1933 Including Sunday, April 30th.* London : Fleetway Press. 1933.
[22] Wikipedia, The Online Encyclopedia. *Shell Mex*. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shell-Mex_and_BP_Ltd
[23] See for example *Shell's* sponsorship of *Formula One* motor-racing and Sallon, R. *Motor-racing Drivers Past And Present.* Shell Mex and B.P. Ltd. 1956.
[24] Wikipedia, The Online Encyclopedia. *Docklands Settlements*. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dockland_Settlements

business taking responsibility for their effects on the environment and social circumstances within their locality by investing financially in that locality and through projects which support social change and minimise their impact on the environment.[25] In the case of the Shell Mex House exhibition, they delivered an exhibition about sporting trophies to support the regeneration of their local neighbourhood. The success of the exhibition is unknown, but it demonstrates that as early as 1933, opportunities existed and were being exploited that linked sporting exhibitions to social change.

In 1933 another exhibition based on the same theme, with a similar geographical location was mounted at the Hutchinson House Club in London. Although there are no accounts that directly link the Shell Mex exhibition and the International Sporting Trophies Exhibitions mounted at the Hutchinson House Club, London, in 1933, it seems likely that they were one and the same.[26] This assumption is made because they both included the same items, for example The Ashes, and the Hutchinson House Club exhibition took place directly after the Shell Mex exhibition, making relocation fairly straight-forward. It is another example of the use of sporting exhibitions to support social change. The Hutchinson House Club was established in 1905 as part of Nathan Rothschild's support programme for Jewish immigrants coming to the East End of London.[27] Rothschild, part of the Rothschild banking dynasty, was the first Jew to be bestowed an English title and took the name the *1st Lord of Tring Rothschild*. As such, he was a wealthy and prominent member of the established Jewish community. He was a keen agriculturalist, a banker by trade, and well known for his philanthropic efforts, particularly towards London Jewish communities.[28] Rothschild stated that the Hutchinson House Club:

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[25] Wikipedia, The Online Encyclopedia. *Corporate Social Responsibly.* Accessed June 1st 2014. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Corporate_social_responsibility

[26] British Pathe news reel. *"Mr Jardine….speaks at last!"* London. 15th May 1933. Accessed August 1st 2013. http://www.britishpathe.com/video/mr-jardine-speaks-at-last/query/International

[27] Moving here. *Campersdown House.* London: Moving Here. Date Unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.movinghere.org.uk/stories/story370/story370.htm?identifier=stories/story370/story370.htm; White, J. *Rothschild's Buildings: Life in an East-End Tenement block 1887 – 1920.* London: Randon House. 1980; Hutchinson House Club (the) for Working Lads. *Second Annual Report*. London: W.Speaight & Sons. 1906

[28] Wikipedia. *Nathan Rothschild, 1st Baron Rothschild.* Online. Accessed January 31st 2014. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nathan_Rothschild,_1st_Baron_Rothschild

> hoped to catch the youth of the imme-diate [sic] neighbourhood and to help them rise in the world, to help them out of the temptations which they found in the streets, the music halls and the public houses.[29]

The development of the Hutchinson House Club was part of a wider programme to support the integration into British culture of a new Jewish immigrant community which had arrived in Britain during the latter half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century.[30] The established English Jewish community, of which Rothschild was a key figure, believed that enabling the young of the new community to take part in sport and recreational activities would ensure they became embedded within the Anglo Jewish society.[31] Consequently, the focus of activities led by organisations such as the Hutchinson House Club became predominately concerned with sport and leisure. As Jewish historian Dee (2011) demonstrates, these programmes had a significant impact on the Jewish community and by the 1930s the conflict of time constraints for Jews between sport and religious activity was often a topic of discussion in the Jewish press.[32]

Therefore, in keeping with this interest in sport, it is unsurprising that the Hutchinson House Club opened the *International Sporting Trophies Exhibition* in 1933. The objects used in the exhibition can be seen in a *Pathe* film and focused on the competitive nature of sport, consisting mainly of trophies.[33] This demonstrates that although sport as a topic for exhibitions had been recognised, there were still limitations on how the theme of sport should be displayed, and a focus on the celebratory aspects of the subject, rather than a wider discussion of sport in society. The film also shows a visit of England's cricket captain, Douglas Jardine, and demonstrates that there was a

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[29] *Jewish Chronicle.* 30th June. 1905. The *Hutchinson House Club* was colloquially known as *The Hutch* and was based within *Camperdown House* in London.

[30] Dee, D. 'The sunshine of manly sports and past-times'. *Sport and the integration of Jewish refugees in Britain 1895-1914.* Leicester: DeMontford University. PhD thesis chapter. Year unknown. p.26. Accessed January 31st 2014.
https://www.academia.edu/673137/_The_Sunshine_of_Manly_Sports_and_Pastimes_-_Sport_and_the_Integration_of_Jewish_Refugees_in_Britain_1895-1914

[31] Ibid. p.13-14.

[32] Dee, D. *Jews and British Sport: Integration, Ethnicity and Anti-Semitism,c1880-c1960.* Leicester: DE Montfort University. PhD Thesis. 2011. p.168-171.Accessed January 31st 2014.
https://www.academia.edu/731943/Jews_and_British_Sport_Integration_Ethnicity_and_anti-Semitism_c1880-c1960.

[33] British Pathe news reel. *"Mr Jardine….speaks at last!"* London. 15th May 1933. Accessed August 1st 2013. http://www.britishpathe.com/video/mr-jardine-speaks-at-last/query/International

significant interest in the exhibitions and the opportunity it raised for supporting social development.[34] Therefore, although these early exhibitions were not held in museum settings, they were essentially the first examples of how sport could be utilised as a topic for museums, and demonstrated the opportunity for sport to deliver wider social agendas. The examples of Shell Mex Limited and the Hutchinson House Club demonstrate that an understanding of how sport can assist wider social objectives, was realised far earlier by those working in the social sectors than by those working within the museum profession. This is because The Docklands Settlements and the Hutchinson House Club's objectives were primarily to support social change. As such, the use of a sporting exhibition was a natural progression from the sporting activities they delivered on a daily basis. The museum sectors objectives at this time were to display human history. It was not until the 1980s that a social dimension in earnest began to develop across the sector. The examples of the exhibitions held at Shell Mex House and at the Hutchinson House Club, demonstrate that the use of sporting exhibitions as an opportunity for supporting social change is not new. However, because the exhibitions were held outside of museum venues, they failed to have any impact in the development of sport in museums and the author was unable to find any evidence of a sporting exhibition taking place in a museum venue in England until 1948. The next section will therefore examine the gradual development of sporting exhibitions within museum settings.

3.3 Museums Begin to Address the Topic of Sport: The *Sport in Art* Exhibition

In response to the cultural festival supporting the London 1948 Olympic Games, the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A) in London hosted the *Sport in Art* exhibition in 1948.[35] Organised by the British Olympic Association, this is the first known example of an exhibition with a sporting focus held within a conventional museum.[36] The

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[34] Douglas Jardine lived between 1900 – 1958. He captained the England national cricket team to the *Ashes* victory in 1933 and is best known within the cricket and sporting world for his use of the *Bodyline* bowling technique. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Douglas_Jardine.

[35] BBC Television Service. *Sport in Art exhibition.* July 26th 1948. Accessed September 1st 2013. http://www.bbc.co.uk/archive/olympics_1948/12103.shtml

[36] British Olympic Association (BOA). *About Us.* London: BOA. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.teamgb.com/about-boa

exhibition was held between 15 July and 14 August 1948[37] and rather than a traditionally curated exhibition, it was developed through a competition, a tradition that had taken place since the 1912 Olympic Games.[38] Consequently, the organisation of the exhibition was not via the museum itself, but through the wider organising body for the Olympic Games in Britain. This in itself suggests that the concept of the exhibition was not to support museum development and a greater understanding of how to use sport in museums, but more as a gimmick which would raise the profile of sport through cultural avenues. The competition which formed the exhibition was open to artists from all nationalities and included categories in architecture, painting, graphic art, sculpture, literature, and music, each with medals attached for the winning artists. The focus on winning through the use of medals demonstrates the intention of the organising committee to join sport and art, but the approach is only at a crude level, without recognising the already plentiful sporting artworks that could have been used to populate the exhibition.

The final exhibition was substantial and displayed in eight of the galleries at the V&A. Thus, although sport had finally been exhibited within a museum venue, the pieces displayed were not representative of the sporting past or sporting art, rather specially commissioned sporting objects associated with the Olympic Games. Neither was the idea for the exhibition from the museum itself and the choice of a 'high' cultural venue such as the V&A to mount the exhibition, rather than a more accessible venue demonstrates that sport was tolerable as a subject for museums as long as it was managed and had a focus on high art. However, the exhibitions came from a competition whose ethos was the same as the Olympic Games themselves, that is that anyone could enter with an equal chance of winning. Consequently the standard of pieces exhibited was poor. In essence there was little difference between the commissioning of the work for the *Sport in Art* competition than there was from the wealthy benefactors so derided in Sparrow's text. The difference however, was

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[37] The Exhibition was open on Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, Friday, 10 a.m. to 6 p.m.; Wednesday and Saturday, 10 a.m. to 10 p.m. Sunday, 2.30 p.m. to 6 p.m and cost "approximately" £3066 in total. Organising Committee for the XIV Olympiad, London, 1948. *The Official Report of the Organising Committee of the XIV Olympiad.* London: Organising Committee for the XIV Olympiad, London, 1948. p.197. http://library.la84.org/6oic/OfficialReports/1948/OR1948.pdf
[38] Kramer, B. 'In search of the lost champions of the Olympic Arts Contest'. *Journal of Olympic History* 12, no.2 (May 2004): pp.29 – 34.

primarily that the benefactor in this instance was a pre-eminent museum and an Olympic committee, and therefore considered more palatable than unknown individuals. The standard of the exhibition is reflected in the negativity from the contemporary press and publicity whose issues were based in the lack of quality in the objects, rather than the fact that the exhibition was about sport.[39] Therefore, the publicity largely encouraged the public to stay away from the exhibition, rather than visit it and the final report cites a limited audience to the exhibition as a result.[40] If high art is the focus of an exhibition, then the quality of the objects must reflect this. If the organising committee had chosen to reflect the topic of sport though a wider social lens, then perhaps the resulting exhibition would have been more relevant and less open to criticism from the art world. The final report for the London 1948 Olympic Games states that the S*port in Art* exhibition had been less than successful, partly due to the adverse press coverage, and partly because they had been unable to adequately explain the connection between sport and art because of the physical disassociation between the location of the exhibition and the Olympic Games themselves.[41] This demonstrates that the creation of a sporting exhibition alone is not enough to attract visitors to a museum. The museum must also successfully contextualise the exhibition. The failure of the *Sport in Art* exhibition meant that it was the last of such competitions to be held alongside the Olympic Games.

The outcome of the 1948 exhibition was perhaps, in part, the reason why so little sport in museums activity took place in the years between 1948 and the 1980s. Inglis (2008) explores the literature surrounding the 1948 Cultural Olympiad and argues that the failure of the exhibition was symptomatic of a growing concern from both the arts world and the Olympic organising committee that such a competition was not acceptable for a number of different reasons.[42] In terms of the arts world, there was a feeling that this type of competition tarnished the image of artistic endeavour by constraining the artist and establishing boundaries by which the artworks must be

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[39] See for example Spectator, the. *Art.* July 23rd 1948. p.14. Accessed January 31st 3014. http://archive.spectator.co.uk/article/23rd-july-1948/14/art
[40] Organising Committee for the XIV Olympiad, London, 1948. *The Official Report of the Organising Committee of the XIV Olympiad.* London: Organising Committee for the XIV Olympiad, London, 1948. p.197. http://library.la84.org/6oic/OfficialReports/1948/OR1948.pdf
[41] Ibid.
[42] Inglis, D. 'Cultural Agonistes: Social Differentiation, cultural policy and Cultural Olympiads'. *International Journal of Culture Policy* 14, no. 4 (2008): p.466 – 467.

created. To the arts world, this was unacceptable and artists themselves felt that a connection with the Olympic competition was detrimental to their career and artistic works. Although De Coubertin's aim had originally been to unite the arts and sport through the Olympic Games, there was no specific guidance as to how this would be delivered, to what extent, and how the two fields would be drawn together. As such, the failure of this exhibition signalled a failure of the possibility to unite sport and art as part of the Games, at least to those involved in the arts world. This failure and derision possibly spilled over into the development of sport and museums whereby artists felt somehow disconnected from sport and that sport was not a subject worthy of study, purely through its link with the unsuccessful Olympic competition.

In addition, the Olympic movement itself had become more and more uncomfortable with an association with the 'professionalism' (monetary reward for resulting endeavours) represented by paid artists involved in the exhibition.[43] The Olympic movement prided itself on its ability to demonstrate amateur achievements, and yet the exhibition established a platform for professional artists. There was a growing feeling that the inclusion of a professional element somehow tarnished the reputation of the Games as an expression of the feats of the amateur. This again demonstrated a feeling of separatism between the arts and sport. Consequently, the over-riding derision of the exhibition from both public and press demonstrated to the arts world and Olympic Committee that the competition was fundamentally flawed and signalled an end to the Olympic art competitions. The failure potentially led the Olympic Committee to conclude that art had no place within the Games and it was not until the latter half of the twentieth century that the position of art, as part of culture, was again properly explored in relationship to the Olympic Games.[44] This lack of inclusion post 1948 was detrimental to sport in museums because a major sporting event has the potential to impact on cultural policy decision making, funding, and attitudinal values. By ignoring the role of art in sport, the Olympic Committee was stifling the development of potential collaborations between sport and art in the following years.

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[43] Ibid. p.467.
[44] Ibid.

However, although *Sport in Art* was not successful in terms of supporting the Olympic Games, developing the connection between sport and art, or increasing attendance figures to sport in museums, the timing of the exhibition and the subject matter are likely to have inspired the development of two major sporting exhibition programmes that developed shortly afterwards, the National Gallery of British Sporting Pastimes and the touring exhibition, *Football and the Fine Arts*. The next section will first explore the background and development that led to the opening of the National Gallery of British Sporting Pastimes in 1949.

3.4 The National Gallery of British Sporting Pastimes

In 1949, in the coincidently named Hutchinson House, Walter Hutchinson established the National Gallery of British Sporting Pastimes.[45] Walter Hutchinson (b.1887-d.1950) had inherited the successful and wealthy publishing company, Hutchinson House, from his father. Hutchinson had already amassed a large proportion of the collection which went on to form the gallery by 1943 when he published a catalogue of the first 600 images of the National Gallery of British Sporting Pastimes.[46] There is no mention in the catalogue of an intention to open a gallery itself and it is more a text which draws together works with the theme of sport and pastimes. However, the introduction of the text is written by artist and museum director, John Wheatley. Wheatley spent much of his career in South Africa as the Director of the National Gallery, before returning to England, first as the Director of Sheffield Galleries, and finally, in 1948, as the Director for Hutchinson's newly imagined National Gallery of British Sporting Pastimes.[47] Although there is no specific evidence of the link between the *Sport in Art* exhibition at the V&A and Hutchinson's decision to open the National Gallery of British Sporting Pastimes, the fact that Hutchinson appointed Wheatley during the same year as *Sport in Art* was delivered, suggests it is possible it influenced his decision to some

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[45] Spectator, the. *Art*. 18th February 1949. p.18. Accessed January 31st 2014.
http://archive.spectator.co.uk/article/18th-february-1949/15/art
[46] Hutchinson, W. *National Gallery of British Sports and Pastimes: the first 600 pictures. There are 3000 and more paintings, coloured prints etc., which will be exhibited from time to time.* London: Hutchinson House. 1943.
[47] National Portrait Gallery (NPG). *John Laviers Wheatley*. London: NPG. Accessed June 1st 2014.
http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person/mp07722/john-laviers-wheatley; The Sydney Morning Herald. *London's remarkable new gallery of pictures.* Tuesday 8th March, 1949. Accessed January 31st 2014. http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/18106109

extent. In 1948 Hutchinson had already amassed his collection, was based in London and interested in both sport and art, and had published a catalogue entitled the National Gallery of British Sporting Pastimes. Consequently, he would have undoubtedly been aware of the V&A exhibition and the 1948 exhibition would have either furthered his germinating plans, or given him the idea in the first instance. Hutchinson's appointment of Wheatley's to curate and manage the gallery, demonstrates his intent to produce an exhibition of high standards. Wheatley was an experience gallery director with a substantial understanding of the sector and how to host exhibitions, his was not a coincidental appointment, Hutchinson meant for the gallery to be a force in British culture. However, Hutchinson's belief of the importance of sport over art, and also his inexperience of the museum sector, is seen in his dislike of Wheatley once the two were working together purely in his comment that Wheatley "knows nothing about horses".[48] Although accounts differ as to the exact timing of Wheatley's appointment as sometime between 1948 and 1950,[49] a comment from Hutchinson in 1949 that states "I've got to run the gallery….because no-one else can do it",[50] not only suggests that already Wheatley had been relieved of his duties, but that by the time the gallery opened in 1949, Hutchinson had failed to find anyone with the necessary skills, at least to his liking, to manage his sport and art gallery.[51] The press cuttings, combined with the photograph at figure 5, suggest the Hutchinson was a larger than life character, used to getting things his own way.

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[48] Sydney Morning Herald, the. *London's remarkable new gallery of pictures.* Tuesday 8th March, 1949. Accessed January 31st 2014. http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/18106109

[49] See for example The Tate. *John Wheatley*. London: The Tate. Date Unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014. https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artists/john-wheatley-2137

[50] Sydney Morning Herald, the. *London's remarkable new gallery of pictures.* Tuesday 8th March, 1949. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/18106109

[51] Ibid.

Figure 5: Walter Hutchinson, Creator of the National Gallery of British Sport and Pastimes.

Source: The *Sydney Morning Herald*.[52]

From the publication of the initial catalogue in 1943, to when the gallery opened in 1949, Hutchinson had amassed over three thousand pictures and objects, of which six hundred were included in the first exhibition. In addition, he had spent £343,750, the equivalent of approximately £2.75 million pounds in 2012, on creating the gallery.[53] With such a vast collection, and such a significant financial contribution, it is peculiar that National Gallery of British Sporting Pastimes achieves a passing comment at best within the literature on sporting history. This is most likely because the gallery was so short lived because in 1950 Hutchinson committed suicide, resulting in the dispersion of the collection in 1952.[54] Why the collection was disbanded is unclear. In an article written at the launch of the gallery, it is evident that Hutchinson had intended to leave

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[52] Getty Images. *Publisher Walter Hutchinson and His Wife Visiting with Fatigued U.S. Officers who are on leave at the Hutchinson Estate.* Photographer: Sherman, D.E. December 31st 1942. http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/detail/news-photo/publisher-walter-hutchinson-and-his-wife-visiting-with-news-photo/50622107#

[53] Hutchinson, W. *National Gallery of British Sports and pastimes: the first 600 pictures. There are 3000 and more paintings, coloured prints etc., which will be exhibited from time to time.* London: Hutchinson House. 1950; Olympic Information Centre. *Exhibition of National Sporting Trophies in London April to October 1851.* Online. 1951.

[54] Mercury, the. Hobart Town. *Millionaire Publisher Took Own Life.* Wednesday 3rd May 1950. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/26700483; Chisolm Gallery. *Munnings, P.R.J. Sir Alfred. James.* Accessed June 1st 2014. http://chisholmgallery.com/sir-alfred-j-munnings; Chisolm Gallery. *Munnings, P.R.J. Sir Alfred. James.* New York: Chisolm Gallery. Date Unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://chisholmgallery.com/sir-alfred-j-munnings

the collection to the state and intended for it to be long-lived.[55] However, the first sale of pictures at Christie's auction house in London took place as early as 1952 demonstrating that either financial considerations meant that the sale of the collection was needed, or that the state did not want the responsibility of the objects and consequently sold them on. Had Hutchinson lived and the gallery established itself, the National Gallery of British Sporting Pastimes might today be considered the British Sports Museum.

In 1951, just before the gallery closed, it held a final exhibition entitled the *National Sporting Trophies Exhibition.*[56] The exhibition was part of that year's *Festival of Britain*,[54] which was organised to commemorate the 1851 *Festival of Britain* and specifically "to promote the British contribution to science, technology, industrial design, architecture and the arts and culture".[57] Coincidently, the theme of sporting trophies in the 1951 Hutchinson House exhibition is reminiscent of the Shell Mex Limited and Hutchinson House Club exhibitions of the 1930s. This again demonstrates the limited view of sporting exhibitions at this time, that the objects of interest are those which tell the story of winning, in favour of the objects which tell the story of the development of sport, personal endeavour, and the surrounding social contexts. The British Pathe newsreel which shows the visit to the exhibition by the *Duke of Edinburgh*, states that many of the trophies in the exhibition are loaned items specifically for this festival exhibition, including the football trophy, the FA Cup, and the cricket trophy, the Ashes as shown in the image from the exhibition at figure 6.

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[55] Sydney Morning Herald, the. *London's remarkable new gallery of pictures.* Tuesday 8th March, 1949. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/18106109
[56] ITN Source. *Sporting Trophies Exhibition in London*. May 3rd 1951.
http://www.itnsource.com/shotlist/BHC_RTV/1951/05/03/BGU412080012/?v=1
[57] Wikipedia. Festival of Great Britain. Online. Date Unknown. Accessed January 31st 2014.
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Festival_of_Britain

Figure 6: Trophies included in the *National Sporting Trophies Exhibition* 1951.

Source: *Friends Reunited.*[58]

These are major internationally known trophies which would have been extremely difficult for the public to have access to. As such, a sporting exhibition would have provided a significant draw for audiences. In addition to being part of the 1951 *Festival of Britain*, the catalogue for the exhibition states that it is mounted in order to raise funds for the National Sports Development Fund.[59] The author was unable to find any information about the National Sport Development Fund, its aims or objectives, but the intention to use the money raised from the exhibition to support the fund indicates that sporting exhibitions were an opportunity to raise money and as such, successful. It suggests again that sporting exhibitions were being consistently recognised at this time as platforms for social change and improvement. However, there is also no available evidence of the result of the exhibition, or exactly how or where the money raised from the exhibition was used.

The inclusion of the exhibition within the official programme of the 1951 *Festival of Britain* demonstrates that the organiser and the wider arts and cultural society in

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[58] Friends Reunited. *Exhibition of Sporting Trophies.* London: FriendsReunited. Date Unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.friendsreunited.com/sport-exhibition-of-national-sporting-trophies-hutchinson-house-london/Memory/1f7fd329-d9d2-426f-bd8a-a00b00cea5f8?cs=30

[59] Hutchinson House. *Exhibition of National Sporting Trophies: A Unique Collection of Awards Won by Sportsmen and Sportswomen in Sixty Different Sports to Aid the National Sports Development Fund, 23rd April to 30th September 1951.* London : Welbecson press. 1951.

Britain recognised sporting exhibitions as important and relevant enough as a topic for British arts and culture. Therefore, by 1951, sport was beginning to be seriously considered as a topic for exhibition display, and financially viable as a means of raising money for charities. In addition, the National Gallery of British Sporting Pastimes must have already been working closely with wider arts and culture organisations to ensure sporting exhibitions were positioned within the broader cultural landscape, and therefore, the inclusion in the 1951 programme. Consequently, the closure of the gallery less than a year later, and the end to its activity in placing sporting heritage within mainstream cultural activity, therefore seems all the more unfortunate for the future development of sport in museums.

In addition to the National Gallery of Sport and Pastimes, the Football and Fine Arts touring exhibition of 1953 was also influenced by the V&A's *Sport in Art* exhibition. Physick (2013) has conducted the most extensive research about the exhibition and asserts that *Sport in Art* was highly influential in the decision to create the *Football and the Fine Arts* touring exhibition.[60] The exhibition encouraged artists to submit works to a national competition in return for a place in the final exhibition and a financial reward and the comparisons to the 1948 exhibition are therefore evident. The next section discusses the reasons which led to the exhibition, how the exhibition developed, and its effect on sport in museums across the country.

3.5 *Football and the Fine Arts* Touring Exhibition

Given the fact that the 1948 *Sport in Art* exhibition was widely considered to be a failure, it is striking that only five years later, a similar competition was held in England in 1953. The year 1953 marked the ninetieth anniversary of the English Football Association (FA) and the FA wanted to create something that would celebrate the anniversary. Although it has not been possible to identify exactly where the idea for the competition originated, Physick (2013) asserts it is likely to have been the secretary

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[60] Physick, R. *The Representation of Association Football in Fine Art in England.* A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor Of Philosophy, University of Central Lancashire. April 2013. pp.220-22. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://clok.uclan.ac.uk/8509/1/Physick%20Ray%20Final%20e-Thesis%20(Master%20Copy).pdf; The objective to develop a long-term exhibition at FA headquarters was never realised.

of the FA between 1934 and 1962, Sir Stanley Rous.[61] Rous had been an executive member of the organising committee for the London 1948 Olympic Games and would have had first-hand knowledge of the development and delivery of the *Sport in Art* exhibition. Although it is not clear how, a partnership between the FA and the Arts Council developed, and Gill (1996) asserts that the competition and resulting exhibition was actually managed and delivered by the Arts Council rather than the FA.[62] As discussed later in chapter five, by the 1950s the creation of the Arts Council in 1946 had begun to bring in additional support and funding for arts and culture in England from central government. Consequently, the involvement of the Arts Council in the project not only lent additional finances to the FA to support the competition and attract a wider range of applicants, but it also changed the perception of the competition to one of importance from both sport and art viewpoints.

The competition itself was delivered using a similar formula to that of *Sport in Art* in that artists were asked to submit works under a range of category headings. However, the main difference was that "competitors were specifically told ….that "symbolic" treatment would receive the same consideration as "naturalistic".[63] This subtle, yet significant difference in the competition rules meant that the resulting submissions not only included likenesses of athletes in the field, but also explored the culture that existed around football, "as well as pictures of players in action there will be portraits, pictures of crowds on the terraces, of the dressing room, views of famous grounds and other scenes connected with the game".[64] For example, one of the winning paintings was L.S.Lowry's 'Going to the Match' as illustrated at figure 7.

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[61] Ibid. p.220.

[62] John Gill is an independent curator who developed an exhibition, *Offside!* in support of the 1996 Football *European Championships* held in Manchester. He wrote the introduction to the exhibition handbook to accompany the exhibition, where he briefly discusses *Football and the Fine Arts*. Willcox, T. Eds. *An Exhibition of Football. Over 100 Works of Art for Sale. Paintings, Watercolours & Drawings, Illustrations, Cartoons & Miniatures, Prints & Posters, Sculpture & Ceramics. Gallery 27, 24th-29th June 1996.* London : James Huntington-Whitely. 1996.

[63] Spectator, the. *Art.* October 23rd 1953. Accessed January 31st 2014. http://archive.spectator.co.uk/article/23rd-october-1953/12/art

[64] Football Association. *Press release issued by the Football Association*. V&A archive. October 1953. The cities which hosted the Football and Fine Arts exhibition were Birkenhead, Blackpool, Bootle, Bradford, Kettering, Leeds, London, Luton, Manchester, Salford, Sheffield, Wolverhampton.

Figure 7: L.S.Lowry's 'Going to the Match'.

Source: The *Lowry*.[65]

L.S.Lowry was famous for his images of working class life depicted through matchstick like portrayals of the human figure.[66] Going to the Match displays ordinary fans on their way to Burden Park Football Ground, Bolton, to watch Bolton Wanderers Football Club.[67] The painting depicts the culture of football, the fans' call to worship, including representations of clothing and industry of the time, without any representation of the football match itself. This demonstrates that sporting art was not only important for the depiction of sport itself, but also in its ability to represent current and changing society. This marked a significant change from the *Sport in Art* exhibition, and meant that works which won a place in the exhibition were accepted as works of art first and foremost. However, it is reminiscent of the arguments put forward by Sparrow which placed sport as a key mechanism for education and social change. The placing of a wider social context on the entries lent the competition an air of authority that had not been present in *Sport in Art.* It meant that the resulting objects had a focus on the position of sport in society and this brought with it a greater relevance of the exhibition to audiences. Consequently, it also advanced the reputation of the use of

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[65] L.S. Lowry. *Going to the Match.* 1953. Copywrite. The Lowry. http://www.thelowry.com/gifts-and-souvenirs/prints-and-limited-editions_standard-prints/going-to-the-match-(medium
[66] Lowry, the. *L.S.Lowry: His life and career*. Manchester: The Lowry. Date unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.thelowry.com/ls-lowry/his-life-and-work/
[67] Barber, L. *The art of football.* The Observer. Sunday November 12th 2006. Accessed January 3st 2014. http://www.theguardian.com/football/2006/nov/12/1

sport for artistic purposes. The resulting exhibition was held at the International Faculty of Arts, Park Lane House, between 21 October and 7 November 1953 and was funded wholly by the Arts Council.[68]

The author was unable to find any records about how successful this initial exhibition was considered to be, however, after the initial exhibition had been delivered, it then toured to twelve regional museums in England and to Aberdeen in Scotland, suggesting it had been an overwhelming success. Physick comments that many more cities were interested, but limitations of space or programmes being fully booked a year in advance meant that they were not able to take the exhibition.[69] Additionally, the Arts Council had originally hoped to fund the entirety of the *Football and the Fine Arts* exhibition and tour, but higher than expected running costs led them to place a charge for exhibition hosts of £1 per day, and this cost restriction in itself meant that some venues were unable to take the exhibition.[70] There were also museums which chose not to take the exhibition because they could not see the relevance of sport to museums. For example, Birmingham Art Gallery which did not take the *Football and the Fine Arts* exhibition because it "did not feel football was a suitable subject for art".[71] This demonstrates that although sport as a theme for museums was beginning to gather interest and acceptance, particularly in venues considered to be traditionally associated with 'high' art, sport was still viewed as an inferior subject matter.

The touring exhibition had mixed success. In those museums which exhibited only what was sent from the central exhibition team, the exhibition tended to be ineffective, for example Blackpool and Sheffield. However, in those museums which opted to tailor the exhibition to their local audiences and include local artefacts and ephemera relevant to local football clubs, the exhibition tended to be a huge success. For example, the Williamson Art Gallery in Birkenhead which included objects relating to Dixie Dean, who played for local clubs Tranmere Rovers and Everton, at the same

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[68] Physick, R. *The Representation of Association Football in Fine Art in England.* A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of Central Lancashire. April 2013. p.227; *Park Lane House* was a well-known exhibition space in the centre of London.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid. p.229.
[71] Ibid. Cited as Correspondence between Physick and the *Archive of Art and Design.*

time as displaying the FA Cup.[72] The Birkenhead exhibition attracted 1,500 visitors on its opening day, compared with thirty on an average day across all exhibitions, and a total of 21,000 visitors in total.[73] Therefore, the *Football and the Fine Arts* exhibition demonstrated that in addition to the appeal of exhibitions about sporting trophies as shown in 1933 and 1951, sporting exhibitions that were specifically relevant to the individual and driven through local subject matter, were most likely to appeal to large local audiences. It also confirmed that although sport as a subject matter for museums was beginning to develop, particularly in local museums, there was still a significant attitudinal barrier in place which suggests sport was not considered a relevant subject to be displayed in museum venues.

1953 was a key year for the development of sport in museums. Not only did it mark the delivery of the *Football and the Fine Arts* touring exhibition, but it was also the year that the first sport specific museum was established at Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC), London. Although the author was unable to find any evidence which linked the establishment of the MCC Museum with either the National Gallery of Sporting Pastimes or *Football and the Fine Arts,* it is likely that due to location and subject matter, both influenced to some extent the creation of the MCC Museum. Perhaps the success of the exhibitions gave confidence to those who had been contemplating creating a museum, or perhaps the very fact that it was possible to mount exhibitions of sport in museums in itself that paved the way for the new museum. The next section will explore the creation of the museum and the position of sport in museums by the end of the 1950s.

3.6 Marylebone Cricket Club Museum

In 1953 the first museum about a specific sport, the Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC) Museum opened at Lord's Cricket Ground in London.[74] The beginnings of the

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[72] Wikipedia. *Dixie Dean.* Online. Date unknown. Accessed March 31st 2014.
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dixie_Dean; Physick, R. *The Representation of Association Football in Fine Art in England.* A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor Of Philosophy, University of Central Lancashire. April 2013. p.230.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC). *What is MCC?* London: MCC. Date unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014.
http://www.lords.org/mcc/the-club/what-is-mcc/

museum's collection started in 1864 when the club started to collect for the "benefit of its members".[75] The current museum curator, Adam Chadwick, argues that private individuals were hugely important to the establishment of the museum because it was largely objects collected and donated by private individuals which formed the museum's collection both at the start and in subsequent years.[76] Chadwick touches on a significant issue in terms of sport in museums in relation to the creation of the MCC Museum and argues that private collectors are often considered by the museum sector with contempt, mainly because they are able to pay more for items than public institutions and subsequently prevent the public from accessing these objects, which presents a significant concern.[77] However, as Chadwick states, had it not been for these collectors, the MCC Museum would not exist today. Chadwick asserts that the decision to create the MCC Museum was made because of a lack of space in the original storage place of the collection, rather than a specific intention on the part of the club to create a museum. This demonstrates that the move to create a museum was a decision necessitated by the circumstances of the club. As Chadwick states, the collections:

> had grown too large for the other buildings at Lord's and it was decided to convert an old rackets court which had been damaged during the war. It was consecrated as a memorial to the cricketers who have died in conflicts.[78]

Although it is likely that the other sporting exhibitions taking place at this time provided confidence to the MCC that the creation of a museum was possible, it is likely that had no other activity concerning sport in museums taken place in England, the MCC Museum would still have been established at the same time and in the same place.

The initial funding for the museum, along with its day to day running costs, was funded directly by the MCC. This demonstrates that the sports club had recognised an importance in the collections and were ready and able to invest directly in the

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[75] Chadwick, A. Curator. MCC Museum, Lords. *Response to author's survey*. April 1st 2012.
[76] Chadwick, A. *A Portrait of Lords: 200 Years of Cricket History.* London: Scala Arts and Heritage Ltd. 2013. pp.18-19.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Chadwick, A. Curator. MCC Museum, Lords. *Response to author's survey*. April 1st 2012.

protection and display of the objects. Although the creation of the museum was not a strategic decision, the club could have chosen to dispose of the objects once space became limited, instead they took the decision to preserve and display them. The fact that funding came directly, and only from the MCC also demonstrates that there was no wider input from the worlds of art or culture. This potentially had a damaging effect on the methodology used to curate the museum and Chadwick (2013) asserts that, until recently, the museum had held a long tradition of ill-disciplined collecting policies and a concentration on linear chronological displays "focusing on the objects and artworks…as illustrations of history" rather than placing the collections within a wider, relevant social context which narrates the story of the past, present and future.[79] This also reveals that the lessons learnt from *Football and the Fine Arts* in terms of appealing to audiences and ensuring relevance to individuals were either unknown or unheeded. That said, in terms of the MCC Museum the need to appeal to an audience was almost non-existence. The museums' place as part of the fabric of Lords Cricket Ground ensured a constant high turnover of visitors.[80] The visitors to the museum visit Lords because it is a place of sporting pilgrimage. The museum is a natural place to explore the history of the sport that many visitors love and cherish. To them, the museum already appeals personally. This demonstrates that sport is a directly relevant subject matter for museum activity primarily because it appeals to the individual on an almost spiritual level. As discussed in chapter two, if museums are about illustrating the human passage of time, then a discussion of sport and how it relates to different people must be relevant. In the case of the MCC Museum, then, the establishment of the museum had been almost coincidental in time and nature to other sporting exhibitions taking place in England. The museum itself continued the tradition of depicting sporting glory, rather than a discussion of sport in a wider context as was beginning to develop in regional museums as a result of *Football and the Fine Arts*. However, the nature of sport, and the location of the MCC Museum, meant that its audience appeal was no less for this traditional approach, and the museum is still thriving at the time of writing. In addition, although funding had been forthcoming

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[79] Chadwick, A. *A Portrait of Lords: 200 Years of Cricket History.* London: Scala Arts and Heritage Ltd. 2013. pp.18-19.

[80] *Lords Cricket Ground* is considered to be the home of cricket and attracts significant amounts of people both for matches as a pilgrimage to the home of the game. Marylebone Cricket Club. *The Three Lords Grounds*. Online. Date unknown. Accessed March 31st 2014. http://www.lords.org/history/lords-history/the-three-lords-grounds/

from the arts world to support the touring exhibition, the MCC Museum was funded solely by the sport itself. Whether this was out of choice on the part of the MCC, a lack of awareness of the potential funding sources in the arts world from which it could draw, or out of a lack of wiliness on the part of arts funder is difficult to determine.

By the end of 1953 then, sport as a subject for museums was gradually beginning to gather momentum with museum curators, sports clubs, and audiences alike. Physick (2013) though, states that the art world itself did not feel the same warmth towards sport and art and "recoiled" from the subject matter.[81] However, the examples Physick gives of reviews and reports from the day, do not vehemently reflect this point. Perhaps there were instances of art critics failing to recognise the relevance of sport to art and vice versa. What is clear, however, is that the exhibition of sporting material in museums post-1953 was sparse. There is evidence of ad hoc exhibitions taking place in non-museum venues, such as the 1956 *Exhibition of Sporting Trophies* held at the Café Anglais, London which included the major sporting trophies for English football, the FA Cup, and the major sporting trophy for English cricket, The Ashes as illustrated at figure 8.[82]

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[81] Physick, R. *The Representation of Association Football in Fine Art in England.* A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor Of Philosophy, University of Central Lancashire. April 2013. p.235.
[82] The *Café Anglais* was a well-known fashionable night-spot . Brennan, M., Cloonan, M., Frith, S., and Webster, E. *The History of Live Music in Britain. Volume 1. 1950 – 1967.* Farnham : Ashgate Publishing Ltd. 2013. p.19.

Figure 8: *Exhibition of Sporting Trophies* – Café Anglais. 1956.

Source: *Press Association Images.*[83]

However, these exhibitions reverted to focus on the objects associated with the winning elements of sport and failed to learn from the lessons of locality and relevance shown in *Football and the Fine Arts*. The records of sport in museums between the late 1950s and the 1980s are sporadic at best. This partly suggests that limited activity was taking place, but also that little interest was held in the sport in museum programmes which did take place. The next section will therefore explore the evidence that exists of sport in museums between the late 1950s and the 1980s.

3.7 The Developing Practice of Sport in Museums

To some extent, it seems that the interest in sporting exhibitions had run out of steam by the middle of the 1950s. The first version of the Horse Racing Museum was founded in York in 1965, but other than this, there are few records of sporting activity taking place. However, it is more probable that sports exhibitions in museums did exist, but that little evidence of them remains. For example, in 1972 a tennis exhibition was organised by Tom Todd (b.1911-d.1984) who had been collecting tennis objects and

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[83] Press Association Images. *Exhibition of Sporting Trophies – Café Anglais, London. 1956.* Accessed June 1st 2014.http://printstore.pressassociation.com/exhibition-of-sporting-trophies-cafe-anglais-london/print/3145/8701011.html

art for many years.[84] The exhibition was held at the Manor House Hotel in Leamington Spa. It is this exhibition which gave the Wimbledon Lawn Tennis Association the confidence to open a museum about tennis in 1977.[85] However, when the Barber Institute of Fine Arts mounted its exhibition of tennis in 2011 *Anyone for Tennis*, it claimed that it was the first exhibition ever to explore the subject of tennis through art.[86] This suggests that the communication and historical records associated with the history of sport in museums is limited and each museum approaches the topic from a relatively unknown position each time it presents the topic of sport. As a result, the progression of sport in museums has been slow and limited largely because lessons are not learnt from previous activity. Consequently, an in-depth exploration of the history of sport in museums would be extremely beneficial to chart the growth and development of the subject matter.

The most significant development in support of a changing emphasis within the museums sector, and ultimately the place of sport in museums as a result, came when social history and the importance of everyday history began to take prominence in museums. Museum professionals educated in the 1970s and early 1980s, began to influence the direction of museum exhibitions and, as discussed in chapter two, the People's Palace and the *People's Show* of the late 1980s and early 1990s demonstrated that museums were beginning to explore popular history and involve their audiences in the display and creative processes behind their exhibitions. This development was replicated in museums through the topic of sport, and several large exhibitions were hosted between 1970 and 1990, as well as several sport specific museums including the National Horse Racing Museum in 1983, discussed in depth in Chapter four. By using the example of football to demonstrate this emerging interest in sport in museums, and specifically working class sport, it is possible to see a significant development of interest from the 1980s onwards. For example, in 1984 Liverpool Museum hosted an exhibition called *Football Crazy*.[87] The exhibition told the story of

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[84] Cavendish, R. *The Wimbledon Lawn Tennis Museum.* History Today 46, no.6. (1996). Online. Accessed September 1st 2013. http://www.historytoday.com/richard-cavendish/wimbledon-lawn-tennis-museum
[85] Godfrey, H. Curator. Wimbledon Lawn Tennis Museum. Response to authors survey Number 1. April 1st 2012.
[86] Barber Institute of Fine Arts. *Court on Canvas*. Birmingham: Barber Institute of Fine Arts. Date unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://barber.org.uk/court-on-canvas/
[87] Moore, K. *Museums & Popular Culture.* London: Leicester University Press, 1997. p.123.

the three clubs on Merseyside; Liverpool, Tranmere, and Everton, and displayed some of the major European footballing trophies including the FA Cup and the European Cup. Moore (1997) asserts that the exhibition was "highly popular".[88] This success of the exhibition was most likely due to the trophies on display providing people with a one-off opportunity for viewing, and a combination of the relevance of football to the lives of Merseysider's. As seen with the *Football and Fine Arts* exhibitions, those which explored local sporting heritage were more likely to succeed than those which did not. The success of *Football Crazy* and the connection and resonance it had with the people of the city, ensured that a permanent exhibition was included in the Museum of Liverpool Life when it opened in 1993.[89] In addition, in 1989, Tyne and Wear Museums held *Soccer in Tyne and Wear: 1979 – 1988 Exhibition* using objects from the collection of Harry Langton.[90] Langton was a sports journalist who had begun collecting football memorabilia in the 1950s.[91] By the time of the Newcastle exhibition, it had become the most significant collection of football in the world and objects were exhibited at the two football World Cup Finals in 1990 and 1994. The Federation Internationalle de Football Associations (FIFA) took on responsibility for the collection in the mid-1990s and worked to provide a permanent home for the collection. However, it was not until 2001 that the National Football Museum was opened, providing a suitable long-term venue for the collection, as discussed later in this chapter.

The gradual interest and development of exhibitions about football in museums, culminated in a touring exhibition about football, its surroundings, and its fans. The *Homes of Football* toured to over eighty museum venues across England and consequently had a significant effect on host venues. The next section explores the *Homes of Football* and its relevance to sport in museums.

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[88] Ibid.

[89] National Museums, Liverpool. *History of the Museum of Liverpool*. Liverpool: National Museums ,Liverpool. Date unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014.
http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/mol/about/history.aspx

[90] National Football Museum (NFM). *The Harry Langton Collection.* Manchester: NFM. Date unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.nationalfootballmuseum.com/collections/about-our-collections/current/the-harry-langton-collection/

[91] Ibid.

3.8 The *Homes of Football* Touring Exhibition

The gathering momentum of interest towards the representation of the everyday in museums and with it an increased interest in sport in museums, is illustrated by the *Homes of Football* exhibition programme, created by Stuart Clarke, which toured venues in England from the late 1980s to the early 1990s.[92] Clarke began taking photographs of football grounds and associated activity after the Hillsborough disaster in 1989 with the aim of showing the changing face of football.[93] *Homes of Football* is a clear demonstration of history from below and charts the game within a social context. The images taken by Clarke are not only of incidents on the pitch, but the additional aspects of football, including takeaway stalls, fans, clothing and emotions (despair and elation), and the streets around the ground. Clarke exhibited *Homes of Football* in over eight venues during the 1990s and the early twenty-first century until a permanent home was found in 2004.[94] Many organisations which hosted the exhibition also saw it as an opportunity to include local artefacts and objects which represented their communities. These exhibitions alone demonstrate that far from being ignored by museum professionals, sport was becoming established as a considered option for museum temporary exhibitions as recognised as an ideal opportunity to ensure their collections were relevant to local audiences. The majority of the venues which hosted Clarke's exhibition were funded and managed by local authority services and in the early 1990s the focus of staff working within these museums would have been on expanding the museum audiences and making the exhibitions relevant to as wide an audience as possible. Consequently, sport provided them with a suitable theme, as discussed later in chapters five and six, by which to attract these audiences. The exhibition had already been curated by Clarke so the museum staff did not have the problems of locating relevant objects and partners to create the exhibition in its entirety themselves, although they did have the opportunity to add to the exhibition

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[92] Wikipedia, The Online Encyclopedia. *Stuart Roy Clarke.* Accessed June 1st 2014.
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stuart_Roy_Clarke
[93] Pinnington, M. *Football Photography: Stuart Roy Clarke at the National Football Museum.* September 20th 2012. Accessed June 1st 2014. https://www.creativetourist.com/articles/art/manchester/football-photography-stuart-roy-clarke-at-the-national-football-museum/; The Hillsborough disaster claimed the lives of 96 football fans during an FA Cup semi-final match at the Hillsborough stadium in 1989.
Liverpool Football Club. *Hillsborough.* Online. Date unknown. Accessed April 20th 2014.
http://www.liverpoolfc.com/history/hillsborough
[94] Brabazon, T. *Playing on the Periphery: Sport, Identity and Memory.* London: Routledge, 2006. pp.7-40.

using locally sourced objects and archives, which many did.[95] The success of *Homes of Football* is in its ability to present images that do not just tell the story of football, but the story of a changing society. Clarke captured the transformation of football over a twenty year period and, with it, the transformation of society. Clarke's images are reminiscent of Martin Parr as illustrated at figures 9 and 10, a social documentary photographer whose career began to develop at the same time as Clarke[96].

Figure 9: Marin Parr. Image from *New Brighton: The last resort*. 1983 – 85.

Source: *Magnum.*[97]

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[95] For example the object loans records of the *NFM* during this time suggest an increased interest on the part of other museums in footballing objects associated with local teams.
[96] Parr, M. *Martin Parr.* London: Martin Parr. 2013. Accessed June1st 2013. http://www.martinparr.com/
[97] Copywrite Magnum.. http://www.bbc.co.uk/photography/genius/gallery/parr.shtml

Figure 10: Stuart Clarke. Image from *Homes of Football*: Tranmere Rovers. 1992.

Source: Stuart Clarke, *Homes of Football*.[98]

The similarities between the two images demonstrate that although Clarke aimed to represent a holistic view of football alone, his work actually reflects the changes in wider society on a similar scale to those of Parr. Therefore, the relevance of sport, and in this case, football, in narrating the human story is completely relevant as a subject for museums. It also demonstrates that sport in museums was following a similar path to other cultural activity and beginning to represent the everyday not as a matter of voyeurism or to popularise museums, but to establish the position of cultures which reflected the everyday as relevant subject matter for museum spaces. Although the work of Parr was used for an exhibition at the National Media Museum in 2002 demonstrating a progression in the use of popular subjects in national museums, the *Homes of Football* has yet to be exhibited at a national museum, other than the National Football Museum. Albeit that the National Media Museum concentrates on popular culture topics as a matter of course and is therefore more likely to exhibit work such as Parr's, this still suggests that sport is not a natural topic for use by national museums on the whole, unless their topic is specifically connected to sport. This suggests that sport is not viewed merely as an opportunity to attract new audiences and as a potential mechanism therefore to draw in funding support. Rather, museums with a close relationship to their communities see the relationship between

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[98] Stuart Clarke. *Homes of Football:Tranmere Rovers.* 1992. http://homesoffootball.co.uk/

sport and the public as an opportunity to both depict these communities through the use of sport, and establish a greater number of visitors to museums as a result.

The separation in approach between those local authority museums and smaller independent museums which hosted the *Homes of Football* exhibitions and the national museums which chose to represent sport however, was still evident in the 1990s. Those museum professionals who had been most closely effected by the 1970s and 1980s discussions concerning everyday culture were beginning to embark on their careers during this time. As such, it was most likely that their employment began and developed in these smaller organisations than at the larger, more prestigious national venues. Consequently, their influence on the exhibitions and collecting policies of these organisations brought in the themes of popular culture, and ultimately, sport. With this came a greater understanding of audiences and how to develop specific programming for specific audiences. However, it was not just the changing attitudes of those working in museums that placed sport as a relevant subject for museums, but also the changing landscape of cultural policy, as discussed in the next section.

3.9 Museums and Cultural Policy

The 1990s saw significant changes in cultural policy, as discussed at length in chapter five, which had major impacts on the museum sector as a whole. The creation of the National Lottery in the UK by Conservative government in 1992 offered a new strand of funding for museums for both capital building and project work, and signalled a gradual change in the perception of culture from the side-lines of government policy to a central focus for economic growth and change. The success of New Labour in the 1997 UK General Elections saw a shift in cultural policy again towards the social benefits of culture which refocused the activities of museums towards attracting new and different audiences. The New Labour administration increasingly demanded museums to demonstrate the outcomes of their activity in return for public funding which meant museums needed to provide relevant and representative programmes in order to appeal to these audiences, and secure on-going financial support. In conjunction with the changing emphasis of those working in museums already to focus on the everyday, the impetus given through cultural policy objectives therefore

provided the right conditions for the development of sport in museum programmes. This is not to say, however, that museums sought to use sport purely as a mechanism for increasing or sustaining funding. Rather, that the use of popular culture was already on the increase within museum venues and the changing tide of cultural policy towards ensuring new and different audiences had the opportunity to access museums provided the right circumstances for the development of sport in museums.

This change in cultural policy and museum sector ethos is reflected through the increase in the number of sport specific museums being established, for example the World Rugby Union Museum opened in 1996 and the River and Rowing Museum opened in 1998, and more exhibitions about sport taking place in the wider museum sector. The sporting sector was beginning to gain confidence that museums about sport were viable and sensible to attract audience to support the financial running of the club, and the museum sector had begun to accept the relevance of sport in the narrative of the history of humankind and its ability to attract different audiences than had traditionally been so. Consequently, in 1995, the Social History Curators Group (SHCG) held a seminar called *A Sporting Life* which explored this "relatively recent, but increasingly popular phenomenon in [sport in] museums".*[99]* The seminar brought together academics from the field of sport history and museum practioners to discuss current practice and future opportunities. The 1996 Social History Curators news bulletin followed up this theme and featured a sports section exploring the topic of sport in museums further.[100] The SHCG seminar and bulletin are the first examples of professionals from the museum sector joining together to discuss the role of sport in museums, its relevance, and future opportunities. These activities demonstrate that the use of sport in museums was viewed as a development of museology. The changing landscape of the museum sector gradually moving away from a representation of high culture towards a representative portrayal of all human life, placed sport as a natural subject matter for museums.

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[99] Brown, C. *A Sporting Life*. Social History Curators Group News 39 (1995): 10.
[100] See for example The Social History Curators Group. 'Sport Section'. *Social History Curators Group News* 40 (Autumn 1996): 14-15.

Both the seminar and the bulletin concluded that there was a considerable amount of activity already taking place and that it was beneficial for both the museum sector and the general public. Where sport in museums was deemed to have been delivered successfully, sport was explored through wider contexts, such as gender, class, employment, and migration responding to the central themes of cultural policy at this time. For example, the *Sporting Life* exhibition at the Old Grammar School in Hull in 1996 aimed to "present the impact and importance of sport on people's lives".[101] Hull Museum's curator, Jayne Tyler, confirms that audiences increased as a direct result of the exhibition and that the museum sectors interest in sport increased because "of the popular appeal of presenting sport in a museum context".[102] It is clear from Tyler's comments that the reason the museum hosted the exhibition was to ensure a greater relevance between museum display and the local community, rather than to bow to the need to present popularist displays or to ensure increased visitor numbers and sustain funding. The opportunity to attract new audiences was doubtless a factor in the decision to host *Sporting Life*, however, it was the changing perception of the museum profession towards inclusive displays which provided the main impetus. It is likely, therefore, that the developing interest in sport in museums came from curators based within social history departments in regional museums, charged with a remit to provide relevant provision for a wide audience using public funding as a response to cultural policy directives, at the same time as delivering their own ideological beliefs to broaden the narrative of their venues for these audiences.[103] Although many curators based within museums still took issue with sport and its relationship with culture, the increased interest by younger curators in the potential for museums to narrate everyday history and become more relevant to a greater number of people at the same time as responding to cultural policy, is the most credible reason for this positioning of sport in museums during the 1990s.[104] However, to what extent these museums and museum staff succeeded in democratising their organisations as a result of the use of sport, is difficult to establish. It is clear that there was a wish on the part of the museum staff to ensure their venues were more accessible, and that people felt

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[101] Tyler, J. 'Sporting life'. *Social History in Museums: Journal of the Social History Curators Group* 22. (1995-1996): p.34.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Ibid. p.37.
[104] Moore, K. *Museums & Popular Culture.* 1997. p.124.

more comfortable walking into their museum. The use of sport was, whether consciously or not, a tool by which to effect this change. The type of story portrayed, though, would still have been one constructed by the curator, or even in those partnerships with communities, by certain people within the communities. As Bennett suggests, a dominant class, in this case the museum curator, subjects the exhibitions to a certain amount of subjectivity based on their own perceptions, belief, and understanding of the subject matter.[105] This is unavoidable and an issue seen across the museum sector. Therefore, the exhibition would have depicted a certain history, a certain truth, which was not necessarily one agreed by all.

By the time England hosted the Union of European Football Association (UEFA) championships in 1996, also known as Euro '96, museums were therefore already well placed to deliver cultural programmes in support of the event. Moore (1997) asserts that many exhibitions were held during *Euro '96*, for example, *The Beautiful Game Show* held at the People's History Museum in Manchester and an exhibition at Leeds Museum.[106] However, funding for this activity was restricted and largely prioritised for activities deemed to be 'cultural' rather than 'sporting' as discussed in chapter five. This demonstrates that the long-term perceptions of the position of sport as separate to culture, as discussed in chapter two, still remained in 1996. However, Moore (1997) describes a change in perception on the part of the public towards football as a direct result of the 1990 and 1994 World Cups and Euro '96, primarily because leading up to, during and after Euro'96, football suddenly became fashionable.[107] This change in perception increased the interest of the general public toward football, and as such, the likelihood that people would visit museums and exhibitions about football improved. This does not mean that museums chose to use sport, in the case of football, merely to gain more visitors, but that they could be more confident that if they did host an exhibition about sport, it would be more likely well attended. Moore argues that these factors paved the way for the creation of the National Football

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[105] Bennett, T. 'Popular Culture and the 'turn to Gramsci' in Storey, J. *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: A Reader*. Essex: Pearson Education Limited. 2006. p.94.
[106] Davis, J. *The Beautiful Game Show.* Social History Curators Group News 40 (Autumn 1996): p.15; Moore, K. *Museums & Popular Culture.* 1997. p.127.
[107] Ibid. p.124

Museum (NFM).[108] Therefore, a combination of factors came together to provide the right environment for the creation of the NFM: a general increase in interest in football; the focus of cultural policy on increasing audiences to museums; and the existence of the Heritage lottery Fund (HLF), the strand of the National Lottery concerned with funding heritage activity. Combined with the existence of Harry Langton's considerable collection and FIFA's wish to find it a permanent home, it is not surprising that in 2001 the NFM was opened.[109]

By the year 2001, then, there was a significant amount of activity taking place in England concerning sport in museums, whether by sport specific museums addressing the history and context of their sport, or by museums using sport as part of the narrative of their wider story. However, much of this activity was taking place in isolation, often only by curators with a social history remit which was still considered to be of lower importance than the traditional high culture topics for museum display, and significant barriers remained in place which prevented many museums from being involved and therefore the potential loss of collections and access for the general public, as discussed in chapter four. As a consequence, two of the sport specific museum Directors, Paul Mainds from the River and Rowing Museum, and Kevin Moore form the National Football Museum, recognised an opportunity to establish a national support network to progress the subject of sport and its connection to museums. The next section will explore the creation and development of this support network, the Sports Heritage Network.

3.10 The Sports Heritage Network

As discussed in chapter two, the museum sector is made up of many different museums, each with their own aims and objectives, and each working independently towards their own goals. Although there are over-arching support bodies which have the interest of museums as a central purpose, for example the Arts Council England

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[108] Moore, K. In conversation with the author. January 30th 2014.
[109] The initial capital cost to build the museum was £15 million. Contributions were made by the HLF of £9.6 million, the North West Regional Development Agency of £2.6 million, and undisclosed amounts from the Professional Footballers Association and the Football Trust. National Football Museum. *About Us*. Manchester: NFM. Date Unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.nationalfootballmuseum.com/about-us/current-funders/

(ACE), and the Museums Association (MA), the remit of these organisations is extensive and they operate on tight financial and human resources. Consequently, for new areas of museum activity to flourish, additional support networks are needed with the specific aim of understanding and planning the future development of that area of activity. In the case of sport, the opportunity for such a network to develop came in 2003 when the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA) created a funding and support stream for museums called the Subject Specialist Network (SSN) strand. The SSNs were to draw together museums with an interest or collection in a specific subject area, and to provide support and guidance for the further development of that specific subject in museums.[110] As a consequence, the Director of the River and Rowing Museum, Paul Mainds, and the Director of the National Football Museum, Kevin Moore worked together to create an SSN about sporting heritage, ultimately given the name the Sports Heritage Network (SHN). The SHN was established in 2003 as a result with the aim to "increase the understanding and awareness of sports heritage in the UK".[111] The author's discussions with Moore and Mainds revealed that the creation of the SHN was driven mainly from a need to increase the wider museum sectors knowledge and understanding of the place of sport as a museum subject, as it was to draw together those with an interest in the collections already. This demonstrates that in 2003 there was still a separation between sport and its relevance to museums, despite the significant amount of activity which had preceded the creation of the SHN. Although pockets of activity were beginning to develop, sport specific museums were on the increase, and more non-sport specific museums were delivering sporting programmes, in general sport was still often viewed as an irrelevant subject for museum study. Once the SHN had been established, it began to focus on two main areas of work, firstly the need to understand what sporting collections were held in the UK and where, and secondly, how to ensure a greater understanding and access of and to those collections by the general public.

In terms of understanding collections, the SHN began by conducting two major pieces of work, a mapping survey and a joint study programme between academics and

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[110] Arts Council England (ACE). *Subject Specialist Networks.* London: ACE. Date unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/funding/our-investment/funding-programmes/renaissance/subject-specialist-networks/

[111] Sports Heritage Network (SHN). *About us*. Henley: SHN. Date unknown. No longer available online.

practioners. In terms of the mapping survey, the SHN successfully gained funding from the MLA to understand what and where sporting collections existed in museums in the UK.[112] Conducted by museum professional, Annie Hood, the findings of the survey demonstrate that a wealth of artefacts exists including photographs, ephemera, art works, and objects, and that they are held in all different types of museum settings including voluntary, local authority, national, independent and private museum collections. Therefore, although sport as a subject for museums was still at this time a low priority for many museums, in fact their collections often held objects which narrated the story of sport. The choice of whether or not to use these collections was down to those working in the museum. Hood argues that many of the museum staff she spoke with did not realise their museum held sporting collections until they investigated the museum stores specifically for the survey. The findings of the mapping survey demonstrated to the SHN that there was a need to increase the understanding of those working in museums, both in terms of the types of collections held in museums, but also how to use those collections for public benefit.

The second programme delivered by the SHN aimed to understand how the academic community and the heritage community could work more closely together to further understanding in sporting heritage. The SHN successfully acquired funding from the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) to work in partnership with the International Centre for Sports History and Culture (ICSHC) at De Montfort University between 2006 and 2008.[113] The programme, Sport, History and Heritage, aimed to unite academics and practitioners and encourage debate about the importance of the material culture of sport and sports heritage in museums. However, the seminar series concentrated on sport specific museums, rather than the wider museum sector and consequently was valuable in terms of assessing a current picture of activity in these

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[112] Hood, A. *Sports heritage network mapping survey: an overview of sports heritage collections.* Henley: The Sports Heritage Network. 2006.

[113] The *AHRC* aims to support ground-breaking research in the field of the Arts. Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC). *About Us: Vision and Strategy*. London: AHRC. Date unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.ahrc.ac.uk/About-Us/Vision-and-strategy/Pages/Vision-and-strategy.aspx; The ICSHC aims to progress the study and knowledge of the field of sports history. *International Centre for Sports History and Culture.* Leicester: ICSHC. Date unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.dmu.ac.uk/research/research-faculties-and-institutes/art-design-humanities/icshc/international-centre-for-sports-history-and-culture.aspx

organisations, but not in terms of a wider understanding of sport in museums.[114] Although there is little evidence remaining from the seminar series, a text was published, *Sport, History and Heritage* in 2012 which provides an insight into the discussions and the focus of the programme.[115] The text is the most extensive discussion of sport in museums to date, but still has a concentration on sport specific museums, rather than sport as a subject for museums in general. It demonstrates that even when discussions about sport in museums have taken place, and even by those already working in the field of sport in museums, when the discussions have an academic remit, the understanding of the field is limited to sport specific museums, rather than how sport is relevant to, and utilised by, the museum sector as a whole. It is difficult to understand why this is, when author's such as Moore and Vamplew consistently call for the discussion and analysis of sport as a subject matter for all museums. As discussed in the introduction, the likelihood is that the field of history is only just accepting the field of sport as a serious subject of study, and within this field, the use of material culture is a new concept. Consequently, the field of sports history has only recently been ready to discuss sports specific museums and the wider use of sport in museums in general is still in the early days of development.

Therefore, these two pieces of work demonstrated to the SHN that there was interest on the part of museums in developing sporting exhibitions, and at the same time significant gaps which prevented the sector from doing so effectively. Prior to the mapping survey and the seminar series, the SHN had already begun to address the issue of the wider understanding of sport as a topic for museums and opportunities to promote greater public access to sporting collections. As a result they established an exhibition programme called *Our Sporting Life (OSL),* and the findings of the seminar series and the mapping survey helped to inform its development. The next section examines the historical development of *OSL* and its aims and objectives, and sets a

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[114] Limited information is available about the research programme. An outline framework is available on the *AHRC's* website, but it provides little background to the series. Arts and Humanities Research Council. *Sport, History and Heritage Research Network*. London: AHRC. Date unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014.
http://www.ahrc.ac.uk/Funded-Research/Pages/Sport-History-and-Heritage-an-investigation-into-the-public-representation-of-sport.aspx
[115] Hill, J. Moore, K. & Wood, J. (Eds).*Sport, History and Heritage: An Investigation into the Public Representation of Sport.* Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer. 2012.

context for the programme to be examined later in this study at chapter eight to support a greater understanding of the impact of sport in museums.

3.11 The *Our Sporting Life* Exhibition

In 2004 the SHN began to explore the possibility of creating a touring exhibition using the theme of sport to engage museums across the country and increase the understanding of the relevance of sport as a subject for museums.[116] In 2005 the announcement that London would host the London 2012 Olympic Games shifted the planning process of the exhibition to one of a general understanding about sporting collections, to a programme in support of the London 2012. *OSL* aimed to build partnerships across the heritage sectors, develop an understanding about sporting collections and where they were held, support museums and archives in utilising their sporting collections more fully, and engage with local communities by asking "what does sport mean to you?"[117] These aims demonstrate that the SHN had a clear understanding about the perceptions towards sport in museums at this time, and had established *OSL* to address each of these issues. Although not originally set up in reaction to the London 2012, it became one of the key opportunities for the museum sector to respond to the event. Jonathan Edwards, former Olympic champion and member of the London Organizing Committee of the Olympic and Paralympic Games (LOCOG), supported this view by stating, at the launch of *OSL*, that:

> This is absolutely the right time for a project like this, because it … makes a personal connection with people and the way that sport has influenced their lives. Whether memorabilia or whether it is memories, sports heritage is part of the fabric of our society and I think understanding where we have come from we can better understand and map the future and make our country a better place. At LOCOG we are really excited about this project and we think that it can make a huge contribution to our Olympiad.[118]

The author worked with the *OSL* team to understand more specifically how the programme had been developed, what the limitations were, and what the key

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[116] Mainds, P. Director. River and Rowing Museum. In Conversation with the author. January 20th 2012.
[117] Ibid.
[118] King, L. *Our Sporting Life Interim Report.* 2011. Unpublished, made available to the author.

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successes had been. The author joined regular monitoring meetings conducted by the SHN, was given full access to the raw data gathered by the *OSL* team to support evaluation of the project, and was able to discuss at length the strengths and weaknesses of the programme with those involved with the delivery and management of *OSL.* As a result, the author was able to extract relevant information about the effect of *OSL* on the development of sport in museums in England. The following discussion is drawn from this experience of the programme.

Paul Mainds, the Chair of *OSL*, outlined three stages of development for *OSL* Firstly, the launch of the project in 2009, secondly the roll-out of the programme nationally to involve museums across England through the exhibition programme, and finally, "The third stage is, of course, the 'World's Greatest Exhibition of Sporting History' to be held in London in 2012. We are working hard with the details of that".[119] This demonstrates that the SHN had a clear strategic plan for the creation, development and delivery of *OSL*. However, it had to be positioned centrally within cultural policy directives to ensure it would meet the criteria to attract external funding to make the programme a reality. The statements given by Mainds demonstrate that *OSL* was firmly placed within agenda's that supported cultural policy in general, and more specifically the delivery of the cultural programme attached to London 2012, as discussed further in chapter five. Figure 11 illustrates that the overarching programme objectives of *OSL* supported wider policy agendas, such as audience development, education, and tourism, with sporting heritage acting as the central theme.

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[119] Sports Heritage Network. *Our Sporting Life, Exhibition Handbook.* Date unknown. No longer available online

Figure. 11: *Our Sporting Life* programme aims

To stimulate sustainable relationships between local organisations and museums	To attract new museum audiences and capitalise on the ability of sports to cross boundaries within communities	To create a flexible, transferable template which can be replicated throughout the country	To develop the sector by encouraging partnerships and networking between museums, libraries and archives
To design new education materials and programmes to support schools and encourage young people's participation	To increase opportunities for volunteering in museums and other organisations	To raise awareness and a deeper understanding of museums' own collections	To encourage domestic and international tourism

Source: *OSL* interim report.[120]

Even with these wider agendas, the SHN found it difficult to secure funding for the programme.[121] Paul Mainds, founder member of the SHN and chair of *OSL*, states that this was more to do with the fact that the theme of the exhibition was about sport, than any other single factor. However, funding for the programme was eventually granted to the SHN by the MLA, although Mainds asserts that this was because of the intervention of the Chief Executive of MLA at the time, Roy Clare. Mainds states that several conversations with other staff at MLA had failed to result in a successful acquisition of funding at any level, and it was largely down to the fact that Clare had a personal interest in sport and could see the link between museums and sport, that the funding was eventually granted. This demonstrates that the perception of sport as a subject for museums was still limited, and by those responsible for funding the museum sector, as recently as 2009. Eventually, Mainds secured £100,000 worth of funding from MLA and this covered the cost of a Project Manager and the costs of creating the touring exhibition. The touring exhibition was made as an off-the-shelf exhibition framework with text panels and cases for objects that tell the story of the nation's sporting past as illustrated at figure 12.

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[120] King, L. *Our Sporting Life Interim Report.* 2011. Unpublished, made available to the author.
[121] Mainds, P. Director. River and Rowing Museum. In Conversation with the author. January 20th 2012.

Figure 12: *Our Sporting Life* exhibition cubes and cases

Source: Image shared with the author by the *OSL* project team

These panels and cases were loaned out to museums and other venues across the country and organisations which hosted an exhibition had access to this framework and were encouraged to create a second stage to the exhibition with a focus on their own local community. The aim was to develop local partnerships through community engagement that would survive long after the project had finished. Exhibition guidelines and support packs were available to download from the *OSL* website.[122]

Although primarily an exhibition about objects, *OSL* was not intended to be delivered specifically through museum venues. Although this was its core offer, it also welcomed exhibition delivery at diverse venues including airports, leisure centres, and ice-rinks to broaden the audience base of those able to experience the exhibition programme. To illustrate the project in action, an example can be drawn from the partnership developed between Scunthorpe United Football Club and the North East Lincolnshire Museum. The museum service had aimed to develop an exhibition about the football club for many years, but did not have the expertise or collections to fully deliver the project. The football club had wanted to develop an exhibition about itself for many years, but didn't have the expertise in exhibition development and delivery. The

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[122] Sports Heritage Network. *Our Sporting Life Report*. 2013. Unpublished, made available to the author.

opportunity to be involved in *OSL* led the museum into discussions with the football club, ultimately leading to focus groups, community events and consultations, which informed the local exhibition of their *OSL* programme.

The total number of exhibitions mounted through *OSL* was 108 with the average exhibition running for 38 days. This demonstrates that museum services were using *OSL* as part of their temporary exhibition programme. This suggests that *OSL* was seen as a project to be integrated into their broader exhibition programmes, and this level of sporting heritage activity has not been seen previously in England.[123] The exhibitions themselves were thematically linked by a series of categories which represent how sport intersects with wider museum collections and objectives. With education, engagement and widening participation high on cultural policy agendas, exhibitions about local sporting heroes were used to engage schools, families and community groups, and although several museums chose to focus on the art or science of sport, the vast majority explored sporting heritage within a local context, either through local sporting activities, local heroes, or local clubs. Geographically, the majority of *OSL* exhibitions were held in the South East of England as illustrated at figure 13. This reflects the location of the Project Manager, being based in Henley-on-Thames and therefore located within the South East and most able to secure partnerships in this region.

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[123] The study of *Our Sporting Life* focuses only on England because in Wales there was a similar project entitled *Following the Flame* (http://www.wrexham.gov.uk/english/heritage/flame/) which ran for the duration of *Our Sporting Life*. In Scotland, however, there was less engagement with the London 2012 Olympic Games, perhaps due to a disjunction between the capital city, and also because of increased interest in the upcoming Commonwealth Games to be held in Glasgow in 2014.

Figure 13: Geographical spread of *Our Sporting Life* exhibitions
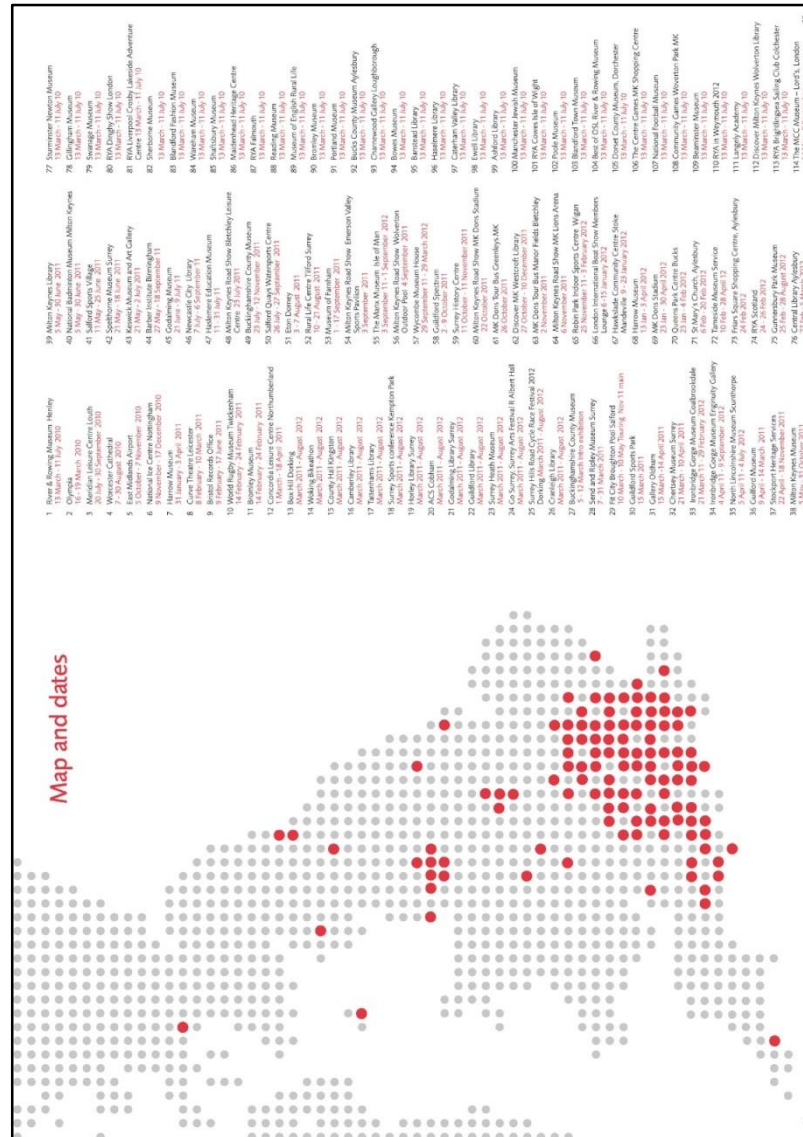
Source: Shared with the author by the *OSL* project team

Therefore, *OSL* succeeded in its aims to work with museums and other organisations nationally to increase the interest in sporting heritage. Chapter eight explores further the specific impact and outcomes related to the programme. As London 2012 drew closer, many museums felt more confident in producing activity which was inspired by the event, whether as part of *OSL* or not, and the peak of interest in sporting heritage in museums came in 2012 itself with over one hundred and twenty exhibitions specifically focused on the theme of sport. In addition, the establishment of several sport specific museums took place in 2012 including the National Hockey Museum and the British Surfing Museum. It can be considered no coincidence that this increase in interest, and therefore funding for, sport in museums in England was directly related to the fact that London was the host city of the 2012 Olympic Games.

In parallel to the activity taking place in practice, academic interest in sport in museums was also increasing at this time and texts published in 2011 and 2012 reflect this gathering momentum, for example, Murray Phillips' (2011) text, *Representing the sporting past in museums and halls of fame*. The title of Phillip's book suggests that it will address the broader topic of sport as a theme for museums.[124] Several chapters go on to do so successfully, but the typology of sport museums provided by Phillips focuses on sport specific museums and there is little discussion of the how sport is relevant as a museum subject in general.[125] As a result, Phillips' text fails to draw the necessary and timely conclusions that would place sport as a core museum subject. Hill, Moore, and Wood (2012) provide a more rounded picture of sport in museums, although it is still only Moore who focuses on non-sport specific museums in 'Sport in museums and Museums of Sport'.[126] The text as a whole aims to demonstrate how sport in museums addresses wider public agendas. It fails to provide the necessary evidence because of its focus on sport specific museums and its limited reference to sport as a subject for the wider museum sector. Both Phillips' and Hill, Moore and Woods texts suggest a restricted understanding of the museum sector, its priorities, governing structures, and key delivery programmes and consequently this is reflected in how the subject of sport in museums is handled. For example, the authors do not discuss where sport in museums fits within the Department for Culture, Media and Sport's (DCMS) museum funding programme, Renaissance in the Regions, discussed in depth in chapter five.[127] This was a significant programme which brought in extensive funding to the museum sector with a specific aim of engaging new audiences. Consequently, it was a prime opportunity for the use of sport to be tested as a subject matter for museums and is directly relevant to the studies of both texts. This lack of understanding of the museum sector therefore has positioned sport as a topic for

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[124] Phillips, M. *Representing the Sporting past in Museums and Halls of Fame.* New York: Routledge, 2011.p.6.

[125] For example O'Neil and Osmond's chapter depicting the importance of the 1920's and 30's race horse, Phar Lap, to the Melbourne Museum and its visitors. O'Neill, M. and Osmond, G. 'A Racehorse in the Museum: Phar Lap and the New Museology.' pp.29-48, in *Representing the Sporting Past in Museums and Halls of Fame*. edited by Phillips, M. New York: Routledge. 2011.

[126] Hill, J., Moore, K., and Wood, J. (Eds) *Sport, History and Heritage: An Investigation into the Public Representation of Sport.* 2012.

[127] Museums Association. *Renaissance: MLA Consultation.* London: Museums Association. 2008; Museums Association. *Collections for the Future.* London: Museums Association, 2005.

museums as a separate entity to be studied and discussed in isolation. This isolation continues because evidence that situates sport in museums centrally to wider cultural and museum activity is not forthcoming. Therefore, although there has been a progression in the field of sport in museums, our understanding of the field is still extremely limited.

3.12 Conclusion

The comments of Walter Sparrow in 1922 demonstrate that the concept of sport in museums is not new.[128] Nearly a century prior to this study, the value of sporting exhibitions as opportunities to support wider social outcomes were already evident, and these opportunities are demonstrated by non-museum exhibitions, such as the Hutchinson House example of 1933 which was created to support the social improvement of Jewish boys.[129] The traditional focus of museums on subjects of high culture is most likely the cause of this lack of interest, and it was not until 1948 that the first sporting exhibition, *Sport in Art* held at the V&A, was delivered within a museum space. Even then, it was not a traditional museum exhibition, but one hosted only as part of the London 1948 Olympic Games with a focus on the art works of competition winners from amateur artists.[130] However, *Sport in Art* marked the emergence of an interest in sport in museums, and in 1949 the National Gallery of British Pastimes was opened by its founder and owner, Walter Hutchinson.[131] Ostensibly, this answered the call of Sparrow's plea for a national sports museum, even though it was not publically funded, and, in different circumstances could have established a very different perspective of sport in museums than that which we see today. However, in 1951, Hutchinson committed suicide, and in the wake of his tragic death, the collection was broken up, sold, and the gallery closed. This marked the last attempt at a national museum of sport in Britain or England, although it is likely that the National Gallery of British Pastimes had some influence on the decision to open

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[128] Sparrow, W.S. *British Sporting Artists from Barlow to Henning.* New York : C. Scribner's Sons. 1922.p.9.

[129] British Pathe news reel. *"Mr Jardine….speaks at last!"* London. 15th May 1933. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.britishpathe.com/video/mr-jardine-speaks-at-last/query/International

[130] BBC Television Service. *Sport in Art exhibition.* July 26th 1948. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.bbc.co.uk/archive/olympics_1948/12103.shtml

[131] Sydney Morning Herald, the. *London's remarkable new gallery of pictures.* Tuesday 8th March, 1949. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/18106109

the first museum concerned with a specific sport, the MCC Museum, in 1953, if only by providing the MCC with the confidence that a museum about sport would attract new audiences. The same year also saw the delivery of the *Football and the Fine Arts* touring exhibition which established the use of locally relevant objects associated with sport in museum exhibitions succeeded in attracting new and different audiences to local and regional museums across the country.[132] However, the evidence created from *Football and the Fine Arts* seems to have been insufficient to have had any impact on the development of sport in museums in general. Although there were pockets of activity which saw the creation of several sport specific museums and ad hoc sporting exhibitions delivered in museums between 1955 and 1989, it was not until the changing landscape of museums in favour of the representation of the everyday, that the topic of sport began to reappear in museums, with exhibition programmes such as Stuart Clarke's *Homes of Football.*[133] Interest in sport in museums remained constant during the 1990s and early twenty-first century with a gradual increase in the number of sport specific museums which opened, and more and more non-sport specific museums holding exhibitions about sport. Despite this growing number of examples of sport in museums and sport specific museums then, there is a significantly limited range of literature concerned with the topic of sport in museums.[134] From Vamplew's early paper in 1989, there has been a consistent message given to sporting historians that museums, and not just sport specific museums, offer an unparalleled opportunity by which to investigate the sporting past.[135] However, at the time of writing there is still little written discussion about the role and value of sport as a subject matter for museums and, where it does exist, it concentrates on sport specific museums alone.

In addition, in 2003 several museum professionals who worked with sporting collections still felt that there was an attitude towards sport that it was somehow

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[132] Physick, R. *The Representation of Association Football in Fine Art in England.* A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor Of Philosophy, University of Central Lancashire. April 2013. p.230.

[133] Brabazon, T. *Playing on the Periphery: Sport, Identity and Memory.* London: Routledge, 2006. pp.7-40.

[134] Phillips, M. *Representing the Sporting past in Museums and Halls of Fame.* New York: Routledge, 2011. p.5.

[135] Vamplew, W. 'Australian sports history: a research agenda.' *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 6, no.2 (1989): 252-255. See also Moore, K. 'Foreword.' xi-xv. in *Representing the Sporting past in Museums and Halls of Fame.* edited by Phillips, M. New York: Routledge. 2011. p.xii and Vamplew, W. 'Facts & Artefacts: Sports Historians and Sports Museums.' *Journal of Sport History* 25, no.2 (1998): 268-282.

beneath museums, and not worthy of public display in the same way as other, more traditional, museum subjects. As result, and to change these perceptions, the SHN was created. Although the SHN aimed to increase the interest in the sporting heritage of Britain and to date has conducted significant research programmes about sporting heritage and delivered one of the largest touring exhibition programmes that England has ever witnessed in *Our Sporting Life*, it still remains relatively unheard of within the museum sector, and unstudied within the literature. This suggests that although there are those working in the museum profession who value sport as a subject for museums, on the whole, it is relatively unexplored, under-utilised, and misunderstood. Therefore, the next chapter will explore the existing practice of sport in museums to determine the opportunities and barriers facing the inclusion of sporting exhibitions in museum settings.

Chapter Four: Existing Practice of Sport in Museums

The previous chapter demonstrated that the use of sport as a subject matter for museums increased throughout the second half of the twentieth century, and early twenty-first century. However, sport in museums is still largely ignored within the literature, as discussed in chapter two, and where it has been discussed, it is mainly concerned with sport specific museums, rather than developing a wider understanding of how sport as a topic is represented in museums in general.[1] Even so, there are still only two texts which are exclusively concerned with sport in museums, and although these represent a welcome attempt to properly investigate sport as a subject matter for museums, they are still more concerned with academic discussions around the use of objects in sport specific museums and the wider concepts around the importance of sporting heritage as a subject matter for academic research, than developing an holistic understanding about sport in a wider cultural context.[2] As a result, there is little known about how and why sport specific museums have been established in England, or what motivations influence those working in non-sport specific museums to hold exhibitions about sport. Consequently, there is also little known about the barriers which prevent the further development of sport in museums. Without a detailed understanding of these factors, the position of sport in museums therefore remains unclear. Thus, this chapter will seek to fill these knowledge gaps and provide an illustration of the motivations and barriers which affect the existing practice of sport in museums in 2012. The chapter will begin by exploring the sport specific museums in England, and then discuss the influences and issues effecting the development of sporting programmes in non-sport specific museums.

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[1] See for example Phillips, M. *Representing the Sporting past in Museums and Halls of Fame.* New York: Routledge, 2011. The title appears to suggest a discussion of sport in museums, but Phillip's introduction has a focus on sport specific museums alone; Also Danilov, V. *Hall of Fame Museums: A reference guide.* Westport: Greenwood Press. 1997.Danilov, V. *Sports Museums and Halls of Fame Worldwide*. Jefferson: Macfarland and Company. 2005.

[2] Ibid; Hill, J., Moore, K., and Wood, J. *Sport, History and Heritage: An Investigation into the Public Representation of Sport.* Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2012.

4.1 Sport Specific Museums in England

As discussed in chapter two, because a basic narrative about sport specific museums has not yet been addressed, it is difficult to establish what happens to change a collection of sporting objects into a museum, how the resulting museum is funded both initially and in the long term, and what the museums objectives are once it has been created. To fill the gaps in knowledge represented by these questions, the author conducted in-depth field work with staff based at sport specific museums.[3] The methodology used is discussed at length in the introduction to this thesis, and involved a series of questionnaires, conversations, and field trips to the museums relevant to the study. The author received responses from nine of the eleven sport specific museums of relevance to this study.[4] For the other two museums which the author did not receive a response, Brooklands Museum and the Museum of British Surfing, the author was able to gather some information about the motivations for the establishment of these museums from other sources, including annual reports and accounts, which can be considered to be viable evidence and representative of the delivery of both museums.[5]

In addition to these sport specific museums, there are a number of museums of sport which exist specifically to tell the story of a specific sports club. Moore (1997) argues that the main reason these museums developed was to increase the revenue of the club through attracting more visitors and developing the brand of the club itself to include its heritage.[6] These museums include for example, the Liverpool Football Club Museum and the Somerset Cricket Club Museum. These museums are not included within this study because they are outside of its parameters, as discussed in chapter one, namely that they do not hold, or are not working towards, Museum

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[3] See Appendix I.

[4] The museum staff who responded to the survey were the Marylebone Cricket Club Museum, the Wimbledon Lawn Tennis Museum, the National Horse Racing Museum, the World Rugby Museum, the River and Rowing Museum, the National Football Museum, the National Badminton Museum, the National Fencing Museum, the National Hockey Museum. Returns were not received from the Museum of British Surfing, which had only just opened at the time of field research, and the Brooklands Museum.

[5] See for example Museum of British Surfing. *About Us.* Devon: British Museum of Surfing. Date unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.museumofbritishsurfing.org.uk/british-surfing-history/ and Brooklands Museum. *History.* Weybridge: Brooklands Museum. Date unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.brooklandsmuseum.com/index.php?/history

[6] Moore, K. *Museums & Popular Culture.* London: Leicester University Press, 1997.p.130.

Accreditation,[7] and that they tell the story of a club, rather than a sport. This is not to say that findings of a similar study of these museums would not be worthwhile, but that it is not within the parameters of this study. There is also the British Golf Museum based in St. Andrews, Scotland, however, again, as discussed in chapter one, the remit of this study is purely concerned with museums which are situated in England.

Therefore, the following sections analyse the responses provided to the author's survey from staff at the relevant sport specific museums to this study, beginning with an overview of when and where sport specific museums in England were established.

4.2 The Time and Place of Sport Specific Museums in England

In order to provide a context for the following discussions about how and why sport specific museums have developed in England, this section will outline which sport specific museums are relevant to this study, when they were opened, and where they are geographically in the country. The author asked the question, "When was the museum established?" The answers are illustrated at figure 14.[8]

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[7] Arts Council England (ACE). *Accreditation Standard.* London: ACE. 2011. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/media/uploads/pdf/Accreditation_standard_print_friendly.pdf

[8] The York Racing Museum is now closed, and therefore it was not possible to conduct a survey with staff of this museum. In addition, although responses were not received from Brooklands Museum or the British Surfing Museum, the author was able to find the details of the museums opening date from their website.

Figure 14: Timeline of the Sport Specific Museums in England

1940s	1949-1951 National Gallery of British Sporting Pastimes
1950s	1953 Marylebone Cricket Club Museum opens in London
1960s	1965 – 1999 York Racing Museum
1970s	1977 Wimbledon Lawn Tennis Museum opens in Wimbledon
1980s	1983 National Horse Racing Museum opens in Newmarket 1983 Rugby Union Museum opens in Twickenham, later to become the World Rugby Museum
1990s	1991 Brooklands Museum opens in Weybridge, Surrey 1996 The World Rugby Museum opens in Twickenham 1998 River and Rowing Museum opens in Henley
2000s	2001 National Football Museum opens in Preston 2002 National Fencing Museum opens in Worcestershire 2003 National Badminton Museum opens in Milton Keynes
2010s	2012 British Surfing Museum opens in Devon 2012 National Football Museum moves to Manchester 2012 National Hockey Museum opens in Working, Surrey

Source: Author's research

Therefore, this diagram shows, as discussed in chapter three, that the first sport specific museum to be opened in England was the Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC) Museum in 1953. Although the National Gallery for British Sporting Art had briefly existed in London between 1949 and 1951, it was not until the Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC) established a museum about the history of cricket at Lords Cricket Ground, that a permanent long-term sport specific museum was established. The only sport specific museum of relevance to this study which is no longer in existence (apart from the National Gallery for British Sporting Art) is the York Racing Museum. Opened in one of the stands at York Race Course, the museum was set up to display an existing collection and tell the story of the history of horse racing in general.[1] The museum was

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[1] The National Horse Racing Museum (NHRM). *The Longer History of the Museum.* Newmarket: NHRM. Date Unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014.
http://www.nhrm.co.uk/About_the_Museum/A_Longer_History.aspx

popular, however, when the time came for a redevelopment of the stand that housed the museum, the governing body of the racecourse felt that no space could be found for the museum and as a result it was closed.[2] This suggests that there is a tension between the heritage of sport and the need to fulfil present day targets, discussed later in this chapter. The illustration also establishes that from the 1980s onwards there was a gradual increase in the number of sport specific museums in England, with a prolific period of activity in the early twenty-first century. The reasons behind the decision to open these museums at these times will be discussed later in this chapter.

In addition, the author also asked the question, "What is the address [of the museum]?" The map at figure 15 provides an analysis of the answers provided to this question and depicts the geographical spread of sport specific museums in England.

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[2] Carroll, S. *The Big interview with Dede Scott Brown.* The York Press. Wednesday 31st August 2011. Accessed January 31st 2014.
http://www.yorkpress.co.uk/sport/other/features/biginterview/9224845.The_Big_Interview_with_Dede_Scott_Brown/?ref=rss

Figure 15: Map of the English Sport Specific Museums

National Football Museum, Manchester

National Fencing Museum, Worcestershire

National Badminton Museum, Milton Keynes

British Surfing Museum, Devon

National Horse Racing Museum, Newmarket

Marylebone Cricket Club Museum, London

World Rugby Museum, Twickenham

Wimbledon Lawn Tennis Museum, Wimbledon

River and Rowing Museum, Henley-on-Thames

National Hockey Museum and Archive, Woking

Brooklands Museum, Weybridge

Source: Author's research

The geographical position of the museums suggests a bias towards the South of England. However, the author also asked the question "Were there any specific decisions that led to the museum being located where it is?" The responses demonstrate that the choice of location is mainly because the museum has been offered space at the premises of either the head-quarters of the governing body or in a location specifically relevant to the sport itself, for example the National Badminton Museum which is located in the offices of Badminton England.[1] Due to the historical contexts of these sports, and their links to high culture as discussed later in this chapter, the majority of these sports were established in the south of England,

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[1] Anonymous. National Badminton Museum. Response to the author's survey. April 15th 2012; Badminton England is the sport governing body for Badminton in England.

therefore have their head-offices in these regions, and it is this factor that has influenced where sports museums are based, rather than a bias to creating sport specific museums in the south of the country for any other reason. The National Football Museum (NFM) is the main exception to this, being based initially in Preston, and latterly in Manchester. The decision to open the museum in Preston was because of Preston's connection with the development of Association Football, and therefore in keeping with the trend of sport specific museums being located in a position of relevance of convenience to the sport itself. However, the decision to move the museum to Manchester is discussed later in this chapter, and again in chapter eight, and was connected more with issues of funding and cultural policy, than any sport related concerns.

Having established, then, the sport specific museums of relevance to this study, when they were opened, and their geographical location, it is important to understand what motivating factors led to the creation of these museums. This helps to establish the influences which affect the decision to create a sport specific museum, but also to support an understanding of the ongoing objectives of the museum once it is open. Therefore, the next section will explore the findings of the author's research in relationship to the creation of sport specific museums in England.

4.3 The Creation of Sport Specific Museums

Many collections of sporting objects exist in England.[2] What is it then specifically that means there is a need, or a desire, to change the status of these objects from a collection, into a museum? Why is it not suitable for these objects to be held within other museums venues, and instead a specific museum has been created to house the collections? To date, these issues have not been addressed. Therefore, the author asked the question, "How and why was the [sport specific] museum established?" As discussed above, nine of the museums included in this study responded to the answer. In addition, the author was able to include documented evidence which discussed the

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[2] Hood, A. *Sports heritage network mapping survey: an overview of sports heritage collections.* Henley: The Sports Heritage Network. 2006.

creation of the other two museums, Brooklands Museum and the British Surfing Museum. The findings are presented at figure 16.

Figure 16: The Primary Motivations for Creating Sport Specific Museums

Museum	Primary motivation
MCC Museum	Created by the governing body to house an increasingly large collection
Wimbledon Lawn Tennis Museum	Created by the governing body to house a pre-existing collection
National Horse Racing Museum	Organised by an interested individual to house existing collections
Brooklands Museum	A group of interested individuals lobbied the local council for support to protect a sporting heritage site and associated collections
World Rugby Museum	Created by the governing body to house an increasingly large collection
River and Rowing Museum	Led by a group of interested individuals
National Football Museum	A group of interested individuals lobbied for the museum based on the existence of a prominent private collection
National Fencing Museum	Set up by an interested individual who owned a large private collection
National Badminton Museum	Created by the governing body to bring collections and archives associated with Badminton together
National Hockey Museum	Led by the governing body, and organised by interested individuals to make a collection accessible
British Surfing Museum	Established from a private collection and led by an interested individual

Source: Author's research

This evidence demonstrates that above all else, the existence of a pre-existing collection is the key determining factor in the process leading to the creation of a sport specific museum. As discussed in chapter two, because of the disinterest of the museum sector in terms of everyday history prior to the 1980s, the responsibility for protecting sporting collections has often been left to private individual collectors. Indeed, the respondents to the author's survey all agree that the museum that exists today is primarily because of an individual, or number of individuals, who established collections built up often over a long period of time and given or loaned to the museum upon its creation. For example, Adam Chadwick, Curator of the MCC Museum, argues that private "collectors [are] extremely important because it is largely

down to them that sports heritage has survived".[3] For those museums where the sporting collections were collected and owned by the governing body, there still appears to be a substantial input from individual collectors both prior to, and after the opening of the museum. For example, Katie Dodd from the National Hockey Museum asserts that "The Trustees [of the museum] have over the years developed a number of very good connections with collectors of hockey memorabilia from around the world".[4] Several of the trustees of the National Hockey Museum are also part of the governing body of hockey in England, the English Hockey Board. This suggests that the private collectors of sporting objects have been the singularly most significant factor in the creation of sport specific museums in England to date.

Alone, however, the existence of a collection is not enough to ensure a museum will be created about a sport. For example, several substantial collections of Rugby League artefacts exist and as yet, a museum about Rugby League has still to be established.[5] Figure 16 demonstrates that in addition to the existence of a collection, there must be other additional factors which build the momentum of interest in creating a museum. For example, in the case of the NFM, this momentum was built through the homelessness of one of the finest footballing collections in existent, the Harry Langton, or FIFA, collection.[6] The outrage felt by a number of interested individuals that this collection was not accessible to the public, led them to campaign for the creation of a museum about football. In addition, the River and Rowing Museum (RRM) was created by a group of individuals who campaigned together to establish a museum about the history and heritage of rowing.[7] Paul Mainds, Chief Executive of the RRM, states that "the idea for the museum was formed by a group of rowing enthusiasts during the 1984 Olympics in Los Angeles".[8] The group discussed the importance of protecting the heritage of the sport and returned to England to hold discussions with other groups in

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[3] Chadwick, A. Curator, MCC Museum, Lords. Response to the author's survey. April 1st 2012.

[4] Dodd, K. National Hockey Museum. Response to the author's survey. May 12th 2013.

[5] For example the collection owned by an ex-Rugby League player, Mike Stephenson.

[6] Moore, K. In conversation with the author. January 30th 2014; National Football Museum (NFM). *The Harry Langton Collection.* Manchester: NFM. Date unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.nationalfootballmuseum.com/collections/about-our-collections/current/the-harry-langton-collection/

[7] Henley Standard. *'Fixer' who helped found the River and Rowing Museum.* September 12th 2011. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.henleystandard.co.uk/news/news.php?id=979120

[8] Mainds, P. Director. River and Rowing Museum. Response to the author's survey. April 1st 2012.

the town of Henley, who were exploring ways to present the history of the town in general.[9] The two groups joined together and gathered support from the local council, the governing body of rowing itself, and private benefactors, to finally open the museum in 1998. It took time and significant lobbying of local organisations and funders to ensure the museum would be created. Of course, there are other influences which have contributed to the opening of these museums at these times, but the findings of this study suggest that the tenacity of the individual to campaign for the need for that specific museum at that specific time, is an essential factor.

In terms of the relationship of sport governing bodies to the creation of sport specific museums, the involvement appears to be reactive rather than pro-active, that is, because a collection has exceeded its current storage capacity rather than the governing body creating a museum out of choice. On the one hand this demonstrates that the heritage of sport is not an immediate priority for sport governing bodies, however, it also demonstrates that, when the opportunity arises, sport governing bodies recognise the importance of their heritage and provide support to protect it. For example, Mike Rowe, Curator of the World Rugby Museum (WRM), Twickenham explains that "over the course of a century, the collection built up to such a level that in 1972 the Rugby Football Union (RFU) had the idea of opening a museum".[10] It still took eleven years to open the museum because it was not a priority for the RFU, however without the backing of the RFU the collection would have been left homeless. This suggests, therefore, that sport governing bodies have an interest in their sports heritage, but only as a final resort. As discussed further in this chapter, the primary reason for this is due to the pressures of everyday priorities, such as increasing participation in sport, which means for governing bodies, the focus must be on the achievements of the day, rather than the achievements of the past.

However, there is still the question to answer of why it is that museums which tell the entire history of a sport have been created, rather than those sporting collections

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[9] Henley first hosted the Henley Regatta in 1839 and, apart from during the two World Wars, it has been held annually ever since. As a consequence, the history of Henley and the sport of rowing have become intertwined.
[10] Rowe, M. Curator. World Rugby Museum, Twickenham. Response to the author's survey. April 1st 2012.

which exist being housed in other museums in a similar fashion to the history of other topics. What is it about sport specifically that meant in order to protect and display this heritage, new specific museums, needed to be created? The answers can most likely be found in an exploration of the early social history museums of the 1970s and 1980s, which were set up to explore heritage deemed to be relevant by the people experiencing it, and often due to a frustration of the lack of inclusion about their heritage in main-stream local authority museums, as discussed in chapter two.[11] These museums opened to explore the heritage of the general public, heritage that was not being explored in local authority museums during this time. Figure 14 illustrates that it was only from the 1970s that an increasing interest in opening sport specific museums actually began to take place. This suggests therefore, that those interested individuals which worked to create a sport specific museum about a collection of interest to them, did so because they felt the heritage of their sport was not reflected anywhere else, and as with other fields of social history, decided to establish a museum specifically about sport.

However, closer examination of figure 14 also demonstrates that the museums being created at this time were only concerned with sports which were also considered to be of a middle class origin, such as cricket, tennis, and horse-racing, and thus reflecting actually 'high' culture themselves.[12] As such, these sports could have been expected to be present within traditional museum displays, as part of the cultural hierarchy that museums of this time hoped to explore. However, because sport specific museums follow the pattern of social history museums, the evidence suggests that, even when the sport was related to high culture, it was still not deemed suitable as a subject matter for museums and creating a sport specific museum presented the only opportunity to preserve and explore the heritage connected with specific sports. The debate concerning sports exclusion from culture in general has existed for some time, and is discussed at length within chapter five. In addition, because of the relationship between these sports and high culture, it is likely the individuals who were involved in

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[11] Moore, K. *Museums & Popular Culture.* London: Leicester University Press, 1997. p.78; Howard, S., and Hannam, K. 'The making of two mining museums: Bowes and Beamish North-East England'. pp. 13-22. in *Mining Heritage and Tourism: A Global Synthesis.* edited by Collins, M.V., and Joliffe, l. Oxon: Routledge. 2011.
[12] Polley, M. *Moving the Goalposts: A History of Sport and Society in Britain since 1945.* London: Routledge, 1998. pp.111-113.

these sports, were also museum visitors. As such, seeing the lack of discussion of sport in local authority museums, they decided to marry the two themes and create a museum about sport themselves. Conversely, individuals connected to the working class sports would probably not have been traditional museum visitors, as evidenced by the decreasing visitor figures to museums from the lower classes in the 1970s and 1980s discussed in chapter two, and would therefore have been unlikely to consider opening a museum of any kind, irrespective of if it was associated with a sport they enjoyed. Therefore, it was not until the opening of the National Football Museum (NFM) in 2001 that a sport connected to the working classes was given a museum space of its own, and a number of unique factors contributed to provide the right environment for the establishment of this museum.

Thus, the sport specific museums in England to date have been created by the tenacity of individuals, or groups of individuals and by the sport governing body associated with that sport, to house pre-existing sporting collections. The need to protect and preserve the collection has been established and a museum set up to achieve this. However, the aims and objectives of the museums do not stop at this desire purely to provide a home for a collection of objects. Therefore, the next section will explore the findings of the author's research in relationship to the aims and objectives which the sport specific museums of England aspire to.

4.4 The Objectives of Sport Specific Museums

Irrespective of the origin of the collection or the motivation behind the development of the sport specific museum, each has been established with the intention of achieving specific aims and objectives. To understand what these aims and objectives are, and if there are any correlations across the sport specific museums, the author asked the sport specific museum representatives to outline their museums' mission statement. The *Cambridge Business Dictionary* defines a mission statement as "a short written statement of what a company or an organization is trying to achieve with all its activities".[13] Consequently, the mission statements provide a succinct testimonial

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[13] Cambridge Dictionaries Online. *Mission Statement.* Cambridge: Cambridge University. Date unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/business-english/mission-statement

about the purpose of the museum. Eight of the sport specific museums included in this study returned survey data about their mission statements. The response from the NHRM did not include the mission statement and the author was unable to find the statement in any literature associated with the NHRM. Figure 17 illustrates the words used within the mission statements and reveals the primary objectives of sport specific museums through the use of a word cloud.[14]

Figure 17: Word Cloud Created from Mission Statements of Sport Specific Museums

Source: Author's research presented as a word cloud

An analysis of the word cloud reveals that there are two tiers of words used to define the intention of sport specific museums.[15] That is one tier of word which appears frequently in the mission statements of sport specific museums and demonstrates an over-arching focus of such museums. Another tier of less frequently appearing words, but that, nonetheless have some correlation across the field and represent lesser objectives of these museums. Tier one includes the words sport, collection, England, history, enjoyment, and public. These six words can therefore be said to encapsulate the role and purpose of sport specific museums in England in 2012. They have a focus on the subject matter (sport) and objects (collection). They aim to tell the story of the

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[14] The softwear used to create this word cloud was Wordle. "Wordle is a toy for generating "word clouds" from text that you provide. The clouds give greater prominence to words that appear more frequently in the source text." http://www.wordle.net/

[15] The titles of sports, for example football, tennis, rugby, were not included in the final analysis.

subject matter (history) in a way that is engaging (enjoyment), they concentrate on one geographical area (England), and they are aimed at providing greater access and information to sporting collections through these activities (public). Tier two words provide the finer detail of the objectives of sport specific museums and demonstrate that audiences, education, knowledge, and world-class provision are at the forefront of their objectives. The words included in this tier are explain, preserve, promote, provide, research, information, learning, education, present, interpret, international, world, visitors, possible, and highest. These are aspirational objectives which demonstrate that sport specific museums aim to provide professional, authoritative provision, which is accessible to a wide public.

To understand the similarities and differences between the objectives of sport specific museums and the wider museums sector, it is possible to compare the results of findings from a Collections Link research project which analysed the mission statements of forty museums in England chosen at random, as shown at figure 18.

Figure 18: Word Cloud created by Collections Trust from Museum Mission Statements

Source: Collections Trust.[16]

A comparison of the two word clouds demonstrates that there are striking similarities between sports specific museums and the wider museum sector, specifically in terms

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[16] Collections Link. *What are museums for?* London: Collections Trust. 2013. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.collectionslink.org.uk/discover/new-perspectives/1380-what-are-museums-for; Collections Link is a best practice resources that supports the collections community in the UK.

of priority around collections, public understanding, enjoyment, and geographical frameworks. There is a distinct difference, however, between the mission statements of sport specific museums as presented in the word clouds above and the museums represented within the Collections Link survey. The word 'future' is prevalent in the general museums study, whereas the word 'history' appears in those from sport specific museums. This suggests that the wider museum sector have placed an emphasis on understanding the future through the use of the past and reference this clearly in their key organisational phrases. It implies that sport specific museums still focus predominantly on telling the story of the past, without making specific reference to the importance of this in supporting both present and future understanding. This limitation suggests sport specific museums have an outdated approach to museum activity which leaves them at a disadvantage in terms of programming, delivery and ultimately, the acquisition of funding. This focus represents the methodology used by museums pre-1990, before museum professionals began to place history from below as a priority in museum narratives. The methodology is most likely inherited from the original establishment of the museum, especially from the early sport specific museums where the focus on the chronological story-telling of the sport's past, and with it a focus on the celebratory story of sport was a priority. For example, the MCC Museum demonstrates a focus on these aspects, and although in need of updating, it establishes the original treatment of sport in museums, prior to the transition of the museum sector as a whole towards contextualising social history subjects. It is this element of activity within sport specific museums which separates them from the wider museum sectors current approach to the examination and use of history.

This disjuncture with the museum sector as a whole reflects the criticisms levelled at sport specific museums from the academic sector. That is, that the focus of these museums is very often on the celebrations of the sport, with less emphasis on the losses and wider social issues associated with it.[17] The reason for this is most probably because the funders of sport specific museums, the sport governing bodies themselves, wished to highlight the successes of the sport, underplay any contentious issues of losses associated with the sport. For example, again the MCC Museum was

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[17] See for example Vamplew, W. 'Facts & Artefacts: Sports Historians and Sports Museums.' *Journal of Sport History* 25, no.2 (1998): p.278.

established in 1953 and has not been significantly refurbished since. The museum has a focus on the celebratory elements of cricket with an emphasis on "the greatest players of all times" and the Ashes Urn.[18] Visitor information on the MCC Museum website states that:

> As well as housing static displays, the MCC Museum includes the Brian Johnston Memorial Theatre, which enables visitors to see footage of some of the greatest performances in cricket's long and illustrious history.[19]

However, discussions with the current curator of the museum, Adam Chadwick, reveal that although the static displays within the museums focus on the celebratory aspects, the associated programmes and temporary exhibitions position cricket heritage within a wider context.[20] Chadwick comments that a future plan is to renew the museum completely to allow a more representative history of the place of cricket in wider society, as well as a chronological development of the sport. This change in emphasis reflects the changing understanding of the museum sector as a whole towards everyday culture. The initial development of many sport specific museums came before the understanding of the place of sport in museums. As such there was a feeling that they were not really related to museum practice, and therefore they neither viewed themselves as part of the museum field, nor were viewed as such. However, with the gradual increase in understanding of the role of social history in museums, and with it popular culture, sport specific museums have embraced museum methodology.

To further evidence the position of sport specific museums as members of the museum community, the author asked the respondents of the survey to identify if any members of staff held a museum qualification. The findings demonstrated that all sport specific museums either have a member of staff who holds or is working towards a relevant qualification, or they have a volunteer working with them that does. This demonstrates that sport specific museums employ museum professionals who approach sporting collections with the same knowledge and understanding of current

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[18] Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC) Museum. *MCC Museum.* London: MCC. Date Unknown. Accessed June 1st 2013. http://www.lords.org/history/mcc-museum-library-and-collections/mcc-museum/
[19] Ibid.
[20] Chadwick, A. Curator, MCC Museum. Conversation with the author. April 12th 2012.

museum best practice as that of any museum. However, the funding and infrastructure which originally created the museum, funded by the governing body, is often unable or unwilling to fund a refurbishment, and therefore the static displays reflect a distant museum practice, not relevant to current day approaches to museum delivery. Consequently, the practice that underpins sport specific museums is entirely relevant to the museum sector as a whole, but the financial support to redress the public facing collections is lacking. Therefore, the next section will explore the funding associated with sport specific museums.

4.5 The Finances and Governance of Sport Specific Museums

To understand how sport specific museums are funded in the long-term, the author asked a series of questions specifically related to the everyday funding of the museum. Primarily the author asked, "Who funded the initial development of the museum and why?" The responses provided to this question suggest that there is a complex matrix of funding for the initial set up of sport specific museums. Of the museums which responded to the author's survey, four were funded exclusively by the sport governing body, often with the support of private donations: the MCC Museum, the Wimbledon Lawn Tennis Museum (WLTM), the National Horse Racing Museum (NHRM), and the WRM. The other five museums were created by a combination of support from sport governing bodies and other sporting organisations, local authority funding, public trusts and foundation donations, and private donations. For example, to set up the National Badminton Museum, "Badminton England gave the museum a small grant, as did MK [Milton Keynes] Heritage".[21] Milton Keynes Heritage being the local authority managed museum service in the region. In addition, the National Hockey Museum was supported with funding from the English Hockey Board and supplied with premises from Woking Borough Council.[22] Consequently, although it appears that sport has little interest in its own heritage, in reality, it has provided a significant amount of funding towards the creation of those sport specific museums which exist in England. However, this has generally meant that those sports which have greater wealth associated both with the governing bodies and individual interested parties have been able to establish

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[21] Anonymous. National Badminton Museum. Response to the author's survey. April 15th 2012.
[22] Dodd, K. National Hockey Museum. Response to the author's survey. May 12th 2012.

museums to preserve and provide access to their heritage, and those which are less financially stable and most likely from the working classes therefore, have not.

Furthermore, the opportunities to secured additional funding, is often determined by the composition of the museum's governing body. For example museums which are considered to be private companies are often excluded from accessing additional sources of funding because their activities are considered to be profit making, rather than for the wider good of society. Conversely, museums which are recognized as independent charities, can access funding from public funding bodies, such as the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF), and many other trusts and foundations, because these organisations have a remit to support charitable causes and help activities which have charitable and, crucially, not-for-profit objectives.[23] Therefore, the author asked the question, "How is the museum governed?" In addition to the nine responses received, the author was also able to establish the governance status of the British Surfing Museum and the findings demonstrate that six of the museums hold independent charitable status,[24] three are managed as private organisations,[25] and one is a trust in the process of applying for charitable status.[26] Therefore, sport specific museums reflect the mixed governance pattern of museums in general, as established in chapter two. These findings suggest that the majority of sport specific museums are able to apply for additional funding to support supplementary activities associated with their museum. Many of the respondents to the author's survey stated that they were often in receipt of such support.[27] However, although this is a welcome source of income which helps ensure that the museum is able to work more successfully to achieve their mission statement, this funding does not cover the day to day running costs of the museum.

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[23] See for example Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF). *About Us.* London: HLF. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.hlf.org.uk/ABOUTUS/Pages/AboutUs.aspx#.U0065fldVqU
[24] The Charity Commission provides information about the guidelines which denote charities in England. Charity Commission. *What makes a Charity?* London: Charity Commission. Date Unknown. Accessed June 1st 2013. http://www.charitycommission.gov.uk/start-up-a-charity/setting-up-a-charity/about-charities/; The museums which are currently considered to be charities are the National Football Museum; the River and Rowing Museum; the National Badminton Museum; the National Horse Racing Museum; the World Rugby Museum; and the British Surfing Museum.
[25] The MCC Museum; the All England Lawn Tennis Museum; and the National Fencing Museum.
[26] The National Hockey Museum.
[27] For example the NFM and the RRM.

Therefore, to understand how sport specific museums are funded day-to-day, the author also asked "How does the museum sustain its running costs? And if possible, are you happy to disclose these costs?" The answer to this question demonstrated that, again, the sport governing bodies are the primary source of income for the majority of sport specific museums on an ongoing basis. As discussed above, additional funding is sometimes levered in to support additional projects and programmes from organisations such as the Heritage Lottery Fund and local authority's where the museum is based, but on the whole, the funding is largely given by the governing body and as donations from individuals associated with the sport, as in the case, for example of the WLTM.[28] In addition, entrance fees are charged to members of the general public to all but one of the sport specific museums, and this goes some way to support the running costs of the museums on a day-to-day basis. For example the WRM is funded "through admission and funding income" but because this does not cover the overall running of the museum entirely, "the deficit [is] provided by the RFU".[29] The only sport specific museum which does not charge an entrance fee is the NFM. This is primarily because of a condition of its funding from the Football Foundation which aims to ensure a greater access to the museum from all sectors of society, without being excluded by the barrier of cost.[30] Therefore, the funding provided by the Football Foundation, cancels out the need for the NFM to charge an entrance fee. The NFM was originally funded to the amount of £100,000 per year directly from the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), as discussed in depth in chapter eight, however when the museum moved to Manchester, the DCMS took the decision to withdraw this funding.

The fact, then, that sport specific museums have been established and supported by the sport sector itself, rather than being financed by public funding, except in isolated circumstances, suggests that sport is not valued as highly as museums about, for example, science and industry or portraiture.[31] Private companies are not usually expected to fund museums specifically related to the industries associated with their

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[28] Godfrey, H. Curator. Wimbledon Lawn Tennis Museum. Response to author's survey. April 1st 2012.
[29] Rowe, M. Curator. World Rugby Museum, Twickenham. Response to authors survey. April 1st 2012.
[30] Moore, K. In conversation with the author. January 30th 2014.
[31] The DCMS directly funds museums on an annual basis concerning these subjects, for example, The Science Museum Group and the National Portrait Gallery.

work. Instead, such museums are funded through the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) as recognition of the contribution made by these collections in providing an understanding of the nation's heritage, and to preserve their collections on behalf of the general population. By choosing not to use public funding, at least on a national level, of any sport specific museum, suggests that sport is somehow less important to the heritage of the nation than the industries reflected by those museums which it does fund, for example the Natural History Museum or the National Portrait Gallery.[32]

Therefore, the creation and development of sport specific museums in England has been gathering apace since the turn of the twenty-first century. The objectives and professionalism of these museums reflect the museum sector as a whole, with the exception of a focus of the historical nature of their collections, rather than their ability to teach lessons about the present and future. The funding for these museums has been drawn from the sport sector rather than through the investment of public finances, thus giving the impression that sport is somehow inferior as subject for representation in museums, to other publically funded venues. However, the establishment, objectives and funding of sport specific museums, only provides half of the story of sport in museums in England. Within the limited literature available, it is the sport specific museums which have provided the focus, with a few notable exceptions discussed earlier in this thesis. As a result, the study of the use of sport in non-sport specific museums has been almost non-existent. Consequently, the next section will explore the existing practice of non-sport specific museums concerning the topic of sport.

4.6 Existing Practice of Non-Sport Specific Museums

This section will explore the motivations and barriers which influence the use of sport as a topic for museum exhibitions and programming. Although chapter three demonstrates that non-sport specific museums gradually increased their use of sport

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[32] The Natural History Museum (NHM) is situated in South Kensington, London and looks after over seventy million natural history specimens; The National Portrait Gallery (NPG) was opened in 1856 and is situated in London. It seeks to tell the story of important men and women from British history through portraiture.

as a subject for exhibitions during the second half of the twentieth century, there has remained little discussion within the literature about how museums, other than sport specific museums, approach the theme of sport. Consequently, there is little information about why museums have chosen to use sport, the barriers which prevent the use of sport in museums, and the opportunities which exist for museums using sport. Therefore, this chapter will examine why non-sport specific museums choose to mount sporting exhibitions and deliver sporting programmes, and as a result, explore which factors have influenced the inclusion of sporting programmes in non-sport specific museums, and the barriers which exist for some museums to address the theme of sport. To address these questions, the author conducted a survey, follow-up conversations, and focus groups with museum professionals. The methodology is discussed in detail in the introduction to this thesis. Sixty one museum staff members responded to the survey from a mix of regional, national, independent and voluntary museums.[33] In addition, the author conducted a survey and discussions with staff working in wider cultural organisations which often work in partnership with, or support the activity of, the museum sector for example English Heritage and the DCMS. The next section examines the responses to understand the motivations which lead those working in non-sport specific museums to deliver sporting exhibitions.

4.7 The Motivations of Non-Sport Specific Museums to use Sport

Although chapter three established that non-sport specific museums have increasingly shown an interest in the topic of sport, and in 2012 over one hundred such exhibitions were mounted in England, to date, there have not been any studies conducted to establish why non-sport specific museums choose to deliver exhibitions about sport. Consequently, the author asked the question, "What are the reasons likely to encourage you to deliver an exhibition about sport?" Of the sixty-one responses, fifty-five provided an answer to this question and can therefore be considered to be a representative sample size. The findings demonstrate that there are five key reasons which motivate a non-sport specific museum to hold an exhibition about sport, as illustrated at figure 19.

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[33] See Appendix II.

Figure 19: Reasons Given by Museums for Hosting a Sporting Exhibition
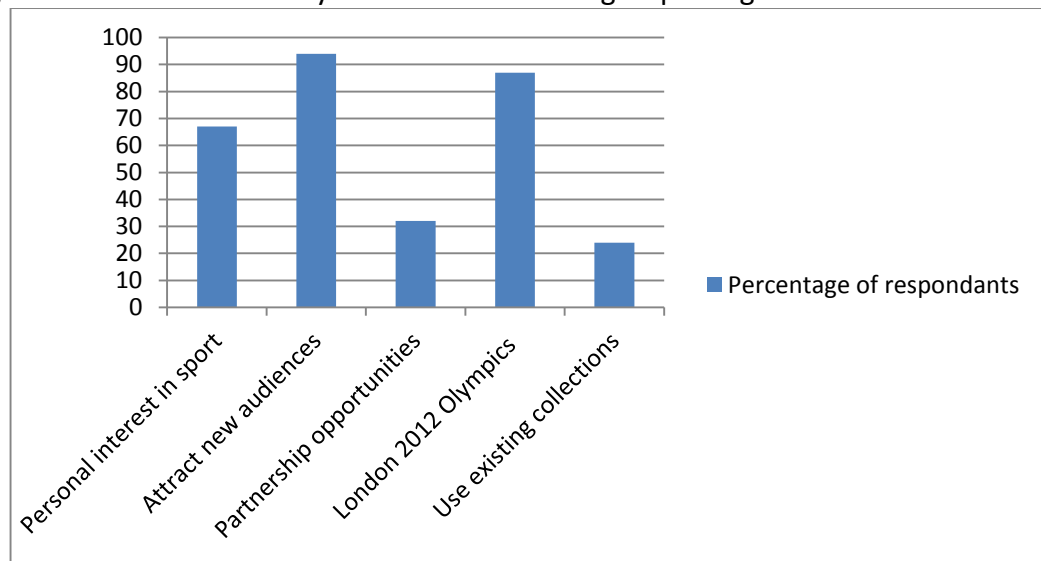
The four most significant reasons given have a focus on wider cultural policy agendas, discussed in detail in chapter five, and personal objectives. This suggests that the need for museums to respond to government agendas is more influential on the resulting exhibitions hosted by museums, than the collections already held in the museum itself. Twenty-four per cent of respondents stated that they had delivered a sporting exhibition with the specific intention of using their existing collections, and of these, there were also additional factors which led the museum to hold the exhibition, such as to appeal to new audiences, rather than the delivery of an exhibition about sport for sport's sake. The fact that the possession of a sporting collection was only the primary reason for hosting a sporting exhibition for a quarter of respondents may be due to the increased need to respond to government agendas, but may also be due to a lack of awareness of the sporting collections held at museums. The Sports Heritage Network's sports collection mapping document, conducted by Annie Hood (2006) and discussed in detail in chapter three, demonstrates that many museum staff do not know if, or what, sporting objects are held at their museum.[34] Therefore, if museum staff do not know what sporting objects are already in their collections, it is unlikely that the collections alone will be their main reason to host an exhibition about sport. Therefore, in order to understand why non-sport specific museums decide to deliver

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[34] Hood, A. *Sports heritage network mapping survey: an overview of sports heritage collections.* The Sports Heritage Network. 2006.

exhibitions about sport, if not primarily due to the collections of sport they hold, the next four sections will discuss the answers given by the respondents to the author's survey.

4.7.1 Attracting New Audiences

Above all, respondents stated that audience development was the most significant reason to make them choose to deliver an exhibition about sport. The subject of sport in museums and audiences is discussed at length in chapter six of this study. Audiences, and the development of new audiences, have been a focal point for museums since cultural policy and museum ideology began to emphasise the relevance and importance of museum collections to as many members of the public as possible in the 1990s.[35] The respondents from museums with prior experience of delivering sporting heritage exhibitions suggested that using sport had a significant impact on bringing new audiences to their museum. For example, the curator of Gallery Oldham, Sean Baggaley, states "past sporting exhibitions have seen a younger audience and have definitely encouraged first-time or non-regular visitors".[36] Adam Daber from the Museum of Science and Industry in Manchester suggests the reason behind the audience's interest in sport is because:

> Sport has universal appeal, can easily fit in with some of the themes covered by the museum and place a different perspective upon things, as well as tapping into many of today's issues: historical and current, accessible, providing insight which may not have previously been appreciated etc.[37]

Daber demonstrates that where museums understand that sport can appeal to a variety of different audiences, it can be harnessed as a powerful device to support audience development. These responses reflect the wishes of the museum sector to present spot as a topic for museum study in the same way as any other subject. Their use of sport is not just to reflect the non-traditional audiences of the museum, but rather to encourage a more relevant exhibition programme and establish a more

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[35] See for example Anderson, D. *A Common Wealth: Museums and Learning in the United Kingdom.* London: Department of National Heritage. 1997.

[36] Baggaley, S. Curator. Gallery Oldham. Response to the author's survey. March 20th 2012.

[37] Daber, A. Manchester Museum of Science and Industry. Response to the author's survey. April 2nd 2012.

coherent picture of the history told by their museum. It is clear that the use of sport here is not to establish the museum as a bastion of political correctness which provides snippets of information about all cultures and all societies, rather that sport in museums provides a lens by which to discuss different communities, local customs, and support greater understanding of long held assertions.

Sport exhibitions held at Bradford Industrial Museum provide evidence that using sport increases and broadens audiences.[38] Sport exhibitions have been delivered over the past ten years by curator Mick Callaghan and, after his departure to another museum in 2012, Learning Coordinator, Dan Willoughby.[39] Callaghan and Willoughby have worked hard to interpret sport within the wider context of the building's history and the population that live, and have lived, in the surrounding area. During follow up discussions with the author, both Callaghan and Willoughby argued that the exhibitions about sport hosted at the museum have appealed to non-traditional museum audiences and the museum visitor figures have increased as a result of sport exhibitions.[40] They also assert that sport exhibitions have had a significant impact on repeat visitors, with many attending the museum for the first time during a sport exhibition and then revisiting the museum to spend time looking at other exhibits. The museum does not monitor specific visitor demographics, however, and so an accurate picture is unobtainable to establish these claims, however both Callaghan and Willoughby have extensive backgrounds working within the museum sector and in-depth knowledge of the museum, its collections and audiences. Therefore, their concurring argument of sport's ability to appeal to different audiences provides compelling evidence of the value of sport to expand museum audiences. Willoughby argues that the use of sport in the museum is an opportunity to discuss a wider picture of the city's history. When asked if this is just an opportunity to explore the working class history of the city, Willoughby is clear that the museum's major collections reflect that of working class history by their very nature, sport is not needed to achieve that

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[38] Bradford Industrial Museum is a former textile mill and the permanent exhibitions reflect this heritage.
[39] Willoughby, D. Learning Co-ordinator, Bradford Industrial Museum. Conversation with the author. November 10th. 2012.
[40] Ibid; Callahan, M. Curator, Bradford Industrial Museum. Conversation with the author. September 20th 2011.

aim.[41] Rather, to Willoughby, the sporting collections reflect an untold story. They appeal to non-traditional audiences because sport is central to who they are as individuals and communities in a way that the other museum collections are not. Willoughby aims to engage these new and different audiences not out of some desire to achieve political correctness which sees the museum ensure it achieves audiences from across a range of social demographics, but to ensure that the museum remains true to its mission statement to narrate the story of Bradford's industrial heritage, and sport plays a central part within that story.

Of those professionals working in museums which do not currently use sport, there is a consensus of agreement that sport would provide them with an opportunity to attract new and different audiences. For example, Jennifer Broadbent of Wigan Leisure and Culture Trust states that she would see sport as an opportunity to attract new audiences and specifically "dads and lads" and "sports fans".[42] This suggests that even when museum professionals have no experience of using sport, they understand the potential of sport to appeal to new audiences. As discussed at length in chapter seven, museum delivery and development in 2012 rests on the ability of the organisations to attract diverse audiences and demonstrate their impact to a variety of agendas. This focus comes from a need to reflect cultural policy and attract funding to support the museum, but is also a central discussion point for the development of museum ideology. Consequently, the ability of sport to appeal to these audiences is a key motivating factor behind museum professionals increased interest in the subject and translation of this interest into sport exhibitions.

4.7.2 The London 2012 Olympic Games

In 2005, London was announced as the host to the 2012 Olympic Games. The Olympic Games have been held every four years in different countries around the world since 1904 and are the brainchild of Pierre de Coubertin, borne out of a wish to bring peace, harmony and friendship to the world through the medium of athletics and a wider

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[41] Willoughby, D. Learning Coordinator, Bradford Industrial Museum. In conversation with the author. July 8th 2014.
[42] Broadbent, J. Curator. Wigan Leisure and Tourism Trust. Response to survey by the author. April 1st 2012.

sporting programme.[43] Alongside every Olympic Games, is the delivery of a cultural festival, the Cultural Olympiad, which presents the range and depth of cultural activity of the host nation on a worldwide platform. Chapter five explores the background to the London 2012 Olympic Games (hereafter London 2012) in detail, positions them in terms of cultural policy in England and within the context of major sporting events in general, and their impact on the museum profession from a policy perspective. The findings of the author's survey, however, demonstrate that London 2012 was a major influence on the use of sport in museums with eighty-seven percent of respondents stating that it was the main reason they had hosted, or would host, an exhibition about sport. Museum staff stated that this was predominantly because the event provided a clear reason for them to address sport for the first time. Museums in general often choose to link their activity with annual events and one off activities that bring with them greater opportunities for low cost publicity and support which raises the profile of the museums, consequently encouraging more visitors to the venue.[44] London 2012 therefore provided the museum sector with an opportunity to capitalise on a national event of high interest to the public. For example, the Fusilier Museum in London created an exhibition with a focus on how sport had played an important part in the regiment's history. This was the first exhibition about sport delivered by the museum and the respondent asserted that "it has highlighted to us quite how significant a role sport plays in the armed forces story. We certainly have objects in our collection with a sporting connection".[45] This demonstrates that it was not a lack of collections that had prevented the museum from delivering an exhibition about sport, but an attitudinal barrier. London 2012 provided the impetus for the museum to explore the role of sport in the context of the wider museum narrative and as a consequence, this has led to a greater understanding of the relevant of sport to the collections. This is echoed by Ollie Douglas, curator at the Museum of English Rural Life, who explains that "we have recently identified all of our sport-related objects in preparation" for a sporting exhibition.[46] This demonstrates that the event encouraged museums to explore what was already held in their collections and use them to provide public access. This study

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[43] Finley, I.M., and Pleket, H.W. *The Olympic Games. The First Thousand Years*. Dover Publications Inc. 2005. pp.4 – 5.

[44] See for example the use of campaigns such as World Book Day in museums which encourages people to read and explore literature.

[45] Anonymous. The Fusilier Museum, London. Response to author's survey. March 20th, 2012.

[46] Douglas, O. Curator. Museum of Rural Life. Response to the author's survey. May 11th 2012.

culminates in 2012 and it has therefore been impossible to establish any long-term effect on the museum sector as a result of London 2012. However, the responses from the museum professionals outlined above suggest that there has been an attitudinal change within the museum sector as a result of London 2012 which now positions sport as a relevant subject for museum display. This is not to say that museums will consequently begin to host a plethora of exhibitions about sport. Conversely it is likely that after such an influx of sporting exhibitions in 2012, it is likely that museums will actually avoid the subject for a period. It is also true to say that there are still those within the museum and cultural sectors who view sport as an irrelevancy. However, in terms of collections policies and the understanding that sport is relevant as part of the story many museums wish to tell, the evidence suggests that the perception of museum staff towards sport is now a positive one as a direct result of London 2012.

4.7.3 A Personal Interest in Sport

The author's survey established that sixty-four percent of respondents felt that their personal interest in sport was the key factor leading their museum to host an exhibition about sport. For example, Bradford Industrial Museum Curator, Mick Callaghan, has a significant personal interest in a range of sports and this interest saw him create four exhibitions about sporting heritage and its relationship to Bradford.[47] When Callaghan left the museum in early 2012, the interest in sporting heritage and Bradford was taken up by the museum's Learning Coordinator, Daniel Willoughby, again a self-professed sports fan.[48] Both Callaghan and Willoughby argue that it is only their personal interest in sport that has led to sport exhibitions being delivered at the museum and no other staff member has shown an interest in working on the exhibitions and there have, at times, according to both Callahan and Willoughby, been questions about the relevance of a sport exhibition within the museum.[49] However, both argue that sport is central to the story of the museum where the story of sport is not only related to the general industrialisation of the north, but also the individual

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[47] Callaghan, M. Curator, Bradford Industrial Museum. Conversation with the author. September 20th 2011.
[48] Willoughby, D. Learning Coordinator, Bradford Industrial Museum. Conversation with the author. August 4th 2012.
[49] Ibid; Callaghan, M. Curator, Bradford Industrial Museum. Conversation with the author. September 20th 2011.

stories of the people who worked at the mill where the museum is housed, and the place of sport within Bradford's history.[50] The fact that Callaghan and Willoughby have had to argue the case for the place of sporting exhibitions at the museum implies that there are those professionals working in the museum sector who still see a disjuncture between sport and its place as a subject for museums. Although the author's survey and conversations with museum professionals on the whole suggested that attitudes towards sporting collections are largely positive, there were consistent examples of practice, such as the case of Bradford Industrial Museum, which suggested that there are still those working in the sector who view sport as a non-essential topic for display in museums. This presents an attitudinal barrier to the sport as a subject for museums which will be discussed later in this chapter. Therefore, if a staff member has a general interest in sport whilst occupying a position within a museum which allows them to suggest or deliver an exhibition, the likelihood of a sporting exhibition being held by that museum, is higher than within a museum where staff have no interest in sport.

In addition, the gender balance between male and female staff working in museums and the traditional attitudes of the genders towards sport is a factor for consideration in the likelihood of museums delivering sporting exhibitions. Although many of the respondents to the author's survey chose to remain anonymous so gender segregation of the number of responses from men and women and their attitude towards sport is impossible to determine, there is alternative evidence that suggests gender attitudes may represent a consideration for sport in museums. Turner (2002) examined the role of women in museums and concluded the gender balance appeared to be more or less equal, but that the majority of women held the middle management roles within collections management and education and that these roles have the biggest impact on decision-making for temporary programming within a museum.[51] The majority of sporting exhibitions delivered in English museums are of a temporary nature. Deaner *et al* (2012) suggest that women have a much lower participation in sport than men,

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[50] Ibid.

[51] Turner, V. 'The Factors Affecting Women's Success in Museum Careers: A Discussion of the Reasons More Women Do Not Reach the Top, and of Strategies to Promote their Future Success'. *Journal of Conservation and Museum Studies* 8 (2002): p.7.

but state that there has been an increase in recent years.[52] Earnheardt *et al* (2012) demonstrate that women have traditionally held less interest in watching sport than men,[53] although Hoeber *et al* (2013) concludes that there has been an increase in female fans of sport during the last ten years.[54] This evidence suggests, therefore, that prior to the year 2000, women had a far smaller interest in sport, either as participants or spectators, than men. At the same time, women occupied the positions in museums which made the decisions of which temporary exhibitions to host. Therefore, this evidence, coupled with the findings of the author's survey which implies that a personal interest in sport is a significant factor in the likelihood of a museum exhibiting a sporting exhibition, suggests that the lack of interest on the part of women in sport prior to the year 2000, was also a significant factor in the disinterest on the part of the museum sector in sport in museums in general. Consequently, the changing attitudes of women to sport after the year 2000, suggests a direct correlation to the increase of sport exhibitions in museums.

4.7.4 Opportunities to Create New Partnerships

The findings of the author's survey suggest that many museums viewed the creation of a sporting exhibition as an opportunity to create new partnerships. The National Museums Directors Conference (NMDC) undertook research in 2008/9 to establish exactly what museum partnerships were, why they were important to museums, and how they could be better supported in future.[55] The results of the research demonstrate that partnerships are vital to the development of museums in England by increasing investment into the sector, widening the understanding of museum professionals on a broad range of subjects, and supporting collections loans across

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[52] Deaner,R.O., Geary,D.C, Puts,D.A., Ham,S.A.,and Kruger,J 'A Sex Difference in the Predisposition for Physical Competition: Males Play Sports Much More than Females Even in the Contemporary U.S'.*PLoS ONE* 7, no. 11 (2012). Accessed June 1st 2014.
http://www.plosone.org/article/info%3Adoi%2F10.1371%2Fjournal.pone.0049168
[53] Earnheardt, A., Hadidakis, P., and Hugenberg, B. *Sports Fans, Identify and Socialization.* Maryland: Lexington Books. 2012. p.203–205.
[54] Hoeber,L., and Kerwin,S. 'Exploring the experiences of female sport fans: A collaborative self-ethnography'. *Sport Management Review* 16 (2013): pp.326–336.
[55] National Museums Directors Conference (NMDC). *National Museums: Working in Partnership*. London: NMDC. 2009. Accessed June 1st 2013.
http://www.nationalmuseums.org.uk/media/documents/what_we_do_documents/partnerships_report.pdf

museum organisations. The reasons these three factors are so important to museums is both because of the growing ideological focus of museum profession to ensure greater access to collections for audiences, and also from the pressure applied by cultural policy on museums to engage new and different audiences with their provision, as discussed further in chapters five, six and seven. Consequently, creating new partnerships became a fundamental objective for museums from the late 1990s and was seen by the museum sector as an opportunity to both enhance practice and generate more income.

Thirty-two per cent of respondents to the author's survey stated that they had chosen to deliver a sporting exhibition with the specific intention of creating new partnerships. For example, the respondent from Surrey Heritage stated that their partnerships were created to enable them to host exhibitions in new venues such as leisure centres and shopping areas and ensure the museum and archive collections reached new audiences as a result.[56] Additionally, a representative from the Ironbridge Museums Trust stated that their sporting exhibition in 2012 had allowed them to "build links and relationships with the local community through consultation and focus groups for specific projects and events".[57] They felt that this had had a significant impact on the development of the museum service as a whole and had allowed them to develop new ways of working which involved the community. Finally, Laura Cotton from the Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies (CBS) commented that the partnership created by the CBS and disability sports organisations, WheelPower and Accentuate have provided an opportunity to develop a proposal of where and how to house Paralympic sporting collections, with a view to widening this out to include all disability sport.[58] By establishing a central holding place for such collections it will support other museum professionals based at museums around the country who wish to develop a sport exhibition to know who to talk to ensure disability sports are represented in their exhibition. These examples suggest that by using sport as a theme, the new

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[56] Anonymous. Surrey Heritage. Response to the author's survey. May 12th 2012.
[57] Anonymous. Ironbridge Museums Trust. Response to the author's survey. May 10th 2012.
[58] WheelPower is an organisation based at Stoke Mandeville and responsible for the collection, focussed specifically on supporting and raising awareness of Paralympic sport.
http://www.wheelpower.org.uk/WPower/; Accentuate are the Cultural Olympiad organisation for the South East. Their theme focus is specifically in supporting disability sport and culture.
http://www.accentuate-se.org/homepage

partnerships which develop encourage greater community participation in museum development, support better access to collections, and encourage museums to evaluate and enhance their practice.

The case of Toon Times in Newcastle also provides evidence that the use of sport in museums to create new partnerships has the potential to increase revenue to museums. With a specific wish to support greater access to museum collections, Tyne and Wear Museums approached Newcastle United Football Club to work in partnership together.[59] The Project Coordinator, Gavin Ferry, asserts that the partnership aims were to uncover the history of the club, improve the knowledge and understanding of the museum collections, work closely with the local community, and increase awareness and participation in both the museums and the football club.[60] The partnership successfully secured £50,000 worth of funding from the Heritage Lottery Fund, and £120,000 from the Premier League Community Fund, demonstrating that funding for sport in museum projects is available from both the heritage and sports sectors, providing the aims of the partnership are aligned with the needs of the funders.[61] The outcomes of the project included an exhibition about the club but also a reinvigoration of the next generation of supporters. Ferry, believes that the benefits to club, museum, and audiences included more people being involved and interested in the museum and the club, an increased brand profile of both organisations by understanding the clubs heritage and new fans recruited as a result, the ability to embed the club and the museum within the local school education curriculum, and an increased awareness of sporting collections and those who hold them.[62] Therefore, the creation of the partnership between the museum and the football club has had a significant effect on both organisations and the general public, with the use of both public and private finances to support the project. It demonstrates that sport in museums has the potential to create increased investment opportunities into the museums sector and support the delivery of cultural policy objectives at the same

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[59] Ferry, G. Toon Times Project Coordinator. Newcastle United Foundation. Response to the author's survey. May 15th 2012.
[60] Ibid.
[61] The Heritage Lottery Fun is the distribution organisation for the National Lottery to support heritage projects in the UK; The Premier League Community fund supports communities to address issue concerning education, community cohesion, health and sports participation.
[62] Ferry, G. Toon Times Project Coordinator. Newcastle United Foundation. Response to the author's survey. May 15th 2012.

time. Finally, it demonstrates that sport as a topic for museums is relevant to the general public and museums alike by representing previously untold stories of everyday history, and protecting objects and artefacts for future generations. Consequently, the findings outlined above demonstrate that the expectations placed on museums by cultural policy and ideological values to increase audience engagement in museums through new partnerships, has had a direct effect on the use of sport in museums.

Although, the evidence provided so far demonstrates that many museums choose to deliver sporting exhibitions, the findings of the author's research also establishes that there are a number of barriers which prevent museums from displaying exhibitions about sport. Consequently, the next section will analyse the responses from museum professionals and wider cultural sectors to understand what these barriers are, and why they prevent further development of sport in museums.

4.8 The Barriers to Non-Sport Specific Museum

To identify the barriers which prevent or hinder the further development of sport as a subject matter in non-sport specific museums, the author asked the question "What are the main problems and issues that you currently face in terms of delivering sports heritage research and programming?"[63] Of the sixty-one responses, fifty-two people provided an answer to this question which can again be considered to be a significant number and representative of the museum population as a whole. Four of the respondents came from museums outside of England, and although the boundaries of this research are limited to England, the responses were reflective of museum practice in general and have therefore been included in this study. Figure 20 illustrates the barriers identified by museum professionals which prevent them from hosting exhibitions about sport.

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[63] See appendix II.

Figure 20: The Barriers Preventing Museums from Hosting Sporting Exhibitions
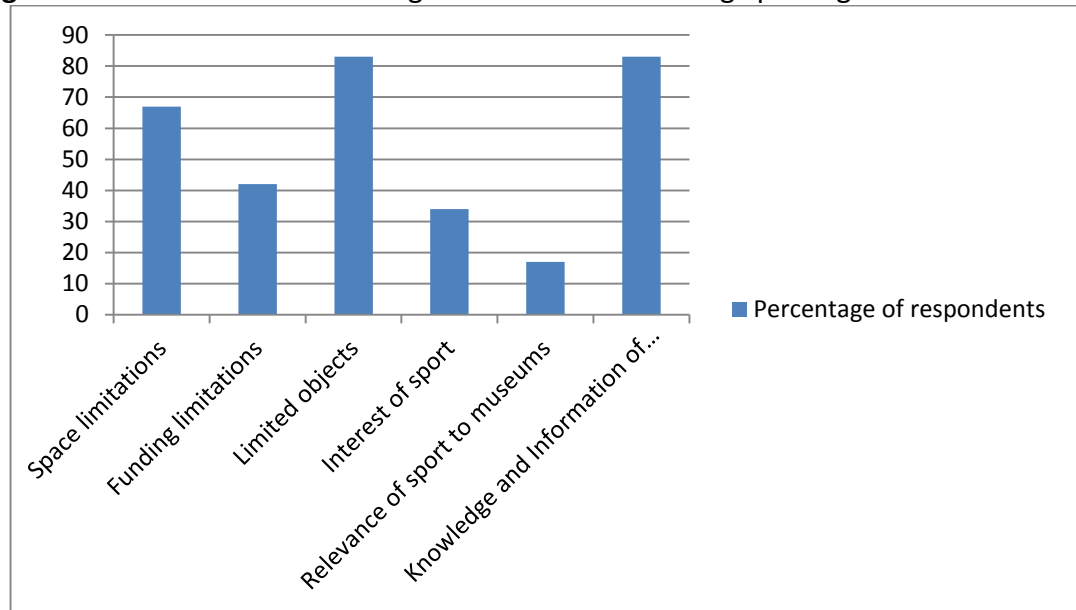
Source: Author's findings

These findings demonstrate that the lack of infrastructure in the museum sector as a whole is the primary cause for preventing the delivery of sporting exhibitions. Although the findings draw out the barriers as individual factors, it is more realistic to consider a number of barriers joining together to prevent a museum from delivering a sporting exhibition. For example, the respondent from the Buxton Museum and Art Gallery commented that:

> We're planning one [a sports heritage exhibition] for this summer (2012) but we haven't held one for a decade at least (probably longer). I'd say the main barriers are lack of varied collections (we mostly have medals & trophies) and also lack of knowledge and possibly interest amongst curators. It also seems a good theme to involve the public but you don't always have the contacts in local sports to do so (& I'd worry they wouldn't be interested anyway).[64]

This response demonstrates that a combination of barriers makes the proposition of delivering a sporting exhibition for the first time difficult. However, to understand the difficulties faced by museums in terms of each barrier identified at figure 20, the next sections will explore in detail each concern.

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[64] Anonymous. Buxton Museum and Art Gallery. Response to survey by the author. March 13th, 2012.

4.8.1 Deficiency of Relevant Sporting Objects

Although, as discussed earlier in this chapter, the presence of a sporting collection does not appear to be the primary motive for hosting an exhibition about sport, the lack of relevant objects is a significant barrier preventing sporting exhibitions being delivered. Eighty-three per cent of the museums which responded to the author's survey stated that the lack of sporting objects in their collections prevented them from delivering temporary or permanent exhibitions on the subject of sport. For example, Leamington Spa Art Gallery and Museum stated that the lack of objects was the main barrier for their organisation as "despite the sporting history of the town, we have very little [sport objects] in the collections".[65] This demonstrates that even where sport is central to the story narrated by the museum, in this case the town's local history, the museum has historically invested little time or money in preserving objects associated with sport. This is echoed by the response from Devon Heritage Services that stated that a barrier for them was the "lack of really interesting material"[66] relating to sport and West Yorkshire Archive Services felt that they "don't have that many comprehensive sporting collections".[67] The limitation of sporting objects held in museums is discussed earlier in this chapter and stems from the lack of interest in popular culture and sport on the behalf of museums prior to the 1980s. Consequently, sporting objects were preserved primarily by the general public, sports clubs themselves, and private collectors. As the respondent from Denbighshire Heritage Service explains, relevant "artefacts are often still in the hands of private individuals or clubs."[68] Consequently, the objects held by private collectors have become essential for museums to be able to deliver exhibitions about sport. Consequently, to be able to deliver sport exhibitions, museum professionals must find and work in partnership with individuals or sporting clubs who own relevant collections. Fiona Ure, from Leicestershire County Council, feels that the partnerships she created with individual collectors and community groups was essential to ensuring sporting exhibitions could be delivered in Leicester.[69] Ure curated an exhibition about Leicester City Football Club

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[65] Anonymous, Curator. Leamington Spa Art Gallery and Museum. Response to survey by the author. April 1st 2012.
[66] Anonymous. Devon Heritage Service. Response to the author's survey. April 10th 2012.
[67] Anonymous. West Yorkshire Archive service. Response to the author's survey. April 15th 2012.
[68] Anonymous. Denbighshire Heritage Service. Response to the author's survey. April 14th 2012.
[69] Ure, F. Leicestershire County Council. Response to survey by the author. April 1st 2012.

in 2011 but asserts that the exhibition was wholly dependent on the collections loaned from the club and private individuals. However, the time involved in finding the people who hold the collections and establishing partnerships is often a barrier in itself in museums with few resources. For example, Daber from the Museum of Science and Industry in Manchester argues that one of the biggest barriers to their involvement in delivering sporting exhibitions is the need to source objects from private collectors, and a lack of time and resources to achieve this successfully.[70]

The findings of the author's survey reflect the findings of the Sport Heritage Network's (SHN) mapping survey conducted by Annie Hood in 2006, as discussed in chapter three.[71] The SHN exists to support the knowledge and understanding of sports heritage in the UK. The mapping survey aimed to understand more about what collections exist in the UK, and where they are held. The findings of the survey assert that many sports are largely unrepresented in public holdings, particularly Paralympic and disability sport. In addition, its findings show that even where museums do have sporting collections, those who work in the museum are often unaware of them until they conduct significant research into the museums holdings. Therefore, the combination of a lack of objects held in museums about sport in the first instance, and a lack of understanding of the collections which are held in museums, often prevents museums from embarking on a project about sport in museums. Combined with a limitation of objects in the first instance, many respondents to the author's survey assert that a lack of knowledge and understanding of sporting collections is a primary barrier to them hosting an exhibition about sport, as explored in the next section.

4.8.2 Insufficient Knowledge and Understanding

Even where sport collections exist within a museum, the deficiency of knowledge amongst the museum community is considered to be a barrier to the development of sporting exhibitions. The response to the author's survey demonstrated that eight-three per cent of respondents felt that this was the most significant reason they would

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[70] Daber, A. Manchester Museum of Science and Industry. Response to the author's survey. April 2nd 2012.
[71] Hood, A. *Sports heritage network mapping survey: an overview of sports heritage collections.* The Sports Heritage Network. 2006.

not be able to hold an exhibition about sport. This suggests that even where collections do exist, the limited knowledge about them on the part of museum staff, makes it unlikely that they would feel confident to host an exhibition about sport. Michael Turnpenny, the Museum Development Officer (MDO) for South Yorkshire, is in agreement with these findings and asserts that the lack of understanding is the greatest factor preventing museums from embracing sport in museums.[72] The Museum development programme which funds Turnpenny's post is managed by Arts Council England (ACE) and provides a country-wide network of advisers, or MDOs, to museums.[73] The MDOs provide advice and guidance to accredited museums on how to improve their services and tend to work with smaller museums across the country. As a result, the MDOs have a good understanding of the issues and concerns that affect a large majority of museums in England. The response from Turnpenny can therefore be considered to be representative of these museums and reflects the limitations they face. Turnpenny believes that for these museums in particular, the economic and cultural implications that sport would provide are "huge", but that, on the whole, they do not understand enough about sport collections or how to use them and therefore fail to address sport at all.[74] Turnpenny argues that to overcome this barrier, museums need greater support and guidance to become confident in addressing sport, and that this is the key to encourage smaller museums to accept the topic of sport. Alan Bentley, the MDO for the East Riding of Yorkshire, is in agreement with Turnpenny.[75] Bentley held a focus group with museum staff within the East Riding of Yorkshire to understand more about the barriers and advantages to using sporting objects and developing sporting exhibitions within their museums. The attendees agreed that they felt uncomfortable with the topic of sport and had little understanding of how to construct a sporting exhibition. They felt their limited knowledge and awareness of the field prevented them from feeling confident in mounting a sporting exhibition satisfactorily and so they chose not to do so.

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[72] Turnpenny, M. Museum Development Officer. Yorkshire. In conversation with the author. 5th May 2012.

[73] Arts Council England. *Museum Development.* London: Arts Council England. Date Unknown. Accessed June 1st 2012. http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/funding/our-investment/funding-programmes/renaissance/museum-development/

[74] Ibid.

[75] Bentley, A. Museum Development Officer, East Riding of Yorkshire. Conversation with the author. May 12th 2012.

Turnpenny and Bentley's argument is reinforced by Jennifer Broadbent, curator at the Wigan Leisure and Tourism Trust.[76] Broadbent curated a sporting exhibition in 2011, and felt that easier access to knowledge, information, and wider sporting heritage networks would have significantly enhanced and improved her ability to create the exhibition. She argues that increasing the access to knowledge about the subject can only help to support the number of sporting exhibitions hosted by museums. Broadbent is an example of a museum professional tackling the theme of sport irrespective of the limitations faced, borne of a belief that sport in museums is a relevant subject. The creation of new partnerships, discussed earlier in this chapter, has often proved to be the solution to the barriers of limited collections and knowledge of museum staff. However, the barrier created by museum space is not linked to the theme of sport itself, however it is no less significant in its ability to prevent museums addressing the theme of sport.

4.8.3 Space Limitations

Sixty-seven per cent of respondents to the authors survey stated that a lack of space was a major factor in preventing them delivering sport exhibitions. The reasons for the lack of space were split into three categories. A general lack of space within the museum as illustrated by the respondent from Aberdeen Arts Gallery and Museums who states "we have no social history museum and a lack of temporary exhibition space, meaning these collections are mostly stored".[77] As a consequence, even where museums hold significant collections about sport, it is not always possible to use them, or even have a full understanding about which objects are held in the museum stores. Additionally, respondents stated that the lack of temporary exhibition space within their museums prevented them from exploring the theme of sport more fully. Temporary exhibition space often provides museum professionals with the opportunity to link to current affairs and explore diverse areas of museum collections. The limitations of this space means that museums are limited to displaying a fixed number of items through static displays, about a limited number of themes, and are changed extremely rarely due to funding limitations. Brian Owen of the Royal Welsh

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[76] Broadbent, J. Curator. Wigan Leisure and Tourism Trust. Response to survey by the author. April 1st 2012.

[77] Anonymous. Aberdeen Arts Gallery and Museum. Response to the author's survey. April 12th 2012.

Fusiliers Museum typifies this issue in his explanation of the main reason why his museum has not chosen to host a sport exhibition by stating that "we have no temporary exhibition space".[78] Therefore, even where museum staff aspire to explore the theme of sport in a controlled way, the limitations on space make this an impossibility.

Finally, the lack of space provided for collections of social history, of which sport is often classified provides a significant barrier to delivering sport exhibition. If social history has been considered to be a low priority of museums historically, and sport is only a small part of this subject, then it stands to reason that sport will be afforded only a fraction of the space and programming of a museum's overall activity programme. The respondent from Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service exemplify this problem in their comments to the author's survey: "for us it is the lack of display space for social history collections".[79] According to the respondent, there are four hundred items of sporting costumes held within the collections of the Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service and many more objects connected with other areas of sporting heritage held within the collections. However, these collections have barely been used because there is no space within the permanent exhibition galleries to host such an exhibition and, crucially, no willingness on the part of the museum's decision-makers to replace existing displays with those about sport. Not only does this raise questions about the use of space in museums to narrate the story of mankind and popular culture, but also the worthiness given to sport as a topic for museums by those who have the ability to make the decisions within the museum. Consequently, the issues of space limitations reflect both the resource issues of museums in delivering sporting exhibitions and the attitudinal barriers still present in museums towards the theme of sport. Even where these barriers are not as significant to the museum, the issue of financial support to host a sporting exhibition is considered by many museum staff to be a barrier to developing such provision as discussed in the next section.

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[78] Owen, B. Curator. Royal Welsh Fusiliers. Response to the author's survey. May 1st 2012.
[79] Anonymous. Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service. Response to the author's survey. April 5th 2012.

4.8.4 Resource Limitations

Chapter five explores the links between museums, cultural policy and funding and argues that the museum sector is reliant on public funding to ensure its continuity. As such, funding is often limited and where it is provided, museums need to demonstrate the impact of their work on wider public agendas. Consequently, funding constraints were cited by forty-two per cent of the respondents to the author's survey as an issue preventing them from delivering sporting exhibitions. Funding creates limitations on the resources available to museums in respect to the number of staff they can employ, the type of activity they can deliver, and the amount of time they can spend on particular projects. Therefore, museums must ensure they do not over commit to additional projects, unless extra funding is provided to support them. For example, the respondent from Birmingham Archives and Heritage stated that the issues preventing them from delivering a sport exhibition are "the usual constraints on time/resource".[80] Therefore, if museums have limited funding, they have restricted time, finances, and staff to be able to explore and create exhibitions. If the exhibitions are on new themes, this makes the proposition even more difficult. Therefore, because sport is a newly emerging theme for museums, delivering an exhibition on the theme requires a greater resource than traditional museum themes. As a result, if museums are restricted on resources, it is likely that they would choose a more comfortable topic which is easier to deliver with fewer barriers and less resource needed. Sport therefore becomes low on the choice of museums in this situation.

However, funding was not considered to be as significant a problem as barriers concerning objects, knowledge, and space. This suggests that museum professionals based their assumptions about resources on their current situation, rather than exploring additional funding avenues. The limitations on funding make applying for additional funding difficult because in itself, acquiring additional funding is time-consuming and resource heavy. However, without applying for additional funding, museums remain limited in their ability to evolve. Although funding is difficult within the public sector, the case of Toon Times demonstrates that funding is available for the

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[80] Anonymous. Ironbridge Museums Trust. Response to the author's survey. May 10th 2012.

right projects when they are able to demonstrate wider social impacts and approach funders who have similar objectives. In 2012 alone, over five million pounds was invested in sport-related museum programmes from funders as diverse as the HLF, Film Nation, and the UK Border Agency.[81] Although much of this activity was in response to London 2012 where there was an increased interest and therefore investment with programming associated with sport, the funding provided was often part of wider social corporate responsibility programmes or long-term funding initiatives and available for museums to access at any time. This suggests that museums are able to remove the financial barriers to deliver sporting programmes, but to do so first requires a belief on their part in the relevance of sport as a subject matter for museums, and an allocation of already limited resources to spent time finding additional sources of revenue. The next section will therefore discuss the perceptions of museum professionals towards the sport as a subject for museums.

4.8.5 Attitudinal Barriers

In order to ensure sport is positioned as subject for museums, it first needs those who work within museums to recognise it as an important element in the story the museum aims to tell. The development of popular culture in museums has ensured that sport has become more centrally placed than previously so, however, the issues facing the *Our Sporting Life (OSL)* exhibition programme, discussed in chapter eight, demonstrate that there is still a lack of connection between the fields of sport and culture. Where a museum professional does not feel sport is relevant, it is unlikely that they will work to support collections and displays about sport in their museum. Museums, by definition, exist to tell the story of specific eras, localities, or subject areas. As a result, within permanent and temporary exhibitions, museums weave myriad themes and topics that form the over-arching story. Unless the museum is a sport specific museum, then sport has to compete alongside a variety of other themes and subject areas. If the collections of sport and knowledge of staff is limited, coupled with a lack of interest or awareness in the subject of sport, then there is a likelihood that sport will be overlooked in favour of more easily available and understood topics.

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[81] The author conducted a review of investment into sporting exhibition programmes during 2012 to arrive at this figure.

As a consequence, these collections will be lost, and with them the opportunity to ensure museums are relevant to the general public.

Therefore, to understand more clearly the perception of museum staff towards sport, the author conducted an online survey with the English Museum Development Officers. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the MDOs work closely with museums staff to support the development of smaller to medium museums. As such they have a wide ranging knowledge of the activity taking place in museums and a good understanding of the sector towards a variety of subjects. The question was asked, "Do you think the museum sector values sporting heritage collections on a par with other heritage collections?" with the possibility to answer "yes", "no" or "maybe" and the option to add additional comments.[82] Only six responses were received, but of these, two answered "yes", two answered "no", and two answered "maybe". Therefore, the perception of the MDOs is clearly that sport in museums is still not valued on the same level as other museum collections. The additional comments from the MDOs stated that London 2012 had dramatically improved the awareness of museums in using sporting collections, but more tellingly that sporting heritage was often seen as a part of social history which itself is still undervalued within museums.[83]

The same question was also asked of the museum sector in general through the online survey. Many staff working with sports specific museums felt that there was a silent ranking process within the museum sector that placed sport firmly towards the bottom. Although no-one was willing to comment formally about these issues from the wider sector, one archive professional who wished to remain anonymous said that they had been told by a senior member of staff, "hasn't it been lovely for you to work on the sport project? It's good to get back to more serious stuff though, even if you don't enjoy it as much." Similarly, Lalage Grundy from Sussex Heritage asserts that "I'm not sure they [other heritage professionals] do [value sporting collections on a par with other collections], and an increase in interest, knowledge, support etc. would be

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[82] See Appendix V.
[83] Dhami, G. Museum Development Officer, Worcestershire. Response to author's survey. February 13th 2012.

useful to raise awareness and value".[84] Here, Grundy demonstrates that there is still a gap in the knowledge and understanding of museum professionals towards sporting collections and that this gap needs to be filled before a significant advancement can be achieved. The respondent from the National Maritime Museum in Cornwall establishes the position of sport in the overall picture of museum activity. They state that sport is only part of a wide programme of activity delivered by the museum and something that is used only when relevant to the story of maritime history. Consequently, they see the importance of sport, but only use it within the context of the wider history of the museum.

> It [sporting heritage] is one part of programming, but this is dependent on the purpose of the Museum. ie. We exist to interpret the maritime history of Cornwall, small boats and the sea - so sport does play a part, but not a large part. We aren't a 'sport' museum.[85]

This approach to the use of sport in museums places the subject of sport as part of the story of the museum. It is not more relevant than other subjects, but combined with the narrative of the museum as a whole, sport tells part of the story. It should not be valued any more or any less as a consequence, but should be valued as an component of equal merit alongside the museums' other collections. Therefore, although there is a certain amount of derision amongst some museum professionals, traditionally from the middle classes, towards the theme of sport as a subject matter for museums, on the whole, the topic of sport is becoming increasingly viewed as a relevant subject matter for museum display and delivery, not just as a euphemism which represents the working-classes and working class activity as an opportunity to justify increased or sustained funding, but as a relevant and pertinent subject in its own right.

4.8.6 Involvement of Sporting Organisations

Issues around partnerships with sport organisations were cited as a barrier to delivering sporting exhibitions by thirty-three per cent of respondents to the author's survey. To understand more clearly, the thoughts of governing bodies in terms of

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[84] Grundy, L. Sussex Heritage. Response to the author's survey. April 10th 2012.
[85] Anonymous. National Maritime Museum, Cornwall. Response to survey by the author. March 12th 2012.

sport specific museums and the heritage of their sport in general, the author conducted a survey and subsequent conversations with those working in sports governing bodies and clubs.[86] Responses to the survey were low and the author only succeeded in attracting five submissions to the survey, even though many different routes were used to reach people working in sporting organisations. This suggests that an interest in the heritage of the sport is not immediately important to sports organisations, and as a result the completion of a survey about heritage was not viewed as a valuable use of their time. However, the responses which were returned do provide an indicative picture of the views of sports organisations to heritage. The findings suggests that although there is an interest on the part of people who work within the sports sector in the heritage of their sport, they are unclear about what actually constitutes heritage, and how to begin to collect, preserve, and display their heritage. Figure 21 illustrates the responses given by representatives of sporting organisations to the question "To what extent does your organisation view sporting heritage as important?"

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[86] See appendix IV.

Figure 21: Views of Sports Sector Staff Towards the Heritage of Their Sport
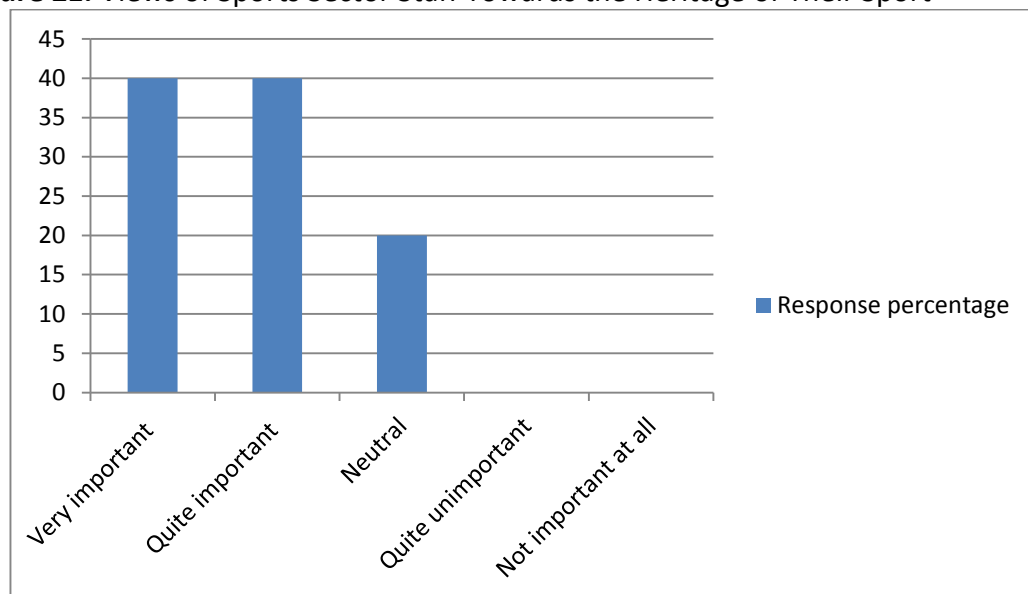
Source: Author's research

Therefore, although sport governing bodies tend not to be the catalyst for the creation of sport specific museums, this is not because the heritage of the sport is unimportant to them. The response from England Athletics is an example of this "we believe strongly in raising the profile of the historical importance of the sport".[87] However, when questioned in more depth about the current activity delivered by the organisation in terms of heritage, only two of the respondents had a member of staff with a specific remit attached to heritage, and the same two organisations had been involved in some level with a sporting heritage project.[88] Similarly, two of the organisations which responded did not know where the collections relating to their sport were held or how to access them. It is evident, therefore, that people working within sporting organisations have an interest in the heritage of the sport and a belief that it is important, but that the activity and resources of the organisations are not indicative of this.

Further discussions with representatives elicited a variety of reasons for being prevented from taking a more active involvement in their sporting heritage as illustrated in figure 21.

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[87] Anonymous. England Athletics. Response to the author's survey. April 10th 2012.
[88] Anonymous. England Athletics. Telephone Conversation with the author. April 25th 2012; Anonymous. British Gymnastics Association. Telephone conversation with the author. April 15th 2012.

Figure 22: Barriers Preventing Sports Sector Staff Engaging with Sport in Museums
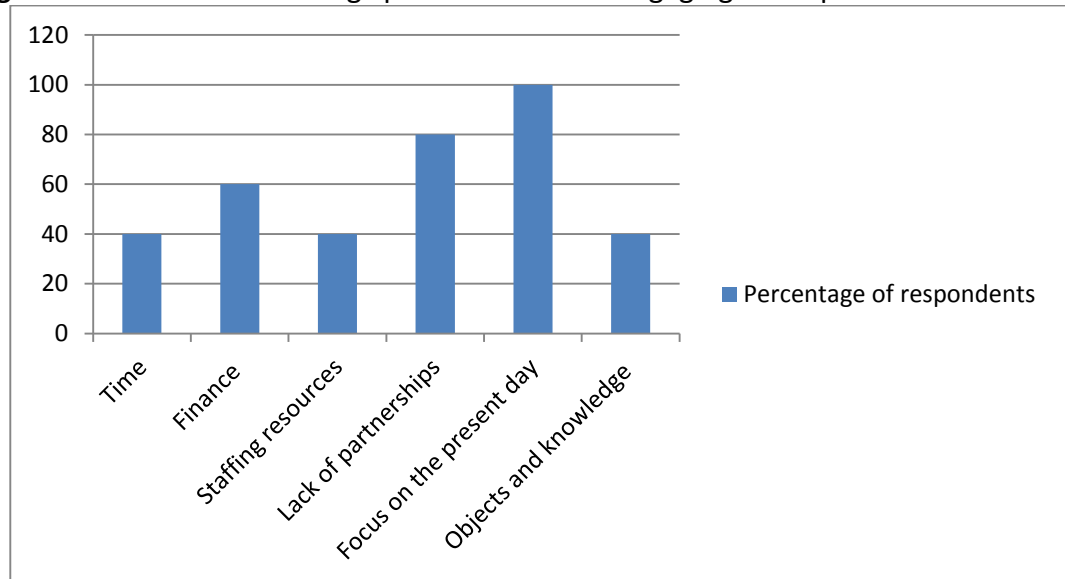
Source: Author's findings

This suggests that time and resource restrictions placed on staff working within sports organisations, coupled with the pressure to deliver results based on present day participation targets, prevents them from allocating the required amount of resources, whether financial, temporal, or logistical, to support the heritage of their sport. The findings demonstrate that barriers to sports organisations to properly support their own heritage include a lack of knowledge and understanding about how to protect collections and make them widely accessible; the need for better support from heritage organisations; and opportunities to learn about the sporting heritage collections associated with their specific sport. Irrespective of the interest placed in sporting heritage by the sport governing body, there was an agreement that the natural organisations to care for the collections are museums. In addition, the respondents agreed that the primary pressure preventing them from sufficiently supporting the heritage of the sport was the general day-to-day pressures of the organisation and the need to meet targets set out by cultural policy towards active participation in sport. Consequently, the heritage of the sport is not a priority. The cultural policy directives concerning sports governing bodies are linked predominantly to fulfilling objectives based in the present. This means, that in order to ensure sustained funding, these organisations must ensure they meet the targets set down by their funders. If the targets are predominately linked with the ability to meet targets which relate to participation in sport, then it is likely that the majority of the effort of the organisation will be focussed in this way. Although sport specific museums could

also engage new audiences and support this increased participation, the gap that exists in the knowledge of those of work in sports governing bodies between the concept of heritage and the reality of heritage is so great, that the link is often not made in the fast paced need to meet imminent target deadlines. Therefore, it is only natural that these organisations concentrate on this activity, however much they may understand the importance of their heritage. Thus, the responsibility of collecting, preserving, and providing access to the nation's sporting heritage, is ultimately held by those charged with narrating the story of the past, museums, and this is where the impetus and funding for sport in museums should be found.

The limitations facing those working in sport with regards to sporting heritage is actually comparable to those limitations effecting museum professionals, and demonstrates a severe shortage of finances and resources in general in the field of sporting heritage. One-hundred per cent of the respondents said they would like to work with museums to ensure a greater importance is placed on sporting heritage and ensure that their sport collections are protected for the future. Although none of the respondents stated that they felt that the responsibility for sporting heritage lay with museums, the responses given suggest they felt it did. The skills used to collect, preserve and provide access to heritage are held by museums, this was a clear opinion of those working in sports organisations. However, they felt that the sports sector had a role to play in supporting any activity associated with their sporting heritage.

4.9 Conclusion

Therefore, although there has been little discussion within the literature of the existing practice of sport specific museums, and even less so, of how and why non-sport specific museums use sporting collections, it is clear that there is both significant interest, activity, and enthusiasm from within the museum sector in relationship to the topic of sport.

Sport specific museums, on the whole, accommodate the collections amassed by private collectors. These individuals recognised a value in sporting objects and

preserved them for future study at a time when the museum sector was uninterested in both everyday culture and the topic of sport, this in itself is no different from the development of museums in general. However, although the number of sport specific museums increased as the focus of the museum world shifted towards the representation of popular culture, the subject of sport was still not recognised as a relevant subject for museum display. The topic was not ostracised from museums at first purely because it was viewed to be an activity with a low culture status, in fact, the earliest museums of cricket, tennis and horse-racing can all be considered to be representative of high culture. Therefore, the exclusion of sport from museums was connected with an attitudinal prejudice towards the position of sport as a cultural topic. This led those interested in, and concerned about, the collections sporting heritage, to campaign for the creation of sport specific museums. The disjuncture between sport and culture is still present within both the cultural and museum fields as evidenced in this chapter and further still in chapter five.

Furthermore, the financing of sport specific museums both in the first instance and in the long-term, is largely provided by the sport industry itself, in contrast to museum collections representative of other industries which are largely funded by the public purse. The findings explored in this chapter assert that although the DCMS funded the NFM between the years of 2003 and 2009, no other funding has ever been allocated towards the activity of sport specific museums from central government. This suggests that sport is valued less highly than other topics for museum display which receive DCMS funding. The evidence also suggests, though, that this lack of interest is not shared by local authorities which frequently fund sport specific museums to deliver additional activity in line with cultural policy objectives. Therefore, local authorities recognise that the work of sport specific museums warrants the use of public funding and thus supports wider social outcomes. Indeed, the objectives of sport specific museums reflect the objectives of the museum sector as a whole, that is, to collect, preserve, and make accessible their collections to, and with, as wider public as possible. The absence of consistent public funding to support this activity then, suggests an attitudinal barrier towards sport on the part of cultural policy decision makers.

In terms of non-sport specific museums, the evidence provided in this chapter asserts that the gradual increase in the use of sport in museums is primarily led by the ability of sport to attract new and different audiences to museums. The reasons museums aspire to attract these audiences is due to the ideological perception of museum staff as discussed in chapter two which aims to ensure the greatest number of people are able to access museums, but equally concerned with the directives given through cultural policy, discussed in the next chapter, and linked to funding. Museums recognise that the subject of sport can attract these non-traditional audiences, a term explored further in chapter six, and how sporting exhibitions can support the museum achieve its objectives, particularly if their funding is drawn from public sources. However, a significant barrier which affects the delivery of sporting exhibitions is funding limitations. This means that although many museum staff aspire to the use of sport within their museums, the money to support such activity is difficult to find. This again suggests cultural policy decision makers have yet to understand the role of sport in museums to deliver these wider cultural objectives and provide the necessary finances accordingly.

In addition, although London 2012 progressed the use of sport in museums exponentially, there is still a significant knowledge gap about sporting collections within the wider museum sector, and a persistent belief on the part of some, then, that sport is still not a relevant subject matter for museums. The lack of funding creates a vicious circle where there is no space for collections, insufficient finances, or adequate staffing of museums which means although exhibitions may take place, the evidence of the effect of these exhibitions is not gathered to build a better argument for the role and value of sport as a subject matter for museums. However, the Toon Times project demonstrates that where museums work in partnership with sporting organisations and their local communities, and are creative about the streams of funding they apply for, funding exists to support short-term projects at the same time as embedding long-term workforce development within their organisations. This funding does not support the infrastructure of sport in museums, but it does offer a range of opportunities to evolve our understanding of sport as a subject matter for museums.

Therefore, the findings presented within this chapter demonstrate that the funding provided for sport in museums is inadequate, even though there is evidence to suggest that using sport in this way supports the delivery of cultural policy objectives. Therefore, the next chapter will define and investigate the development of cultural policy between the years of 1997 and 2012, to provide a clear understanding of the position of sport in museums within this context.

Chapter Five: Cultural Policy and Museums

This chapter will focus on the effect of cultural policy on museums, and ultimately sport in museums, preceding and during the timescale of this study, 1997 – 2012. Between the years 1990 and 2010 under the Conservative government of John Major in the 1990s and the following New Labour government under Tony Blair, cultural policy became increasingly focussed on the ability of culture to support wider economic and social objectives, for example, the opportunities which place culture as an active agent of urban regeneration by hosting major sporting events. Consequently, cultural policy evolved during this time to place culture as a central mechanism for change and with it increased funding to support cultural activity. However, with this new found focus and funding for culture came an increased interest in the impact of cultural activity on external agendas. In order to demonstrate that funding was being well spent on cultural activity and by cultural organisations, anyone in receipt of funding needed to provide evidence of exactly what impact they had and on whom.[1] This led to a debate between those who felt the value of culture was intrinsic and could not be measured on any scale, and those who felt that culture should be used to support wider agendas, and as such demonstrate its value for money.[2] By 2010, Britain was in a state of economic down-turn and the coalition government of the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats made it clear that funding for any publicly financed activity would be significantly reduced. Instead of appeasing those in favour of the intrinsic argument by freeing cultural activity from the funding loop of government, there was actually a considerable increase in activity by cultural organisations desperate to prove the extra value their cultural activity made to society in return for funding during this time.

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[1] See for example Craik, J. *Re-Visioning Arts and Cultural Policy: Current Impasses and Future Directions.* Australian National University Press. 2005; Garcia, B. *The Olympic Games and Cultural Policy.* Routledge: New York. 2012.

[2] Matarasso, F., *Use or ornament? The social impact of participation in the arts.* London: Comedia. 1997. p.1; Tusa, J. *Art matters: Reflecting on culture.* London: Methuen. 2000

Discussions of cultural policy in the literature focus on two key themes, the instrumentalist value of culture, and the intrinsic value of culture.[3] Jancovich (2011) states, the debate between instrumentalist and intrinsic value is "basically between those who saw the need for the arts and culture to be about more than just the culture itself, and those who felt that art and culture should be outside of these restrictions and boundaries".[4] The instrumentalist debate is divided into how culture meets economic and social objectives with the terms 'value for money' and 'public value' being central. Hewison (2012) provides a succinct and convincing definition of the 'Valuing Culture' debate. "In simple terms….. [it] is an argument between two concepts, both of which have a valid claim on the formation of cultural policy: Value for Money – and Money for Values".[5] To Hewison, value for money represents the requirement for cultural organisations to evidence the benefits they provide to the public by using public money. Money for values recognises the need to comply with the instrumentalist approach, but that the main focus is on acquiring funding to support a wider values system based on aesthetic principles. Hewison's definition of Money for Values, or the intrinsic stance, is more optimistic than most arguments. Its focus on the necessity of demonstrating value for money but for the greater good of creativity is a realistic approach for the cultural sector to adopt. The more time spent struggling internally with this debate, the less time the sector has to focus on the real urgencies of economic stability and creative development.

As discussed in chapter two, Ambrose and Payne's (2012) typology of museums, demonstrates that museums are established and funded through a range of different sources, however, the majority of museums are set up and funded through contributions from the public purse, either directly through the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) or local authorities, or indirectly through organisations such as the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF), discussed in detail later in this chapter. Therefore, museums, on the whole, are required to demonstrate their contribution to wider public agendas in return for the funding they receive. These

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[3] See for example Keaney, E. *Public Value and the Arts*. London: Arts Council England. 2006.
[4] Jancovich, L. 'Great art for everyone? Engagement and participation policy in the arts'. *Cultural Trends* 20, no.3–4 (2011): p.272.
[5] Hewison, R. 'The benefits of the valuing culture debate, 2003–2011'. *Cultural Trends* 21, no.3 (2012): p.209.

wider public agendas are governed by cultural policy and as a consequence, the relevance of cultural policy to sport in museums is both economic, the ability to secure funds, and societal, the ability to respond to wider social objectives. Thus, cultural policy and cultural activity is inextricably linked, irrespective of the attitudes towards the ideological basis behind this, due to the fact that cultural organisations are reliant on public funding. As a consequence, cultural policy has a direct effect on the activities of museums and is therefore directly relevant to the decision making process of museums in terms of hosting sporting exhibition. Thus, this chapter will explore the development of cultural policy of the British government between the years of 1990, immediately prior to the boundaries of this thesis, and 2012, to understand how cultural policy has influenced the development and activities delivered by museums in England, and in turn the effect this may have had on sport as a subject matter for museums. However, before it is possible to explore the cultural policy debate further and its impact on sport in museums, it is first necessary to define the term, 'cultural policy'.

5.1 Defining the Term 'Cultural Policy'

There have been many debates and discussions concerning the term cultural policy, none of which have resulted in establishing a clear definition. Hesmondhalgh (2007) argues that the main reason cultural policy is problematic to define is because culture itself has been so difficult to define, as discussed in chapter two.[6] Bennett and Frow (2008) are in agreement with Hesmondhalgh that defining culture and cultural policy is difficult because the terms are constantly changing and adapting to fluctuations within society.[7] Consequently, Hesmondhalgh concludes that,

> The term 'Cultural Policy' is often used …… to refer to the subsidy, regulation, and management of 'the arts', which I define here as those inventive, creative, non-scientific forms of knowledge activity and institution that have come to be

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[6] Hesmondhalgh, D. *The Cultural Industries.* London: Sage Publications Ltd. 2007. p.138.
[7] Bennett, T., and Frow, J. *The Sage Handbook of Cultural Analysis*. London: Sage Publications Ltd. 2008. p.14.

deemed worthy of this elevated title – the visual arts, 'literature', music and dance, theatre and drama and so on.[8]

Therefore, Hesmondhalgh defines cultural policy as the government direction placed on any publically funded artist or creative endeavours. Accordingly, the term cultural policy within this thesis will refer to the development and direction of publically funded cultural activity as directed through government, either directly or indirectly, where 'culture' refers to all arts, heritage, and wider cultural and creative activity of relevance to the manifestation of humankind. The definitions of the terms 'the arts', 'culture', and 'creative' to be used in this thesis, will be taken from the *Oxford English Dictionary:*[9]

The Arts:
1. the various branches of creative activity, such as painting, music, literature, and dance
2. subjects of study primarily concerned with human creativity and social life, such as languages, literature, and history (as contrasted with scientific or technical subjects)

Culture:
1. the arts and other manifestations of human intellectual achievement regarded collectively
2. the ideas, customs, and social behaviour of a particular people or society:

Creative:
1. relating to or involving the use of the imagination or original ideas to create something

Museums are directly related to all three categories through the objects they collect, the stories they tell, and the creative programmes they deliver.

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[8] Hesmondhalgh, D. *The Cultural Industries.* 2007. p.138.
[9] Oxford English Dictionary. Oxford: Oxford English Dictionary. Date Unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/

5.2 The Development of Cultural Policy Pre-1990

The first formal organisation in the UK in support of arts and culture, The Pilgrim Trust, was established by an American millionaire, Edwin Harker in 1930.[10] Harker invested two million pounds in heritage preservation and specifically in schemes which supported social welfare in connection with heritage.[11] Early on, the activity of the Pilgrim's Trust demonstrated that the general population of the country were unable to access the arts and culture. The Trust therefore established the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts (CEMA) in 1940, a significant feat as Britain had gone to war with Germany in 1939.[12] The Pilgrim Trust trustee, Lord Macmillan, was appointed chairman of CEMA and its initial aim was to support and encourage access to the arts and artistic endeavour through the turbulent war-time period.[13] The most significant action to affect CEMA and the development of cultural activity in England came in 1942 when economist John Maynard Keynes became the chairman of CEMA.[14] Keynes successfully lobbied government to support the work of *CEMA,* largely because of his belief that culture could improve the nation's wellbeing as a direct result of the general population's exposure to cultural activities. Keynes was successful and as a consequence CEMA became the Arts Council in 1946.[15]

The creation of the Arts Council established government recognition, whether consciously or not, that public funding had a role to play in supporting and financing the arts and culture. Although Keynes valued the importance of culture as central to human life, and therefore as a prerogative of state funding, he placed an emphasis on the artistic and professional elements of culture, at the expense of its educational and

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[10] Victoria and Albert Museum. *Arts Council of England Records: 1928 – 1997*. London: Victoria and Albert Museum. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.vam.ac.uk/vastatic/wid/ead/acgb/acgb-el1.html; Edwin Harker made his fortune by building railways in America, but had a keen interest in British heritage and the pilgrim father's colonisation of North America.

[11] The National Archives. *Pilgrim Trust.* London: The National Archives. Accessed June1st 2014. http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/a2a/records.aspx?cat=074-lma4450&cid=0#0

[12] Victoria and Albert Museum. *Arts Council of England Records: 1928 – 1997*.

[13] The Second World War took place between 1939 and 1945.

[14] John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946) was a British economist and philosopher. Married to a Russian Ballerina, Keynes frequently exhibited his interest in the arts. BBC Online. *John Maynard Keynes.* London: BBC. Date unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/historic_figures/keynes_john_maynard.shtml

[15] Arts Council England (ACE). *The History of the Arts Council*. London: ACE. Date unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/who-we-are/history-arts-council/

communal benefits.[16] This meant that the Arts Council was rooted in the belief that public funding should support arts and culture, but that it should have a focus on the excellence and elitism of arts and culture being brought to the masses, rather than support the development of working class arts and culture. Therefore, Keynes input in ensuring that funding from government began to power the arts and cultural sectors was welcome in terms of supporting high culture, but established an under-pinning ethos within the Arts Council which valued professional endeavours before wider public access and participation in and of the arts. Even with the creation of the Arts Council, it was not until 1965 that the first government act directed specifically towards the arts was created by the new Minister for the Arts, Jenny Lee. A government White Paper, *A Policy for the Arts*, enabled funding to be granted to the Arts Council to directly support artistic and cultural activity.[17] Gradual interest in arts and culture continued throughout the following decades, but it was not until the Conservative government of the 1990s under John Major that the potential of culture as a driver for economic and social change was considered, and this recognition began to place culture at the centre of government policy. Therefore, the next section will explore the development of cultural policy between 1990 and 1997 to explore the foundations of cultural policy and the effect this had on museums.

5.3 The Repositioning of Cultural Policy: The Major Government 1991-1997

In 1991, the British Conservative Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, stepped down from her post and John Major became successor. Despite significant issues within the party on subjects relating to Britain's involvement in Europe and the 1991 Gulf War, the Conservatives were re-elected under the premiership of Major in 1992. Major's government had a focus on placing Britain "at the very heart of Europe"[18] which engaged his policies with the competitiveness agenda, a focus on ensuring British people were well skilled and educated to allow Britain to compete economically on an

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[16] Glasgow, M. 'The concept of the Arts Council'. p.262. in Keynes, M. Eds. *Essays on John Maynard Keynes.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1975.

[17] Evans, G. *Cultural Planning: An Urban Renaissance*. London: Routledge. 2001. p.89; Garber, M. *Patronizing the Arts.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2008. p.56.

[18] Baltimore Sun, the. *At the very heart of Europe*. Online. March 31st 1991. Accessed January 31st 2014. http://articles.baltimoresun.com/1991-03-13/news/1991072039_1_united-germany-thatcher-monetary-union

international stage.[19] One of the most significant actions delivered by the Major government was the creation of the Department for National Heritage (DNH) in 1994. The DNH established the role of culture as an important element of government policy for the first time. The next section will explore the reasons which led to the creation of the DNH, and the resulting activity delivered by the department which influenced museums and sport in museums.

5.3.1 The Department for National Heritage (DNH) and the National Lottery

After the general election in 1992, John major created the DNH and brought together all activity associated with the arts, culture, heritage and sport under one ministerial lead.[20] Major (1999) asserts that the DNH was necessary to demonstrate the value of these sectors to society and to demonstrate the role of government in these activities, rather than persist with the traditionally held view that they were non-essential and not specifically in need of large amounts of funding.[21] The fact that the DNH also included sport policy is significant in that it had finally been recognised as a part of Britain's culture. Major (1995) proclaimed that "Sport is a central part of Britain's national heritage"[22] and, as such, placed it firmly alongside activity delivered by museums, the arts and, for the first time, media policy. Sports policy itself had been continually moved around government for many years, and initially Major had moved it from the Department of Environment to the Department of Education and Science in 1992. Major's personal interest in sport and culture fuelled the creation of the DNH, and he continued with a resolute argument for its existence during early turbulent months when it was branded as a subject of fun and ridicule by the popular press, and by members of his own cabinet.[23] These early perceptions demonstrate that as recent as twenty years prior to this study, sport and culture were not readily accepted as activities associated with government funding and policy.

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[19] Raco, M. *Building Sustainable Communities: Spatial policy and labour mobility in post-war Britain*. Bristol: University of Bristol Press. 2007. p.156.

[20] Houlihan, B. and White, A. *The Politics of Sport Development.* London: Routledge. 2002. p.78.

[21] Major, J. *John Major: The Autobiography*. London: HarperCollins. 1999. p.404.

[22] Department of National Heritage. *Sport: Raising the Game.* London: Department of National Heritage. 1995.

[23] Sargent, T. *It was 20 years ago today…*DCMS blog: Online. April 11th 2012. Accessed January 31st 2014. http://blogs.culture.gov.uk/main/2012/04/it_was_20_years_ago_today.html

The creation of the DNH coincided with Major's formation of the National Lottery, and the DNH was essential in the management of this new scheme for funding cultural activity in Britain. Major had identified a significant funding gap in the development of British culture, and the creation of the National Lottery provided a momentous opportunity to ensure substantial new investment towards the cultural sector. The National Lottery was established in 1994 to provide monetary support for British cultural activity.[24] Major was clear that this new investment was to represent new funding, and at no time should replace any existing subsidized activity.[25] In his speech to the English Heritage conference in 1994, Major was clear that the main aim of the National Lottery was to halt the decline of British cultural activity and decrease the gap between Britain and other countries in terms of cultural output.[26] This again, demonstrates that the lack of priority, interest and investment prior to the 1990s in cultural activity in the UK.

The National Lottery is still popular at the time of writing and operates on a system whereby the public buy a ticket for the chance of winning a stake of a future lottery prize. The proceeds of the ticket sales are then allocated through twelve arms-length bodies to fund activity on the ground.[27] These twelve arms-length bodies include the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) which exists specifically to support the nation's heritage, including museums, archeology, and the built environment.[28] Consequently, cultural providers and organisations are able to bid to these bodies for funding to support their activity or capital projects. This meant that from 1994, for the first time, all British museums had access to a specific funding body which they could approach to ask for investment in both capital building projects and further project development. As a result, museum projects which would have otherwise been halted at inception stage were able to develop. This ensured that museums were no longer limited to the mainstream delivery of day to day activity as set out in their original mission statements, but could explore new and alternative ways of working. In addition, it

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[24] Major, J. *Mr Major's Speech at English Heritage Conference.* 1994. Online. Accessed January 31st 2014. http://www.johnmajor.co.uk/page1131.html
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.
[27] National Lottery. *Funding*. London: National Lottery. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.lotterygoodcauses.org.uk/funding
[28] Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF). *About Us.* London: HLF. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.hlf.org.uk/ABOUTUS/Pages/AboutUs.aspx#.U0065fldVqU

meant that ideas for museums which may not have been granted funding through other routes were now feasible, as long as the business case reinforced the need for the museum itself. In terms of sport in museums, this meant the opportunities for funding to create sports museums themselves were now possible.

Concurrently, during the late 1980s and early 1990s, European research began to demonstrate that lifelong learning was the key to economic stability and growth.[29] Consequently, John Major's Conservative government began to take significant interest in lifelong learning agenda's and the opportunity for informal learning providers, such as cultural organisations including museums, to deliver learning programmes began to arise. As a result, in 1996 the DNH commissioned a research report into the potential of museums to deliver learning opportunities. The resulting report, *A Common Wealth,* provided a bench-mark on which was formed the next fifteen years of museum policy.[30] The next section establishes the background to *A Common Wealth*, the main findings of the research, and what this meant for museums in England.

5.3.2 A Common Wealth

The DNH commissioned David Anderson, the then Head of Education at the Victoria and -Albert Museum, in 1996 to examine the educational role of museums, specifically in terms of delivering government policy in respect to learning and audiences.[31] Anderson established a steering committee to inform the research and this included educators, museum professionals, and government policy advisers, allowing him to address the issues from the viewpoint of museums, government and education. Anderson and his team explored the potential for museums to support learning and the barriers preventing such activity taking place consistently across the country. The findings were outlined in the resulting document *A Common Wealth* and argue that

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[29] Commission of the European Communities. *Growth, Competitiveness and Employment: The Challenges and Ways Forward into the 21st Century.* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities. 1993.

[30] Anderson, D. *A Common Wealth: Museums and Learning in the United Kingdom.* London: Department of National Heritage. 1997.

[31] Ibid. p.iv. Anderson's steering committee comprised museum education professionals, a couple of education specialists, and representatives from the Department of National Heritage.

museums are essential learning venues within the UK. Anderson builds his argument on the theories of theorists Vygotsky, Bruner, Kolb and McCarthy and Gardner, along with his practical knowledge of the museum sector to demonstrate that museums, unlike formal learning settings, have a greater propensity to appeal to varied learning styles and learner approaches, and therefore support a greater number of people. Additionally, Anderson asserts that museums are ideal environments for people and communities to learn, share, and explore and provide different types of learning experience for different people. He argues that there is huge potential for museums to support learning agendas:

> Museums at their finest are educational institutions of immense expressive power and authority. They communicate with us across boundaries of language, culture and time, and suggest comparisons which illustrate our experience of the present … Through museums we have direct contact with peoples of all ages and cultures, experience the unimaginable variety of the natural world and expand our understanding of what it means to be human.[32]

Anderson argued that museums are essential mechanisms to support lifelong learning and audience development. However, he also asserted that although museums were well placed to deliver education and audience development opportunities, significant development needed to take place to ensure the infrastructure was in place to support increased, consistent education activity across the sector. While the attitudes of museum staff were changing, and everyday history was being positioned as a focal point of museum delivery, Anderson highlighted that limitations within the workforce in understanding audiences meant that staff were not necessarily equipped to understand how to deliver appropriate activities in line with their new found objectives.[33]

The idea of museums as learning environments though was not a new concept. In 1928 Miers, for example, argued that museums provided the ideal opportunity to deliver learning provision.[34] Despite similarities with Miers' report sixty-eight years earlier,

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[32] Ibid.p.xii.
[33] Ibid. pp.4-5; p.29.
[34] Miers, H. *A Report on the public museums of the British Isles (other than the national museums)*. London: Carnegie United Kingdom Trust. 1928.

Anderson's report seems revolutionary because he used learning theory rather than subjective opinion to underpin his argument, and his assertion that museum environments provide unrivalled opportunities for learners of all ages to explore, engage and be inspired by material culture, was certainly unique. Prior to Anderson's report, the museum profession had concentrated on delivering formal education programmes. Consequently, *A Common Wealth* demonstrated to the DNH that museums were extremely well placed to deliver learning opportunities for all ages, but to be successful there would need to be significant investment and support to the sector in the first instance. However, before the Major government could implement changes based on the findings of *A Common Wealth,* a general election was held in the UK and New Labour took control of the countries administration in May 1997. The next section will explore how *A Common Wealth* affected the cultural policy delivered by New Labour in connection to museums, and the other influences which affected the development and progress of the museum sector towards a focus on audiences and appealing to new and different audiences.

5.4 Cultural Policy Takes Centre Stage: New Labour 1997 - 2010

In 1997, the year after *A Common Wealth* was published, New Labour won the general election in the UK under the leadership of Tony Blair, and came to power for the first time since 1979.[35] The policies of Blair's administration focused on four key themes: education, social inclusion, regional development, and reformation of the public sector.[36] The arts and culture were viewed by the Blair administration as opportunities to nurture identity, develop knowledge, and support creativity; as such culture offered a mechanism to deliver the four key themes of government policy and became a central focus of New Labour's government.[37] This focus on culture was different to the Major administration's approach mainly because although economic impact was a consideration of the outputs of culture, the emphasis was placed on the use of the arts

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[35] Tony Blair (b.1953) was the Prime Minister of Great Britain between the years of 1997 and 2007. Wikipedia. *Tony Blair*. Online. Date unknown. Accessed January 31st 2014. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tony_Blair
[36] See for example Chief Secretary of the Treasury. *Every Child Matters*. London: The Stationary Office. 2003.
[37] See for example Smith, C. 'The nation's museums: politics and policies'. *Museum Management and Curatorship* 19 no.2 (2001): pp.187-196.

and culture to ensure wider social impact. One of the most significant actions taken by the New Labour government in terms of culture was the creation of the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) in 1997. The next section will explore how the DCMS was established, its key actions, and how these effected the opportunities for museums as a result.

5.4.1 The Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS)

In 1997, New Labour renamed the DNH as the DCMS.[38] The term 'Culture' had never before been directly referred to within a government department, demonstrating that culture had finally been centrally placed in government policy directives for the first time. The DCMS was set up to approach arts and culture with an inclusivity bent, to aspire to improve the quality of life for all using culture as a catalyst, develop the educational potential of the cultural industries for a range of audiences, and position culture within urban regeneration policies.[39] As such, culture became an intrinsic part of government policy. Matarasso's (1997) research is considered to have been influential in the policies of New Labour in regard to culture. Matarasso addressed the limitations of a purely economic approach to cultural policy as adopted by the Conservative government, and gave evidence that the arts are important to social cohesion objectives, ultimately impacting on health, education, and tourism.[40] New Labour's re-naming of the Department of Culture, Media, and Sport (DCMS) saw the introduction of policy papers which demanded that cultural institutions not only express their ability to deliver to wider agendas, but also to provide evidence of social impact.[41] Chris Smith, the then Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport, published a book in 1999 which positioned culture directly within government public policy, and asserted its role as a driving influence of economic and social growth. Smith asserts that culture is central to public policy because it provides a "sense of direction"

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[38] Department for Culture, Media and Sport. *Broadening Horizons: An Insight into DCMS.* London: DCMS. 2000. p.1-2

[39] Labour Party (the). *Create the future: A strategy for cultural policy, arts and the creative economy.* London: The Labour Party. 1997.

[40] Matarasso, F., *Use or ornament? The social impact of participation in the arts.* London: Comedia. 1997.

[41] Selwood, S. 'Creativity and Innovation in the Cultural Economy: Museums, Galleries and the Visual Arts'. 219-240. in *Creativity, Innovation and the Cultural Economy* edited by Pratt, A., and Jeffcutt, P. London: Routledge. 2009.

to society and helps us to "think with our hearts as well as with our heads." He identifies the underpinning ethos of the DCMS through four policy areas, access, excellence, education, and economic value.[42] These policy areas formed the basis of what impact museums were to measure over the following fifteen years.

Smith argues that although these focus topics and New Labour's direction is not dissimilar from that of the previous Conservative government, there is an ideological change due to the addition of compassion to policy planning. He asserts that the Conservative government understood culture as a purely capitalist venture, whereas New Labour sees the value in culture in terms of its potential to be both an economic driver and a social improver. As a result, he identifies the framework for New Labour's cultural policy as focusing on society and the economy, specifically with a view to placing a value on culture. In terms of economic impact, Smith argues that modernisation and changes in technology support the need for a change in emphasis of economic development as Britain becomes a nation of creative producers. He contends that this refocus will only increase in the future and see a relocation of jobs to these sectors, arguing that public policy has a responsibility to recognise, support, and develop these opportunities for future employment at the same time as fostering cultural experiences for all:

> Enhancing the cultural life of the nation will be at the heart of New Labour's approach. The arts are not optional extras for government; they are at the very centre of our mission.[43]

In turn, Smith's successor, Tessa Jowell published a personal essay in 2004 on the value of culture and the imperative of cultural agencies to express their value.[44] Street (2011) argues that Jowell moved the policy towards the excellence agenda and away from inclusion, and with rhetoric that suggests the intrinsic value of culture is being placed at the forefront of decision-making. Belfiore (2009) argues that the rhetoric, however, only demonstrates that Jowell was actually continuing to move along the same path as Smith, towards proving the worth of culture against a range of wider

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[42] Smith, C. *Creative Britain.* London: Faber & Faber. 1998. pp.22-24.
[43] Ibid. p.2 and pp.22-24.
[44] Jowell, T. *Government and the Value of Culture.* London: Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2004.

economic and social objectives, and at direct odds with intrinsic value.[45] This is evident in the DCMS publication *Understanding the Future: Museums and 21st Century Life* which states that "It is important to acknowledge the intrinsic value of culture. But how do we measure and understand cultural value?"[46] This statement suggests culture is valued for its own sake but also insists that it is measured for its latent value. In essence, Jowell demonstrates that the two go hand in hand, rather than as directly competitive agendas.

Consequently, although cultural activity began to be positioned as an important element for government funding, the need to evidence the impact of cultural activity in return for that funding became paramount. Therefore, organisations which could demonstrate they appealed to new and different audiences and supported regional and economic growth at the same time as encouraging learning and community cohesion, were better placed to receive public support than those which did not. The reach of New Labour's impact agenda was two-fold. Firstly to organisations funded by central government and through funding agreements which asked them to demonstrate their impact directly to the DCMS in return for financial support. One of the main measurement indicators used was set in the form of number of museums visitors. Secondly, through performance indicators set out by local authorities to the museums funded as part of their Local Area Agreements (LAAs) set out in partnership with government.[47] Instigated by New Labour to ensure the spending of public money was properly accounted for, LAAs consisted of a number of performance indicators by which the success of local authority services was measured. This included using museum activity to support indicators around wider agendas, for example education performance, and also an indicator specifically linked to the number of museum visits. A briefing paper published by the London non-departmental public bodies in 2006

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[45] Belfiore, E. 'On bullshit in cultural policy practice and research: notes from the British case'. *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 15, no.3 (2009): pp.343–359; Street, J. 'The popular, the diverse and the excellent : political values and UK cultural policy'. *International journal of cultural policy* 17, no.4 (2011): pp.380-393.

[46] Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS). *Understanding the Future. Museums and 21st Century Life: A Summary of Responses.* London: DCMS. 2005. Accessed on June 1st 2014. http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/+/http://www.culture.gov.uk/images/publications/understanding_the_future_responses.pdf

[47] Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG). Online. 2008. *National Indicators for Local Authorities and Local Authority Partnerships: Handbook of Definitions*. London: DCLG.

demonstrates that there was significant advocacy needed by museums towards local authorities to encourage them to specify within their LAAs that museums were relevant to their indicator targets. Ultimately, unless museums featured as a target, it was unlikely that significant funding would be directed to support museum activity.[48] Conversely, only by convincing local authorities that they were able to achieve these targets, were museums likely to be included. Therefore, the increased need to demonstrate visitor numbers and additional targets meant that museums themselves needed to demonstrate increased impact against these targets in return for investment.

Consequently, the DCMS of the New Labour government, led by Smith and Jowell, introduced the idea that culture has a 'public value', and defined the instrumentalist approach for cultural production, a concept that was not at odds with the cultural sector as a whole. The opportunities presented by placing value on culture included an increased investment for culture, however, some felt that this compromised cultural activity because there was a need to respond to external agenda's, rather than a focus specifically on cultural production in its own right. Therefore, during New Labour's term of office, the instrumentalist approach to culture was firmly rooted in the delivery of cultural provision. Before discussing the effect of the need to express impact on museums in-depth, it is first necessary to further examine the debate between the instrumentalist approach and the intrinsic values of culture to understand the motivations behind the instrumentalist approach, and the implications of using such an approach to inform cultural policy.

5.4.2 Instrumentalism versus Intrinsic Value

The premise of the instrumentalist argument is twofold. Firstly, that the arts and culture support wider social, economic, political, and environmental agendas, and

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[48] Arts Council England, the Association of London Government (ALG), the Big Lottery Fund (London region), English Heritage (London), Government Office for London, Museums Libraries and Archives (MLA) London and Sport England. *Culture in Local Area Agreements in London.* London: Jointly published by ACE / ALG / Big Lottery Fund / English Heritage /Government Office for London / MLA / London and Sport England. Date unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014.
file:///C:/Users/justinereilly/Downloads/7.%20Culture%20in%20Local%20Area%20Agreements%20in%20London.pdf

therefore public funding should be used to support arts and culture activity to ensure the greatest public access. Secondly, that because public funding is used to support arts and cultural activity, arts and culture should provide some public benefit. The argument for the intrinsic value of culture is that culture is valuable in and of itself and should not be a tool to deliver wider social outcomes.[49] The origins of the debate between the instrumentalist and intrinsic value of culture are contested. Quinn (1998) argues that the change in direction towards instrumentalism has been shifting since Myerscough's publication of *The economic importance of the arts in Britain* (1988).[50] In contrast, Stanziola (1999) argues that the trend in justifying the use of both public and private funding in the arts through wider policy began with the publication of Baumol and Bowen's *Performing Arts: The Economic Dilemma* (1965).[51] Although the origins of instrumentalism may be in question, the fact that the 1990s and early twenty-first century witnessed a conscious attempt by government to demonstrate culture through external cultural policy agendas is clear.

Those in favour of the intrinsic value of culture often frame the argument in terms of the individual's choice in accessing cultural activity.[52] For example, Tusa (2000) argues that the individual has the ability to include or exclude themselves from cultural activity.[53] He states that the underpinning assertion of the use of instrumentalism in terms of social inclusion is that of blame where individuals "self-exclude", for example by choosing not to take part in the idea of classical music, and that everyone is in the same position to make the decision for themselves.[54] Tusa takes the stance that each individual has equal access to the arts, and derides any argument that suggests that much of culture is elitist in its current form thus inevitably excluding vast numbers of

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[49] See for example Belfiore, B. '"Defensive instrumentalism" and the legacy of New Labour's cultural policies'. *Cultural Trends* 21, no.2 (2012): pp.103-111; See also Belfiore's earlier arguments on this subject in 2002 and 2006; Miza, M. *Culture Vultures: Is UK Arts Policy damaging the Arts?* London: Policy Exchange. 2006; Tusa, J. *Art matters: Reflecting on culture.* London: Methuen. 2000.

[50] Myerscough, J. *The economic importance of the arts in Britain*. London: Policy Studies Institute. 1988; Quinn, R.M. *Public policy and the arts: A comparative study of Great Britain and Ireland.* Aldershot: Ashgate. 1998.pp.253-261.

[51] Baumol, W., and Bowen, W. *Performing arts: The economic dilemma*. Aldershot: Ashgate. 1965; Stanziola, J. *Arts, Government and Community Revitalization.* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd. 1999. p.10 – 11.

[52] See for example Belfiore, B. '"Defensive instrumentalism" and the legacy of New Labour's cultural policies'. *Cultural Trends* 21, no.2 (2012): pp.103-111; Miza, M. *Culture Vultures: Is UK Arts Policy damaging the Arts?* 2006; Tusa, J. *Art matters: Reflecting on culture.* 2000.

[53] Tusa, J. *Art matters: Reflecting on culture.* 2000.

[54] Ibid. p.134.

society. To Tusa, instrumentalism is an assault on culture through a directive from above proclaiming that if the arts are not accessible, they must be changed to make them so. Belfiore (2012) is in agreement with Tusa's argument and argues that during the New Labour administration of the 1990's and early twenty-first century, culture became a mechanism to drive forward other external polices such as the economy and education.[55] Belfiore argues that by having to make a case for the arts and culture in terms of value and wider public benefit, the cultural sector became positioned in a "defensive" stance, and therefore failing to value the product in its own right. She asserts that the arts should aim to develop a "positive" stance for their worth by arguing for their intrinsic value. She contends that the cultural sector is complicit in preserving the instrumentalist state by bowing to government policy and repositioning itself as economic providers. Belfiore argues that New Labour failed to demonstrate that the arts and cultural sector can have any legitimacy without justification of its economic and social value.

Sara Selwood is one of the main protagonists to discuss the concept of impact and culture between 2000 and 2012.[56] Selwood argues that the focus on 'value for money' requires cultural organisations to demonstrate their value to society in terms of economic, social and cultural impact. Some of this value can be achieved by quantitative measures, for example the number of people who visit a cultural organisation each year. However, the arguments which position culture as a force to increase economic activity, develop social cohesion, and support educational creativity, have led policy makers to require a more sophisticated approach to establish qualitative outputs.[57] Consequently, the demand for more sophisticated data on the part of funders has meant that cultural practitioners can no longer rely on making a case for continued funding that rests on their intuition, and instead need to be able to demonstrate the impact that their activity makes. Therefore, Selwood (2002) argues that:

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[55] Belfiore, B. '"Defensive instrumentalism" and the legacy of New Labour's cultural policies'. *Cultural Trends* 21, no.2 (2012): pp.103-111.

[56] See for example Selwood, S. 'What difference do museums make? Producing evidence on the impact of museums'. *Critical Quarterly* 44, no.4 (2002): p.65

[57] Selwood, S. 'What difference do museums make? Producing evidence on the impact of museums'. *Critical Quarterly* 44, no.4 (2002): p.65

The gathering of evidence about the impact of the sector has assumed centre stage in the management of the subsidised cultural sector in England. It is closely associated with an extension of government control over the sector, and the tendency to value culture for its 'impact' rather than its intrinsic value.[58]

Selwood demonstrates that the reliance of cultural organisations on public funding means that they have no choice but to respond to cultural policy in return for funding. Selwood (2002) describes the promises made by New Labour's election campaign as a better use of public money, by encouraging better data capture from government departments and aligning culture with economic and access policies through the new DCMS. The rhetoric from government is underpinned by value for money and an understanding that the increase in spending and profile for culture is on the condition that culture demonstrates its worth to society.[59] The emphasis placed on the new found public value of culture, created a need to measure the impact of cultural activity in return for investment. In agreement with Selwood's argument, Sraker and Čopič (2012) assert that if public funding is being used to support cultural activity, it is imperative for the arts to be able to demonstrate their contribution to society and value for money. They ask whether "the arts have externalities and, if not, is culture really a public good, is it really worth the money it gets?"[60] Therefore, the instrumentalist approach adopts a pragmatic viewpoint that argues for the best use of public funding achieving the best outcomes for the public as a consequence.

In addition, Rylance (2012) argues that the instrumentalist approach to culture is vital for the future of cultural activity.[61] He asserts that the ability to demonstrate value is not only beneficial to cultural organisations but crucial if they are to make a case for future, sustained, and substantial government funding:

> The benefits of the cultural value debate are these. First, it meets the
> political challenge to maintain the case for public provision in an

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[58] Selwood, S. *Beyond statistics? The politics of data collection in the English cultural sector.* London: University of Westminster. 2002.

[59] Selwood, S. 'The Politics of Data Collection.' *Cultural Trends* 12, no.47 (2002): pp.14- 18.

[60] Srakar, A., and Čopič,V. 'Private investments, public values: a value-based approach to arguing for public support to the arts'. *Cultural Trends* 21, no.3 (2012): p.236.

[61] Rylance, R. 'The benefits of the valuing culture debate, 2003– 2011'. *Cultural Trends* 21, no. 3 (2012): 211–212.

aggressive funding climate. Second, it spurs the cultural community and its researchers to develop methodologies to capture and articulate this value. Third, it contributes to, and improves, discussion of the wider public good both directly and indirectly. And, fourth, it carries the heuristic advantage for the cultural community of sharpening the articulation of our own sense of purpose and worth.[62]

Rylance asserts that the need to demonstrate the value of cultural production provides opportunities for greater understanding and creativity in cultural production than through the development of cultural activity for its own sake. Rylance argues that evidence suggests that the government are infrequently lobbied by cultural organisations and as a result funding is diverted elsewhere. Essentially, because cultural organisations are either unable or unwilling to approach the government and ask for funding, the funding is given to those organisations from other sectors which do. Rylance contends that, as a result, the cultural sector must embrace the values debate as a positive opportunity in order to attract additional investment.

However, Selwood (2002) argues that there is little validity to much of the evidence gathered by the cultural sector to demonstrate its value.[63] She argues that the authors of existing research agree that much of the evidence collected is based on:

> The non-substantiation of claims; the prevailing culture of cultural institutions, and their lack of evaluative experience; the limited jurisdiction of projects and their potential to influence outcomes; the lack of robustness of the methodologies used, the quality of evidence gathered; and a failure of reporting of methods, which ultimately undermines the validity of what evidence exists.[64]

She also argues that the use of evidence by those creating and managing policy is not specifically in favour of demonstrating impact. It is, instead, being used to establish a case for culture and position it firmly as a viable use of public funding, with the state

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[62] Ibid. pp.211–212.

[63] See for example Coulter, F. *Realising the Potential of Cultural Services: Making a Difference to the Quality of Life*. London: Local Government Association. 2001; Jermyn, H. *The Arts and Social Exclusion: A Review Prepared for the Arts Council of England.* London: ACE. 2001; Reeves, M. *Measuring the Economic and Social Impact of the Arts.* London: ACE. 2002.

[64] Selwood, S. *Beyond statistics? The politics of data collection in the English cultural sector.* London: University of Westminster. 2002c. p.17.

"blurring…the relationship between advocacy and research".[65] Selwood's argument demonstrates that the process between establishing cultural policy and capturing the evidence to prove impact is too remote and concludes that:

> Until the cultural bureaucracy's analysis of data is guaranteed and until the evidence gathered can be seen to be being used constructively, it could be argued that collecting data has been a relatively pointless exercise.[66]

Belfiore (2009) is in agreement with Selwood's argument and argues that there is not sufficient or robust evidence to support the claims being made to inform cultural policy and therefore those who create cultural policy are doing so through made-up evidence, or as she puts it "bullshit".[67] Belfiore cites a 2003 speech by former Chris Smith where he openly admits that the manipulation of the figures and evidence was essential to coax the necessary funding out of the Treasury. Therefore, instrumentalism underpins cultural policy, but it is not based on hard evidence.

Stanziola (2012) explores this issue further and argues that it is not evidence that informs policy, but how the evidence is interpreted by policy-makers. He states that a fundamental flaw in the instrumentalist debate has been the lack of divergence between the academic, policy making, and practical sectors.

> Those academics wanting to engage in research to inform the practice of policy making have tended to leave academia and join cultural organisations and policy bodies, reducing their ability to undertake inquiry-based research. This has left policy makers depending mostly on consultants for guidance on how to best deliver and assess schemes. This consultancy work has relied mainly on research and evaluation toolkits that are not sufficiently grounded on theory or peer review. This in turn created a self-fulfilling cycle. The oversupply of ready-made toolkits has been used by academics as further justification for not getting involved in policy research.[68]

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[65] Ibid. p.3.
[66] Ibid. p.23.
[67] Belfiore, E. 'On bullshit in cultural policy practice and research: notes from the British case'. *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 15, no.3 (2009): pp.343–359.
[68] Stanziola, J. 'Experts in search of expert power: Analysing CASE from an institutional perspective'. *Cultural Trends* 21, no.4 (2012): p.292.

According to Stanziola, the lack of co-ordination between the sectors in terms of cultural policy evaluation has created confusion and hindered the development of impact research within the cultural sectors. Stanziola's argument reflects that of Bakhshi, Freeman and Hitchen (2009) who assert that main issue in impact evaluation is the lack of connection across skills and knowledge sectors. They argue that the main limitation to the provision of evidence within the cultural sector is wariness towards, and misunderstanding, of economics.[69] Bakhshi, Freeman and Hitchen argue that many cultural practitioners have hidden behind the argument that culture has an intrinsic value and that it cannot be measured.[70] They assert that by choosing to adopt a pragmatic approach that establishes the benefits of the sector, they place themselves in the control of their own destinies, rather than, as many perceive, becoming puppets for the delivery of cultural policy.

Thus, although funding for cultural activity is based on the ability of cultural organisations to evidence the impact they make, the indication is that this evidence is flawed on a number of counts. Firstly, the lack of understanding of what constitutes impact in the first place has made it difficult to measure outcomes. Secondly, those working in the sector are responsible for the majority of data collection studies and lack the time, training, funding or inclination to conduct rigorous evaluation. Finally, those creating cultural policy are less concerned with the actual evidence, and more with selecting the data that supports their chosen direction of cultural policy. Therefore, if evaluation which demonstrates the instrumentalist value of culture is to be successful, those working in the cultural sector must place more value on it, be given more funding and training to evaluate properly, and build their own case that culture effects external agendas which cannot be ignored by those directing cultural policy.

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[69] Bakhshi, H., Freeman, A., and Hitchen, G. *Measuring intrinsic value: how to stop worrying and love economics.* Munich: Mission Money Models Web publication. 2009.

[70] See for example Nissell (1983) who argues that the arts are "elusive and indefinable and that any attempt to measure it cannot begin to represent its essential quality." Nissel, M. *Facts About the Arts. A Summary of the Available Statistics.* London: Public Studies Institute. 1983. p.1; and Marr, A. 'Painting by Numbers: Statistics May Rule our Lives, but They are No Way to Measure the True Value of the Arts'. *The Observer*. July 29th 2001.

However, although there was extensive government activity towards developing cultural policy which was instrumentalist in its approach to culture, Matarasso (1997) and Selwood (2002a) argue that government was not entirely responsible for the adoption of the instrumentalism by cultural bodies themselves.[71] Both argue that cultural organisations had already begun to recognise the need to understand and express how their work supported wider agendas. Matarasso conducted significant research into the role of the arts in supporting social cohesion and concludes that "the arts sector has already compromised its principles by embracing an economic case for public funding".[72] Selwood (2002) agrees with this claim and asserts that the Arts Council themselves adopted the term "industries" for those producing cultural activity in 1985, and as a consequence demonstrated that they were producers and part of an economic environment.[73] Selwood states that this was a direct attempt on the part of the Arts Council to demonstrate to the DNH that the arts were of relevance to economic development, and therefore the benefits of an increase in funding to them. Therefore, the arts and cultural sector themselves are implicated in the redirection of the sector from intrinsic value to instrumentalism.[74]

A Common Wealth demonstrated that museums are well placed to support cultural policy, but that significant investment was needed to ensure they could deliver wider objectives successfully. Consequently, the DCMS initiated a series of policies and activities which directly concerned the development of museum provision in England. The following section outlines these activities and their impact on museum development.

5.4.3 Increased Investment in Museum Activity

In 2000, the DCMS commissioned the Regional Museums Task Force to identify key issues and challenges for regional museums, along with outlining significant

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[71] Selwood, S. 'The Politics of Data Collection.' *Cultural Trends* 12, no.47 (2002): pp.13-84; Matarasso, F., *Use or ornament? The social impact of participation in the arts.* London: Comedia. 1997.

[72] Matarasso, F., *Use or ornament? The social impact of participation in the arts.* London: Comedia. 1997. p.1.

[73] Selwood, S. 'The Politics of Data Collection.' *Cultural Trends* 12, no.47 (2002): p.19.

[74] Arms-length bodies refers to those organisations which are directly funded by the government, but are, in theory, free to pursue their own policy direction. Cloonan, M. *Popular Music and the State in the UK: Culture Trade or Industry?* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2007. p.27.

opportunities and aspirations for them.[75] The Regional Museums Task Force brought together museum professionals from across the sector to discuss the current state of museums and what was needed in monetary terms to support development. The findings concurred with *A Common Wealth* and concluded that regional museums are an essential element of regional education and widening participation agendas and provide significant opportunities for the regeneration of regional economies, however, they are significantly underfunded by central government, insufficient at measuring their own impact and value, are fragmented and lack leadership, and suffer from low morale leading to a decline to the skills and knowledge base of the sector. As a result, the report recommends that a regional 'hub' be created in each English region with an emphasis on quality user-focused outcomes, specifically with education and audience development objectives and the programme of activity to achieve this aim was called Renaissance in the Regions.[76] Each hub would be responsible for its own delivery plans, management, and reporting, and would work in partnership with the regional branch of the arms-length body, the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA). The aim being to create a microcosm within each region, with each hub having an abundance of skills, knowledge, contacts, partnerships, and expertise from which all other museums within the region could draw. Essentially, it was believed that Renaissance in the Regions would reignite a passion for material culture at a professional level, which would radiate out to support social, economic, and educational reform. Museums would become a centre for community activity and establish a long-term role for themselves wider than just that of guardians and interpreters of objects. Funding was provided to support the activity and until the end of the New Labour administration and the relocation of support for the museum sector from MLA to Arts Council England (ACE). MLA conducted a review into the successes and failures of the programme in 2009 which concluded that although there had been significant successes in terms of education and widening audiences, the funding had been used unfairly to support pockets of activity rather than stimulate the museum sector as a whole.[77] In addition, the funding had been consistently viewed as an addition to core funding and services

[75] Re:Source. *Renaissance in the Regions: a new vision for England's museums*. London: Re:Source. 2001. p.5.
[76] Ibid. p7.
[77] Selwood, S. Renaissance in the Regions: Realising the Vision. 2001-2008. London: Museums Association. 2009. p.11.

had not planned how to incorporate activity successfully into their on-going service plans. As a result, because the funding paid for learning and access staff, these positions were rarely included in central budget allocations and once the funding for the programme ended, so did the funding for these posts. Consequently, the activity, skills, and partnerships built up through the programme were lost within months.[78]

The author conducted a review of the programmes funded through Renaissance in the Regions and the research reports which evaluated the activity of the programme.[79] The findings demonstrate that no programmes with the theme of sport were used by museums as part of their Renaissance in the Regions funded activity. This is not to say that none happened, but that the author was unable to find any, and that none were included in the official reports and evaluations of the programme. This suggests that although sport represented a significant opportunity to museums to achieve their ambitions in attracting new and different audiences, they failed to recognise this opportunity by delivering programmes with a sporting theme. Therefore, although museums had progressed to understanding the importance of the everyday by the early twentieth century, they were still not well placed to include sport within their programming for audiences as a part of a government funded programme that specifically asked them to target new and different audiences, and provide different opportunities for learning. In addition to Renaissance in the Regions, the DCMS funded a programme with the specific aim of encouraging museum and school linked activity, Strategic Commissioning.

Strategic Commissioning was established by the DCMS in 2004 to 2011 and aimed to establish greater links between museums and schools.[80]. The funding was provided jointly by the DCMS and the Department for Education and Skills (DfES), the first time government funding had been invested in culture through a department other than the DCMS. The DfES later became the Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF) and consistently demonstrated throughout New Labour's administration an

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[78] Museums Association. *The impact of cuts of UK museums.* London: Museums Association. 2012.
[79] Author's own knowledge and discussions with other professionals involved in managing the programme.
[80] Gibbs, K. and Kofi-Tsekpo, J. 'Creative Professional Development! Museums and Archives supporting teaching and learning'. *Creative Professional Development.* 2010. pp.48-53.

interest in the use of cultural spaces to improve and support teaching and learning in schools. For example the Children's Plan in 2007 states:

> We will work towards a position where no matter where they live, or what their background, all children and young people aged 0-19 and their families have the opportunities to get involved in top-quality cultural opportunities in and out of school.[81]

This demonstrates that culture was not only valued within the department responsible for its funding, but also recognised as a vehicle to support external government policy both in policy terms and financial investment. The aims of Strategic Commissioning were to increase the skills of both the museum and formal education workforces to understand more about each other, and how to work more closely together, at the same time as develop activity for school children using museums.[82] Two strands of the programme were delivered, with the first being directly managed by the DCMS which funded partnerships between national and regional museums, and the second managed by MLA which funded activity to non-national museums. The Strategic Commissioning programme and its outcomes have not been well documented either by government or academia, however, the author has first-hand experience of the programme and Yorkshire and draws from this to inform this discussion about the programmes outputs and impact. It should also be noted that because of this experience, the author is aware that many of those working with or for local authorities during the strategic commissioning programme, still have records held on their own personal computers and have tried to share the information with relevant government contacts, but with no success. The primary resources and evidence of the programme itself have largely been lost since MLA was disbanded in 2010, and with it their website holding most of the statistical and programme information. Not only does this mean that evidence of impact about the museum sectors ability to support educational activity has been lost, it also demonstrates that the interest in this information and priority attached to it by the museum and cultural sectors themselves

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[81] Department for Children, Schools, and Families (DCSF). *The Children's Plan: Building Brighter Futures.* London: DSCF. 2007.
[82] Gibbs, K. and Kofi-Tsekpo, J. 'Creative Professional Development! Museums and Archives supporting teaching and learning.' *Creative Professional Development.* 2010. pp.48-53.

is low to allow it to have been destroyed before preserving the information elsewhere for future use. This demonstrates that although cultural policy has continued to ask for evidence from the museum sector about the impact of its activity, the museum sector itself has still not grasped the need to do so in return for increased investment. Similarly to the Renaissance in the Regions programme, the Strategic Commissioning programme did not use sporting collections as a mechanism to engage learners. This again demonstrates that barriers to using sport in museums were not limited to a lack of investment, but also included attitudinal barriers.

Both Renaissance in the Regions and Strategic Commissioning had a focus on formal learning that is school age learning between the ages of five and eighteen. However, A Common Wealth clearly advocated for the role of museums as learning providers across all ages.[83] Hooper-Greenhill (2007) concurs with Anderson and asserts that despite the potential for museums to fulfil lifelong learning agendas, it is formal learning that is continually emphasised by the DCMS in their cultural policy and funding for the sector.[84] New Labour's White Paper, Excellence in Schools, was published in 1997 and focused on the continued drive for standards. However, it failed to address the ability of informal learning, how museums deliver learning opportunities, to impact on both children's development and that of their families, let alone supporting the wider community and adult learning population. Cofield (2000) argued strongly that the need to recognise the importance of lifelong learning through informal structures was paramount to improving both individual life chances and the national economy.[85] His report demonstrated that politicians discussed the benefits of lifelong learning in general, but the policy framework continued to drive education policy that focused specifically on formal learning opportunities and accreditation, with little emphasis on what he calls two-thirds of learning opportunities through informal learning.

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[83] Anderson, D. *A Common Wealth: Museums and Learning in the United Kingdom. London:* Department of National Heritage. 1997.

[84] Hooper-Greenhill, E. *Museums and Education.* London: Routledge, 2007. pp.3-4.

[85] Coffield, F. *A National Strategy for Lifelong Learning.* London: Department for Education. 1997; Cofield, F. 'Introduction: The structure below the surface: reassessing the significance of informal learning'. in The Necessity of Informal Learning. edited by Cofield, F. Bristol: The Policy Press. 2000. p.8.

As a result of on-going debates about museum learning and widening participation, coupled with increasing emphasis on life-long learning the Inquiry into Future of Lifelong Learning was established in 2007. It aimed to analyse the potential role of all sectors involved in delivering lifelong learning in the UK and signalled the first real opportunity for museums to stake their claim as a key delivery agent for informal lifelong learning opportunities. It took the following definition for lifelong learning:

> Lifelong learning includes people of all ages learning in a variety of contexts – in educational institutions, at work, at home and through leisure activities. It focuses mainly on adults returning to organised learning rather than on the initial period of education or on incidental learning.[86]

The report *How Museums, Libraries and Archives Contribute to Lifelong Learning* was published in 2009, provides the most comprehensive account for the potential of museums to support the lifelong learning agenda to date.[87] However, in terms of sectoral development, the report has been barely mentioned, has not been used to support skills development or increase the knowledge of those working in museums towards providing lifelong learning opportunities. This demonstrates that although there is a significant opportunity for museums to respond to lifelong learning agendas, at present this is not a direct objective for those working in museums environments.

5.5 Cultural Policy Wilderness: The Coalition Government 2010-2012

In 2010, a coalition government of the Conservative party and the Liberal Democrats formed in the UK and the aims of the government were freedom, fairness and responsibility.[88] The coalition government came to power in the middle of a global economic crisis. Beginning in 2008, a melt-down of financial institutions world-wide resulted in a serious economic down-turn which affected the majority of the western world. This economic crisis had significant consequences for all government funded activity. The coalition government made it clear from the beginning of their ministry

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[86] Schuller, T. and Watson, D. *Learning through Life: The Inquiry into Lifelong Learning*. Leicester: NIACE, 2009. p.2.
[87] NIACE (National Institute for Adult Continuing Education). *How Museums, Libraries and Archives contribute to Lifelong Learning.* Leicester: NIACE, 2009.
[88] Coalition, the. *Our programme for Government*. London: The Stationary Office. 2010. p.3.

that sharp cuts would need to be made across all areas of public spending in order to ensure a secure future.[89] This included cuts to the DCMS itself of a fifty percent decrease in operating budget in the first year alone, and to local authority budgets. As a result, funding for cultural activity, and within it, museum activity was severely affected. The Museums Association instigated an annual museum cuts survey in 2011 to measure the extent of impact of funding decreases to museums across the country.[90] The findings of the survey demonstrate that "forty nine percent of responding museums experienced a cut to their overall income, twenty three percent of respondents saw their overall income decrease by more than ten percent", and "thirty seven percent of respondents cut staff". This suggests that museums are reliant on public funds to support their activity, and at times of economic down-turn, museum activity is liable to suffer. Therefore, the more independent and self-financing a museum is, the more likely it is to survive public funding cuts and constraints.

Not only was funding for museum activity curtailed during the coalition's initial years, but policy related to museums was also depleted. The rhetoric from government has remained focused on asking cultural organisations to build an economic case for funding. The Secretary for Culture, Media and Sport, Maria Miller, delivered a speech at the British Museum in April 2013.[91] The basis of the speech confirmed that she would not be arguing the case for culture unless there were significant economic messages and demonstrations of economic growth given to her by cultural organisations to put to the Treasury. The response to this speech from the cultural industries was damning. On taking the post as Culture Secretary, Miller had given her allegiance to arts and culture and stated that she would do her best to ensure sustained funding levels to the sector through the next spending review. However, once the review became imminent, Miller demonstrated that she would not fight the case for cultural investment on any level.

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[89] Ibid.
[90] Museums Association. *The impact of cuts of UK museums.* London: Museums Association. 2012.
[91] Miller, M. *Keynote Arts Speech*. April 24th 2013. Accessed June 1st 2014.
https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/testing-times-fighting-cultures-corner-in-an-age-of-austerity

Returning to the intrinsic versus instrumentalist approach, it would seem clear that those fighting for the intrinsic value of culture would be happy at the situation provided by the coalition government, a hands-off approach to culture which leaves cultural organisations to develop and deliver activities and provision as they wish. However, after fifteen years of increased investment to the sector, the reality of what this means to cultural organisations was clear, no demonstration of instrumentalist value, no increased funding from the public purse. Consequently, between 2010 and 2012 the cultural sector invested heavily in producing documents which demonstrated the worth of cultural activity against a range of agendas.[92] These included demonstrating how the arts impacts on health, demonstrating the social impact of museums in economic terms, and the publication of research by ACE in 2013 which addresses the economic impact of the arts and culture, "The Contribution of the Arts and Culture to the National Economy".[93] In reality, the funding cuts to the sector and the lack of interest on a political stage only fuelled those working in cultural organisations to think creatively about what contribution their organisations made to wider agendas and start to find the evidence to prove it. Ironically, then, it was only when central government became disinterested with culture that the sector itself woke up to the need to demonstrate why it was important and to whom. At the time of writing, the progress in this field is still at a very early stage, however, initial developments suggest that those working in the field of culture have finally grasped the importance of evaluation, impact, and expressing their worth against a range of markers, discussed later in this thesis in chapter seven.

Although a priority of DCMS funding appeared to be away from cultural activity, the same was not true of other government departments. For example, in 2010 the Department for Education, (DFE) published the schools white paper *The Importance of Teaching*.[94] Within the white paper they specified that children should be given the opportunity to "experience a rich menu of cultural experiences". As a response to the paper, and to understand how they should deliver this element of activity, the DFE

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[92] See for example Arts Council England. *The Value of arts and culture to people and society. An evidence review*. London: ACE. Date Unknown.
[93] Centre for Economics and Business Research Ltd. *The contribution of the arts and culture to the national economy.* London: Arts Council England and the NMDC. 2013.
[94] Department for Education. *The Importance of Teaching*. White Paper. London: DfE. 2010.

asked Darren Henley in 2013 to conduct an independent review of cultural education.[95] The review aimed to understand what cultural experiences should be included for schools and how cultural organisations could respond to these opportunities and build a relevant offer of the highest quality. Henley's findings argued that cultural education is vital for the growth and development of children and young people though both school and out-of-school environments. Henley asserts that one of the biggest problems in delivering cultural activity of comparable standard across the country is the differing approach and priorities given to culture by local authorities.[96] He asserts that cultural education must remain a priority for all local authorities and this should be reinforced through significant funding, rather than the ad hoc approach to culture currently used. Consequently, this inability to provide for culture within each local authority means that cultural education provision is a patchy and sporadic offer for schools and other learning providers which in turn impacts on the ability of museums to attract learning audiences to their venues. Henley argues that there is a role for cultural education in England and that there is a need for government to support it financially. However, the government response argues that although they will support cultural education from a central funding pot, they will not do anything to further encourage local authorities from increasing their offer at a local level.[97] The rhetoric within the response document at all times uses the word "should" instead of "will", demonstrating that this is really an advocacy document, aimed at appeasing those working within both the cultural and education sectors, rather than efficiently and effectively progressing the field of cultural education, and yet again the government is demonstrating its lack of interest in cultural activity.[98]

Therefore, by the end of 2012, the museum sector had undergone a significant development process which had seen an increased interest on the activity delivered by museums, in return for increased investment and an increased demonstration of the value and impact of museum activity. This impact was largely concerned with the value of museums in terms of audiences and their experiences in relationship to museums.

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[95] Darren Henley is the Managing Director of the British radio station *Classic FM.* He has a history of working across the arts and culture. Henley, D. *Cultural Education in England.* Department for Culture, Media and Sport. London: DCMS. 2011.

[96] Ibid. p.9

[97] Department for Culture, Media and Sport. *Cultural Education in England*. London: DCMS. 2012.

[98] Ibid.

The large funded programmes of the *New Labour* era were well positioned to support sport in museums activity because they had a focus on making museum activity relevant to new and different museum audiences. However, these programmes do not provide any evidence of sport in museums at all, suggesting that the museum sector and those which work in it face additional barriers to using sport as subject than merely funding. However, external influences on cultural policy through major sporting events, demonstrate that where cultural policy has a specific focus on sport, museums are keen and able to deliver programmes with a sporting theme. Therefore, the next section explores the major sporting events relevant to this thesis.

5.6 Cultural Policy and Major Sporting Events

Prior to 1998, there was much discussion about large events and their impact on a range of agendas. Before it is possible to explore major sporting events or their place within cultural policy, it is first necessary to define what is meant by the term. Jago and Shaw (1998) argue that although there is much discussion about the effects of such events, there is not definition of how they are classified. Consequently, Jago and Shaw are the first to provide a concise definition of a 'special event':

> A one-time or infrequently occurring event of limited duration that provides the consumer with a leisure and social opportunity beyond everyday experience, such events, which attract of have the potential to attract tourists, are often held to raise the profile, image or awareness of a region.[99]

The terms 'special events', 'mega events' and 'major events' are used to represent the same type of activity in the literature. Gelder and Robinson (2011) use Jago and Shaw's definition to frame their discussion of major events in 2011 and draw out six clear attributes which define such an event: 1) a tourism element; 2) to be of a limited duration; 3) increase the awareness of the host location; 4) be either one-off events of infrequently held events; 5) be social occasions; and 6) be out of the ordinary.[100]

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[99] Jago, L., and Shaw, R. 'Special Events: A Conceptual and Definitional Framework'. *Festival Management and Tourism*. 5, no.1-2 (1998): pp.21-32.
[100] Gelder, G., and Robinson, P. 'Events, Festival and the Arts'. 128-145. in *Research themes for tourism* edited by Robinson. P., Leitmann. S., and Dieke, P. Wallingford: CAB International. 2011. p.130

Therefore, this definition will be used within this thesis. Where this definition provides a generic classification of a major event, a seventh category can be added to create a specific thematic approach to the event, in this case sport.

The place of mega events in cultural policy is reliant on the ability of culture to regenerate urban regions and therefore on its ability to impact on each of the criteria outlined above in the definition.[101] The decline of industrial activities during the 1970s and 1980s saw a significant deterioration in the urban and social landscape of England's cities. As such, there was a significant need in the 1980s and 1990s to ensure that these urban environments were reimaged. Consequently, discussions about cultural policy in the late 1990s and early twentieth century focussed on urban regeneration and the potential ability of culture to provide a catalyst for economic growth and renewal in the city.[102] In addition, major events provide local authorities and government with a justification for the significant amount of funding they were diverting to urban renewal.[103] Cultural Policy during this time became increasingly interested in placing culture at the centre of regeneration activity. The opportunity to attract major events to cities in England therefore presented government with a significant opportunity to support urban regeneration. As such, the DNH and the DCMS after it became increasingly interested in how they could support bids by cities to host major events, positioning culture at the centre of these bids. During the timeframe of this thesis, there are three major sporting events which have relevance, the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA) 1996 Championships, the Manchester 2002 Commonwealth Games, and the London 2012 Olympic Games. The UEFA Championships were held in England in 1996, the year prior to the start of the thesis and in the country of question in this thesis, therefore any effect that the UEFA Championships had on sport in museums is likely to have had a direct influence on activity which was delivered from 1997 onwards. Consequently, this major sporting event is directly relevant to this study. Therefore, the next section will explore the

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[101] Garcia, B. *The Olympic Games and Cultural Policy.* Routledge: New York. 2012. p.18-20.
[102] See for example Garcia, B. *The Olympic Games and Cultural Policy.* Routledge: New York. 2012; Hughson, J. 'The modern city and the making of sport.' *Sport in Society* 12, no.1 (2009): pp.102–117.
[103] Carlsen, J. ,and Taylor, A. *Mega Events and Urban Renewal: The Case of the Manchester 2002 Commonwealth Games.* Event management, An International Journal 8, no.1 (2003). p.21.

cultural activity related to the UEFA European Championships and the effect this had on sport in museums.

5.6.1 The UEFA Football European Championships, 1996

The UEFA European Championships are held every four years and are the primary competition for senior male national football teams in Europe.[104] Commonly called the Euro's, the competition held in 1996 in England, is most universally referred to as Euro '96.[105] The national Football Association (FA) for England were successful in their bid to UEFA to host the 1996 UEFA Championships in England, highlighting eight host cities across England where matches would take place during the championships.[106] Within the bid to UEFA, the FA included a section with a specific aim to develop cultural activity within each host city in response to the championships. The FA worked with the DNH to plan the cultural festival which would be jointly managed by the Association of Metropolitan Authorities (AMA) and the FA.[107] The then DNH minister claimed that "The associated cultural festival to be staged by the eight participating cities will be an important part of this occasion…..And with 250,000 visitors to the country expected for the tournament, the festival will be an opportunity for them to experience our wider cultural heritage".[108] The existence of the DNH meant that, for the first time in England, a major sporting event had the support of a government department with a specific focus on the event itself and surrounding activities. This meant that Euro '96 could be associated with other cultural policy activity and with it the investment of funding to support wider social change.

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[104] Wikipedia, The Online Encyclopedia. *UEFA European Championships.* Date Unknown. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/UEFA_European_Championship

[105] Nash, R., and Johnstone, S. 'The Case of Euro 96. Where did the party go?' p.109. in Gratton, C., & Henry, I. *Sport in the City: The role of sport in economic and social regeneration.* London: Routledge, 2011.

[106] The host cities were Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool, London, Manchester, Newcastle, Nottingham, and Sheffield.

[107] The Association of Metropolitan Authorities was set up in 1974 to present the local authorities across the UK. It was wound up and replaced by the Local Government Association in 1997. Archives Hub. *The Association of Metropolitan Authorities.* London: Archives Hub. Date Unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://archiveshub.ac.uk/features/firefighters-metropolitanauthorities.html

[108] Dorrell, S. Quoted in Local Government Chronicle. *AMA given money for European Football Championship festival.* Online. 20th June 1995. Accessed January 31st 2014. http://www.lgcplus.com/ama-given-money-for-european-football-championship-festival/1591802.article

However, there were persistent issues in terms of the management of funding associated with the cultural programme which had significant impact on the ability of cultural organisations to plan activity in support of Euro '96. The DNH committed £100,000 from their own budget which was to be shared amongst the eight host cities. In addition, two government arms-length organisations, Sportmatch and the Association of Business Sponsorship for the Arts (ABSA), were allocated £150,000 each from public funding to support cultural activity, but access to this funding by host cities could only be secured through a competitive bidding process. Although the ABSA allocated all of their £150,000 to support cultural activity on the ground, Sportmatch only distributed £31,000. The Deputy Leader of Nottingham City Council, one of the host cities, commented that Sportmatch "placed such narrow definitions on the kind of activities which qualified that it was a waste of time. We put up event after event and got nowhere".[109] In reality the delivery and funding of the cultural programme was difficult and disorganised. Each host city was charged with developing plans independently for their own cultural activity, instead of a centrally co-ordinated approach.[110] This had a significant effect on how host cities were able to access funding and prevented a significant amount of activity taking place as a result.

In addition, UEFA secured a range of high profile sponsors for Euro '96 with the aim that these sponsors would also support various activities connected to Euro '96 and that host cities would be able to bid to these sponsors for funding to support their cultural activity.[111] There were eleven multi-national sponsors including global food and drink giant Coca-Cola and photography conglomerate Cannon, who each paid £3.5 million for exclusive rights to be associated with Euro '96. Ian McNichol, head of Leisure and Tourism at the AMA, was quoted in November of 1995 that the support of these corporate sponsors on cultural activity related to Euro '96, "overcomes the potential

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[109] Collins, C. Deputy Leader. Nottingham City Council. Quoted in The Independent. *Host cities rage over 'botched' Euro '96.* Sunday June 2nd 1996. Accessed June 1st 2013. http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/host-cities-rage-over-botched-euro-96-1335030.html
[110] Independent, the. *Host cities rage over 'botched' Euro '96.* Sunday June 2nd 1996. Accessed June 1st 2013. http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/host-cities-rage-over-botched-euro-96-1335030.html
[111] Nash, R., and Johnstone, S. 'The Case of Euro 96. Where did the party go?' p.109. in Gratton, C., & Henry, I. *Sport in the City: The role of sport in economic and social regeneration.* London: Routledge, 2011.

negative effects of those who are turned off by football. By getting the sponsors' grassroots recognition away from the football ground it broadens their appeal through association with the arts, music and food".[112] This negated the connection between sport and art in favour of sport versus art again. If those governing the programme failed to see the connection, it was unlikely that the resulting programme would be a demonstration of the relevance of sport to culture and vice versa. However, despite this additional opportunity for funding to support cultural activity, UEFA had not stipulated that any of this funding was specifically to support cultural activity from the corporate sponsors. As a result, each host city had to approach sponsors independently and pitch their ideas in the hope of securing additional funding. In June of 1996, McNichol argued that "we [the host cities] didn't even get a chance to approach the eleven sponsors until December last year….and we weren't getting rejections until February. That didn't leave anything like enough time to set up other deals. Basically, we were left flat broke and busted, and everyone's had to dig damned deep into their own pockets".[113] McNichol demonstrates that the will to support Euro '96 on the part of the cultural institutions and local government was there. Activity was planned and developed with a belief that funding would be available to support the resulting activity. In reality, the funding never materialised and local authorities were left to fund the activity themselves.

The need to align local needs with the global concerns of the sponsorship companies became impossible and local authorities were often unable to make their programmes relevant to the corporate funders, and only "Newcastle and Sheffield secured a major local sponsor".[114] In addition, because of the exclusivity rights given to these major companies by UEFA, it prohibited local councils in attracting other funding from

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[112] McNichol, J. Head of Leisure and Tourism. Association of Metropolitan Archives. Quoted in The Independent. *The fever pitch at Euro '96.* Friday 15th November 2013. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.independent.co.uk/news/business/the-fever-pitch-at-euro-96-1335050.html

[113] McNichol, J. Head of Leisure and Tourism. Association of Metropolitan Archives. Quoted in The Independent. *Host cities rage over 'botched' Euro '96.* Sunday June 2nd 1996. Accessed June 1st 2013. http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/host-cities-rage-over-botched-euro-96-1335030.html

[114] Collins, C. Deputy Leader. Nottingham City Council. Quoted in The Independent. *Host cities rage over 'botched' Euro '96.* Sunday June 2nd 1996. Accessed June 1st 2013. http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/host-cities-rage-over-botched-euro-96-1335030.html

additional private sources who would otherwise have been happy to fund activity.[115] For example, local Nottingham firm Boots showed interest in the cultural activity programme for Nottingham, but were reluctant to fund a whole city wide programme due to the expense and restrictive sponsorship contracts put in place by UEFA. The amount of funding allocated from the DNH was reported in the Independent as being met with "outrage" by local authorities.[116] The Deputy Leader of Nottingham City Council, Collins (1996), argued that the host cities had originally been led to believe they would receive £100,000 each to support cultural activity.[117] However, Ian Sproat, Heritage Minister, argued that it had always been the case that the DNH would fund up to an amount of £400,000, and Steven Dorrell confirmed that "Together with support from the Football Association, the Sports Council, and the Foundation for Sport and the Arts, this will bring core funding close to the £800,000 needed to stimulate the local authorities own fund-raising efforts". The AMA had either misunderstood the allocation that would be given to them and local authorities, or the limitations placed on them to use this funding to raise additional investment from the UEFA funders had left them bemused at how they had been left to deliver such a wide reaching a programme on such a minimal budget.

There are limited records available about the cultural activity which actually took place in support of Euro '96. However, the documents associated with Leeds City Council's activity in response to the championships provides a clear example of the issues associated with the planning of the cultural programme, and the attempts on behalf of cultural organisations to deliver activity in response to major sporting events. Leeds City Council Leisure Services Department aimed to create "an exhibition charting the social history of English football with a particular emphasis on supporters, and the nations based in Leeds for Euro 96 [Spain, Romania, France and Bulgaria]"[118] through an exhibition programme delivered by the museum service called More than a Game….. The budget, calculated at £430,000, was drawn up with the understanding

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[115] Ibid.

[116] Independent, the. *Host cities rage over 'botched' Euro '96.* Sunday June 2nd 1996.

[117] Collins, C. Deputy Leader. Nottingham City Council. Quoted in The Independent. *Host cities rage over 'botched' Euro '96.* Sunday June 2nd 1996.

[118] Nash, R., and Johnstone, S. 'The Case of Euro 96. Where did the party go?' p.115. in Gratton, C., & Henry, I. *Sport in the City: The role of sport in economic and social regeneration.* London: Routledge, 2011.

that seventy percent would come from the council's budget, the allocation from the AMA, and that an additional thirty percent would be drawn from the UEFA family of sponsors. This demonstrates that cultural organisations were keen to get involved in delivering activity to support the event, and that there was a belief that further funding would be allocated to activity by UEFA. In reality the additional funding from UEFA never materialised. In addition, other sponsors expressed a wish to be associated with the exhibition, for example local temporary structure company Portacabin, but would not directly fund it because of the limitations placed on their ability to be associated with Euro '96. The council added to the problems created by funding difficulties by failing to discuss planning for the event with the museum service in the first instance. Maggie Pedley, Museum Curator, argues that the decision to host an exhibition without consulting the museum was "crazy".[119] According to Pedley, the council agreed to host the exhibition without any understanding about how much it would cost, where its physical location could be or how it would be coordinated. Coupled with the shortfall in funding which meant the budget was £313,500 instead of the original £430,000, this lack of planning left the council with no suitable space to actually hold the exhibition. Consequently, the exhibition had to be stream-lined to accommodate the lower budget, and mounted in ten interlinked mobile buildings which had to be dismantled after the tournament. This meant that once Euro '96 finished, the exhibition was dismantled and there was no long-term exhibition to support the cities future understanding of the championships, nor did any long-term outcome that made the best use of the public funding spend. Richard Fowler Associates were awarded the contract to support Leeds Museums and Galleries programme for Euro '96. Company Director, Richard Fowler argued that there was a general lack of interest from the FA in the cultural programme and his comments demonstrate that the schism between sport and art was a significant issue to the cultural programme associated with Euro '96:

> The impression I got from the Euro '96 people I met was "thanks a lot for putting the exhibition on for our tournament, it's very kind of you but don't expect any money for it" and that was actually said at a meeting I had with Euro 96.[120]

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[119] Ibid.

[120] Ibid. p.116.

The relevance of the cultural programme to Euro '96 was therefore seen as an inconsequential addition by the organisers themselves. The lack of interest in the role of culture in supporting the championships is reflected in the inability to ensure funding was available to deliver cultural activity, even though responsible for cultural activity were ready and willing to provide activity in relationship to Euro '96. Therefore, the example of Leeds City Council demonstrates that the lack of funding provided for cultural activity during Euro '96 inhibited supporting cultural programmes. In addition, it suggests that there was a significant issue on behalf of the organisers in terms of the place of culture within a sporting event which had both an effect on funding for activity and importance placed on the cultural programme itself. The limited recorded evidence means it is extremely difficult to determine how many and which museums took part in the Euro '96 cultural programme as a whole. However, loan records held at the National Football Museum (NFM) for 1995 and 1996 suggest that a significant number of objects were requested by museums across the country to support exhibitions with the theme of football at this time.[121] This suggests that museums were responding to Euro '96 by delivering football associated exhibitions, for example a contemporary art exhibition at Manchester Art Gallery.

Consequently, the opportunity for cultural activity to support Euro '96 was limited because of funding restrictions and a lack of priority placed on the cultural activity by the organisers of the event. The museum sector, however, appear to have responded to the opportunity to deliver supporting events on some level, irrespective of these funding issues. This suggests that by 1996, the museum sector was ready and willing to deliver sporting exhibitions suggesting that the position of cultural policy and the position of everyday history as a museum subject was such that sport in museums was not an alien concept to museum professionals. The next section examines the second relevant major sporting event which took place during the boundaries of this thesis, the Manchester 2002 Commonwealth Games, to establish the position of sport in museums by 2002.

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[121] Moore, K. In conversation with the author. January 30th 2014. In addition, the author was granted access to the loans records for the *NFM* during this period.

5.6.2 The Manchester Commonwealth Games, 2002

The Commonwealth is a group of associated countries of different sizes and wealth which come together to subscribe to the principles of the Commonwealth Charter.[122] These principles are governed by three central premises: "democracy, human rights, and the rule of law". The nations which subscribe to the Commonwealth Charter had discussed the possibility of a Commonwealth Games since the early twentieth century, probably influenced by the development of the modern Olympic Games, discussed later in this chapter.[123] Consequently, in 1930, the first Commonwealth Games took place in Hamilton, Canada, where eleven countries competed in over fifty different sporting events. Since the inaugural event, the Commonwealth Games have taken place every four years in different countries around the world. The foundation of the Commonwealth Games is based on the principles of "Humanity, equality, and destiny", with the aim of inspiring individuals through both the competitive aspects of the Commonwealth Games themselves, and through associated education and sporting programmes.[124] The importance and profile of the Commonwealth Games gradually increased from the early beginnings in Hamilton. The latest event delivered at the time of writing was the 2010 Games in Dehli where seventy-one countries took part. Consequently, the Commonwealth Games has become a major sporting event which contributes to the seven criteria identified in the definition of a major sporting event outlined above, and is therefore attractive as a mechanism for delivering cultural policy.

As such, in 1995 the city of Manchester bid to host the 2002 Commonwealth Games. The reasons behind this bid were to create a long-term opportunity for economic and social regeneration in the city and wider region and to build on two pervious Olympic bids.[125] Therefore, the Manchester bid had a clear remit to ensure a legacy of activity

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[122] Commonwealth, the. *Our Charter*. London: The Commonwealth. Date unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://thecommonwealth.org/our-charter
[123] Commonwealth, The. *Our Story*. London: The Commonwealth. Date unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014.
http://www.thecgf.com/games/story.asp
[124] Commonwealth Games Federation. *About.* London: Commonwealth Games Federation. Date unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.thecgf.com/about/role.asp
[125] Ecotech, Research and Consulting Ltd. *An Evaluation of the Commonwealth Games Legacy Programme.* Leeds: Ecotech, 2002. p.1.

which was sustainable after the Games had finished.[126] The Manchester 2002 Commonwealth Games established four key objectives which included supporting the urban regeneration of Manchester and demonstrating that Britain was well placed to deliver events of this magnitude in the future.[127] This demonstrates that cultural policy and the potential of the event to influence economic renewal was a significant factor in the decision to host and conduct the Commonwealth Games in the first instance.

Attached to the Manchester 2002 Commonwealth Games was a festival entitled, The Spirit of Friendship Festival, its aim being to draw out connections and opportunities for activity around the themes of sport, culture, art, education and the Queen's Golden Jubilee in association with the Games.[128] The art and culture strand of the festival was entitled Cultureshock and took place between the 11th March 2002 until the 24th July 2002, the day before the Games began.[129] The organising committee for Cultureshock was a steering group and originally part of the Games organising committee set up in 1997 until in 1999 a Regional Cultural Steering Group was established which managed the programme until its completion. The over-arching premise of the cultural programme was to celebrate the creative verve of the North West.[130] Garcia (2003) argues that this was a significant obstacle in the successful hosting of a cultural programme. She argues that although the cultural sector showed an interest in supporting the original bid for the Games, no formal partnerships were established between the organising committee of the Games and the cultural sector until a year after Manchester had secured the Games in 1998.[131] Garcia concludes that as a result, the cultural programme was an afterthought in the overall planning and placed at the periphery of importance. Faber Maunsell (2004) conducted the over-arching evaluation of the Games on behalf of the North West Development Agency and agrees with Garcia stating that the cultural programme was largely an afterthought rather

[126] Commonwealth Games Federation. *2002 Commonwealth Games.* London: Commonwealth Games Federation. Date unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.thecgf.com/games/intro.asp?yr=2002
[127] Manchester 2002 Limited. *The xvii Commonwealth Games. Post Games Report Volume 1.* Manchester: Manchester 2002 Limited. Date Unknown. p.3.
[128] Andrews, N. *Cultureshock evaluation report.* Publisher Unknown. 2003. p.6. Accessed June 1st 2014. https://www.academia.edu/5615347/2002_Commonwealth_Games_cultural_programme_evaluation_report
[129] Ibid.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Garcia, B. *Evaluation of Cultureshock, North West Cultural programme for the 2002 Commonwealth Games.* Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 2003.

than a strategic plan to link sport and culture.[132] Faber Maunsell conclude that to ensure a cultural programme attached to a major sporting event is a success for all partners, it should be given the same importance during the development and planning as the games themselves. In the case of Manchester 2002 Commonwealth games, this was not the case.

In addition, the cultural programme was poorly managed and confused and Andrews (2003) who evaluated the programme, suggests that the aims and objectives of Cultureshock changed at least three times in the three years running up to the Games. The fact that the programme finished before the Games actually started suggested that they were actually separate programmes and many organisations felt that they did not benefit from the increased publicity of visitor footfall generated by the Games as a result.[133] There are several successful outcomes form the cultural programme listed including increased funding opportunities, greater profile, specifically of smaller organisations, and opportunities for professional development. However, at no stage are the links between culture and sport explored, nor the opportunities for expressing sporting activity through culture and artistic endeavour. The fact that the programme aimed to understand more about other cultures, rather than any mention of sport at any stage within the objectives demonstrates the gap between sport and culture even within major sporting event cultural programmes. In addition, the separation from the main organising team had the effect of side-lining cultural activity from the activity of the Games itself. The evaluations fail to offer a clear understanding of the extent to which museums participated in Cultureshock, although it appears that there was a significant interest and engagement by the sector. It failed to progress the understanding of sport in museums however because the focus on the programme was diverted away from the theme of sport. It did however demonstrate to cultural organisations that opportunities for supporting sporting events existed and could provide economic and social outcomes for both their organisations and their audiences.

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[132] Faber Maunsell. *Commonwealth Games Benefits Study.* Manchester: North West Development Agency. 2004.
[133] Andrews, N. *Cultureshock evaluation report.* 2003. p.27.

The success of the Manchester 2002 Commonwealth Games as a whole is largely credited with providing the International Olympic Committee with the confidence that England was capable of hosting a major sporting event.[134] Therefore, the final major sporting event to take place in England within the boundaries of this thesis is the London 2012 Olympic Games, which will be discussed in the next section.

5.6.3 The London 2012 Olympic Games

Before it is possible to examine the London 2012 Olympic Games (hereafter London 2012), it is first necessary to explore the background of the Olympic Games. The myth and spectacle afforded the ancient Olympic Games of Greece, sparked the imagination of many individuals, but it is commonly held that Pierre de Coubertin was the instigator of the modern Olympic Games.[135] Coubertin was a wealthy and aristocratic French man who had witnessed the defeat of the French at the battler of Sedan in 1870. This defeat, combined with a recent history of French defeats on the battlefield, led Coubertin to the conclusion that physical agility needed to be nurtured. In addition, the bloody wars of the nineteenth century caused Coubertin to explore methods which would promote international cooperation and discussion, and Coubertin's ethos for the Olympic Games and Olympians themselves was one of fair-play, respect and friendship.[136] Consequently, in 1884, Coubertin established the first Olympic committee for the modern Olympic Games to unite cultures through sport and promote peace and cultural development and the first modern Olympic Games were held in 1986 in Athens, Greece.[137] Subsequently, the Olympic Games have been held every four years since, out of war-time, and in 1948 the beginnings of the Paralympic Games began, a movement to allow those with disabilities to compete at the highest level in sporting competitions.[138] From these early beginnings the Olympic Movement developed which brings together nation's which agree to the Olympic Charter,[139] a representation of the aims established by Coubertin which unites the fields of sport,

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[134] Commonwealth Games Federation. *2002 Commonwealth Games.*
[135] Finley, I.M., and Pleket, H.W. *The Olympic Games. The First Thousand Years*. Dover Publications Inc. 2005. pp.4 – 5.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Girginov, V., and Parry, J. *The Olympic Games Explained.* Oxon: Routledge. 2005. p.ix.
[138] British Paralympic Association. *The Paralympic Games.* London: British Paralympic Association. Date unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://paralympics.org.uk/games
[139] British Olympic Association. *About Us.* London: British Olympic Association. Date unknown.

culture and education across the divides of national borders, placing sport as a conduit of international co-operation and discussion.

Central to Coubertin's ethos of the modern Olympic Games, then, was the place of cultural activity and expression as part of Olympic activity and a celebration of art and sport.[140] To realise Coubertin's vision, an Olympic art competition was conducted during every Olympic Games, the *Pentathlon of Muses* from 1912 until 1948, drawing together art work from athletes to represent sporting activity and endeavour.[141] However, despite the intention to demonstrate cultural excellence, the exhibition never achieved its aims and instead brought together an assortment of artefacts and arts works of varying quality which failed to truly tell the story of cultural endeavour in the host nation. Partly this was because the focus of the exhibition was not on existing objects, but a fusion of artefacts made by those competing in the games themselves and therefore the quality of the exhibition contents was questionable, making the resulting programme uninspiring for visitors. Essentially, the programme ignored the fact that sport was already being represented in art and culture and that this would have provided the most logical exhibition framework for the Olympic Games representation of national culture.

The 1948 version of the exhibition demonstrates the issues caused by the literal joining together of sport and art rather than a more fluid interpretation of how sport is represented in cultural activity. As discussed in chapter three, the *Sport in Art* exhibition held at the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A) in London in 1948, was an exhibition of the London 1948 Olympics Games competition and represented the cultural programme element of the 1948 Olympic Games. The exhibition was organised by the Arts Council who stated that the competition rules in 1948 would allow for "the connection between sport and art"… to be "liberally interpreted so as to give the artists more liberty in the execution of their work".[142] This comment suggests that the subject of sport itself was not deemed suitably flexible and significant by itself by the Arts Council and instead artists were encouraged to explore wider themes,

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[140] Garcia, B. 'One hundred years of cultural programming within the Olympic Games (1912-2012): origins, evolution and projections'. *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 14, no. 4 (2008): pp.368.
[141] Ibid. pp.367-368.
[142] *Art Competition* booklet. The Organising Committee for the X1V Olympiad. 1948. p.10.

potentially with little relevance to sport itself. The athletes were still the creators of the arts work which were exhibited as part of the final programme at the V&A. However, the recommendations for future cultural activity associated with the events put forward by the Organising committee of the London 1948 Olympic Games, suggests that there was a significant disjuncture between the art competition and the Olympics themselves which resulted in a further detachment between the sports and the arts world.[143] Garcia (2012) argues that therefore instead of uniting culture and sport, the two spheres had actually remained quite separate. The 1948 exhibition of art was the final of its kind, and from 1952 onwards the cultural programme was delivered by the host organising team on themes and activities relevant to the host nation. However, this meant that the cultural programme was often ad hoc, and the interpretation of culture was widely interpreted.

Garcia argues that it was not until the Barcelona 1992 Olympic Games that a four-year integrated Cultural Olympiad was officially launched.[144] Since 1992, the title Cultural Olympiad has come to represent a supporting programme of cultural activity delivered by the host nation to express that nation's cultural wealth. The activity delivered by the host nation, however, has often tended to focus on general cultural activity of the country, rather than properly bring together opportunities to celebrate sport as a focus of cultural execution. The example of London 2012 provides an evidence of this separation of sport and culture.

In 1997 Labour made a commitment in the election manifesto to bring the Olympic Games to the UK.[145] Discussions were held about whether the 2004, 2008 or 2012 event should be the focus of the bid, and it was decided that 2012 offered the most likely success and a realistic time-frame for preparations as a host nation.[146] The benefits of holding the Olympic Games are set out by the Culture, Media and Sport Select Committee in 2003 terming the hosting of the event as "sports richest prize",

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[143] Organising Committee for the XIV Olympiad, London, 1948. *The Official Report of the Organising Committee of the XIV Olympiad.* London: Organising Committee for the XIV Olympiad, London, 1948. pp.195-198.

[144] Ibid.

[145] Culture, Media and Sport Committee. *A London Olympic Bid for 2012*. London: The Stationary Office. 2003.

[146] Ibid. pp.9-10.

bringing together the largest international audience, over 15000 athletes and similar number of supporting teams, thousands of international press representatives, and a wealth of global sponsorship.[147] Despite the significant costs also associated with such an event, the agreement to bid for the Olympic Games was granted, and in 2005 London was confirmed as the host city for the 2012 Olympic Games. One of the most significant elements of the London 2012 bid was the emphasis on the legacy of the event. This was not couched purely in terms of sport, but also economic opportunities, social development and cultural activity. As a result, the bid for the 2012 Olympic Games included a significant section specifically concerned with producing a ground breaking Cultural Olympiad.[148]

Shortly after the announcement that London was to host the 2012 Olympic Games, Jason Wood argued that with sport and heritage both being integral to British culture, and as powerful agents of community identity and understanding, London 2012 presented an ideal opportunity to unite the two.[149] Furthermore, in 2004 the DCMS published brining communities together through culture and sport with resulting strategies which outlined a perpetuation of the schism between the two areas of culture and sport.[150] The DCMS indicated that either sport or culture could be used to support community development, cohesion and understanding and, therefore, failed to deliver a plan that united the two. In addition, there was no specific reference to sporting heritage in either the documentation supporting the Cultural Olympiad programme or the resulting offer presented for the programme itself.[151] Despite claims that Britain created many of the international sports represented at the Olympics, the omission of sport itself, including the sporting past, from the language of the Cultural Olympiad signifies the divide between sport and culture, with sport seemingly

[147] Ibid. p.8
[148] Ibid.
[149] Wood, J. 'Olympic opportunity: realising the value of sport heritage for tourism in the UK.' *Journal of Sport Tourism* 10, no.4 (2005): pp.307-321.
[150] Department for Culture, Media and Sport. *Bringing communities together through culture and sport*. London: DCMS. 2004; Wood, J. 'Olympic opportunity: realising the value of sport heritage for tourism in the UK.' *Journal of Sport Tourism* 10, no.4 (2005): p. 311.
[151] Garcia, B. 'The London 2012 Cultural Olympiad: A Model for a Nationwide Cultural Legacy'. *Culture @ The Olympics* 14. no.4 (2012a): 29-34; London Organising Committee of the Olympic Games (LOCOG). *Cultural Olympiad.* London: LOCOG. Date Unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://web.archive.org/web/20110509074335/http://www.london2012.com/get-involved/cultural-olympiad/index.php.

positioned outside the cultural sphere.[152] Instead of a focus on the Olympic Games and Paralympic Games and their sporting heritage, the Cultural Olympiad encouraged organisations to develop activity "inspired" by the events.[153] Furthermore, the Cultural Olympiad failed to acknowledge the potential of sporting heritage to meet community agendas and with only small ring-fenced pots of money from ACE and the MLA available only to a small number of organisations, this money did not have a specific focus on sport. For example, the flagship MLA programme, later taken over by ACE, in support of London 2012 was Stories of the World. Aimed at uniting museum collections with young people, none of the resulting projects actually had a focus on the theme of sport.[154] Therefore, the opportunity to celebrate the nation's sporting heritage seemed to have been lost almost immediately.

In terms of practical delivery of the Cultural Olympiad, the potential for cultural activity was clearly outlined. Organisations were able to become partners of London 2012 at a series of different levels, for example they could achieve the Inspire Mark which meant they had an affiliation to the event, but were not full partners but were committed to the objectives of the Olympic Movement and aimed to deliver activity inspired by London 2012 accordingly.[155] However, the different levels of involvement caused confusion within the cultural sector, and the limitations placed on those which were not affiliated to the event in any way were stringent. The logo of London 2012 became a prized sponsorship emblem, with anyone using it not part officially associated with the Cultural Olympiad seriously questioned and threatened on occasion with legal action.[156] This had a significant effect on any organisations wishing to support the event, but unable to navigate the difficult affiliation programme.

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[152] See for example BBC Radio 4. *Sport and the British.* London: BBC. 2012.
Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b01bf42n ; Holt, R. *Sport & The British: A Modern History,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.
[153] Garcia, B. *Placing Culture at the Heart of the Games.* Liverpool: Institute of Cultural Capital. 2013. p.5.
[154] Arts Council England. *Stories of the World.* London: ACE. Date unknown. Accessed January 31st 2014. http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/what-we-do2/our-priorities-2011-15/london-2012/stories-world/
[155] London Organising Committee of the Olympic Games. *The Inspire Mark.* London: LOCOG. Date unknown. Accessed January 31st 2014. http://learninglegacy.independent.gov.uk/publications/london-2012-inspire-programme.php
[156] International Olympic Committee (IOC). *Licensing.* Lausanne: IOC. Date unknown. Accessed January 31st 2014. http://www.olympic.org/licensing

With an unclear vision outlined by the Cultural Olympiad, the museum sector initially viewed London 2012 with scepticism, and concerns were raised about how funding could be diverted from their core budgets.[157] David Lammy, the Minister for Culture at the DCMS, addressed this concern in his speech to the Museums Association Conference in 2005:

> The Olympics presents far more of an opportunity than a threat for culture. It will be the greatest possible showcase to present all that is best about Britain. Our museums and galleries must be part of that, and the sector will be fully involved in the planning of the cultural festival and other elements of the Olympic programme.[158]

Consequently, the ensuing programme left museums unsure of how to participate in the Cultural Olympiad and the lack of guidance was emphasised in a short film compiled at the Museums Association conference in 2008 which asked delegates to express their feelings about the Cultural Olympiad. Many respondents used the words "confused" and "complex," with one delegate asking "What is it? I've never heard of it".[159]

As discussed in chapter three, the Sports Heritage Network (SHN) planned to culminate the *Our Sporting Life (OSL)* programme with "the World's greatest exhibition of Sporting History" as part of the Cultural Olympiad and in support of London 2012.[160] The exhibition needed significant financial support and a relevant location, but despite high-profile endorsement and behind-the-scenes discussions for this event, the SHN failed to deliver a concluding exhibition that celebrated the UK's sporting past. London 2012 could have provided a unique opportunity for sport and culture to unite at a

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[157] Department for Culture, Media and Sport. *Regional Museums to Benefit from Three Year Funding Deal.* DCMS. 2007. p.7; Department for Culture, Media and Sport. *Understanding the Future. Museums and 21st Century Life: A Summary of Responses.* London: DCMS. 2005.

[158] Lammy, D. *Keynote address to the Museums Association Conference*. London: DCMS. 2005. Accessed on February 4th, 2013.
http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/+/http://www.culture.gov.uk/reference_library/minister_speeches/2036.aspx

[159] Museums Association (MA). *Renaissance: MLA Consultation.* London: MA. 2008.

[160] Sports Heritage Network. *Our Sporting Life, Exhibition Handbook.* Date unknown. No longer available online.

presentation of sports heritage on the Olympic site. OSL was already in development before the decisions were made about how the Cultural Olympiad funding should be spent, and the SHN ensured that it was on the radar of those at the LOCOG. However, even with high-profile endorsement, and significant advocacy, the final exhibition failed to materialise because funding for the programme was never allocated from the central funding pot. OSL was well positioned to feature as part of the Cultural Olympiad, but the projects focus on sports history placed it between camps of both the sport and cultural elements of the Olympiad, and therefore restricted funding opportunities.[161]

The apparent absence of 'sport' from the Cultural Olympiad document and programme itself prevented a long-term development of sporting heritage projects ahead of 2012, but the arrival of the Olympics itself led to a surge of interest from the museum community and delivery of exhibitions about sport. These included exhibitions based on the themes of sport and fashion, sport and sculpture, the science of sport, and the impact of sport on peace initiatives.[162] Money from the official sponsors of London 2012 however was subsequently allocated to cover short-falls in the agreed initial spend for the infra-structure of the Games, and funding for the Cultural Olympiad was directed away from the topic of sport to more diverse programmes.[163] This left few opportunities for OSL and whilst the Museums, libraries and Archives Council (MLA) initially funded the project for twelve months to the value of £100,000, which employed a project manager, by the beginning of 2012 the money had run out. This coincided with an economic down-turn resulting in the abolition of then MLA, the restriction of previously committed funding from the MLA as a result to the OSL programme, and restricted funding from local authorities to museums inhibiting their ability to deliver temporary exhibitions and additional programming. Consequently, as exhibition activity increased nationally, the partnerships and contacts developed by the OSL project manager were not sustained, and the project began to

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[161]Mainds, P. Director, River and Rowing Museum. In conversation with the author. January 20th 2013.
[162]Exhibitions include: *Sport and Fashion* at the Fashion Museum, Bath, February 2012-January 2013; *Art at the Edge: Sculpture and Sport* at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, March-May 2012; *Sports Lab* at Museums Sheffield, January-November 2011; and *Playing for Peace* at Coventry Cathedral, an exhibition by the Peace Museum, Bradford, October 2011.
[163]LOCOG made official funding agreements with a range of sponsorship organisations. These organisations held the monopoly of rights to use the Olympic brand, limiting the value of other organisations potential involvement as one-off funders for activity related to the Games.

falter, with some partners withdrawing and others hosting exhibitions without notifying the central OSL team. As a result, a sport in museums programme happened in spite of, rather than because of, the Cultural Olympiad programme attached to London 2012. The segregation of sport and culture was demonstrated perfectly in the opening ceremony of London 2012. The president of the International Olympic Committee (IOC), Jacque Rogge's, opening speech argued that, "This great, sports-loving country is widely recognised as the birthplace of modern sport", [164] however, the lavish opening ceremony which preceded Rogge's speech, whilst extremely successful, did not contain one single reference to this sporting heritage. The ceremony was watched by 900 million viewers worldwide and created a unique opportunity to celebrate the nation's sporting past.[165] Although London 2012 undoubtedly increased the knowledge and interest of sport in museums, this was mainly through the efforts of the SHN and wider interest on the part of museum professionals, than through a specific strategic plan to explore the sporting heritage of the nation as part of the Cultural Olympiad or LOCOG itself.

5.7. Conclusion

Therefore, cultural policy has had a significant effect on the focus and development of cultural organisations in England. Culture was gradually transformed from an add-on expendable activity which was desirable, but not essential, to a priority for public funding due to the ability of culture to impact on economic objectives, social capital, and educational attainment.[166] With the development of government departments specifically responsible for culture and a funding body with an expressed remit to fund cultural activity, the profile and opportunity for cultural activity was at its highest. In addition to cultural policy supporting the everyday activity of cultural organisations,

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[164] Rogge, Jacques. President of the International Olympic Committee (IOC). *Opening* Speech of the London 2012 Olympic Games. Online. July 12th 2012. Accessed June 1st 2014. p.1. http://www.olympic.org/Documents/Games_London_2012/London_2012_Opening_ceremony_Speech_Jacques_Rogge.pdf
[165] Reuters. *London 2012 Opening ceremony draws 900,000 viewers.* August 7th 2012. Accessed May 1st 2014. http://uk.reuters.com/article/2012/08/07/uk-oly-ratings-day-idUKBRE8760V820120807
[166] See for example Eltis, W. and Higham, D. 'Closing the UK Competiveness Gap'. *National Institute Economic Review* 154, no. 1 (1995); Rikowski, G. 'Labours Fuel: Lifelong Learning Policy and Labours Power Production'. p.153. in *The Routledge Falmer Guide to Key Debates in Education.* edited by Hayes, D. Abingdon: Routledge. 2004; Wren, C. 'The Industrial Policy of Competitiveness: A Review of Recent Developments in the UK'. *Regional Studies.* 35, no.9 (2001): p. 847.

the opportunity to position culture as a mechanism for urban regeneration through major sporting events was also tested. Three such events took place during the boundaries of this thesis, with an increasing interest on the cultural programme attached to the event. The cultural programmes of each event show no connection between sport and culture and suggest that activity was delivered to support wider event objectives, for example global cooperation, rather than to demonstrate the links between sport and culture. This separation suggests that even in 2012 when over one hundred sporting exhibitions took place across England in support of London 2012, there were still significant barriers effecting the position of sport as a cultural subject.

In terms of the development of museums as a direct result of cultural policy at this time, the publication of *A Common Wealth* brought a new found interest in museum activity and with it an argument for museum funding. Consequently, several high-profile and significantly funded museum programmes were instigated at this time with a specific remit to bring new and different audiences into museums, and explore the impact of museums on these audiences. Since the publication of *A Common Wealth*, museums have developed programmes and activities to support audiences and have transformed the theoretical suggestions and opportunities outlined in the report into practical activity in the field. However, the author's research into the funded programmes *Renaissance in the Regions* and *Strategic Commissioning* suggests that sport was not used on any occasion as the focus of projects delivered as part of these programmes. Chapters six and eight of this thesis suggest that the subject of sport has the ability to attract new and different audiences to museums and that this interaction has a significant impact on these audiences. Therefore the exclusion of the subject from the most significant museum audience development programmes ever delivered is remarkable. The reasons which underlie the decision of museums not to use sport as an opportunity to support audience development in their provision is discussed in detail in chapter four, and although attitudinal barriers which separate sport and culture still exist, the greater constraints to the use of sport in museums is concerned with a knowledge and understanding of sporting collections, and a lack of objects about sport or the knowledge of where to find them.

Furthermore, the new found position of cultural activity within government and the increased funding for museum activity came attached with the imperative to demonstrate the impact of cultural activity on a range of agendas. However, impact has never consistently been defined and cultural organisations find it extremely difficult to measure the exact outputs of their activity. In addition, the need to express these additional impacts creates a persistent argument within the cultural sector itself concerning the instrumental value of culture over the intrinsic value. This argument, which raged for nearly two decades, fell flat when the Conservative – Liberal Democrat coalition government came into power in 2012 and immediately reduced all public funding, including that to cultural organisations. The governments cultural policy output also decreased and cultural organisations responded to this by generating information and statistics aiming to prove their worth across numerous agendas. This demonstrates that irrespective of the pressures from cultural policy placed on museums to demonstrate their impact, funding has now become so intertwined with the ability to express the outcomes of cultural activity that the sector understands to ensure financial security it must begin to better provide evidence of its value.

Thus, the existing practice of sport in museums, combined with the cultural policy developments in England between 1997 and 2012, suggest that opportunities exist when sport is used as a subject matter in museums to support wider social and economic objectives. The subsequent chapters of this thesis will therefore explore in detail precisely how sport in museums responds to these wider objectives. Consequently, the next chapter will explore how the use of sport can support a change in museum audiences to ensure a wider number and type of people are able to access museum collections.

Chapter Six: Sport in Museums and Audiences

Chapter five demonstrated that cultural policy and museum ideology from the 1990s focussed on the ability of museums to appeal to a wide variety of audiences. This chapter will therefore explore what the traditional audiences of museums are considered to be, and how sport in museums can support a change to this audience to be more representative of the population as a whole.

Cultural policy charged museums with engaging new and different audiences in return for funding, and museum staff began to develop an interest in providing programmes which were representative of the population as a whole, rather than the traditional emphasis on 'high' culture. As a result, between the years of 1997 and 2012, the museum sector was primarily concerned with increasing the number and type of museum audiences. Although initiatives such as providing free entry to national museums ensured an increase in museum numbers,[1] the evidence suggests that museum audience types actually remain similar at the end of this study's time boundaries in 2012, as they did in 1997.[2] Therefore, although significant investment and activity has been given towards developing museum audiences, the audience profile actually remains similar. Consequently, an understanding of the extent to which sport as a subject matter for museums can engage new and different audiences should be considered. Chapter five demonstrated that sport as a subject for museums has often been excluded from large scale cultural activities which have a focus on audience development. For example, museum programmes such as Renaissance in the Regions and major sporting events such as the Cultural Olympiad of the London 2012 Olympic Games, chose to ignore the topic of sport. This suggests that although there is a sustained increase in the use of sport in museums by 2012, this increase has not been driven by a need to augment audiences and achieve greater investment to museums.

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[1] National Museums Directors Council (NMDC). *10th Anniversary of free admission to national museums.* London: NMDC. 2011. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.nationalmuseums.org.uk/what-we-do/encouraging_investment/free-admission/
[2] Ambrose, T., and Payne, C. *Museum Basics*. Oxon: Routledge, 2012. p.49.

The reasons for the limited use of sport in such programmes are discussed in detail in chapter four and five. In addition, the evaluation of sport in museums is limited and, where it does exist, only concentrates on isolated projects relevant to individual museums. As such, there is little evidence available to demonstrate if, how, and why sport as a subject matter for museums presents an opportunity to change museum audiences. Therefore, this chapter will explore the audiences of sport in museums and examine how these differ from traditional museum audiences. Ultimately, this will establish if there is a place for sport as a subject matter for museums to increase and change museum audiences.

At the time of writing, the subject of sport in museums and its relevance to museum audiences has been largely unexplored in the literature, leaving a gap in understanding. Vamplew and Moore have shown the most interest in the relationship between sport in museums and audiences.[3] In 1989 and 1998, Vamplew argued that museum professionals should do more to understand the potential of the sporting past to engage audiences.[4] Nearly fifteen years later, in 2012, Moore argued that using sport as a topic for museums can significantly increase and expand the audiences visiting a museum, using examples such as the *Our Sporting Life* exhibition programme, discussed in chapter four, to illustrate this claim.[5] Despite Vamplew and Moore's consistent arguments to both the museum sector and academics to engage in a greater exploration of sport in museums and its relationship to audiences, professionals from both fields have consistently ignored the opportunity to do so, as reflected in the absence of literature on the subject. Perhaps the most glaring omission of interest in this area is within museum studies texts, where the author was unable to

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[3] See for example Moore, K. 'Marketing Sports Museums: Attracting New Audiences?' *Revista de Museologia* 22, no.2 (2003): pp.29-32; Moore, K. 'Sport History, Public History, and Popular Culture: A Growing Engagement'. *Journal of Sport History* 40, no.1 (2013): pp.401-417; Moore, K. *Museums & Popular Culture.* London: Leicester University Press, 1997; Vamplew, W. 'Facts & Artefacts: Sports Historians and Sports Museums'. *Journal of Sport History* 25, no.2 (1998): pp.268-282.; Vamplew, W. 'Sports History, Sports Myths, and Sports Museums'. *Social History in Museums: Journal of the Social History Curators Group* 22. (1995-1996): pp.32-33.

[4] Vamplew, W. 'Australian sports history: a research agenda'. *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 6, no.2 (1989): p.252; Vamplew, W. 'Facts & Artefacts: Sports Historians and Sports Museums'. *Journal of Sport History* 25, no.2 (1998): pp.268-282.

[5] Moore, K. 'Sport in Museums and Museums of Sport: An Overview'. pp.93-106, in *Sport, History and Heritage: An Investigation into the Public Representation of Sport,* edited by Hill, J., Moore, K., and Wood, J. Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2012.

find a single example of an investigation of sport in museums audiences.[6] Considering the majority of museum studies texts between 1997 and 2012 have a focus on how museums can and do reach new and different audiences, it is remarkable that none have chosen to explore the relationship between audiences and sport. Therefore, this chapter aims to address the deficiency of information currently available and endeavour to understand how, why, and to what extent, sport attracts new and different audiences to museums.

Before a greater discussion of the role of sport in museums in terms of audiences can happen, it is first necessary to examine what is meant by the term audiences and those audiences most traditionally considered as museum visitors.

6.1 Defining Museum Audiences

There are many different definitions of the term 'audience'.[7] For the purposes of this study, the definition used is by Ambrose and Payne (2012), writers of *Museum Basics*, a standard text book for all those working in and with museums: "the term 'audience' has been borrowed from the worlds of arts and sport to mean those groups of people who visit the museum or use its other services".[8] Additionally, the terms 'traditional audiences', 'visitors' and 'users' are frequently used to refer to those people who already visit museums.[9] Conversely, 'non-traditional audiences', 'non-visitors' and 'non-users' are the terms often employed to define those people who do not visit museums. Again, there is not a standard definition of these terms, however it is fair to assume that the definition put forward by Ambrose and Payne is statistically accurate and that traditional audiences tend to be wealthier local residents, larger

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[6] See for example the work of Hooper-Greenhill which spans the period of 1997 – 2010 and concentrates on museums and their audiences, but fails to include a single reference to sport in museums.

[7] See for example Arts Council England. *What people want from the arts.* London: Arts Council England. 2008; Office for National Statistics (ONS). *List of Main Classifications in National Statistics.* London: ONS. Statistics. 2012; Black, G. *The Engaging Museum: Developing Museums for Visitor Involvement*. Oxon: Routledge, 2005. p.11.

[8] Ambrose, T., and Payne, C. *Museum Basics*. Oxon: Routledge, 2012. p.49.

[9] See for example Black, G. *The Engaging Museum: Developing Museums for Visitor Involvement*. Oxon: Routledge, 2005. p.11; Davies, S. 'Still popular: Museums and their visitors 1994 – 2004'. *Cultural Trends* 14, no.53 (2005): p.89; Falk, J. *Reconceptualising the museum experience: Who visits, why, and to what effect?* Unpublished. November 2011.

communities, established communities (rather than immigrant communities), older people (those over the age of 35), and men.[10] In agreement with Ambrose and Payne, the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) (2010) state that although different types of heritage organisations attract different types of audiences, "research consistently reveals that some audiences are less likely to participate than others" in heritage activity, and HLF defines these audiences as older people, young people, families, people with lower educational attainment, people from black, Asian and minority ethnic (BME) communities, disabled people, and people in lower socio-economic groups and on low incomes.[11] This is not to say that people which fit into these categories do not visit museums. Rather, across the nation as a whole, these groups of people are less likely to visit museums. Figure 23 therefore expresses the groups of people which tend to be associated as traditional or non-traditional museum audiences.

Figure 23: Examples of Traditional and Non-traditional Museum Audiences

Traditional Museum Audiences	Non-Traditional Museum Audiences
Wealthier local residents	Older people
Longer established communities	Young People
Older people (over 35 years of age)	Families
Men	People with lower educational attainment
People in Higher socio-income groups A,B,C1	People from Black, Asian and Ethnic Minority communities (BME)
Schools	Disabled People
	People in Lower socio-income groups C2, D, E
	People with low incomes

Source: Author's analysis of definitions of traditional and non-traditional museums users.[12]

In addition, it is possible to further explore the composition of audiences by examining their socio-income groups, as illustrated at figure 24.

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[10] Ambrose, T., and Payne, C. *Museum Basics*. 2012. p.49.

[11] Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF). *Thinking about audiences.* London: HLF. September 2010. p.7.

[12] Evidence drawn from Ambrose, T., and Payne, C. *Museum Basics*. Oxon: Routledge, 2012. p.49; Falk, J. *Reconceptualising the museum experience: Who visits, why, and to what effect?* Unpublished. November 2011; Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF). *Thinking about audiences.* 2010. p.7; Black, G. *The Engaging Museum: Developing Museums for Visitor Involvement*. Oxon: Routledge, 2005. p.11; Davies, S. 'Still popular: Museums and their visitors 1994 – 2004'. *Cultural Trends* 14, no.53 (2005): p.89.

Figure 24: National Readership Survey (NRS) Demographic Categories

Social Grade	Social Status	Occupation
A	Upper Middle Class	Higher managerial, administrative or professional
B	Middle Class	Intermediate managerial, administrative or professional
C1	Lower Middle Class	supervisory or clerical, junior managerial, administrative or professional
C2	Skilled Working Class	skilled manual workers
D	Working Class	semi and unskilled manual workers
E	Those at the lowest level of subsistence	state pensioners or widows (no other earner), casual or lowest grade workers

Source: The *National Readership Survey* website.[13]

These categories further establish the delineation of audience type, in this case specifically in terms of economic and social status boundaries. These classifications have been consistently used by the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) to define audience development targets for museums.[14] As such it is an important classification system for those who work in museums to understand and use. To contextualise the percentage of the population considered to be reflected within these categories, the most recent figures in 2007 suggest that twenty one percent of the population could be classified as AB, twenty eight percent of the population as C1, nineteen percent of the population as C2, and thirty three percent of the population as DE.[15] If one of the aims of the museum sector is to ensure it is representative of the population as a whole, then it should be expected that the visitor demographics to museums reflect these figures. However, evidence consistently demonstrates that museum visitors are predominantly from the ABC1 backgrounds.[16] In 1997, when New Labour came to power, the administration recognised this inequality and put into place strategies to support museums attract new audiences from non-traditional backgrounds, including those from C2DE backgrounds, which continued until the end

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[13] National Readership Survey (NRS). *What does ABC1 mean?* Abc1 demographic. London: NRS. Date unknown. Accessed 1st October 2013. http://www.abc1demographic.co.uk/
[14] See for example the DCMS Performance Service Agreement (PSA) target 3,which asked for government sponsored museums by 2008 to " increase the take-up of cultural and sporting opportunities by adults and young people aged 16 and above from priority groups".
[15] World Advertising Research Centre (WARC). *The Marketing Pocket Book 2009.* London: WARC. 2009. Quotes the BARB Establishment Survey of 2007 as providing this data. BARB is the Broadcasters Audience Research Board and conducts research on the television viewing habits of the British public.
[16] Ambrose, T., and Payne, C. *Museum Basics*. 2012. p.49.

of New Labour's term in office in 2010. At this stage a more hands-off approach was adopted by the Conservative – Liberal Democrat coalition government. The next section further explores the motivations which established audience development activities in museums to attract new audiences, and the methodology used to ascertain to what extent new audiences have been achieved.

6.2 Evaluating Audiences

As discussed in chapter five, New Labour invested heavily in programmes to enable non-traditional audience's to access museum services, including Renaissance in the Region and Strategic Commissioning, to ensure the largest number of people possible had access to cultural activity.[17] These programmes all had an emphasis on developing museum programmes which would increase the use of museum by non-traditional audiences. The key to understanding if these programmes had been successful or not, was to evaluate them. Evaluation has three forms; front-end, formative, and summative.[18] Front-end evaluation establishes the aims of the activity being delivered by the museum. Formative evaluation takes place once the project plan has been established and assesses how likely the activity is to the meet its target aims. Summative evaluation takes place throughout the activity and at the end of the activity to establish if, and to what extent, the aims have been achieved. By establishing a rigorous evaluation approach, museums would be able to understand what they needed to do to attract new audiences, and if they had succeeded in doing so. However, museums tend to ignore front-end and formative evaluation and only use summative evaluation when it's part of an external funding agreement.[19] Therefore, the activity delivered by a museum is often led by educated guesswork on the part of the museum staff, rather than a thorough understanding of who their audiences are, how to deliver activity of relevance to them, and ultimately, how to define and appeal

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[17] See for example Smith, C. 'The nation's museums: politics and policies.' *Museum Management and Curatorship* 19 no.2 (2001): pp.187-196.

[18] Diamond, J. *Practical Evaluation Guide: Tools for museums and other informal education settings.* Oxford: Altamira. 1999. p.16

[19] King, E. *Evaluating Evaluation.* Emma King Consultancy. Personal Blog. December 17th 2012. http://www.emmakingconsultancy.co.uk/blog/evaluating-evaluation.php

to non-traditional audiences.[20] Shettel (2008) asserts that although the evaluation
methodology to understand visitors and their habits has advanced during the previous
forty years, the practical application has not kept up.[21] Shettel reasons that this is
primarily due to a lack of time and resources within museum venues, and that
ultimately funding and personnel are deployed elsewhere. Shettel argues that without
understanding the audience, their needs, and how to appeal to them, it is difficult to
develop corresponding activity or displays of relevance to them. Therefore, the reason
evaluation is so important to museums is not only that it establishes who does and
who does not visit the museum, but it helps to identify the type of barriers each
museum has in terms preventing audiences to visit.

There have been many studies conducted to understand the barriers which prevent
visits to museums. For example, Hopper-Greenhill *et al* (2007) conducted extensive
surveys and identified a range of barriers as shown in figure 25.

Figure 25: Barriers which Prevent People from Visiting Museums

Type of Barrier	Examples	
Attitudinal and emotional	Fear of exposure to ridicule Museums 'are not for me' – seen as boring, 'uncool', irrelevant, unappealing, elitist, traditional, conservative, white, middle-class	Negative experience of museums in the past "Dead things in cases" Museum staff and visitor prejudices
Cultural	Collections not relevant or appealing, no personal connections Do not represent culture or life experience	Not on their cultural spectrum Images associated with the name e.g. British Empire & Commonwealth Museum
Decision Making	Museum visiting is a passive experience	Perceived not to engage with users and closed to their, or new, ideas

[20] Heath, C. and Davies, M. *Why evaluation doesn't measure up. London: Museums Journal*. June 1st 2012. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.museumsassociation.org/museums-journal/comment/01062012-why-evaluation-doesnt-measure-up
[21] Shettel, H. 'No visitor left behind.' *Curator: The Museum Journal* 51, no. 4 (2008): pp.367–375.

Figure 25: Continued

Type of Barrier	Examples	
Economic	Low economic status households Urban and rural social deprivation	Long-term unemployed Costs of visiting – transport, entrance, food etc.
Education and Schools	Restrictions of the curriculum e.g. secondary schools Culture of non-visiting - lack of support for trips in school Time pressure Administration and organisation	Supply cover problematic Transport and entrance costs Element of risk Managing the behaviour of pupils outside the classroom Museum culture focused on primary school provision
Geographical	Rural and urban isolation Museum location	People rarely leave the immediate area or travel far outside
Information	Not knowing some museums are free Not knowing how to use a museum or archive	Lack of awareness of museums or what they can offer
Intellectual	Language barriers e.g. where English is a second language Museums perceived to be for the highly educated, 'snobs' High levels of interpretation	Lack of confidence or the skills/knowledge e.g. to appreciate art, access collections Subject matter seen as specialist
Life Context	Low priority of museums in people's lives Transient existence/ chaotic lives, other responsibilities e.g. young carers, families	Culture of non-visiting - lack of support or interest from family or significant others Not a part of social or cultural lifestyle e.g. young people
Physical	Museum building – described as formidable, threatening, austere, daunting, unwelcoming	Cultural facilities lacking e.g. prayer rooms Negotiating public spaces
Sensory		Visually impaired

Source: Hooper-Greenhill *et al* (2007).[22]

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[22] Hooper-Greenhill, E., Dodd, J., Creaser, C., Sandall, R., Jones, C., Woodham, A. *Inspiration, Identity, Learning: The Value of Museums Second Study.* Leicester: Research Centre for Museums and Galleries. 2007. p.13.

These barriers demonstrate that there is an extensive list of obstacles which prevents people from visiting museums. To remove these barriers, museum staff must understand which barriers exist for their particular institution and for which audiences before they are able to remove them.[23] To demonstrate the importance of the museum environment to visiting habits, Falk (2011) concluded that only sixty percent of a museum visit is specifically related to the exhibition and objects themselves, the other forty percent relates to the visitors interaction with other members of their party, other visitors, staff, and the museum environment in general.[24]

Even where evaluation has been used in museums, the lack of funding and staff skills in this area has often meant it has not been conducted rigorously enough. Anderson (1997), Black (2005), and Simon (2010), key protagonists of museum audience development between the period 1997 and 2012, argue that the key to the successful evaluation of museum audiences rests with museum practitioners.[25] However, they assert that adequate investment and training has not been given to museum staff to give them the right skills to evaluate audiences. Therefore, no matter what the investment into museums between 1997 and 2012, or the efforts on the part of museums to engage new audiences, without the investment directed specifically at understanding audiences, their needs, and how to fulfil these wishes, is it difficult for museums to successfully attract non-traditional audiences to their venues.

Despite the rhetoric and political direction towards non-traditional audiences, Davies (1994 and 2004) confirms that by 2004 museum audiences had only been maintained and that the "profile of museum and art gallery visitors was actually polarizing more towards the ABC1s and away from C2DEs".[26] By 2012, the situation had not improved and Ambrose and Payne (2012) argue that museums still too often reflect the divisions

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[23] Leicestershire Museums. *Leicestershire Museums Survey: Users and non-users of museums 2007.* Leicester: Leicestershire Museums. 2007. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.leics.gov.uk/museums_2007_user-nonuser_survey_final.pdf

[24] Falk, J. *Reconceptualising the museum experience: Who visits, why, and to what effect?* Unpublished. November 2011.

[25] Anderson, D. *A Common Wealth: Museums and Learning in the United Kingdom. London:* Department of National Heritage, 1997. p.38; Black, G. *The Engaging Museum: Developing Museums for Visitor Involvement*. Oxon: Routledge, 2005. p.11; Simon, N. *The Participatory Museum*. Santa Cruz: Museum, 2010., which provides a handbook by which museum staff can conduct evaluation.

[26] Davies, S. 'Still popular: Museums and their visitors 1994 – 2004'. *Cultural Trends* 14, no.53 (2005): p.90.

present within wider society and that museum staff tend to cater for traditional audiences.[27] Therefore, there is an opportunity for sport in museums to encourage new and different audiences. As such, the next section will establish the traditional audiences of sport in museums to understand if sport in museums attracts non-traditional museum audiences and therefore has the potential to support museums in general to attract new audiences. The section will begin with analysis of sport specific museums and their audiences before assessing non-sport specific museums.

6.3 The Audiences of Sport Specific Museums

To understand the audiences of sport specific museums the author conducted a survey with their staff.[28] A specific aim of the survey was to understand who the traditional audiences of sports specific museums are. The findings could therefore be compared with those of traditional museums to understand if a potential exists for sport as a topic for museums to support the expansion of traditional museum audiences. Responses to the author's survey were received from the National Football Museum, MCC Museum, Wimbledon Lawn Tennis Museum, the River and Rowing Museum, the Badminton Museum, the National Hockey Museum, the National Fencing Museum, and the World Rugby Museum. All respondents were either museum curators or museum directors and had an in-depth knowledge of the museum and its policies. In addition, the author compared the responses against the museums audience development plans, where they existed, and mission statements, and found them to reflect the same attitudes to audiences as identified by the survey respondent.[29] The sample can therefore be said to be trustworthy and characterise the attitude to audiences of the sports specific museum sector as a whole.

Although the respondents of the survey were able to answer the question "How many visitors attend your venue each year?" they were not able to provide any further information about the type of demographic make-up of those visitors. The reason being for this was established as a lack of evaluation when all respondents said that

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[27] Ambrose, T., and Payne, C. *Museum Basics*. 2012. p.49.
[28] See Appendix I.
[29] The mission statements of sport specific museums are discussed at length in chapter four.

they only conduct evaluation on sporadic basis, and usually only connected with an externally funded project.[30] The over-riding reason given for the limited level of audience evaluation was a lack of resources, the same as for the museum sector as a whole. This limitation in resources is a further example of the lack of investment in sport in museums and it renders it difficult for those working in the sector to prove the change in audiences and therefore increase the investment levels in their museums. However, the author conducted follow up conversations with sport specific museums staff to establish if empirical evidence existed to suggest a typical sports specific museum audience. The conversations were held either in person or via phone meetings and with all respondents to the survey outlined above. As such, these members of staff have a good working knowledge of their museums and the audience which attends on a day-to-day basis. Although it is not as factually accurate as long-term studies of the audiences to these museums, it does provide an indication of the audiences which attend. The findings of these conversations suggest that audiences to sports specific museums in general can be categorised through the following demographics: male, except in sports where men and women both compete at a similar international level , for example Tennis, Rowing, and Hockey, where there are similar numbers of both male and female visitors; fans of the specific sport or club the museum relates to (as evidenced specifically by the MCC Museum and the World Rugby Museum); families, usually where at least one member of family has a specific interest in the sport or club; schools, especially classes of primary age; tourists (this is particularly true for the Wimbledon Lawn Tennis Museum which claims seventy five percent of its visitors are tourists). To demonstrate the similarities and differences between traditional museum audiences, non-traditional museum audiences, and audiences of sports specific museums, figure 26 illustrates the types of audiences which fall into the different categories, and demonstrates that the traditional audiences of sport specific museums as a whole are actually similar to those of the rest of the museums sector.

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[30] For example Rowe, M. Curator. World Rugby Museum, Twickenham. Response to the author's survey. April 1st 2012; Chadwick, A. Curator, MCC Museum, Lords. Response to the author's survey. April 1st 2012; and Mainds, P. Director. River and Rowing Museum. Response to the author's survey. April 1st 2012.

Figure 26: Comparison of Museum Audiences with Sport Specific Museum Audiences

Traditional Museum Audiences	Non-Traditional Museum Audiences	Traditional sport specific museum audiences
Wealthier local residents	Older people	Sports fans
Longer established communities	Young People	Tourists
Older people (over 35 years of age)	Families	Families
Men	People with lower educational attainment	Men
People in Higher socio-income groups A,B,C1	People from Black, Asian and Ethnic Minority communities (BME)	Schools
Schools	Disabled People	
	People in Lower socio-income groups C2, D, E	
	People with low incomes	

Source: Column one and two established earlier in this chapter by the author, and column three established from the author's conversations with sport specific museum staff

In addition, the author also asked the question "Who would you describe as the museums target audiences and why?"[31] The target audiences of any museum provide an understanding for how the museum positions its exhibitions, programmes and ultimately funding to support specific audience groups and can therefore be said to be representative of the type of audience the museum expects to attract. Equally, by understanding the target audiences of sport specific museums, it allows a comparison between the types of audience these museums hope to attract, and the rest of the museum sector. Ultimately, this provides an understanding of similarities or differences between the types of audiences of sport in museums and museums in general. Although the target audience is not representative of the actual audience which these museums attract, it is indicative of the aspirations of the museums, and of the probable audiences which ultimately visit these venues. All the representatives which responded to the survey answered the question and the responses are summarised at figure 27.

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[31] See Appendix I.

Figure 27: Target Audiences of Sport Specific Museums
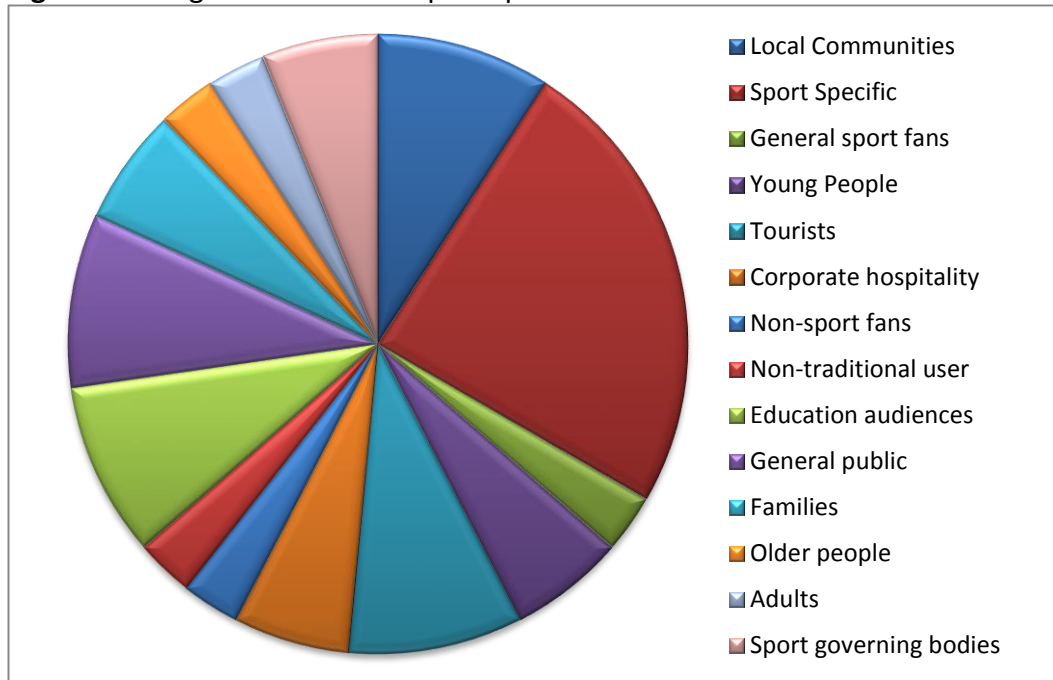
Source: Author's research

These findings demonstrate that, consistent with the rest of the museum sector, sport specific museums aim to attract a wide variety of audiences. The main difference is the aim of sport specific museums to attract fans of the sport dealt with at the museum. Each respondent to the author's survey stated that one of the priority audiences of their museum are visitors interested in the sport of the museum itself. This was further established through the follow up conversations held by the author with the respondents. For example the respondent from the National Badminton Museum stated that target audiences to the museum are "sports enthusiasts, young and old, who have a keen interest in the history of the game".[32] A comparison with other subject specific museums demonstrates that this is not a trait of all museums with a focus on a specific subject area. The author examined the target audiences identified by a range of museums with different governing structures, different types of funding providers, geographical spread, and with different types of subject focus. The museums included the Army Museum Ogilby Trust, the over-arching management structure for army museums in Britain with the specific remit to collect, preserve and display objects connected to the British Army; the Museum of Liverpool, opened in 2011 with the remit to reflect the history of Liverpool; the Royal Greenwich Museums, with a remit to represent maritime history; the Ryedale Folk Museum, with a remit to

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[32] Anonymous. National Badminton Museum. Response to the author's survey. April 15th 2012.

explore the local history of people in Ryedale; and Sheffield Museums Trust, with a focus on preserving and displaying collections associated with the city of Sheffield.[33] Not one of these museums stipulates that a key target audience is a subject specific group interested in the theme of the museum, in sharp comparison to the sport specific museums. Partly it seems strange that subject specific museums would not choose to target audiences with a specific interest in the theme of the museum and therefore the sport specific museums are merely stating an obvious audience bracket. However, this target of sports fans may also be down to difficulties discussed in chapter five in terms of the tension between sport and culture and a demonstration of the concern of the sports specific museums that they may be viewed by fans of the sport as irrelevant unless they specifically address the audience directly. There is a possibility, too, that this focus on the fans of sport allows sports specific museums to attract different audiences, purely because sports fans are different in demographic type to those of traditional museum audiences. Sports fans of different sports traditionally come from different backgrounds. As Hughson et al (2005) assert, "working class people prefer certain types of sportive activity, whilst middle class people prefer other types of sport".[34] Those sports traditionally associated with the working classes include football, rugby league, boxing and darts, whereas those with the middle classes being tennis, horse riding, rowing, and rugby union. The key differences between the classes and these chosen sports is based on the financial ability to be able to take part in the sport, and social infrastructure surrounding that sport.[35] Consequently, although the Wimbledon Lawn Tennis Museum has a stated aim to appeal to fans of the sport, essentially, these fans fall into the same category as traditional museum visitors. Therefore there is little to be learned about the ability of these sports specific museums in terms of appealing to non-traditional museum audiences from such a museum. The only sport specifically associated with the working

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[33] Army Museums Ogilby Trust. *About Us.* London: Army Museums Ogilby Trust. Date Unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.armymuseums.org.uk/objectives.htm; National Museums, Liverpool. *About Us.* Liverpool: National Museums, Liverpool. Date Unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/about/corporate/strategic-plan/Strategic-Plan-2011-2015-Year-3-Interim-Annual-Plan-2013--2014.pdf; Royal Museums Greenwich. *About Us.* London: Royal Museums Greenwich. Date Unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.rmg.co.uk/about/policies/; Ryedale Folk Museum. *Home Page.* Rydale: Ryedale Folk Museum. Date Unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.ryedalefolkmuseum.co.uk; Sheffield Industrial Museum's Trust. *About Us.* Sheffield: Sheffield Industrial Museum's Trust. Date Unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014.
[34] Hughson, J., Inglis, D., and Free, M. *The Uses of Sport.* Oxon: Routledge. 2005. p.151.
[35] Ibid. p.152 – 4.

class with a museum in England is football. Therefore, an understanding of the National Football Museum (NFM) and its audiences can support an understanding of the potential of sport in museums to appeal to new and different visitors.

The NFM has a tradition of attracting audiences from different backgrounds than those of other museums, and more specifically, DCMS funded museums.[36] For example, in the year 2005 to 2006, the NFM attracted forty two percent of its overall visitors from these backgrounds, more than any other museum funded through the public purse.[37] In 2012 the NFM moved premises from Preston to Manchester and although these figures have so far not been replicated since the move, the museum still continues to attract considerably more working class audiences than other comparable museums. For example, Manchester City Council uses evidence from a visitor survey conducted by an experienced museum consultant company, Morris Hargreaves Macintyre, into the NFM's first summer in Manchester.[38] The council commissioned this research in order to establish the benefit of council funding to the wider public through investment in the NFM. The findings demonstrate that even in its first year, the NFM appealed to more C2DE visitors than those of the other museums in greater Manchester, attracting 33,442 visitors from this demographic between July and November 2012, or eighteen percent of the museums overall visitor figures. Although percentage wise, the figures for C2DE visitors are not as great in 2006, there is actually a significant increase in the number of C2DE visitors since its move to Manchester than compared with when the museum was based in Preston, for example from July 2005 and June 2006, when 31,735 visits from these audiences took place.[39] This fact that significantly more non-traditional museum audiences visit the NFM than other museums, suggests that the topic of sport, and specifically a sport associated with the working classes, attracts audiences from a C2DE background, purely because of the nature of the subject matter. However, considering that in 2009 the percentage of the

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[36] Moore, K. In conversation with the author. January 30th 2014.

[37] National Football Museum (NFM). *Annual Report: 1st July 2005 – 30th June 2006.* Manchester: NFM. 2006. Accessed June 1st 2014.
http://www.sismus.org/museums/report/Regno%20Unito/National%20Football%20Museum/NationalFootbalMuseum_2006.pdf

[38] Manchester City Council, Neighbourhoods Scrutiny Committee. *Report for Resolution*: *National Football Museum.* Manchester: Manchester City Council. 2013. p.15 – 16.

[39] Moss, R. *National Football Museum Calls for More Government Funding*. Museums News. January 27th 2007.

population as a whole from a C2DE background was forty four percent, the eighteen percent figure of the NFM, still suggests there is work to be done to remove additional barriers to audiences from these backgrounds.[40] The example of the NFM therefore provides evidence that sport, and certainly specific sports, can attract different audiences to museums. However, even here there is a significant gap between the percentage of visitors to the museum from the C2DE bracket and that of the population as a whole. Consequently, the theme of sport alone does not appear to be enough to attract a significantly different type of audience to a museum and significant activity must be conducted on the part of the museum to remove the other barriers to museum visiting as outlined by Hooper Greenhill *et al* (2007).[41]

This evidence suggests then that sport as a topic for museums has the potential to attract new and different audiences. In terms of non-sport specific museums, this suggests that by delivering sporting exhibitions, museums have a greater chance of changing the audiences which use their services. The next section will therefore explore the evidence related to the use of sport in non-sport specific museums and audiences.

6.4 Non-Sport Specific Museums, Sport, and Audiences

Similarly to the lack of evidence available for audiences of sport specific museums, non-sport specific museums fail to conduct evaluation of audience surveys on a regular basis. Despite significant questioning and discussion with museum sector staff, the author was unable to find any existing evidence about the audiences which visit sporting exhibitions in non-sport specific museums. The reasons given for this have been discussed earlier in this chapter concerning resources and finance. Consequently, there is no obtainable audience related data available to establish if sport as a topic for museums attracts different audiences to traditional exhibition subject areas. Therefore the author chose to conduct surveys and discussions with museum staff who have

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[40] Key Note Media Centre. *The changing C2DE consumer*. Online. London: Key Note Media Centre. October 13th 2010. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.keynote.co.uk/media-centre/in-the-news/display/the-changing-c2de-consumer/?articleId=489

[41] Hooper-Greenhill, E., Dodd, J., Creaser, C., Sandall, R., Jones, C., Woodham, A. *Inspiration, Identity, Learning: The Value of Museums Second Study.* Leicester: Research Centre for Museums and Galleries. 2007. p.13.

delivered sporting exhibitions, museums staff with an interest in sporting exhibitions and their opinions as museum professionals as to the potential of sport attracting new and different audiences, and with members of the public themselves. The evidence from this research provides an indicative answer to the research question, "Do sporting exhibitions in museums attract new and different audiences to traditional museum visitors?" As a result, the author conducted field-work with those working in the museum sector. The methodology is discussed fully in the *Introduction* to this thesis and consisted of a survey, focus groups, and follow up conversations. The survey was conducted with museum staff in general to gauge opinions about the potential of sport concerning audiences. The author then conducted follow up conversations with respondents who had hosted sporting exhibitions to use empirical evidence about audiences and sporting exhibitions. Finally, the author conducted focus groups with members of the public to understand more about their visiting habits and their perception of sport and museums.

The author asked the question of museum professionals, "Would you see sport as an opportunity to attract new audiences to your venue? If yes, please provide details". The respondents were given a multiple choice answer of "yes", "no", or "maybe" and the option to add additional comments as part of their response. The author received fifty one responses to the survey, however, only fourteen of these respondents had actually delivered a sporting exhibition. However, the responses not only demonstrate the actual visitors to sporting exhibitions, but the potential seen in sport in attracting new and different visitors. The result was that sixty percent thought that "yes", sport as a topic for museums does have the potential to attract new audiences, thirty four percent said that "maybe" sport has the potential to attract new audiences, and zero percent of respondents said that sport did not have the ability to attract new audiences. Although this is only a suggestive figure about the views of those working in museums towards the subject of sport, and as already discussed in chapter four, there are nuances across the museum sector where sport is often not regarded as a central topic for museums, the findings of this survey demonstrate that many people working within the museum sector recognise the potential value of sport to increase and change visitors to museum venues. For example, Adam Daber from the Manchester Museum of Science and Industry commented that:

> sport has a universal appeal, can easily fit in with some of the themes covered by the museum and place a different perspective upon things, as well as tapping into many of today's issues: historical and current, accessible, providing insight which may not have previously been appreciated.[42]

Daber demonstrates here that sport is a part of societal history. It is not a disparate element that is irrelevant to the rest of the museums' collections. Although historically the issues with sport and its place as a cultural subject and as a topic for museums has stunted the development of the subject area, sport has now become viable as a subject for museums and consequently as an option to attract new audiences to museums. In agreement with Daber, the respondent from Buxton Museums asserts that because "everyone has some affiliation with sport whether at school, or through their adult lives, it becomes relevant as social history and should be examined as such".[43] This belief that sport is somehow integrated within both the individual and the community to which that individual belongs, necessitates the museum to explore sporting heritage if it is to accurately represent itself as a museum as described by the Museums Association. In addition to the relevance of sport within society, Peter Funnel, Director of experienced museum education consultancy company, Oakmere Solutions, commented that "Sport has an important role in engaging new audiences and bringing to life issues of heritage and place".[44] Funnel alludes to the fact that sport is central to the lives of many people, and as such provides a relevancy to the individual of their community and its history. It allows museums to explore heritage through the lens of a subject area that many non-traditional audiences are comfortable with. Thus, the general feeling of the museum sector is that sporting heritage exhibitions attract new audiences to museums.

The follow up conversations with museum staff experienced in delivering sporting exhibitions elicited that sport in museums does attract different audiences. For example, the respondent from Manx National Heritage commented that "we currently

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[42] Daber, A. Manchester Museum of Science and Industry. Response to the author's survey. April 2nd 2013.

[43] Anonymous. Buxton Museum and Art Gallery. Response to survey by the author. March 13th 2012.

[44] Funnel, P. Director, Oakmere Solutions. Response to the author's survey. March 12th 2012.

have a general sporting exhibition in the run up to the Olympics which is pulling in a large number of non-traditional users (i.e. sports people and younger people)",[45] and Sean Baggaley, Curator at Gallery Oldham, argued that "Past sporting exhibitions have seen a younger audience and have definitely encouraged first-time or non-regular visitors".[46] In addition, the respondent from Dudley Museum and Art Gallery stated they have developed a permanent exhibition space celebrating the life and work of Duncan Edwards, one of the footballers killed during the Manchester United Football Club Munich Air Disaster and a local boy.[47] The respondent asserted that sport has been the key to attracting "teenagers, dads and lads, different cultural groups, and secondary schools".[48] Therefore, although statistical evidence is not available to confirm these findings, the empirical evidence implies that sporting exhibitions in non-sport specific museums attracts non-traditional museum audiences.

Therefore the overwhelming response discussions within the museum sector concluded that sport is a viable subject to attract new audiences to museums. To test this assumption, the author conducted a series of focus groups with museum users and non-users. The focus groups aimed to understand the likelihood of these audiences to visit a museum which was hosting a sporting heritage exhibition, and understand more fully about how they would find out about the exhibition, and the type of exhibition they may be attracted to. The non-user demographics of the focus group participants fell within the range of the non-traditional audiences established above. As discussed earlier within this chapter, museums traditionally have many barriers which prevent many audiences from visiting the museum. Consequently, an aim of the focus groups was to establish if an exhibition of sport was mounted at a local museum, would the fact that it was about sport remove the barriers for audiences who class themselves as non-users. Therefore, the focus group participants were asked "If an exhibition about the sporting past took place at a local museum, would you go?" The responses to the question demonstrated that irrespective of

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[45] Anonymous. Manx National Heritage. Response to the author's survey. March 20th 2012.
[46] Baggaley, S. Curator. Gallery Oldham. Response to the authors survey. March 20th 2012.
[47] In 1958, a plane carrying *Manchester United Football Club* players, staff, and press crashed on take-off in Munich killing twenty-one people. BBC Online. *1958: United players killed in air disaster.* London: BBC. Date unknown. June 1st 2014.
http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/february/6/newsid_2535000/2535961.stm
[48] Anonymous. Dudley Museum and Art Gallery. Response to the author's survey. March 12th 2012.

whether the participants classed themselves as users or non-users of museums services, they all stated that it would be the approach used to address sport within wider themes that would determine whether or not they would attend. For example, the group discussed different types of sporting exhibitions that might be held and were asked if they felt they would visit an exhibition of photographs about sports stars. Only two participants felt that they would find this an interesting subject in its' own right, and both classed themselves as museum users.[49] This demonstrates that to those who already visit museums, the need for sport to be contextualised is possibly less important. The barriers to visiting have already been removed, so the likelihood of a visit is greatly enhanced, irrespective of the subject matter.

However, this was not the case for the participants who classed themselves as non-users. They felt, without exception, that there would need to be a wider social or local context to make the exhibition of enough interest to them personally, or to member of their family, to visit. Participants had to be guided on this area of discussion, for example, which type of social context would be of interest, and how might the museum make that happen. Participants, and especially non-users, felt that they would be interested in visiting an exhibition based on one of four categories: exhibitions about the sport they were passionate about; exhibitions about their local club; exhibitions about local sporting heroes; and exhibitions about the impact of sport on their local community or wider society. For example, one participant said they had been a lifelong fan of Leeds United FC, but never visited, and did not intend to visit, the museum in Leeds, or any other museum. The participant felt that the barriers to museum visiting for him were mainly concerned with the fact that he felt there was not anything there for him, and that museums seemed "very grand and snobby". However, he said that if an exhibition about Leeds United FC was mounted in the museum, "that would be different" and he would "definitely go".[50] The participant was asked if it was an exhibition about tennis would he go, he answered no. He was asked if it was an exhibition about Leeds Rhino's (the local Rugby League club) would he go,

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[49] Participant 2A and Participant 3B.
[50] Participant 2F.

he answered "unlikely".[51] Another participant said that they would be interested to learn more about "people that grew up like I did", but went onto excel in the sport in some way.[52] One participant said that "I'd like to know more about the history of the clubs on my doorstep. I love sport, but I have no idea about what happened here".[53] Finally, one participant explained that although she was not specifically interested in sport, she did have an interest in women's rights, so she would probably go to an exhibition about the relationship between sport and women's rights.[54] The four categories outlined above then, provide museums with a framework on which to develop sporting exhibitions, and the findings of the focus groups demonstrate, as asserted by those who work in museums, that sport is a significant opportunity to attract non-users to museums for the first time. However, the findings also establish that it is not enough for museum staff to assume that sport is a catchall that appeals to all non-traditional users, and that all non-traditional users will visit an exhibition purely because it is about sport. The subject of sport is vast and it is clear from these responses that museums must be subtle in their use of the subject to ensure they appeal to their chosen target audience.

The potential associated with placing the sporting heritage exhibition within these four categories is confirmed by Physick's (2013) examination of the touring sporting heritage exhibition programme, *Football and Fine Art* as discussed in chapter three.[55] Physick argues that the place of football as an important local subject was the most important aspect of the exhibition programme, and the museums which attracted the largest audiences were those which included locally specific artefacts and information and objects relevant to local teams, at the same time as nationally important objects which most local audiences would not have had the chance to see before.[56] For example, the Birkenhead exhibition at the Williamson Art Gallery included objects

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[51] Rugby League is a team sport, with thirteen players on each side. It originated in England in the late nineteenth century when many northern teams split from the Rugby Union form of the game.
[52] Participant 2E.
[53] Participant 3E.
[54] Participant 1E.
[55] Physick, R. *The Representation of Association Football in Fine Art in England.* A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of Central Lancashire. April 2013. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://clok.uclan.ac.uk/8509/1/Physick%20Ray%20Final%20e-Thesis%20(Master%20Copy).pdf
[56] Ibid. p.230.

relating to Dixie Dean,[57] who played for local clubs Tranmere Rovers and Everton, at the same time as displaying the FA Cup.[58] The Birkenhead exhibition attracted 1,500 visitors on its opening day, compared with thirty on an average day across all exhibitions, and a total of 21,000 visitors in total.[59] This confirms the findings of the focus group and establishes that to ensure sporting heritage exhibitions are a success, museum staff must ensure that the exhibitions are centred on the interests specifically relating to the local communities they hope to appeal to.

If the theme of the exhibition and its context are important components of attracting new audiences, then the ability to let those audiences know the exhibition is happening in the first place is vital. To understand the routes most likely to successfully reach target audiences, the author asked the focus group participants "How would you most likely find out about a sporting heritage exhibition in a museum?" All non-visiting participants felt that museum publicity, for example *"What's On"* guides or museum websites would be irrelevant to them. They agreed with each other that museums needed to be more creative to reach them. One participant felt that this was actually a key point. If museums really wanted them to visit instead of spending their time doing something else, then they felt museums had to work for it[60]. The participant felt that most activity within museums was not relevant to her and she would need convincing otherwise before visiting a museum, irrespective of the subject matter. However, she suggested local press, community notice boards, and on-line forums as an opportunity to find non-traditional audiences and social networks to reach out to non-traditional audiences. The other participants, across the three focus groups, were all in agreement with these suggestions. However, the participants also argued that, especially in terms of social media, museums would need to work hard to ensure that the right networks were used and that it would not be enough simply to put the information on the museums' Facebook page for example, as this would only reach those who already visited that museum and were likely to keep up-to-date with activity anyway.[61] This

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[57] Wikipedia, The Online Encyclopedia. *Dixie Dean.* Accessed June 1st 2014.
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dixie_Dean
[58] Physick, R. *The Representation of Association Football in Fine Art in England.* 2013. p.230.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Participant 1G.
[61] Facebook is an online networking site, whereby individuals and organisations can create a page or a group which share information about that individual or organisation with other interested parties.

demonstrates that not only is it essential for museums to understand the needs of their target audiences in terms of the content and context of the exhibition delivered, but it is essential to also understand how to reach these audiences to inform them about the exhibition. Museum literature has frequently revisited the question of barriers to museum learning, as discussed above, and the issue of communicating with the target audience is consistently raised as an area for improvement on the museums part.

Therefore, the views of museum staff and the focus groups affirm that sporting heritage exhibitions have the potential to attract new users to museums; that exhibitions about sporting heritage must be situated within a wider context to attract users and non-users alike; and that museums must work hard to ensure they understand their target audience and how to reach them. However, on its own, this evidence is not sufficient to demonstrate that sport increases and changes museum audiences. Consequently the responses of museums staff from survey data and focus groups, along with responses from the audiences themselves in the focus groups conducted by the author, have been analysed to provide an indicative picture of the types of audiences sport in museums attracts. Many of the museum professionals which responded to the author's survey, chose to complete the additional comments box from the question outlined above. In this comments box, they outlined which audiences they believed, or had experience of attending their museum for the first time specifically because of a sporting heritage exhibition. Figure 28 illustrates the range of audiences given by respondents.

Figure 28: Audiences Interested in Sporting Exhibitions

The hard to reach 16 - 25 age group	Males of secondary & tertiary education ages
Local sports clubs	Active sports participants
Children, teenagers and young adults	Generate a sense of community involvement amongst audiences who don't traditionally see "history" as a shared community value.
Dads and Lads	Younger people
Sports fans	Sports fans
A more outdoorsy crowd (not necessarily younger)	Local primary schools
Young men	Sports enthusiasts
Older people	Local secondary schools
Different cultural groups	Disability groups
Teenagers	The local community

Source: Author's research

However, to establish a clearer picture of audiences and sport in museums, the author conducted several surveys with visitors at museums hosting sporting exhibitions.[62] The next section explores the findings of this research.

6.5 Audience Motivations

In order to conclude the reason people visit sporting exhibitions, the author conducted conversations with visitors to five sporting exhibitions in museums. The exhibitions were all held at museums that can be classed as prioritising social history and with this have a natural affinity with the collections and exhibitions which explore the everyday.[63] The fact that the museums chosen were all social history museums was

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[62] See Appendix I.
[63] Bradford Industrial Museum; Ironbridge Museum; Museum of Liverpool; North Lincolnshire Museum; Weston Park Museum, Sheffield.

purely coincidental, but it does reflect the fact that it is social history museums, and the curators that work within them, which are more likely to hold exhibitions about sport. Consequently, they already have an interest and understanding in their audience and are more likely to address the need of their audiences in deciding upon and developing the museums programme. The author conducted the conversations with visitors to the gallery and in total seventy two responses were gathered, of which, fifty one had never visited the hosting museum before. This in itself suggests that sporting heritage attracts new users to museum venues.

To establish the authenticity of this claim further, the author randomly selected visitors and asked the question, "What is the main reason for your visit to this exhibition today?" The responses were varied. Some visitors had stumbled upon the exhibition by chance because of a visit to the museum that day, and they wandered into the exhibition as part of the overall visit, for example a visitor to the *Science of Sport* exhibition at Weston Park Museum in Sheffield, "we didn't know it was here, we were visiting the museum today anyway".[64] Others were visiting specifically because the exhibition was about their local club, for example a visitor to the exhibition about Scunthorpe United Football Club at the North Lincolnshire Museum in Scunthorpe, "we've been waiting for an exhibition like this for a long time. Now it's here, we had to come".[65] The draw of an important trophy associated with their chosen sport also proved popular, for example the day the Bradford Industrial Museum hosted the national football trophy, the FA Cup, where respondents commented "I couldn't believe I could see it here" and "I had to bring my kids to see this!"[66] The importance of the exhibition on their own lives and the history of their communities was a key theme at all venues, and particularly for those visiting the Museum of Liverpool's exhibition about sport with responses such as, "I wanted to see how it was covered. It's important to me, who I am, I wanted to see if they'd done it right".[67] This comment that they wanted to see it "done right" also reflects the association and connection of

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[64] Anonymous Sheffield A. Weston Park Museum, Sheffield. Response to the author's questionnaire . November 1st 2011.

[65] Anonymous. North Lincolnshire Museum, Scunthorpe. Response to the author's questionnaire . October 25th 2011.

[66] Anonymous Bradford A. Bradford Industrial Museum, Bradford. Response to the author's questionnaire . April 26th 2011.

[67] Anonymous. Museum of Liverpool, Response to the author's questionnaire . November 30th 2011.

people with sport and that responsibility of museums to reflect sport sensitively. That said, sport, as with other subjects, sees people with different viewpoints and perspectives about the topic. The challenge for the museum is to reflect each of these viewpoints, or at least understand them to ensure as sensitive reflection as possible. Finally, the appeal of the exhibition as something that was enjoyable and interesting was an important factor to those visiting, possibly even above that of the theme of sport itself. For example, a visitor to the *Science of Sport* exhibition comments "we came because it sounded like fun!"[68] Therefore, the visitors to these exhibitions corroborate the findings from the surveys conducted with museum staff, and the focus groups conducted by the author, that although sport is the central pivot point which can stimulate an individual's visit to a museum, ultimately there are important additional reasons behind that individual's decision to visit in addition to theme of sport itself.

Therefore if sport in museums is of interest to non-traditional audiences, it is important to understand how to communicate with these audiences to ensure they are able to access exhibitions with this topic. The author asked the question, "How did you hear about this exhibition?" The responses showed that forty one percent heard about the exhibition from the local press. Essentially this is free publicity for a museum but supported nearly half of the visitors which attended these exhibitions. A further twenty four percent were made aware of it by word of mouth that is, through conversations with friends, relatives, and colleagues. Sixteen percent heard about the exhibition through notices and discussions at community venues, such as schools, uniformed groups, and fitness classes, again a free publicity source for museums which demonstrates the range of opportunities available to distribute information. Just Six percent heard about the exhibition through social media networks, a small figure at present, but with the potential to grow in future. There is also the potential that many of those who commented they had heard about the exhibition through word of mouth, had actually heard through social media networks. Therefore, only twelve percent of respondents said that they heard about the exhibition through the museums own press. This corroborates the information given by the focus group

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[68] Anonymous Sheffield B. Weston Park Museum, Sheffield. Response to the author's questionnaire . November 1st 2011.

participants that museum press alone is successful only for those visitors who already visit the museum, and even then, it is more likely that other routes will be more successful. For example, an informal evaluation focus group held by the Kids in Museum programme, heard one child suggest that "if you advertise in the chippy where we get our lunch, we might find out what you're doing and come along".[69] It is not always the case that people are not interested in what museums have to offer, they simply do not know that they exist. This demonstrates that in the case of sporting heritage exhibitions, and potentially for museums in general, museum staff must understand the audience they wish to attract, and understand the complexity of methods available by which to reach those audiences.

The National Portrait Gallery (NPG) in London provides an example of the use of sport purely to attract new audiences without sufficient thought being given to the audience itself, how to reach it, and therefore the potential consequences encountered as a result. The NPG held an exhibition in 1998 entitled *British Sporting Heroes* and included over two hundred portraits from a range of sports.[70] The then NPG Director, Charles Saumerez-Smith, commented that by "holding an exhibition of such universal appeal, we may encourage a new audience into the gallery", although there is no definition of what this "new audience" might be. The exhibition was held just as New Labour's policy's concerning audience development was established and the gallery's funding was dependant on its ability to demonstrate its appeal to non-traditional museum users. It was also at the beginning of significant audience development activity within museums so was the first tentative attempts by museums to understand how to broaden their appeal, and part of the sectors learning curve. The implication in Saumerez-Smith's statement is that the use of the topic of sport would provide the gallery with "universal appeal" and attract new users. There is very little written about the audience to the exhibition, but the few reports that do exist suggest that it was unsuccessful in its ability to attract new audiences. Huggins (2008) concludes that the exhibition was "a commercial failure" suggesting that there were

[69] Birkett, D. *Presentation given to the Museums Association Conference* 2013. Kids in Museums aim to promote the use of museums with children and young people within the UK.
[70] Huntington-Whiteley, J. *The Book of British Sporting Heroes*. London: National Portrait Gallery Publications. 1998.

insufficient visitors to make the exhibition successful.[71] In addition, the exhibition is not even mentioned in the NPG's annual report of 2008-9.[72] This report is not only used to assess the ability and success of the NPG to respond to its targets and agreements with government, but also as an advocacy document which demonstrates its role in wider society. That the exhibition should not be mentioned in the report demonstrates that it neither achieved the new audiences Saumerez-Smith had hoped for, nor presented the NPG with a positive example of the museums activity that year to publicize in this forum and so was simply erased from its history. The exhibition received mixed reviews in the national press. The Telegraph gave glowing praise on the one hand, mainly because, as the author of the article stated, the exhibition featured some outstanding portraits, whilst the Independent felt that "the exhibition as a whole raises as many questions as it answers about what constitutes a British Sporting Hero",[73] largely because it did not address successfully the stories behind the portraits. This final point, the "stories behind the portraits", relates back to the three categories of sporting exhibition identified in the focus groups conducted by the author. The ability to link the exhibition to relevant, local, and personal events and people is paramount in ensuring the success of a sporting heritage exhibition.

Other than Huggins, the exhibition has not been analysed scholastically, and barely mentioned within other fields making it difficult to ascertain the reasons behind the failure.[74] Ultimately the belief that just by presenting an exhibition with a sporting theme would attract new audience was naïve. It failed to understand who specifically the new audiences were, how to appeal to them and how to remove the barriers that prevented them from visiting a museum such as the *NPG.*[75] The museum failed to define who specifically it was targeting, and ensure it reached those people during the

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[71] Huggins, M. 'The Sporting Gaze: Towards a visual turn in sports history – Documenting Art and Sport'. *Journal of Sport History* 35, no.2. (2008): p.312.

[72] National Portrait Gallery (NPG). *Annual Report and Accounts 2008-9.* London: NPG. 2009.

[73] See for example Davies, R. *Sporting heroes and their demons.* The Telegraph. October 17th 1998. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/4715976/Sporting-heroes-and-their-demons.html; Rowbottom, M. 'Mad, bad, and dangerous to know, and a fan of the fistic arts'. The Independent. November 28th 1998. Accessed June 1st 2014.http://www.independent.co.uk/sport/mad-bad-dangerous-to-know-and-a-fan-of-the-fistic-arts-1187845.html

[74] *Marketing Week* outlined concerns for the marketing and promotion of the exhibition stating that one of the posters "features Will Carling, who currently labours under the sobriquet "Love Rat" after leaving his latest girlfriend and child

[75] Falk, J. *Reconceptualising the museum experience: Who visits, why, and to what effect?* Unpublished. November 2011.

development and implementation of the exhibition. For example, had it been aiming to reach fifteen year old boys who have become disaffected with school, then their routes to finding this audience and catering for them, would have been wildly different from those of a of forty year old middle class professionals. This demonstrates that to overcome the pre-existing barriers associated with the museum, the museum must not assume that delivering a sporting exhibition will be enough. Where a museum already delivers social history activity and has a focus on its audience, there will be a natural inclination towards drawing in new audiences and working with them to hold relevant exhibitions. Where this is not the case, the museum needs to work harder to ensure success.

Therefore, where sporting exhibitions are delivered with the specific focus of attracting new audiences to the museum, they must keep in mind the barriers that face these audiences at all times. The findings given above demonstrate that sporting exhibitions do have the ability to attract non-traditional audience to museums for the first time, and the next section will discuss the potential for this occurrence to impact of an individual to become a frequent museum visitor.

6.6 Secondary Museum Visits

Ultimately, although a single museum visit and the sharing of heritage is in itself a good thing, it is difficult to argue that this in itself is enough to warrant significant investment in sport in museums or that sporting exhibitions attract new audiences to museums *per se*. Essentially, although the sporting exhibition may act as a catalyst for a new user to visit the museum, does it remove the barriers for that visitor and transform them into a museum user on a more general scale, either at that specific museum or, to museums more generally? To understand this further, the author conducted informal interviews at museums hosting sporting exhibitions (as discussed in in the Introduction to this thesis). The author posed the question "after your visit to this exhibition, are you more likely to visit the museum again, or visit another museum in the future?" Although to confirm the responses a longitudinal study would need to be conducted to follow the participants and establish their future visiting habits, for the purposes of this study, the responses are considered to be a true indication of the

likelihood of repeat visits. Respondents stated consistently that they had not realised what the museum had to offer, or understood its relevance to both themselves and other members of their family, and that consequently, they would re-visit the museum again.

An example of this is the experience of a first-time visitor with his family to the Bradford Industrial Museum during its *Bradford City Centenary* exhibition in 2011.[76] The first-time visitor to the museum, a father, visited the exhibition with his two children. The party were all dressed in their Bradford City Football City (FC) kits and the father said that the visit to the exhibition was a "day out" for him and his children. Although the museum was less than 200 meters away from where they lived, they had not even realised it was there until they saw the advertisement about the exhibition on match day at Bradford City FC's ground. The visitor said that he was "amazed" by the other exhibitions at the museum, particularly the reconstruction of the back to back houses and demonstrations of textile weaving.[77] He said that the visit had been a "revelation" and they would definitely visit again to spend more time in the rest of the museum. The visit to the museum was led specifically because of the exhibition. The type of museum itself was of no importance to the respondent. The location was of absolute relevance, being walking distance away, the barriers of cost and time were removed instantly. The over-riding factor which led to the visit however was the opportunity for the respondent to learn more about his club and share it with his children. The fact that they wore the football kit, almost transformed the visit into a pilgrimage. The museum itself was a secondary issue prior to the visit, but became of interest once the family were on site. It is hard to say that had the exhibition been not held at a social history museum, and instead at a more traditional 'high' art venue, such as the National Portrait Gallery, if the subsequent experience after the visit to the sporting exhibition would have raised as much interest in the family as this visit did. Ultimately, the relevance of the rest of the museum's collections became clear once the family could see them for themselves; it could be considered unlikely that this would happen in a gallery full of unknown portraiture. Perhaps this is the author's

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[76] Bradford Industrial Museum. *Bradford City 2011 – when the FA Cup came home.* Bradford: Bradford Industrial Museum. Date unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014.
[77] Anonymous Bradford B. Bradford Industrial Museum, Bradford. Response to the author's questionnaire. April 26th 2011.

assumption though, and the intrinsic argument concerning culture and art could be said to transcend relevance and inspire individuals purely because of the art itself.

6.7 Conclusion

Prior to this study, then, there have been few discussions which address the topic of sport in museums and audiences. Vamplew and Moore are among a handful of those who have consistently argued for the need to establish more evidence about sport in museums and audiences.[78] As yet, this evidence has not been forthcoming. However, the research conducted and the findings detailed within this chapter, argue that sporting exhibitions attract new and different audiences to those traditionally associated with museums as illustrated in figure 26. This study therefore provides the first conclusive evidence that sport as a subject matter for museums can support a change in museums audiences. This is important because funding for cultural activity has increasingly been related to the ability of an organisation to demonstrate it attracts those audiences which are considered to be non-traditional.[79] For example, large scale museum programmes have been created and received significant public funding specifically to facilitate a change in museum audiences, the most noteworthy being the Renaissance in the Regions programme. The resulting programme activity failed to use sport at any stage to support audience development. This suggests that the barriers which exist for sport in museums as explored in chapter four, prevented the most momentous and well-funded museum audience development programme addressing the issue of how to attract non-traditional audiences to museums, from using one of the most likely routes to, aiding, if not, solving, that very problem.

So, cultural policy and funding provide one reason for attracting non-traditional audiences to museums, but this is at least matched by the ideological shift in the museum profession from the 1980s and 1990s which placed a more equal emphasis on

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[78] Moore, K. *Museums & Popular Culture.* London: Leicester University Press, 1997. pp.106 – 134; Vamplew, W. 'Sports History, Sports Myths, and Sports Museums.' *Social History in Museums: Journal of the Social History Curators Group* 22. (1995-1996): 32-33.

[79] See for example Selwood, S. 'The Politics of Data Collection.' *Cultural Trends* 12, no.47 (2002a): pp.13-84; Stanziola, J. 'Experts in search of expert power: Analysing CASE from an institutional perspective,' *Cultural Trends* 21, no.4 (2012): pp.290-298; Wavell, C., Baxter, B., Johnson, I., and Williams, D. *Impact evaluation of museums, archives and libraries: available evidence project.* Aberdeen: The Robert Gordon University for Resource / The Council for Museums, Archives and Libraries. 2002. p.iii.

the relationship between the museum and its audience. With this transition, the representation of everyday culture and a reflection of the modern audience became important.[80] Consequently, the evidence explored here demonstrates that sport in museums is able to support both the political and ideological needs of the museum sector by increasing the number and type of audiences from non-traditional backgrounds, with a significant potential that these audiences will then become repeat visitors of the museum ultimately increasing museum revenue.

However, the evidence also establishes that the topic of sport alone is not enough to remove the substantial barriers that some audiences face in relationship to museum visiting.[81] The traditional perception of a museum alienates many visitors due to a variety of reasons as illustrated at figure 25. Therefore, the evidence provides a cautionary note against the use of sporting exhibitions alone to effect changes in audience demographics or size, without further understanding the barriers which exist for the particularly audience in question.

The focus groups, questionnaires and interviews conducted for this study and which form the basis of the evidence detailed in this chapter, would be increasingly robust if supported by further evidence of the ability of sport to attract new and different audiences, supplied from those who have delivered sporting exhibitions over a number of years. Regrettably, the considerable issues which face the museum sector as a whole in terms of gathering and analysing audience data and conducting robust evaluation, means that this evidence is almost non-existence.

Therefore, the topic of sport has the potential to support new audiences to visit museum venues. However, merely ensuring some steps over the threshold of a museum does little to support the understanding of the effect of sport in museums on audiences. Perhaps the experience does little to effect the perception, attitude or future of the visitor; perhaps it has a profound effect on them which acts as a catalyst to further changes in their lives; or, as is more likely, perhaps it has an effect

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[80] Moore, K. *Museums & Popular Culture.* 1997. pp.75-76.

[81] Hooper-Greenhill, E., Dodd, J., Creaser, C., Sandall, R., Jones, C., Woodham, A. *Inspiration, Identity, Learning: The Value of Museums Second Study.* Leicester: Research Centre for Museums and Galleries. 2007. p.13.

somewhere in between these two extremes. Thus, the next chapter will explore the importance of measuring impact in museums, and a discussion of the methodologies available, before chapter eight explores the specific impact of sport in museums.

Chapter Seven: Museums and 'Impact'

As discussed in chapter five, funding for activity in museums has become increasingly predicated on the demonstration of the value and contribution of museums to wider political agendas, especially in terms of audience development[1]. However, even with this being the case, the evidence required by funders from the museum sector has tended to focus on counting the number of people who visit, rather than the effect, or impact, on them. For example, in 2008 the Museums Association (MA) conducted a consultation about the delivery of the Renaissance in the Regions programme, as discussed in chapter five, and concluded that "although there has been a lot of data gathering and 'bean counting', there has been a lack of robust evaluation to demonstrate effectiveness and impact".[2] Therefore, although there is a lot of discussion about impact, and although impact measures are required by funding bodies before they will grant funding to organisations (including those associated with programmes such as Renaissance in the Regions), the actual evaluation of impact itself is limited, under-valued and under-used in favour of counting numbers.[3] Renaissance in the Regions is a clear example of this, whereby museums in receipt of funding were asked to supply significant amounts of data about who was involved in the projects, the demographics, localities etc. and nothing was required in terms of impact data. Thus, even though at a policy level, discussions about impact are at the forefront, there is no agreed understanding or methodology about how to actually measure that impact, and evaluation becomes about whom, rather than with what effect.

Stanziola (2007; 2008; 2011; 2012) and Selwood (2002c; 2002b; 2002a; 2006a; 2010) provide the main discussions about the constraints of current museum impact

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[1] See for example Selwood, S. *Making a difference: The Cultural Impact of Museums.* London: National Museums Directors Conference. 2010; Selwood, S. 'The Politics of Data Collection.' *Cultural Trends* 12, no.47 (2002): pp.13-84; Stanziola, J. 'Experts in search of expert power: Analysing CASE from an institutional perspective,' *Cultural Trends* 21, no.4 (2012): pp.290-298; Wavell, C., Baxter, B., Johnson, I., and Williams, D. *Impact evaluation of museums, archives and libraries: available evidence project.* Aberdeen: The Robert Gordon University for Resource / The Council for Museums, Archives and Libraries. 2002. p.iii.

[2] Museums Association. *Renaissance: MLA Consultation.* London: Museums Association. 2008.

[3] Davies, M. and Heath, C. *Evaluating Evaluation: Increasing the Impact of Summative Evaluation in Museums.* London: Kings College. 2013. p.8.

evaluation. Selwood (2010) provides analysis of the context of museum impact evaluation, literature reviews and impact assessments around cultural activity and impact, whereas Stanziola (2012) argues that the problems with impact evaluation are based in a lack of communication between the academic and museum communities, and a lack of understanding and appreciation of the value of evaluation on the part of the workforce.[4] Selwood and Stanziola's work is situated within both the practical and academic fields of culture and museums. Stanziola's work is rooted in the practical field of museum delivery and has a direct understanding of how evaluation frameworks are used in museums and the issues that arise from using them, whereas Selwood's work is primarily from an academic stand, examining museum practice. Selwood is frequently cited within other academic work, whereas Stanziola is seldom referenced, reinforcing his argument of the disconnection between academia and practice.

The funding cycle therefore requires evidence of impact, or potential impact, before funding is granted, but fails to establish the actual impact which results from the funding itself. Subsequently, museum staff have found it difficult to understand and evidence exactly what impact museums make to individuals and communities, because funding for evaluation has been limited and focused on numbers rather than impact.[5] Consequently, the museum sector is still struggling with the term 'impact' and methods by which to measure and prove the impact they make on wider society. Consequently, although figures exist which explain the number of people which visit museums and the type of people, little is understood about what happens to those people as result of an interaction with a museum, its staff and collections. This means that, in turn, little is understood about the impact sport in museums has on audiences, and therefore this presents limitations to the field in terms of producing evidence about how sport in museums supports wider agendas, and ultimately inhibits funding opportunities to further advance activity.

The limited publications which do discuss museum impact suggests that where those who work in museums are able to successfully demonstrate the ability of museums to

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[4] Stanziola, J. 'Experts in search of expert power: Analysing CASE from an institutional perspective'. *Cultural Trends* 21, no.4 (2012): pp.290-298.

[5] Davies, M. and Heath, C. *Evaluating Evaluation: Increasing the Impact of Summative Evaluation in Museums.* 2013. p.8.

impact on wider agendas, there is a greater opportunity of securing significant funding to advance their activity, for example Hooper-Greenhill *et al* (2004) and Learning Unlimited (2013), a consultancy organisation working in the museum sector. Both Hooper-Greenhill and Learning Unlimited conclude that the two major museum programmes funded by the DCMS between 2001 and 2011, Renaissance in the Regions and Strategic Commissioning, as discussed in chapter five, were granted funding as a direct result of evidence produced about the impact of museums on learning agendas.[6] So, there is a clear need for museum staff to be able to understand what is meant by impact, how it relates to their museum and exhibitions, and how to measure the impact of their services on audiences. Likewise, there is a similar need for the field of sport in museums to be able to address the impact made on audiences which are exposed to sporting heritage collections, exhibition, and programmes. Therefore, this chapter will develop an understanding of what is meant by the term impact, and what and how impact is measured in museums. Contextualising impact and the evaluation of impact within museums will support an understanding of the place of sport in museums and its impact which will be discussed in the next chapter. However, before it is possible to explore these issues in more detail, it is first necessary to define the term 'impact'.

7.1 Defining the term 'Impact'

Many authors have tried to define exactly what impact culture should be measuring.[7] Although there has been an extensive discussion within the literature about the public value of museums, very little has been written concerning the impact of museums. Kirchberg and Trondle (2012) examine the literature published concerning visitor studies both in the UK and worldwide, and conclude that only a limited amount of

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[6] Hooper-Greenhill, E., Dodd, J., Phillips, M., O'Riain, H., Jones, C., and Woodward, J. *What did you learn at the museum today? The evaluation of the impact of the Renaissance in the Regions Education Programme in the three Phase 1 Hubs.* Leicester: Research Centre for Museums and Galleries. 2004; Learning Unlimited. *Evidencing the Impact of the GLOs 2008 – 2013.* Leicester: RCMG, 2013.

[7] See for example Holden, J. *Capturing Public Value: How culture has become a tool for government policy.* London: DEMOS. 2004; Matarasso, F., *Use or ornament? The social impact of participation in the arts.* London: Comedia. 1997; Myerscough, J. *The economic importance of the arts in Britain.* London: Policy Studies Institute. 1988; O'Brien, D. *Measuring the value of culture: a report to the Department for Culture Media and Sport.* London: DCMS. 2010; Scott, C. 'Museums: Impact and Value.' *Cultural Trends* 15, no.1 (2006): pp.45-75.

practical research has actually been conducted in respect to the impact of museums.[8] The literature includes some examples that specifically demonstrate the value made by culture, but in general the discussions concentrate on arguments about the validity of impact research and what impact is actually being measured. This is most likely because the term impact and public value are difficult concepts to define. For example, Gray (2008) attempts to define public value and concludes that it is too broad a concept.[9] He asserts that the term seems to include the better co-operation of government departments, greater emphasis placed on the benefits gained by the public from public funding, and better value in the resultant products derived from public funding, but concludes that "none of this, however, actually identifies where 'public value' actually resides" and asks whether it is in provision, outcomes, trust, or cost-effectiveness. Ultimately, Gray suggests that this 'value' is just the latest "buzz-word" with little substance and that perhaps the term value itself needs to be determined to make any clear assumptions about what value is being achieved for the public good.

In addition, there is confusion within the museum sector itself as to what impact should be measured and how to do so, as discussed later in this chapter.[10] There are also a number of different terms employed which are also used to identify the difference made by museums for example, 'returns', 'benefit' and 'value'[11]. However, no matter what the term used, the objective is the same, that is to establish the difference made by museums in terms of wider agendas. For the purposes of this study, the term 'impact' will be used. As no agreed definition exists to explain the term impact, for the purposes of this study, the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* definition will be used, "the effective action of one thing or person upon another; the effect of such action; influence; impression", and therefore the definition of impact for the

[8] Kirchberg, V., and Trondle, M. 'Experiencing Exhibitions: A Review of Studies on
Visitor Experiences in Museums' *Curator: The Museum Journal* 55, no.4 (2012): pp.435-452.
[9] Gray, C. 'Arts Council England and public value: a critical review'. *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 14, no.2 (2008): p.210.
[10] See for example Davies, M. and Heath, C. *Evaluating Evaluation: Increasing the Impact of Summative Evaluation in Museums.* Kings College: London, 2013.
[11] Social Return on Investment (SROI) Network. *A Guide to Social Return on Investment.* London: SROI Network. 2012. p.6. Accessed June 1st 2014.
http://www.thesroinetwork.org/component/docman/cat_view/29-the-sroi-guide/223-the-guide-in-english-2012-edition?Itemid=138

museums sector becomes "the effective action of a museum and its' staff upon [a person, community, subject, or other organisation]; the effect of such action, its influence or impression". The text within the square brackets can then be altered to reflect the subject that the museum wishes to have an impact on, for example, "the effective action of a museum and its' staff upon education", or "the effective action of a museum and its' staff upon adult learners". The term 'measure' is used to mean both "count" and "understand", where the former signifies purely quantitative data about numbers of people visiting the museum, and the latter denotes more qualitative insights into what visitors gained from the experience.

Therefore, there is a clear argument within the literature that demonstrates there is a need for museums to measure impact, but that there is also a need to invest in evaluation and skills development in order to ensure the research into impact is rigorous and meaningful. Even though the definition of museum impact has never been properly established, and the sector itself is in confusion about what it means to measure impact, there has been a consistent impetus for museums to measure impact since 1997 as demonstrated in the literature review. Therefore, the next section will explore where the motivation to measure impact in museums originated.

7.2 Why Museum Impact is Measured

As discussed in the chapter five, the New Labour administration in the UK issued policies and frameworks which consistently called for cultural organisations to demonstrate the impact of their activity against external agendas.[12] Although the Conservative government which preceded New Labour had already begun to take cultural activity in this direction, the ideological focus of culture supporting communities and the countries welfare was established directly as a result of New Labour's policies, as discussed in chapter five. The process for New Labour began in 1998 when Chris Smith, the then Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport,

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[12] See for example Department for Culture, Media and Sport. *A New Cultural Framework.* London: DCMS. 1998; Jowell, T. *Government and the Value of Culture.* London: DCMS. 2004; McMaster, B. *Supporting Excellence in the Arts: From Measurement to Judgement.* London: DCMS. 2008.

published Creative Britain.[13] Within his text, Smith identified four key areas that provided culture with an opportunity to have public impact, access, excellence, education and economic.[14] Smith defines these four areas as follows:

> Access, in ensuring the greatest number of people have the opportunity to experience work of quality. Excellence, in ensuring that government support is used to underpin the best and the most innovative, and the things that would not otherwise find a voice. Education in ensuring that creativity is not extinguished by the formal education system and beyond. And economic value, in ensuring that the full economic and employment impact of the whole range of creative industries is acknowledged and assisted by government.[15]

Essentially, Smith used this text to outline firstly that culture has a value, and secondly what that value is. This positioned cultural activity as an appropriate recipient of government funding for the first time, rather than as an additional activity that was attractive, but not essential. If engaging in cultural activity could increase education attainment for example, then it was a relevant area for public spending to support. Throughout the term of New Labour, these four elements underpinned the activity delivered by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) and in 2012 are still the foundations of the five key objectives of the Arts Council England (ACE).[16] Consequently, the impact of museums on their audiences has become directly linked with the ability of museum staff to attract investment to their museums.

Smith's focus on the ability of cultural producers and providers to evidence the value of their activity, unleashed a simmering argument between those in favour of defining the wider outputs of culture, the instrumentalist argument, and those in favour of protecting the intrinsic value of culture, as discussed in chapter five. The key to the need to measure the value of culture however, largely rests on the need of activity to use public finances. Where cultural activity is not reliant on public finances, the cultural producer does not need to demonstrate public value. Tusa (2000) and Belfiore

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[13] Smith, C. *Creative Britain.* London: Faber & Faber. 1998.
[14] Ibid. p.2.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Arts Council England (ACE). *Achieving great art for everyone.* London: ACE. 2011.

(2012) for example, ignored the fact that if public finances are concerned, then the public have the right to access the resulting product.[17] Consequently, in order to attract public funding, museums need to demonstrate their impact on audiences. The next section explores the change of government in the UK and the subsequent effect this had on the museum sector in relationship to measuring impact.

In the UK in 2010, Selwood (2010) argued that funding for museums was about to become even more restricted because of the prospective decrease in funding to culture from the newly elected Conservative - Liberal Democrat coalition government because of a combination of ideological change and a time of economic down-turn in the country, as discussed in chapter five. Therefore, according to Selwood, the need to define impact would become even more acute.[18] In addition, Selwood argued, this decrease in public funding was also likely to have an impact on the ability of culture to attract match funding from the private sector. Match funding is given by organisations when funding applicants are able to prove they have some funding for their activity already in place. In reality, Selwood's comments bore out, and the economic downturn, coupled with ideological differences from the preceding New Labour government, saw a distancing of government policy towards culture in terms of both funding and attention given to the sector. Although the museum sector had been relatively passive in terms of measuring impact up until this point, the sudden realisation that the focus of government, and consequently its funding, had moved away from culture, began to increase the sectors interest in demonstrating its ability to deliver against wider agendas. The initial fervour which had surrounded the value of culture debate seemed less important after a decade of increased government funding to culture and museums and the sudden realisation that without the ability to demonstrate the instrumental value, the funding would disappear. This is not to say that museums had ignored impact evaluation. There were pockets of activity whereby museums demonstrated extremely successfully that it was possible to measure the

[17] Belfiore, E. 'Defensive instrumentalism' and the legacy of New Labour's cultural policies.' *Cultural Trends* 21, no.2 (2012): pp.103-111; Tusa, J. *Art matters: Reflecting on culture.* London: Methuen. 2000.
[18] Selwood, S. *Making a difference: The Cultural Impact of Museums.* London: National Museums Directors Conference. 2010. p.51.

effect of museums across different agendas.[19] However, these examples were the exception, rather than the rule. Consequently, by 2010, although limited understanding of museum impact had been gathered, the sector as a whole still failed to grasp what was meant by impact and how to measure it.

7.3 How Museum Impact is Measured

In 1996, Matarasso argued that even though the arts and cultural sectors had accepted that evaluation is necessary, few were conducting any, relying instead of vague claims made from within the sector about the general good that museums do.[20] Matarasso contended that this was no longer acceptable and that the cultural world must not only embrace the opportunity to evidence its value and impact, but to lead the process themselves. Matarasso's paper provides a convincing argument that those best placed to measure culture are cultural practitioners themselves and argues that to achieve a robust evidence base, cultural organisations must take the concept of evaluation seriously, understand for themselves what they wish to evaluate, and devise a suitable evaluation framework by which to measure the impact of their work. This demonstrates that although cultural policy was a significant reason for museums to measure impact, in reality the need for evaluation is actually for organisations development and change.[21] Selwood (2002) and Stanziola (2012) are in agreement with Matarasso's argument that those working in the sector are ultimately best placed to conduct impact evaluation, however they argue that these practioners are often poorly equipped and lacking in training to structure evaluation frameworks, collect relevant data, and analyse results. Essentially, although cultural policy moved quickly in terms of establishing the instrumentalist agenda, those working within museums often found it difficult to keep up. Lawley (2003) conducted research with museum directors and argued that many issues impacted on the sectors ability to define and measure the impact of their services. Mainly, the wider New Labour modernizing agenda of the 1990's which aimed to stream-line the public sector and place a new emphasis on public services providing "Best Value" to the public, created a pressured

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[19] See for example The Happy Museum. *About Us*. Norwich: Happy Museum Project. Date Unknown. Accessed March 31st 2014. http://www.happymuseumproject.org/?page_id=47
[20] Matarasso, F. *Defining values: Evaluating arts programmes.* Stroud: Comedia. 1996. p.1.
[21] Ibid.

environment for museums which made delivering targets unrealistic.[22] This new environment witnessed local authority museums, forty percent of the museum population, undergo significant organisational restructure for the first time in decades.[23] The reorganisation often meant museums reported directly to the Head of Leisure Services, or similar unfamiliar reporting lines, and the value and potential of museums as a service in its own right was often diluted in the movement towards cost cutting and more effective administration procedures. In addition, Lawley asserts that her findings demonstrate that those working in the sector itself had severe reservations that the real value of museums can be measured, despite increasing pressure to do just that.[24] Therefore, according to Lawley's research, the changing structure of museum services accompanied with the scepticism of those leading museums prevented them from demonstrating and measuring value successfully.

The issue is further confused by the fact that practioners themselves have little understanding about what impact is, let alone how to measure it. Williams *et al* (2005) conclude that the main issue effecting consistent impact evaluation is that museum practioners do not properly understand what constitutes impact evaluation, use a range of different methods to measure impact, and are reticent to conduct impact evaluation due to a lack of time and funding.[25] Stanziola (2008), in agreement with Williams *et al,* argues that those concerned with the museum sector must take the question of evaluating value and impact seriously. Stanziola argues that the needs to articulate the benefits of the museum sector are not only important in terms of academic reasoning and sector development, but are at the very centre of sustaining funding to museums in the short and long term, and greater understanding of those who work in museums on the effects of their activities on wider agendas. Stanziola contends that museums, academics, and policy makers must unite to devise a shared language, shared evaluation methodology, and shared understanding of the value of

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[22] Selwood, S. 'What difference do museums make? Producing evidence on the impact of museums'. *Critical Quarterly* 44, no.4 (2002b): pp.65-81; Stanziola, J. 'Experts in search of expert power: Analysing CASE from an institutional perspective,' *Cultural Trends* 21, no.4 (2012): pp.290-298.

[23] Lawley, I. 'Local authority museums and the modernizing government agenda in England.' *Museum and Society* 1, no.2 (2003): pp.75-86.

[24] Ibid. p.79

[25] Williams, D., Wavell, C., Baxter, G., MacLennon, A. and Jobson, D. Implementing impact evaluation in professional practice: A study of support needs within the museum, archive and library sector. *International Journal of Information Management* 25, no. 6 (2005): pp.545-548.

museums, otherwise any attempts to demonstrate value will continue to be inconsequential. By this, Stanziola is referring to the ad hoc studies of impact that have taken place in connection with museums, but that have failed to provide a coherent definition of what is meant by impact, how it can be measured, and with what effect. Scott (2009) examines Stanziola's argument and agrees that there is a need to establish a united front on which to fight for the value of museums.[26]

In agreement with these arguments, Shettle (2008) asserts that although the evaluation methodology available to support an understanding of museum visitors and their habits has advanced during the previous forty years, the practical application had not kept up. Shettle reasons that this is primarily due to a lack of time and resources within museum venues, and that ultimately funding and personnel are deployed elsewhere.[27] Consequently, a lack of funding and skills development has led to a lack of rigorous development and research into museums and their audiences. Shettle argues that this is a dangerous situation for museums, because failing to direct resources towards understanding and evaluating understanding their audiences, means they are incapable of providing adequate, relevant provision. Consequently, the provision they provide is inadequate and this is reflected in the number and type of visitor which used the venue. In turn, this results in a decrease in funding either through public finances or visitor spend at the venue, and essentially, according to Shettle, the economics of their decision not to invest in audience development and evaluation, is as a result, nonsensical.

Maurice Davies and Christian Heath, museum professionals and academics, became suspicious of impact evaluation practice in museums and its relevance to the development of the sector. Accordingly, in 2013 they conducted a wide scale UK project to examine the subject of museums and impact, and explore what museum staff evaluate and what they do with the findings. Through the process Davies and Heath discovered that "evaluation is not taken seriously enough by museums, policy

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[26] Scott, C. 'Exploring the evidence base for museum value.' *Management and Curatorship* 24, no.3 (2009):pp.195-212.
[27] Shettel, H. 'No visitor left behind.' *Curator: The Museum Journal* 51, no. 4 (2008): pp.367–375.

makers, and funders"[28] and that impact evaluation is a low priority for "museum staff, policy makers and funders".[29] They go on to conclude that the resultant findings of any evaluations that do take place are rarely used to impact on future activity or shared with others anyway, rather they are a consequence of the need to appease funders, not a system to ensure organisational development and progression.[30] Boyd (2013), an experienced museum evaluator, is in agreement with Davies and Heath and concludes that although there are well-established approaches available to museum staff, they consistently ask the same questions and seem reticent to learn from mistakes.[31] Consequently, the ability to understand if success has been achieved and impact made has become difficult to determine. Finally, Regan Forest (2012), an experienced museum consultant, argues that the need to attract funding and demonstrate museum impact purely for funding purposes has actually repressed the development of museums because evaluation has become a report writing exercise, rather than museum set targets established to support the museum mission statement aims and objectives.[32] Therefore, there is a consistent pattern of isolated incidents of organisations and individuals working within the museums sector, attempting to understand and implement the concept of impact in museums, with very little success.

Consequently, because impact in museums is actually an unknown quantity, the funding cycle which dominates the museum sector has gradually established a culture of 'miss-evaluation'. That is, evaluation takes place, but it is a superficial evaluation which measures only what the funder requires, rather than establishes a true picture of the impact of the activity relating to the museum. The time and funding is not made available for the evaluation to be carried out for purposes other than the minimum requirements as set by the funding body, and so museum staff see evaluation as a means to an end, a necessary evil which needs to be done, but does not in itself fulfil any purpose. So, although evaluation of sorts has been conducted consistently since

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[28] Davies, M. and Heath, C. *Evaluating Evaluation: Increasing the Impact of Summative Evaluation in Museums.* Kings College: London, 2013. p.37.
[29] Ibid. p.8.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Boyd, N. *Museum Evaluation: We have nothing to fear, but fear itself*. The Guardian. February 7th, 2013. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.guardian.co.uk/culture-professionals-network/culture-professionals-blog/2013/feb/07/museum-evaluation-sharing-audience-data
[32] Forrest, R. *Evaluation: It's a culture, not a report.* Personal blog. June 10th 2012. http://reganforrest.com/2012/06/evaluation-its-a-culture-not-a-report

1997, it has actually caused a huge knowledge gap in the impact potential of museums on wider agendas because it has not evaluated day to day museum activity for impact. This in turn has prevented the sector from self-monitoring and evolving as a result. It is no coincidence that the majority of discussions about impact evaluation have arisen since the Conservative – Liberal Democrat administration came into power in the UK in 2010, and with a more hands-off approach to supporting the museum sector through public finances. Although those working in the sector flinched at the funding cuts the administration brought, it has allowed a sense of space for museum staff to reflect on their practice and that of the rest of the sector.

Therefore, during the last fifteen years, those working in the museum sector have been witnessed to a turbulent, changing environment. The persistent move towards demonstrating impact was not always matched by support for those working in the sector to understand what impact was and how best to measure it. Consequently, this left many feeling bewildered by the ever increasing need to demonstrate the value of their service. Nonetheless, as Scott demonstrates, where public funding is in question, museums need to be able to demonstrate why they are important and to whom. Without this, it is difficult to express a clear argument to support public expenditure to museums in the future.

7.4 The Type of Impact Measured in Museums

Despite significant activity from organisations working across the cultural sector and supporting museums from arms-length to understand what impact means, in reality evaluation has not been a priority of museums and is not considered essential to museum practice.[33] The terms impact and value are difficult to define and therefore the ability to measure, or evaluate, them has also proved difficult. Essentially, the only way to measure if, and to what extent, something has been successful or not, is to have an understanding of what it is that is being measured in the first place. In parallel to the lack of consensus that exists about the definition of the term impact across the museum sector, the same is true of the type of impact museums make and can

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[33] Davies, M. and Heath, C. *Evaluating Evaluation: Increasing the Impact of Summative Evaluation in Museums.* 2013. p.37.

measure.[34] In an attempt to unify current thinking and practice and establish a directory of museum impact, *Measuring Museums Impact,* a handbook to support the general understanding of what museum impact is, and how to measure it, was published in 2013.[35] The handbook was the result of an intensive and wide-ranging discussion and investigation of museums and their impact, involving museum staff themselves, and took place in 2013 as part of a European funded project, Learning in Museums (LEM). LEM created an online network of museums across Europe which could exchange and share information.[36] As part of the network discussions, it became apparent that although evaluating impact was viewed as central to the activity of all museums, museum staff themselves were unclear about what museum impact actually was, how to measure it, and how to share the findings.[37] The involvement of museum staff, helped to ensure the research was grounded in current museum practice. Consequently, the project team at LEM analysed the current situation of museums and impact which resulted in the *Impact Handbook* and authored by established impact researcher, Alessandro Bollo (2013). Bollo outlines what the three areas for museums to measure impact are (as discussed earlier in this chapter), economic, social and environmental. Bollo argues that tools to measure environmental impact are non-existent, and therefore the sector should incorporate the measurement of environmental impact into other measurement tools which already exist.[38] Bollo defines museum impact as economic, social, or environmental, which is in essence applying the 'triple bottom line' to the measurement of museum impact. The triple bottom line was defined in 1994 by Elkington, an economist and advocate for corporate social responsibility (CSR).[39] Elkington argued that the basis of all organisations should rest on the three bottom lines of social impact, economic impact, and environmental impact in order to understand its contribution to, and impact on, society. As *The Economist* states:

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[34] O'Brien, D. *Measuring the value of culture: a report to the Department for Culture Media and Sport.* London: DCMS. 2010.

[35] Bollo, A. *Measuring Museum Impacts*. Emilia-Romagna: LEM. 2013.

[36] Learning in European Museums (LEM). Emilia-Romana: LEM. Date Unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.lemproject.eu/the-project

[37] Bollo, A. *Measuring Museum Impacts*. Emilia-Romagna:LEM. 2013. p.9-10.

[38] Ibid. pp.9-10.

[39] Elkington, J. *Cannibals with Forks: the Triple Bottom Line of 21st Century Business*. Chicago: Capstone. 1997.

The triple bottom line (TBL) thus consists of three Ps: profit, people and planet. It aims to measure the financial, social and environmental performance of the corporation over a period of time. Only a company that produces a TBL is taking account of the full cost involved in doing business.[40]

The triple bottom line approach has been successfully adopted by businesses across the western world.[41] Bollo demonstrates that it is just as viable to use this approach in museums as any other business, and that by doing so museum staff equip themselves with a robust evidence base to support arguments for investment into their organisations. Consequently, the next sections will explore the economic and social impact measurement frameworks available to museums and examples of their usage to provide a context for the opportunities available by which sport in museums can be measured.

7.5 Measuring Economic Impact in Museums

The ability to demonstrate impact in terms of financial outcomes enables museum staff to put a price on the services of the museum. In turn, this allows museum staff to establish the contribution of the museum to the wider economy, as such making the museum important to those charged with managing local, regional and national economies. In terms of measuring the economic impact of museums, Bollo concludes that three approaches are relevant to the museums sector, a spending approach using Economic Investment Analysis (EIA), and an evaluation approach using Contingent Valuation (CV) whereby:

the spending approach is focused mainly on financial aspects, trying to measure. The evaluation approach aims at measuring the wider benefits people derive from arts and culture, and 'translate' them into a monetary value.[42]

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[40] Economist, the. *The Triple bottom Line*. London: The Economist. Date Unknown.2013. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.economist.com/node/14301663
[41] Ibid.
[42] Bollo, A. *Measuring Museum Impacts*. Emilia-Romagna: LEM. 2013. p.27.

Finally, in addition to the EIA and CV approaches, the Social Return on Investment (SROI) approach, which Bollo identifies as a third emerging method to determine social return on monetary investment.[43]

The EIA approach is based on measuring "the direct and multiplying effects deriving from visitor and museum spending".[44] That is, examining the amount of money an organisation spends on its activity and staff, or investigating the amount of spend per head visitors make when visiting the museum, and then multiplying this figure in terms of secondary and third spends within the local community. The ERS (2010) conducted research within the archive sector specifically concerning economic impact and concluded that the EIA approach is the most frequently used methodology by museums when measuring economic impact.[45]

An example of the use of this approach is the ACE / NMDC research project examining the economic impact of the arts.[46] This EIA methodology was chosen because ACE and the NMDC believed that the Treasury would respond to arguments made using a respected economic formula. The Treasury have ultimate control of the distribution of funds to other government departments and activities. This demonstrates that the primary goal of ACE and NMDC activity is to demonstrate to government that arts and culture should be funded. The timing of the research was to ensure that the findings were used to inform the government's *Cultural Education Plan* with a view that the evidence would increase the funding allocations towards cultural activity.[47] The findings of the research established that "Arts and culture makes up 0.4 per cent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), a significant return on less than 0.1 per cent of government spending. The industry also…generates more per pound invested than the health, wholesale and retail, and professional and business services sectors".[48] This is a significant demonstration of the role of culture in delivering an economic benefit to the national economy. However, the disadvantage of this method is its basis in entirely

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[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid. p.28.

[45] ERS. *Economic Impact Toolkits for Archives, Libraries and Museums.* Archives Libraries & Museums Alliance UK. 2010. p.16.

[46] Arts Council England. *Measuring the economic benefits of arts and culture.* London: ACE. 2012.

[47] Ibid. p.2.

[48] Ibid. p1.

economic value, rather than a wider understanding of the impact of the social benefits of museums. Therefore, much of what is of value in museums is omitted from this type of evaluation and in the case of the ACE and NMDC report, the findings are targeted towards the Treasury alone and overlook many of the softer impact opportunities for cultural activity.

If the EIA approach uses a multiplier formula to establish economic impact, the CV approach to measuring museum impact is based on what visitors may be willing to pay for services or what they would be willing to accept if services were stopped.[49] O'Brien (2010) produced a report for the DCMS that articulated the type of opportunities available to organisations wishing to demonstrate a business case for funding to central government. O'Brien argues that the CV approach is based on a hypothetical situation and therefore the methodology and application must be rigorous for this approach to be successful or considered robust enough for government funding to be attached.[50] O'Brien states that although the CV approach has rarely been used by the cultural sector, there is an example of its application in Bolton which demonstrated that using CV enabled a value to be put on:

> both the costs and benefits of the MLA [museum, library, and archive] service to the local community…..showing how both users and non-users of the service valued this provision at £10.4 million, as compared with public funding of £6.5 million.[51]

Therefore, where the CV approach is done well, it is possible to use the findings to establish a case for funding. The advantage of this approach is in its ability to include the end users valuation on the economic impact of the museum and therefore demonstrate to funders the importance placed on the museum and its activities by the public. At the same time, however, the disadvantages are in the hypothetical situation

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[49] ERS. *Economic Impact Toolkits for Archives, Libraries and Museums.* 2010. p.22.
[50] O'Brien, D. *Measuring the value of culture: a report to the Department for Culture Media and Sport.* London: DCMS. 2010.
[51] Department for Culture, Media and Sport. *Understanding the Drivers: Impact and value of Engagement in Culture and Sport.* London: DCMS. 2010. p.26.

used within the approach and the ability of those involved to accurately define the hypothetical value.

The value of the SROI approach is in its ability to "measure the social and environmental impacts created by people and organisations and represent them in monetary terms".[52] Essentially, the use of SROI allows museums to present the holistic activity the museum engages in terms of economic output. The benefit of this approach is in its ability to measure social impact, of which most of the discussions and concerns about how to measure impact have been concerned with, and define them in economic terms. An example of the use of SROI in museums is a recent research project delivered by staff at The Museum of East Anglican Life, Norwich. The museum chose to conduct the research to build a case for future funding. The final report argues that for every £1 the museum spent over the five preceding years, it can claim it invested £4.3 in social value.[53] Tony Butler, Director of the Museum for East Anglian life commented that because the museum was able to demonstrate its economic and social impact in this way, it had been successful in acquiring additional funding as a result.[54] The SROI approach therefore provides an opportunity for museums to assess the impact of the organisation across a range of impact measures, social and economic, and arrive at an economic output figure to lever in future investment.

The three methods outlined above require significant understanding of the processes used and of the museum itself which often make the costs associated with carrying out such an evaluation prohibitive.[55] Therefore, museums are only able to carry out such research projects with substantial investment and by employing an external consultant. In addition, the lack of literature about the economic impact of museums, suggests that it is actually still relatively unexplored, most probably because of the significant financial barriers, and therefore the majority of museums have not conducted any research programmes about the economic impact of their activity. In

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[52] King, E. *Social Return on Investment.* Online. 2011. Accessed January 31st 2014. http://emmakingconsultancy.co.uk/blog/76.php
[53] MB Associates. *Investing in Culture and Community*. Norwich: Museum of East Anglican Life. 2011. p.43.
[54] Butler, T. *Presentation given at the 2013 Museums Association Conference.* Liverpool. 2013. Attended by the author.
[55] University of Exeter. *Socio-cultural impacts of museums*. Exeter: University of Exeter. 2013.

contrast, the use of social impact measurement tools have had rather more success within the museum sector itself. The next section will establish what these tools are and how they can and have been used to demonstrate museum impact.

7.6 Measuring Societal Impact in Museums

The social impact of a museum is based on its ability to contribute to both "personal and societal" change.[56] As much of the activity that takes place within museums is of an informal nature and not linked to a specific curriculum or outcome measurement framework, there are difficulties in determining the type and impact of social outcomes derived by activity at or with a museum. Historically, this has made it difficult for museum staff to demonstrate the impact museums make, in order to receive funding and support policy changes. The only framework in current use with a specific remit for measuring and evaluating museum activity is the Inspiring Learning For All Framework (ILFA). Hooper-Greenhill (2004) argues that ILFA allows museums to place learning and the individual at the centre of museum planning, and includes an evaluation methodology specifically based on learning outcomes. Hooper-Greenhill argues that the framework is entrenched in the work of learning theorists, was rigorously developed by theorists, practioners, and policy makers, and as such, is both theoretically robust and practically relevant.[57] West and Smith (2005) are in agreement with Hooper-Greenhill's argument and conclude that the framework is built on the values and terminology of museum impact, whilst also valuing organisational development and learning opportunities.[58] They assert that ILFA has been validated by other cultural organisations as an appropriate and rigorous framework by which to measure cultural learning.

Within ILFA, there are two types of evaluation methodology which have been specifically developed to support museums measure social impact, the Generic

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[56] Bollo, A. *Measuring Museum Impacts*. Emilia-Romagna: LEM. 2013. p.21.
[57] Hooper-Greenhill, E. 'Measuring Learning Outcomes in Museums, Libraries and Archives: The Learning Impact research Project'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 10 no.2 (2004): pp.151-174; Moussouri, T. *A context for the development of learning outcomes in museums, archives and libraries.* Leicester: Research Centre for Museums and Galleries. 2002.
[58] West, C., and Smith. C. 'WE ARE NOT A GOVERNMENT POODLE: Museums and social inclusion under New Labour'. International Journal of Cultural Policy 11, no.3. (2005): p.283.

Learning Outcomes (GLOs) and the Generic Social Outcomes (GSOs). Bollo (2013) argues that these provide museums with sufficient opportunity to establish the impact of their organisations.[59] The GLOs allow museums to measure how their services impact on the learning of individuals (as discussed later in this chapter), whereas the GSOs support and understanding of wider social impact, for example on communities. The GLOs and the GSOs were created by the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA) to provide the museum sector with robust measurement tools for museum staff to measure audience impact.[60] MLA stated that the motivation for this was driven by the need for museums to evidence impact in exchange for funding.

> Museums, libraries and archives need to be able to give evidence of the benefit of our services to HM Treasury and other interested stakeholders. This framework sets out one way of aligning the sector's potential social contribution with key government policy drivers.[61]

Bollo suggests that the use of the GLOs and GSOs allows museums to assess the precise social impact of each museum, consequently providing museums with a sufficient way to measure social impact. In addition, the methodology is easily adapted to each museum and has fewer constraints on museum budgets than economic impact measurement because staff themselves can develop the skills to use the frameworks.

The GLOs have been adopted and are used within many museums in the UK.[62] In addition, they are used by organisations which fund museum activity as methods of good practice, for example, the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF), a significant funding body for museum activity, suggests that projects show evidence of their intended outcomes against the GLO framework before they will agree to fund them,[63] and in 2011, the new DCMS cultural initiative programme Museums and Schools launched by ACE[64]

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[59] Bollo, A. *Measuring Museum Impacts*. Emilia-Romagna: LEM. 2013. pp.47-53.

[60] Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA). *Inspiring Learning for All.* London: MLA. Date unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.inspiringlearningforall.gov.uk/

[61] Ibid.

[62] Learning Unlimited. *Evidencing the Impact of the GLOs 2008 – 2013.* Leicester: RCMG. 2013.

[63] Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF). Good Practice Guidelines. London: HLF. 2012. pp.19-21. Accessed March 31st 2013. http://www.hlf.org.uk/HowToApply/goodpractice/Documents/Evaluation_Good-practice_guidance.pdf

[64] Arts Council England. *Museums and Schools Programme.* London: Arts Council England, 2011. Accessed March 14th 2013. http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/what-we-do/our-priorities-2011-15/children-and-young-people/museums-and-schools-programme/

which represents £3.6 million of funding to the museum sector, utilised the GLOs as its evaluation framework. Figure 29 denotes the type of personal outcomes expected to take place as a result of museum activity.

Figure 29: The Generic Learning Outcomes (GLOs)

Outcome	Description
Knowledge and Understanding	Knowing about something Making sense of something Deepening understanding Learning facts about something Making new links between things Using existing knowledge in new ways
Skills	Knowing how to do something Intellectual skills Key skills Information management skills Emotional, social, physical and communication skills
Inspiration, Enjoyment, and Creativity	Having fun Being surprised Innovative thoughts or actions Creativity, Exploration Being inspired
Attitudes and Values	Feelings and perceptions Opinions about ourselves Opinions about others Attitudes towards an organisation Attitudes towards a specific activity or event Empathy
Activity, Behaviour and Progressions	What people/organisations do and intend to do What people have done Changes in the way people live their lives Changes in behaviour Progression (e.g. to becoming a regular visitor of a museum)

Source: MLA.[65]

Museum staff use the first two columns to decide on the generic outcomes they aim to see as a result of their activity, and then define a third column of specific outcomes.

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[65] Museums, Libraries and Archives Council. *Inspiring Learning for All.* London: MLA. Date unknown.

For example, they might decide that a project they were working on to support individuals to change their "attitudes and values". They might then be more specific about the type of attitudinal change, and express that they hope to see this as a change to the "attitudes towards the organisation", the museum itself. Finally, they would specify how they might determine that this goal had been achieved, for example, "participants state that they had not realised the museum had a collection of social history and they hoped to visit again in the near future".

Where the GLOs are relevant for measuring the outcomes for individuals, it was soon recognised that a different framework was needed to measure the outcomes for communities. Consequently, the GSOs framework was developed to measure these wider social outcomes.[66] The framework is separated into two tiers, with the first tier representing the generic area of impact, and the second focusing specifically on how museums have the ability to impact in that area. The table at figure 30 describes the first and second tier generic outcomes which establish the framework for museum staff to use.

Figure 30: The Generic Social Outcomes (GSOs)

First Tier Outcomes	Second Tier Outcomes
Stronger and Safer communities	Improving group and inter-group dialogue and understanding Supporting cultural diversity and identity Encouraging familial ties and relationships Tackling the fear of crime and anti-social behaviour Contributing to crime prevention and reduction
Health and Wellbeing	Encouraging healthy lifestyles and contributing to mental and physical well-being Supporting care and recovery Supporting older people to live independent lives Helping children and young people to enjoy life and make a positive contribution
Strengthening Public Life	Encouraging and supporting awareness and participation in local-decision making and wider civic and political

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[66] Ibid.

Figure 30: Continued

First Tier Outcomes	Second Tier Outcomes
	engagement
	Building the capacity of community and voluntary
	groups
	Providing safe, inclusive and trusted public spaces
	Enabling community empowerment through the awareness of rights, benefits and external service
	Improving the responsiveness of services to the needs of the local community, including other stakeholders

Source: MLA.[67]

Each museum then constructs a third tier by which to measure specific social outcomes they wish to measure. For example, museum staff may decide that they wish to understand more about how their work supports stronger and safer communities, a first tier outcome. They would then establish which of the second tier outcomes are relevant to the project and where they would hope to see some evidence of impact on the audiences involved. Finally, they would create a column of third tier outcomes which were specifically related to the museum and their work. A third tier outcome related to "Supporting cultural diversity and identify" for example might be to "work with two local different communities to create community led exhibitions, supporting the groups to exchange information and ideas throughout the process".[68]

The only academic review of the GLOs the author could find is written by cultural consultant, Sara Selwood. Selwood (2010) argues that the GLOs are flawed because they are generic, and this prevents them from analysing the specific outcomes for individuals and organisations.[69] However, according to Hooper-Greenhill (2004), the point of the GLOs is that they allow museums to construct a framework of evaluation,

[67] MLA. *Inspiring Learning for All.* London: MLA. Date unknown.
[68] Author's examples.
[69] Selwood, S. *Making a difference: The Cultural Impact of Museums.* London: National Museums Directors Conference. 2010. p.19.

ultimately measuring specific learning outcomes relevant to their institutions activity[70]. By not testing the framework out in the sector, and instead looking at only the theory, Selwood has missed the opportunity to analyse the GLOs as a key sector method for evaluating specific learning outcomes, and with it, the impact of museums on individuals. Whilst the GLOs are not specifically able to identify how learning is achieved over a long period of time, they are widely used across the sector to demonstrate that learning, in its broadest definition, has taken place through specific programmes and activities. With new pressures on museums to act as educational facilities, the GLOs allow for consistency and rigour in the measurement of learning impact and, since their introduction, museums and galleries in England have adopted them in regular evaluation practice.[71] And so, the GLO framework represents a suitable evaluation methodology by which to measure impact in museums.

Therefore, as Bollo and Hooper-Greenhill argue, the GLOs and GSOs provide robust, practical tools for museums to demonstrate their impact on society, and the use of such tools by funding bodies such as ACE and the HLF demonstrates that they are a viable method for museums to use to attract additional external funding. Consequently, they provide suitable tools for those involved in sport in museums to measure impact.

7.7 The Effect of Measuring Museum Impact

Although arguments have been made that the demonstration of impact has supported increased investment to museums, until recently, little independent research has been conducted to establish if this is indeed the case.[72] To better understand the relationship between museums and public funding, Stanziola and Mendez-Carbajo

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[70] See for example Hooper-Greenhill, E., Dodd, J., Phillips, M., O'Riain, H., Jones, C., and Woodward, J. *What did you learn at the museum today? The evaluation of the impact of the Renaissance in the Regions Education Programme in the three Phase 1 Hubs.* Leicester: Research Centre for Museums and Galleries. 2004; Hooper-Greenhill, E., Dodd, J., Gibson, L., Phillips, M., Jones, C., and Sullivan, E. *What Did You Learn at the Museum Today? Second Study.* Leicester: Research Centre for Museums and Galleries. 2006.
[71] Learning Unlimited. *Evidencing the Impact of the GLOs 2008 – 2013.* 2013.
[72] See for example Hooper-Greenhill, E. 'Measuring Learning Outcomes in Museums, Libraries and Archives: The Learning Impact research Project'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 10 no.2 (2004): pp.151-174.

(2011) conducted a survey of museum funding in association with economic growth and decline.[73] Their findings demonstrate that government funding only slightly grew during the New Labour decade, and represents adequate funding for the sector rather than a substantial increase. They find no evidence to suggest that economic growth or decline has an impact on museum funding levels, and that funding is distributed differently at different times depending on requirements of audiences, suggesting that the demonstration of impact has been irrelevant on the increase of museum funding.[74] Newbiggin (2011) is of a similar opinion and argues that when the Conservative – Liberal Democrat Coalition government came to power in 2010 and with it suggestions of decreased funding for museums, many cultural professionals began to reminisce about an imagined "golden age" of funding during New Labour's government. In reality, the funding channelled through culture during the New Labour administration, and more specifically to museums, was still a fractional percentage of government expenditure.[75] Similarly, Davies and Selwood (2012) contend that cultural policy is influential on the direction of museum policy within the UK, however, in reality **"when setting funding for the museums that it directly funds, the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) often simply increases or decreases revenue funding for all the museums by the same percentage."**[76] Therefore, although the DCMS requires these organisations to spend a substantial amount of time counting visitors and audience demographics, in essence the findings are arbitrary. Instead, according to Davies and Selwood, the government bases its funding allocation on criteria more related to economic stability than the ability of a museum to evidence external impact.

In line with Davies and Selwood's argument, Dixon (2012) argues that museums are influenced by two major external drivers, the economic cycle and the political cycle. His premise is based on the fact that when there is a healthy economy, government tends to adequately fund culture and, conversely, when the economy is performing poorly, culture takes a cut of funding in the same way as any other publically funded activities. Therefore, the ability to demonstrate impact is important for museums to

[73] Stanziola, J., and Mendez-Carbajo, D. 'Economic Growth, Government Expenditure, and Income: The case of museums and libraries in England'. *Cultural Trends* 10, no.3–4 (2011): pp.243-256.
[74] Ibid. p.254.
[75] Newbiggin, J. 'A golden age for the arts?' *Cultural Trends* 10, no.3-4 (2011): pp.234.
[76] Davies, M. and Selwood, S. 'Editorial: In search of cultural policy.' *Cultural Trends* 21, no.3 (2012): p.202.

ensure they receive investment during times of national economic stability, as during an economic down-turn, funding to museums will be cut irrespective of the ability to demonstrate impact, however, the ability to prove impact does not affect the amount of funding received.[77] In actual fact, then, museums very rarely needed to prove that they had succeeded in delivering the impact they claimed they would because the investment had already been set and the DCMS moved on to new policy areas. This means that evaluation reports and findings delivered by organisations throughout this period have been lost or misplaced, because they served one purpose alone, as a mechanism to demonstrate that money had been acquired and money had been spent, but not to establish true progress and development of the museum sector.

There have also been discussions in the literature about the ability of museums to demonstrate their impact and draw investment into the sector from other avenues. For example, Stanziola (2011) argues that although over the last fifty years there has been a directive from government to support the diversification of museum funding streams away from public dependence and towards private investment. However, he argues that even with this focus, there has been a lack of success in this effort and museums remain reliant on public sources of funding. Stanziola suggests that the inability to attract additional funding streams to publicly-funded organisations has traditionally been attributed to the museum's locality or the organisational structure of the museum, but is actually more likely to be as a result of "organisational infrastructure and attitudes towards innovation and risk."[78] Stanziola suggests that those working in museums, therefore, are actually content to continue with tried and tested methods of delivery, rather than experiment with new ways of working. In contrast, however, Dixon (2012) suggests that museums have been successful in attracting additional funding from other public and private investors:

> Although we think that museums have enjoyed a decade of prosperity, this has not been a direct consequence of government funding, but what museums have been able to leverage from other sources as a result of government funding being in place.[79]

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[77] Dixon, M. 'In search of cultural policy'. *Cultural Trends* 21, no.3 (2012): p.205.
[78] Stanziola, J. "Some more unequal than others: alternative financing for museums, libraries and archives in England." *Cultural Trends* 20, no.2 (2011): p.113.
[79] Ibid.

However, even with this additional funding, it is true to state, as Stanziola does, that museums in England are still largely funded through public finances.

By 2008, the DCMS recognised the issues in measuring impact and conducted a review to establish how cultural impact could better be measured. The review was conducted by Sir Brian McMasters and aimed to identify opportunities to measure the impact of the arts and culture whilst limiting the need for bureaucracy.[80] It concludes that a degree of subjectivity must be present in the measurement of outcomes in the sector based on the knowledge and expertise of those working with the industry. It asserts that there is a need for 'light touch' frameworks that can be driven through self-assessment within individual organisations and marks a shift in government terminology, towards impact evaluation with assessment which is no longer driven by public policy specifically to demonstrate impact for funding purposes, but instead as a tool to empower cultural organisations to define and measure the impact of their services equally on the public and artists they serve.[81]

7.8 Conclusion

Consequently, the ability of a museum to prove impact on wider agendas is important primarily to secure funding. However, evidence of impact in itself is not an indication of the type of funding that will be received, nor is it an indication of the amount of funding that might be attained. The evidence of museum impact to date seems to act more as a guarantee to funders that museums are good and worthy, than of a clear belief that investing in a museum will support external agendas. Thus, the evidence collected and supplied by museums appears to have been more an exercise in bureaucratic procedure on the part of the government, than a considered approach to understand the impact made by museums and fund future activity accordingly. However, cultural policy objectives also influence other public funding bodies, for example the HLF. As a consequence, such funders require bidding organisations to

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[80] Sir Brian McMasters is the former director of the *Edinburgh International Festival.*
[81] McMaster, B. *Supporting Excellence in the Arts: From Measurement to Judgement.* London: DCMS. 2008. p.4. Accessed on March 14th 2013.

prove their impact across relevant agendas. Consequently, because museum funding is not exclusively drawn from central government, the need to respond to cultural policy objectives and demonstrate impact is paramount for funding stability in the long term.

However, to base the need to understand museum impact in the context of cultural policy and funding alone, ignores the needs of the museum sector itself. Only by having a complete grasp on the impact made by museums across different agendas can the profession hope to progress and evolve. Davies and Heath (2013) demonstrate that those working in the museum sector recognise that understanding the impact made by museums is a fundamental aim in supporting both organisational change and financial security.[82] In a world where access to the internet allows individuals to view objects, uncover stories, and learn about the past remotely, museums need to understand and demonstrate what it is about them specifically that makes a visit to a museum unique. Without this, the future of the museum is bleak.

In terms of sport in museums then, the limited literature on the subject has meant that little is known about what impact is made on wider social and economic agendas when museums utilise the subject of sport. In the context of the findings of this chapter then, that renders sport in museums in an extremely vulnerable position. Consequently, the next section will explore the evidence available which demonstrates the impact of sport in museums, and concludes with a detailed case study of the impact of the *Our Sporting Life* exhibition programme.

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[82] Davies, M. and Heath, C. *Evaluating Evaluation: Increasing the Impact of Summative Evaluation in Museums.* 2013.

Chapter Eight: Sport in Museums and 'Impact '

Although chapters three and four of this thesis, demonstrate there has been a substantial amount of museum activity with a sporting theme, and chapters five and seven argue that measuring impact is a priority for museums due to the needs of both cultural policy funding and ideological belief, chapter six demonstrates that, to date, there have been few attempts to measure the impact of these programmes on wider objectives, for example attracting new and different audiences. However, empirical evidence from those working in museums discussed in the preceding chapters of this thesis, suggests that sport in museums does have a significant impact on both individuals and communities. Consequently, a situation exists whereby there is an understanding that sport is a relevant subject for museums and can provide impact across a range of agendas, but there is little evidence which substantiates these claims to appreciate exactly what impact is achieved. Since the focus of cultural policy and funding bodies is predominantly concerned with the ability of the applicant organisation to demonstrate the impact of its services on its user, the absence of evidence of impact is therefore potentially damaging and restrictive to sport in museums.

The literature has attempted on several occasions to demonstrate the impact of sport in museums, for example Phillips and Tinning's (2011) evaluation of the *Between the Flags* surfing exhibition in relationship to educational impact.[1] Phillips and Timmings argue that the production of a sporting exhibition has the potential to support school curriculum delivery and that the value of the exhibition is therefore not purely in its representation of historical fact. This example is the exception, however, and even within museum projects and texts with a particular emphasis on audience engagement, as discussed in chapter five, sporting exhibitions are not used or discussed as a possible opportunity to increase the impact of museums. In addition,

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[1] Phillips, M., and Tinning,R. 'Not just another book on the wall: pedagogical work, museums & representing the past'. *Sport, Education & Society* 16 (2011): pp.51-65.

the lack of consistent evaluation within the museum sector discussed in chapters six and seven means that even where sporting exhibitions are delivered, the resulting outcomes are not measured or shared. This means that the evidence which exists to demonstrate the impact of sport in museums is insufficient and disorganised. Therefore, this chapter will demonstrate that sport in museums has an impact on a range of agendas by drawing together existing evidence of the impact of sport in museums, culminating with a case study of the *Our Sporting Life* exhibition programme to provide a specific example of how sport in museums effects individuals and communities.

8.1 The Economic Impact of Sport in Museums

Chapter seven explored the different types of relevant methodology which can be used to demonstrate the economic impact of museums. Within the museum sector there are only a few organisations which have used this methodology to demonstrate the outcomes of museum activity, in terms of sport in museums then, the examples are even more limited.[2] There are, however, two illustrations of sport specific museums which, although not complete evaluations of economic impact, do provide some evidence that suggests the economic impact of sport in museums, the National Football Museum (NFM), and the National Horse-racing Museum (NHM). The first example is that of the National Football Museum (NFM). Director, Kevin Moore, states that after the museum had relocated to Manchester, he felt it was important to demonstrate to the new museum funding body, Manchester City Council, that its investment in the museum had generated wider economic benefits to the city.[3] However, when Moore asked consultants to provide quotes to conduct such research the estimates were between ten and twenty thousand pounds, a figure which Moore states was well outside of the museums budget and reflects the financial barrier which prevents most museums from conducting this type of evaluation. Consequently, Moore approached the Manchester Chamber of Commerce and asked if they were able to conduct impact evaluation for free. The Manchester Chamber of Commerce is a

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[2] See for example MB Associates. *Investing in Culture and Community*. Norwich: Museum of East Anglican Life. 2011. p.43.
[3] Moore, K. In conversation with the author. January 30th 2014.

not-for-profit private company with a remit to support local businesses prove the impact they make and access funding as a result.[4] Accordingly, understanding the economic impact of the NFM would also support the overall economic impact evaluation of the city as a whole. Christian Spence, Head of Business Intelligence at the Manchester Chamber of Commerce commented that:

> Having the National Football Museum in Manchester is another triumph for the city and draws significant numbers of people from across the world who, though drawn here by football, also then get to experience the fullness of the offer that Manchester has in all its breadth. The contribution the museum made to the city's economy in its first year alone is significant and is only likely to increase in the years ahead.[5]

A key aim for the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, then, is to demonstrate the city of Manchester's benefits to wider investors, or as Spence puts it in comments about economic growth from another of the city's events, the construction of "brand Manchester".[6] For the Manchester Chamber of Commerce to be able to demonstrate that an organisation such as the NFM has been able to significantly increase revenue to the city, supports their argument to local funders and policy makers, which in turn increases investment into the city. The Manchester Chamber of Commerce estimated that the addition of the museum to Manchester contributed £16.8 million to the local economy in its first year of operation between July 2012 and July 2013. Paul Dermody, the Chairman of the NFM commented that this meant:

> For every pound invested by Manchester City Council in the Museum, we have generated more than £8 for the city. We have also attracted media coverage for the city in our first year to a value £16.8 million, reaching 414 million people worldwide.[7]

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[4] Greater Manchester Chamber of Commerce. *About us.* Manchester: Greater Manchester Chamber of Commerse. Date Unknown. Accessed January 31st 2014. http://www.gmchamber.co.uk/about_us
[5] Spence, C. Head of Business Intelligence. Greater Manchester Chamber of Commerce. Quoted on the Greater Manchester Chamber of Commerce website. 2013. Accessed January 31st 2014. http://www.gmchamber.co.uk/stories/new-chamber-figures-show-significant-economic-contribution-of-national-football-museum#sthash.zPLhL1IE.dpuf
[6] Manchester Evening News. *£40 million pound windfall for city as curtain falls on festival bonanza.* 23rd July 2013. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/business/business-news/manchester-international-festival-boosts-citys-5312270
[7] Dermody, P. OBE. Chairman of the National Football Museum. Quoted in an article on the Greater Manchester Chamber of Commerce Website. Online. 2013. Accessed January 31st 2014.

This demonstrates that the economic impact of the NFM is significant when compared to other museum economic impact studies, for example, the National Museums of Scotland which estimated for every one pound invested by the Scottish Government, two pounds were created by the museums service,[8] the Museum of East Anglian Life which demonstrated for each one pound invested, four were created,[9] and the Natural History Museum, London, for every one pound invested, four were created.[10] The fact that the NFM have begun to address the impact of the organisation, and other sport specific museums have not, rests on the fact that it is the only publically funded sport specific museum. As such, the NFM needs to demonstrate the value of the organisation in order to ensure subsequent funding investment from public bodies. Although alone it does not prove that sport as a subject for museums has significant economic impact, it does provide an indication that the topic of sport has the potential to achieve a greater economic impact than other museum subject areas.

The only other example of economic impact of sport in museums the author was able to identify, also provides evidence that sport has a greater potential for economic impact than other museum topics. This example comes from a research project delivered by Share Museums East, a support agency for museums in the East of England.[11] The research aims to establish the contribution of the regions museums to a variety of agendas, including economic impact. The region includes the National Horse Racing Museum (NHRM), based in Newmarket, and the final report states that:

> the National Horseracing Museum has for the second year
> running recorded the highest spend per visit at £17.64 (in 2010-
> 11 the same figure was £22.15). In 2011-12 the overall spend

http://www.gmchamber.co.uk/stories/new-chamber-figures-show-significant-economic-contribution-of-national-football-museum#sthash.zPLhL1IE.dpuf

[8] Biggar Economics. *National Museums Scotland Economic Impact Study – Executive Summary.* Midlothian: Biggar Economics. 2010.

[9] Museum of East Anglian Life (MEAL). *Social return on investment.* Norwich: MEAL. Date unknown. Accessed January 31st 2014. http://eastanglianlife.org.uk/community/projects-and-research/social-return-on-investment.html

[10] London School of Economics. *A report for the Natural History Museum.* London: LSE. 2010. pp.25-26.

[11] Share Museums East. *Report on the Survey Results from 'Benchmarking in the East of England'.* Norwich: Share Museums East. 2013.

per visit for the region was £0.76 (based on 92 museums).[12]

There is no additional information or analysis specifically connected with the NHRM, however, this figure alone demonstrates that the museum is significantly more economically viable than other museums in the region. This is most likely because, as established in chapter four, the visitors to the NHRM tend to be from wealthier backgrounds, and consequently have a higher spending power. Nevertheless, it suggests that sport as a subject for museums has an economic impact, greater than other subjects examined within museums. These two examples are drawn from sport specific museums, rather than the wider museum sector, but they demonstrate that the issues which affect the museum sector as a whole, effect sport specific museums. They also demonstrate that there is a strong possibility that sport in museums has an economic impact.

The existence of these examples allows assumptions to be made about the economic impact of sport in museums, but because they are more a product of accidental research rather than robust sets of evidence data, it is difficult to argue that they provide demonstrative proof of the economic impact of sport in museums. However, measuring social impact appears to be more widely chosen by those working in the museums sector and therefore more evidence exists to support the societal effect of museums, although it is still extremely limited and irregular.[13] Therefore, the next section will explore the evidence which exists to support the argument that sport in museums provides societal impact.

8.2 The Societal Impact of Sport in Museums

In line with the rest of the museums sector, there has not been a consistent methodological approach to social impact evaluation for sport in museums. However, there are examples of attempts at measuring value in these terms. The following illustrations demonstrate that sport in museums has an impact on local communities, individuals, and education agendas. The importance of drawing this information

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[12] Ibid. p.20.
[13] Learning Unlimited. *Evidencing the Impact of the GLOs 2008 – 2013.* Leicester: RCMG, 2013.

together provides evidence that sport as a topic for museum delivery allows the wider museum sector to evidence its impact against social agendas. In turn, this supports an increased opportunity for improved investment.

The Cricketing Heritage of Calderdale and Kirklees project aimed to "explore and celebrate the cricketing heritage of Calderdale and Kirklees, linking it implicitly to the social history of the area".[14] A key aim was to ensure that cricket history was made accessible to as wider audience as possible. Managed by the University of Huddersfield, the project was funded from £43,400 from the HLF and £7,000 of in-kind support from the University itself. The project lead, Davies, commented that the project had two strands, a "traditional" dimension which consisted of exhibitions in museum venues, and a "non-traditional" approach which saw exhibitions without artefacts held in community locations including pubs, post offices, and bus stations. In reality, museums have been delivering exhibitions in these venues for many years and so Davies' belief that they were "non-traditional" is a misconception. However, exploration of the project website demonstrates that the following outcomes were achieved by the project: over one hundred exhibitions held in libraries, museums and community venues; a website, The Cricket History of Calderdale and Kirklees;[15] the establishment of cricket archives at local library services available for public access; resources for schools to embed local cricket history within their delivery of the National Curriculum; cricket orientated heritage trails around the locality; the delivery of three national conferences; publications and research about cricket history; and an ongoing interest in the cricket history of the region from the University of Huddersfield in the form of the Cricket Research Centre. Although Davies states that the programme was a success, and indeed this list of achievements suggests that there most likely was wider social impact on a range of agendas, there is no specific evidence of the actual impact that the project made. The evidence provided consists of a series of quotes, for example, Keith Hudson from Bridgeholme Cricket Club commented that:

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[14] Davies, P. 'Pubs, Post Offices and Police Stations: Bowling the Local Community over with a Cricket Heritage Project'. *Social History Curators Journal* 33 (2009): pp.6.
[15] The Cricket History of Calderdale and Kirklees. Huddersfield: Booth. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/

> Can't thank you all enough or put properly into words what it
> means to me to have this background on the Club I've enjoyed
> right from childhood. Just for background I've lived next to BCC
> all my life, only moving house once - next door -to the house
> nearest the ground. I love it here. Last year I passed a landmark
> for me, passing 10,000 runs at senior level, a fact I would not
> have even noticed if we hadn't been doing this work. Once
> again my heartfelt thanks.[16]

Within this quote there is evidence of an increase in self-esteem, enjoyment, partnerships between sport and heritage, a greater understanding of the past and a greater understanding of locality. However, the evidence that is provided by these quotes is not drawn out in Davies' article and the article ends by stating:

> It was a fascinating and stimulating experience to plan,
> research and then oversee the staging of the community
> exhibitions of 2005, 2006, 2007 and 2008. And there are more
> planned for the future.[17]

Even here, the impact of the programme is ignored. It is almost assumed that it is sufficient to outline the outputs of the programme and list what happened and when. The wider implications of using the projects outcomes to demonstrate the impact of sporting exhibitions in terms of supporting increased audiences for example, and therefore increasing funding opportunities, seems lost. The website suggests that the project seems to have delivered a significant long-term impact in terms of local cricket heritage in the region of Calderdale and Kirklees. Many of the cricket clubs and organisations involved during the first stages of the project are still working with the University and involved in follow-up activity, however, there is no specific evidence of the actual impact achieved. The empirical discussions suggests that significant outcomes were achieved, however, in common with the majority of sporting exhibition programmes, the evidence was neither systematically gathered nor effectively presented to sufficiently demonstrate that the project, and therefore the potential for others like it, had a significant impact on a social agendas.

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[16] Davies, P. 'Pubs, Post Offices and Police Stations: Bowling the Local Community over with a Cricket Heritage Project'. *Social History Curators Journal* 33 (2009): pp.8.
[17] Ibid. p.10.

The Cricketing Heritage of Calderdale and Kirklees project therefore demonstrates that there is a lack of gravitas in evaluating sporting exhibition programmes that reflects the disinterest across the rest of the heritage sector.[18] It also suggests that whilst HLF funded projects are required to define impact at the beginning of the programme, the funding made available for evaluating is minimal because in reality the project was only required to produce a report about the project, and demonstration of impact was not a part of this report. Therefore the process and delivery of impact evaluation, as discussed in chapter seven, is *ad hoc* and presents more of a bureaucratic procedure linked to cultural policy directives, than it does to a meaningful understanding of the impact of cultural activities. However, this is not articulated anywhere which demonstrates that such projects are being delivered making significant achievements, but the measurement and sharing of the impact of these projects is extremely limited.

Another example of a sporting exhibition which suggests impact on social agendas is the Days Gone By Project: The History of Learning Centres in Croydon, initiated and funded by the Open University during 2006 – 2008 to understand more about the history of learning disability.[19] The project aimed to provide an holistic view about the history of learning disability, mainly by the use of collecting oral histories with residents of local learning centres. The project worked in partnership with the Croyden Museum and culminated in a co-curated exhibition based at the museum itself, whereby the people based at learning centres with a range of different learning needs, were involved in the decision making process of what was included within the exhibition. Project Officer, Helen Graham, comments that when the content of the exhibition was being discussed, "most people agreed "sport" should go in".[20] The people who took part in the project seemed to have an affiliation with sport on one of three levels: memories about taking part in sport and winning medals, often on a national stage; those who connected sport to a place in time; and those who had other personal memories of sport and its impact on their lives. Consequently the exhibition had a focus on learning disability sport and the place of sport within the lives of those

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[18] Davies, M. and Heath, C. *Evaluating Evaluation: Increasing the Impact of Summative Evaluation in Museums.* Kings College: London, 2013.

[19] Open University. *The Days Gone By Project*. London: Open University. Accessed January 31st 2014. http://www.open.ac.uk/hsc/research/living-with-disability/history-day-centres/the-days-gone-by-project.php

[20] Graham, H. ''Learning Disability' and Sport'. *Social History Curators Journal* 33 (2009): pp.11.

with learning disabilities. The exhibition included objects, oral history, text panels, and archives and the personal stories of those involved in the project can still be accessed on the museums website.[21] The booklet attached to the project demonstrates that the untold story of many of the Special Olympics[22] and the microcosm of athletic activity taking place in Croydon was uncovered as a result of the project.[23] However, both in Graham's article and on the web pages online about the project, there is no mention of the impact the project had on those involved, or on wider society. Examination of the comments from Graham and those taking part in the project suggest that it increased awareness of local and national history; it improved the self-esteem of participants; and it raised awareness of issues associated with learning difficulties. This impact has not been measured or disseminated to develop the picture of the impact of sport in museums and is really now only present as a few pages available to view on a website. In essence, the impact that could have been demonstrated from this project in terms of social outcomes is significant, but as it stands has been completely ignored. It is again a demonstration of a sport in museums project achieving great things which, within a very short space of time, have been completely forgotten.

A project which has aimed to understand the impact of its activity on wider social agendas is the Scottish Football Museum Reminiscence Project managed by the Scottish Football Museum (SFM) based at Hampden Park in Scotland.[24] Although Scotland is outside of the remit of this study, the theme of the research project is extremely relevant to it. In addition, because there is so little evidence of the impact of sport in museums, it is useful to draw on any studies which do demonstrate potential opportunities for sport in museums in supporting wider agendas. As such, the Scottish Football Museum Reminiscence Project is appropriate subject matter for this study. The SFM holds a wealth of collections and archives about the history and heritage of

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[21] Croydon Museum. *In Our Own Words – Sport*. Croydon: Croydon Museum. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www7.open.ac.uk/shsw/DaysGoneBy/ioow_a7_k4/a7_k4_sport.htm

[22] The Special Olympics aims to improve the lives of people with learning disabilities using sport. Special Olympics. *History of Special Olympics.* London: Special Olympics. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.specialolympics.org/history.aspx

[23] Open University. *Stories of Cherry Orchard, Heavers Farm and Waylands*. pp.12-13. London: Open University. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.open.ac.uk/hsc/__assets/qbw0zopgkfu74nu62n.pdf

[24] Hampden Park is the home of the Scottish National Football Team.

football in Scotland. The SFM approached Museum and Galleries Scotland[25] for funding to deliver an outreach project with sufferers of dementia, a chronic disease of the brain affecting memory[26] and successfully received a "small" grant to conduct the project.[27] The aim of the project was to establish if the use of football reminiscence can impact on the health and wellbeing of dementia sufferers, and if so, to what extent. The project included a range of partners, one of which was Glasgow Caledonian University whose role in the project was to conduct the evaluation. The methodology of the evaluation included the use of observations, interviews, and data analysis, during the period August 2009 – January 2010. Schofield and Tolson (2010) of Glasgow Caledonian University conducted the evaluation and concluded that:

> Football reminiscence has the potential to contribute to the well-being of men with dementia in terms of enhancing their self-confidence, self-expression, sociability, and sense of enjoyment.[28]

Therefore, the findings demonstrate significant impact on those involved in the project directly, their carers, and the staff delivering the sessions. The Scottish Football Reminiscence Project demonstrates significant opportunities to use sport in museums to support dementia sufferers and quantifies the impact achieved through this single project alone.

Thus, significant empirical evidence discussed here and in chapter six suggests that sport in museums makes an impact on individuals and communities. However, the evidence has not been drawn together to provide a picture of the actual impact of sport in museums. This in turn affects the ability of museum staff to raise funds to support the topic of sport in museums because they are unable to elucidate the impact to potential funders. In addition to the examples given above, there have been other discussions in the literature that attempt to define the importance of sport in museum

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[25] *Museums and Galleries Scotland* aims to support, invest in, and enhance museums and galleries in Scotland http://www.museumsgalleriesscotland.org.uk/
[26] Alzheimer's Society. *What is Dementia?* London: Alzheimer's Society. Date Unknown. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.alzheimers.org.uk/site/scripts/documents_info.php?documentID=106
[27] Schofield, I. and Tolson, D. *Scottish Football Museum Reminiscence Project for People with Dementia: A Realistic Evaluation.* Glasgow: Glasgow Caledonian University. 2010. p.9.
[28] Ibid. p.6.

projects, however, they fall short of precisely defining the impact in favour of a generic discussion of how sport can be used in museums.[29] Therefore, the next section will take the case study of the *Our Sporting Life* exhibition programme to demonstrate how sport in museums can be measured to assess its impact for individuals and communities using the Generic Learning Outcomes (GLOs) and the Generic Social Outcomes (GSOs). These frameworks have been chosen because, as addressed in chapter seven, they are familiar to museum staff, are not costly, and demonstrate impact on a wide social scale which is accepted by national funding bodies as a good practice methodology.

8.3 Case Study of *Our Sporting Life*

Our Sporting Life (OSL) developed from discussions within the Sports Heritage Network (SHN) dating back to 2004 about the creation of a touring exhibition programme that would focus on sporting heritage, raising the profile of sporting collections, safeguard their future, and ensure greater access to collections. With the announcement in 2005 that London would host the London 2012 Olympic Games (hereafter London 2012), the SHN decided to develop an exhibition programme that would have a community focus and a national reach in response to the event, aiming to build partnerships across the heritage sector, develop an understanding about sporting collections and where they were held, support museums and archives in utilising their sporting collections more fully, and engage local communities by asking "what does sport mean to you?" Although not originally developed as a reaction to London 2012, *OSL* became one of the key mechanisms through which the museum sector could respond to the event. The overarching programme objectives set by the SHN aimed to support wider policy agendas, such as audience development, education, and tourism, and it situated sport as the central theme. These aims were embedded into an off-the-shelf exhibition framework which included text panels and cases that narrated the story of the nation's sporting past (as illustrated at figure 12 in chapter 2). The SHN approached the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA) for funding and were eventually

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[29] See for example Hill, S. 'I can see the carrot at the end of the tunnel: The Oos! Ahs! and Goals! of Making a Centenary Exhibition for Crystal Palace Football Club'. *Social History Curators Journal* 33 (2009): pp.13-21; Rogers, V. 'Bats, Boots, and Balls: making an exhibition out of a city's sporting history'. *Social History Curators Journal* 33 (2009): pp.29-32.

granted £100,000 in 2008 to manage and deliver a national programme of sporting exhibitions. The resulting *OSL* exhibition programme took place between 2009 and 2012 and delivered over one hundred community based exhibitions, attracting more than one million visitors.[30] The following sections outline the original methodology, approach, and findings from the official evaluation of *OSL*. The data collected for the official evaluation is then used to determine social impact using the GLO and GSO frameworks.

8.3.1 Official Evaluation of *Our Sporting Life*

Due to the fact the *OSL* was directly funded by the MLA, and latterly Arts Council England (ACE), the data to be collected was stipulated in the funding agreement. The *OSL* project took place during the transition period between these two organisations which saw the responsibility and funding for museums transfer from the MLA to ACE. Therefore, the *OSL* objectives were initially set by the MLA, but when ACE took over in 2012, they changed the objectives.[31] The impact measures are defined in Figure 31 as the Key Performance Indicators (KPIs), set by MLA in the first instance for years one and two, and then by ACE for year three.

Figure 31: Key Performance Indicators (KPIs) and Arts council England (ACE) Objectives for *Our Sporting Life (OSL)*

Year 1 and 2: MLA KPIs	Year 3: ACE objectives
No. of sports and clubs engaged	No. of sports clubs and societies engaged

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[30] Sports Heritage Network. *Our Sporting Life Report*. 2013. Unpublished, made available to the author.
[31] In 2010, MLA was disbanded during the "Bonfire of the Quangos" and control for museum activity handed over the ACE. A full list of disbanded quangos can be found at:
http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2012/aug/22/bonfire-quangos-victims-list

Figure 31: Continued

Year 1 and 2: MLA KPIs	Year 3: ACE objectives
Total visitors	Total visitors
No. of exhibitions mounted	No. of exhibitions mounted
No. of new partnerships created	No. of exhibition days
No. of special events by clubs	No. of events/workshops held
No. of open activity weekends	No. of volunteers involved in the project
No. of open activity event day	No. of volunteer hours
No. of schools engaged (facilitated visits)	Total no. of schools engaged
No. of young people under 19 engaged	No. of school visits
No. of young people involved in formal on-site activity	
No. of families participating	
No. of volunteers new to museums	

Source: OSL Interim report.[32]

The KPIs demonstrate that although the policy directives used by MLA and ACE are concerned with the rhetoric of impact, the actual evidence they ask for from funded organisations is based purely on quantitative outputs. It also demonstrates that the funding body has almost exclusive control over the evaluation data captured. There was an opportunity for those leading the project to explore additional areas of impact, but the additional constraints on time and funding this would have occurred, made this difficult. The use of KPIs to measure *OSL*, and the redefinition of these objectives part-way through the project was problematic because they were insufficiently rigorous regarding the collection of specific data. Whilst measuring visitor demographics is a difficult task for museums, particularly when events and activities are delivered as drop-in sessions staffed by people tasked to deliver and not evaluate the programme, the lack of demographic evidence makes it difficult to ascertain whether sporting exhibitions during 2012 encouraged different audiences to visit museums and exhibitions. Furthermore, the change from one set of KPIs to another created confusion, and meant that often data had to be gathered in retrospect. The final evaluation of the project used only the ACE objectives to measure the quantitative outputs, and whilst additional criteria was added to questionnaires to collect information about, for example, the gender of visitors, who they visited the exhibition with, and whether they had visited the museum before, few of the

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[32] King, L. *Our Sporting Life Interim Report.* 2011. Unpublished, made available to the author.

questionnaire returns provided useable data. In essence, however, the final evaluation was actually an advocacy document with the aim of highlighting the potential benefits of sport in museums to attract future funders. As such, although it outlines some issues and concerns, the authors of the report chose, understandably, to ignore many of the problems which faced *OSL* and focus on the potential benefits specifically to ensure increased funding was a potential outcome.[33]

In terms of the evaluation methodology used to capture data then, there was a focus on individual organisation led evaluation, largely due to a lack of specific funding for evaluation. This meant the museums themselves were responsible for collecting the data and supplying it to the central Project Manager, Louise King. Figure 32 illustrates the original programme methodology employed by the project teams to gather information about *OSL.*

Figure 32: Original *Our Sporting Life (OSL)* Evaluation Methodology

What?	When?	How and Who?
Who is engaging with an OSL exhibition or event	During each exhibition or event	Exhibition organiser to carry out facilitated evaluation sessions using the questionnaire provided by OSL team
The quality of the visitor's engagement with an OSL exhibition	During each exhibition or event	Exhibition organiser to carry out facilitated evaluation sessions using the questionnaire provided by OSL team
The effectiveness of the process of putting on an OSL exhibition	After opening of each OSL exhibition (target is within 2 weeks)	Lessons learned meeting between OSL team and exhibition organiser Questionnaire supplied by OSL to be completed by each exhibition organiser
Performance against identified measures of success (MLA's identified KPIs)	Ongoing data capture from start to end of MLA funded activity	Tabulated data collection template with identified KPIs provided by OSL Specific data is collected by each individual exhibition organiser Data is collated by OSL National team

Source: *OSL* Interim Report. [34]

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[33] The final report was made available to the author, but has not been published online. This is indicative of the issues concerning sport in museums whereby a collection of literature about the impact of the subject is difficult to achieve.

[34] King, L. *Our Sporting Life Interim Report.* 2011. Unpublished, made available to the author.

Individual project leads were requested to conduct questionnaires, focus groups, and consultations based on the methodology outlined above to understand how their programmes impacted on individuals and their community. Questionnaires were distributed to all known project leads, but by the time the questionnaires were distributed over twenty percent of the original staff involved had left their posts and, because no suitable other contact could be found, no data could be gathered from these teams. Where project leads were still in post, the information was requested post-project and no sustained relationship had been maintained throughout the delivery of the exhibition. This meant that the lessons learned meetings didn't take place. In addition, half-way through the programme, the funding for the Project Manager ran out and was not replaced by ACE. The absence of a Project Manager to coordinate the evaluation and data capture had a significant impact on the final data set achieved. Comparing the substantial input and data established at the interim report stage where the Project Manager was still in post, with the data set available at the end of the programme, demonstrates the substantial gap this left. In practice, data capture from project teams on the ground was *ad hoc* at best. As addressed earlier in this chapter, this is not just an issue for the *OSL* programme, but a wider concern within the museum sector as a whole.[35] In addition, because of the methodology used, much of the impact on the individual has been provided through the lens of the organisation itself, rather than captured directly or analysed. For example, many organisations did not conduct surveys or focus groups with the participants of their project, but conducted *ad hoc* discussions to inform the data. This means that the individual voice is often not heard within the evidence provided. The lack of funding available for a central evaluation and Project Manager meant that organisations on the ground were left to deliver the evidence and pressures on their time and resources meant that this was often a low priority.

The resulting data provided by the *OSL* project team to the author suggest that an average of 31,047 visitors attended each exhibition, with a total number of visitors overall as 1,148,743. This represents an eight pence per head spend from the initial

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[35] Heath, C. and Davies, M. *Why evaluation doesn't measure up.* London: Museums Journal. June 1st 2012. Accessed June 1st 2014. http://www.museumsassociation.org/museums-journal/comment/01062012-why-evaluation-doesnt-measure-up

investment provided by MLA of £100,000. Although this indicates that sport in museums provides a significant return on economic investment, a significant flaw in the visitor data is the lack of detail on the demographics of those visitors, and therefore any understanding of the type of visitor or, indeed, the impact on visitors. As such, it is only through qualitative research that any assertions can be made about the ability of sport to attract new audiences to museums and the resulting impact. The official evaluation of *OSL* was therefore extremely limited due to financial and personnel restrictions. In addition, it was dominated by the need to respond to the funder's data requirements, rather than focus on the outcomes specifically pertinent to the programme itself and those managing it. Consequently, the evaluation provides little insight in terms of the impact of sport in museums, other than headline quantitative figures, which of themselves establish little. Therefore, the author conducted an in-depth exploration of *OSL* using the existing data and additional survey work, to establish a clearer picture of the impact of sport in museums on wider individual and social agendas. The next section explains the methodology used to conduct the evaluation and the findings of the research.

8.3.2 Coding *Our Sporting Life* to the Generic Learning Outcomes

The limitations of the quantitative data for *OSL* are evident and, therefore, it is necessary to adopt a broader qualitative approach to the evaluation of the programme. Therefore, the author chose to use the GLO and GSO frameworks explored earlier in this thesis to evaluate *OSL* and determine wider individual and social impact. This is because *OSL* is the most extensive sport in museums programme ever conducted and therefore the opportunity to capture impact data from the programme is important to establish what happens to individuals and communities when they interact with museums using sport, primarily to support future development of the topic area and increased investment opportunities. The reason these evaluation frameworks were chosen to evaluate the programme were threefold. Firstly the author has first-hand experience of both employing the frameworks to a range of museum activities and training other museum and cultural sector staff to do so. This ensured that the frameworks would be employed professionally and rigorously. Secondly, the evaluation of social impact using these frameworks has

already proved to be a successful route to securing additional investment for the museum sector.[36] Therefore, the application of the frameworks in terms of sport in museums is both relevant to cultural funding bodies and the museum sector itself. Finally, the information which had been captured through the official evaluation of *OSL* was inadequate to allow an appropriate evaluation of the programme in terms of economic impact. The author was granted access to the raw data used to evaluate the *OSL* project and, in addition, the author conducted online surveys with *OSL* project teams. The surveys were conducted to get a more in-depth view of individual involvement in the projects, the project teams perception of the impact, and further evidence of impact on individuals and communities.

The following discussion explores how activity delivered through *OSL* can be mapped to specific indicators of impact. The *GLOs* provide evidence of impact on the individual and individuals working within organisations through learning opportunities. Figure 33 explains how the tables are structured to provide evidence of impact mapped against the *GLOs*.

Figure 33: Template Example of Coding to the *Generic Learning Outcomes (GLOs)*

Generic Learning Outcome

Indicator	Evidence
Specific learning outcome linked to the project, in this case, *OSL*	Details of how the project demonstrates impact against the specific learning outcome

Source: Author's research

The generic outcome is listed as the heading of each figure. This is the over-arching area of impact that is being measured. The specific outcome indicator can be found in the left –hand column. This suggests the type of impact that could be expected to be seen on individuals involved specifically in this project. The right-hand column provides evidence of the impact itself against the specific learning outcomes.

The author gathered data as discussed above, and coded this data to the *GLOs*. The findings demonstrate that *OSL* achieved significant learning outcomes for

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[36] Learning Unlimited. *Evidencing the Impact of the GLOs 2008 – 2013.* 2013.

organisations and individuals in the *GLO* areas of 'Knowledge and Understanding', 'Enjoyment and Creativity', and 'Activity, Behaviour and Progression'. Figure 34 explores the outcomes for individuals in terms of knowledge and understanding.

Figure 34: Knowledge and Understanding – Outcomes for Individuals

Indicator	Evidence
Individuals will express they have developed a greater understanding of a subject, or have additional knowledge as a result of their experience. **For example:** • **they know more about their local history** • **they understand more about how to care for collections**	***Visitor to Ironbridge Museums:*** **A great exhibition, our family (and friend) now know more about local heroes.** ***Milton Keynes Council:*** **A basic guide to looking after and caring for sporting material was made available to participating sports clubs, organisations and the general public.** ***Tameside Museums:*** **The group handled sporting objects from the museum collection, learnt how the museum develops exhibitions and explored the theme of 'what sport means to me'.**

Source: Author's research

Without more comprehensive surveying of audiences, it is impossible to ascertain whether they gained increased knowledge and understanding of local history and the nation's sporting heritage, largely because the data had to be gathered through project staff, rather than directly through individuals taking part in the project. As such the evidence is mediated and establishing exact changes to individual's knowledge and understanding is difficult to ascertain. Nonetheless, the evidence presented here suggests that interaction with sport in museums, in this case, *OSL*, achieves significant impact on the increased knowledge and understanding for individuals.

In terms of impact on organisations, many stated they had a new breadth of knowledge and understanding about their current collections, which is continuing to inform their collection policies moving forward, and involvement in the programme has seen organisations change their attitudes towards sporting heritage, particularly in relation to the sporting stories from their communities as discussed at figure 35.

Figure 35: Knowledge and Understanding – Outcomes for Organisations

Indicator	Evidence
Organisations will say they have an increased their knowledge and understanding of: – **sporting collections** – **working with communities** – **local stories, figures and history**	*Dorset Museum Service*: "Staging the exhibition raised awareness of the need to reassess the contemporary collections we hold." *Ironbridge Museum*: "We were also able to showcase collection items that had not been displayed before and also to increase our knowledge and interpretation of these objects and archive material. This helped us develop our collections; increase our knowledge and understanding of our collections, local history and local sport." *Manx Museum*: "Although the bulk of the work of the exhibition was undertaken by two Museum core staff, we were very reliant on the expertise of our new sporting contacts." *Surrey Heritage*: "One of our most interesting stories involved the chance find of an historical document that proved to be of international importance and led to the development of a relationship between Surry Heritage and the UK Youth Baseball Association as well as sporting re-enactments, which inspired young people to take up a non-traditional sport."

Source: Author's research

This demonstrates that museum staff are reliant on those with a wider knowledge of sport, as is the case of many subject areas associated with museums, to inform their planning and programme delivery. Once these contacts are established, the flow of information and knowledge between the museum and these contacts can be easily sustained. It also demonstrates that where activity about sport is delivered within a museum environment, there is a likelihood that this will uncover new objects and archives associated with sport. In turn, the new items will provide a greater understanding of the story of sport itself, either within a local, national or international context.

Although, then, OSL achieved a significant impact on increasing knowledge and understanding, it was in response to questions on enjoyment, inspiration and creativity that the greatest impact on the individual can be observed as discussed at figure 36.

Visitors stated that they felt inspired after attending *OSL* exhibitions, having enjoyed learning about their community and stories of sporting heroism.

Figure 36: Enjoyment, Inspiration and Creativity – Outcomes for Individuals

Indicator	Evidence
Individuals will say, or organisations will be able to demonstrate, how the direct impact of the exhibition has: – **contributed to people's enjoyment, or their involvement in the exhibition development** – **inspired people to learn more about the topic, take up a sport, or take a more active role in the museum or community** – **allowed people to be more creative perhaps through involvement in curating an exhibition**	*Visitor, Bowes Museum*: "Thank you for a fun and inspiring exhibition – with history and colour – to motivate the Olympians of the future!" "Very inspiring – an amazing amount of 'fact' made so interesting." *Ironbridge Museum*: "Deborah Brennan-Johnson one of our Paralympic athletes represented in the exhibition - You have done me proud. Thank you." *Manx Museum*: "Visitors were encouraged to engage in sport, to use the equipment and have fun." "Visitors really engaged with the personal stories in the exhibition space, and comments in the visitor book reflected this." *Visitor to* Our Sporting Life *at the Meridian Leisure Centre, Louth, North East Lincolnshire*: "It's great to celebrate local Olympians, it's got me and the kids really excited about the 2012 games."

Source: Author's research

This demonstrates that involvement at an *OSL* event or exhibition, supported different individuals to feel inspired. The evidence establishes that participation in *OSL* increased the enjoyment of different individuals and had a significant effect on their well-being. The findings in this area of participation have largely been provided by the individuals who participated in the events themselves and so provide a more robust understanding of the actual impact on audiences as a direct consequence of an interaction with sport in museums.

The final learning outcome tested reveals a more balanced level of response from both organisations and individuals, with evidence suggesting that *OSL* encouraged a change in behaviour by attracting different audiences. These audiences were then seen to share both objects and memories relating to their community's sporting past for the benefit of future generations as outlined at figures 37 and 38.

Figure 37: Activity, behaviour, and progression – Outcome for Individuals

Indicator	Evidence
Individuals will say, or organisations will be able to demonstrate, that the exhibition has directly led people to explore further opportunities. **This may include taking part in future community exhibitions; supporting the museum in a more pro-active way; taking up new forms of learning; taking up new forms of activities, including sport**	*Visitor, Bowes Museum*: "One of our most enthusiastic partners, George Phelan from the *Durham Amateur Football Trust*, was particularly enthusiastic about the exhibition; we have given him some of the graphic panels on football, which he will use in his work with DAFT." *Surrey Heritage*: "The links with sports clubs has encouraged them to deposit archives with heritage organisations."

Source: Author's research

Figure 38: Activity, behaviour, and progression – Outcomes for Organisations

Indicator	Evidence
Organisations will say that the exhibition supported them to create new partnerships, or new ways of working. That it has led them to create or plan other community exhibitions, further exhibitions about sport, new partnerships, or further opportunities specifically as a result of the exhibition.	*Dorset Museum Service*: "The OSL project was well structured, which aided with the HLF Your Heritage application." "The project has consolidated the links between the museums and paved the way for future projects." *Manx Museum*: "The art was moved to our smaller temporary exhibition space, which was a bold move by the organisation as we might have alienated our traditional visitors. In reality the exhibition was so engaging that we had very few complaints about the movement of the art, and most people thought it was exciting to see such a vibrant exhibition in this prominent gallery." *Ironbridge Museums*: "Our OSL exhibition gave us the opportunity to build on the success of the launch of the West Midlands' Cultural Olympiad event at Ironbridge in September 2008." "This was an innovative and exciting project for the Ironbridge Gorge Museums to undertake as it allowed us to develop new partnerships and build on existing networks. This exhibition also helped us to develop links with the Sports Science

Indicator	Evidence
	department at the University of Birmingham. We will build on the work done with the young curators for future projects, exhibitions and development."
	"The Science of Sport exhibition allowed us to expand our focus in Enginuity and investigate the science and technology behind sports and sporting equipment."

Source: Author's research

The evidence demonstrates, then, that organisations participating in *OSL* have witnessed a significant change in attitude towards not only sport as a subject matter for museums, but also in terms of the relationship of the museum to other community organisations and supported and funding applications to secure additional finances for the museums. In terms of individuals, the findings suggest that *OSL* encouraged a change in object collecting habits which placed artefacts and archives at risk because of poor or inadequate storage. Therefore, as a direct result of *OSL*, individuals which participated in the project are more likely to properly manage, preserve and collect sporting archives and objects than was previously true.

Therefore, there are a significant number of impact outcomes for individuals and organisations as a direct result of *OSL*. The findings demonstrate therefore that organisations delivering sport in museum programmes actually evolve and progress both in terms of collections knowledge of the objects the hold, and attitudinal values towards how they use those collections. In terms of individuals, the evidence suggests that sport in museums attracts new and different audiences, and that those audiences are inspired and supported through increased knowledge. As discussed in chapter five, cultural policy and cultural funding is concerned primarily with the ability of organisations to demonstrate their impact across agendas associated with learning and increased audiences within museums. Therefore, the findings discussed above suggest that sport in museums is entirely relevant to support the delivery of cultural policy and in turn receive increased investment to support greater development in the field.

However, the impact of sport in museums on wider societal issues such as community development and health is also relevant to the evolution of the museum sector and its relevance to cultural policy. Therefore the author conducted a similar approach to code *OSL* against the *GSOs* and determine the impact on social outcomes on communities. The findings are discussed in the next section.

8.3.3 Coding *Our Sporting Life* to the Generic Social Outcomes

The following section discusses the author's findings in terms of how *OSL* impacted on the three GSO areas. As discussed in chapter seven, these areas relate to wider societal outputs and are directly relevant to both cultural policy and cultural funding. As such, the ability to demonstrate the correlation between the impact of sport in museums and these areas significantly increases the chances of additional funding for sport in museums, and an increased awareness of the importance of sport in museums in terms of wider agendas. Figures 39 and 40 explore the impact of *OSL* on the first *GSO* outcome area, 'Stronger and Safer Communities'.

Figure 39: Stronger and Safer communities – Improving Dialogue and Understanding

2nd Tier Indicator	Evidence
Improving group and inter-group dialogue and understanding. **This might be through exhibitions about specific community groups or more community focussed development and programming.**	*Dorset Museums Service*: "The stories were not to be just those of the superstars, but the unsung heroes within the clubs and teams across Dorset." "The partnership of museums across Dorset is stronger as a result of a successful project." *Surrey Heritage*: "By exhibiting in sports grounds, leisure centres, sporting events we reached new audiences."

Source: Author's research

Figure 40: Stronger and Safer communities - Supporting Cultural Diversity and Identity

2nd Tier Indicator	Evidence
Supporting cultural diversity and identity. Examples may include: − **audience development programmes** − **recognition of individual memories and stories** − **focus on local issues and stories** − **highlighting different cultures through exhibition programmes**	*Dorset Museum Service*: "Attracted an audience with a more diverse background than other museum exhibitions." *Manx Museum*: "From 2010 – 2012 we conducted almost 100 recorded interviews with representatives from the Manx sporting community, and used this information to make each interpretation panel very personal." "The exhibition team worked with a broad range of sporting clubs and associations on the Island, in an attempt to tease out the key stories and to tell a complete story of sport on and from the Isle of Man." *Ironbridge Museums*: "Local audiences could share their memories of sport, local heroes and loan items for display."

Source: Author's research

The project partners stated that the programme encouraged stronger and safer communities by reaching new audiences, working together with museum communities to develop exhibitions, and building partnerships with local organisations to tell difficult histories and untold stories of local heroes. Partnerships have been forged to support future projects, and many organisations identified and developed relationships with local communities and individuals. This is a significant outcome of *OSL* because the relationship between museums and their wider communities is a key element in local understanding on the part of both parties, increased support for the museum when local funding priorities are discussed, and a better use of public funding if communities view museums as safe, relevant places to visit. The findings demonstrate that *OSL* supported those working in museums to understand how to more successfully work with different communities. It also supported the development of relationships with these communities which meant that new and different people felt comfortable to share their own personal stories with each other, and visit museums as a result. The findings suggest that the activity established during *OSL* has the potential to support greater understanding between different communities, however long-term studies of the communities involved would need to be conducted

to establish if this effect was maintained. The use of museums as non-threatening venue for communicating stories about individuals and communities is evident in the exhibitions related to *OSL*.

OSL was also found to provide advice on health and wellbeing, with many exhibitions providing information on healthy living and supporting local sports clubs and activities as a means of engaging new audiences as discussed at figure 41 and 42, For example *Dorset Museums Service* stated that their programme on healthy lifestyles with adults with learning disabilities "raised awareness and built confidence of participants".

Figure 41: Health and Wellbeing – Encouraging Healthy Lifestyles

2nd Tier Indicator	Evidence
Encouraging healthy lifestyles and contributing to mental and physical well-being. Examples may include: – **greater access to information about leading healthy lifestyles** – **physical activity programmes** – **programmes specifically targeting mental health**	***Dorset Museums Service:*** **"The adults with learning disabilities performance raised awareness and built confidence of participants".** ***Gunnersbury Park Museum:*** **The Victorian Kitchens was the setting for a Healthy Eating quiz.** ***Milton Keynes Council (MKC):*** **MKC Sports Development team and local sports organisations ran taster sport sessions with the aim of getting people to actively participate in sport.**

Source: Author's research

Figure 42: Health and Wellbeing – Children and young people

2nd Tier Indicator	Evidence
Helping children and young people to enjoy life and make a positive contribution. Examples may include: – **young people curating exhibitions** – **museums expanding their audiences to work more closely with young people** – **programmes developed specifically for young people**	***Ironbridge Museums:*** **"It gave us a unique opportunity to engage new and diverse audiences, to engage young people in the exhibition process and to display previously unseen collection items."** ***National Football Museum:*** **"Ten young people have continued to work with us to develop a new Greater Manchester wide OSL exhibition for the new Museum."** ***Woodhorn Museum and Archive Service:*** **"I found ways and means of engaging young people with content in the archive and the project has enabled me to test first hand models**

Figure 42: Continued

2nd Tier Indicator	Evidence
− opportunities for young people to develop skills and knowledge	of working with young people." **Tameside Museums and Galleries Service:** During 2010-11 the museum service worked with a group of seven young people aged between 17 and 20 years old from V-Involved Tameside. The text panels resulting from their work, along with stunning photographs of the young people taken by a professional photographer, featured in the exhibition.

Source: Author's research

This suggests that a key impact of *OSL* was in supporting agendas associated with health and well-being. Cultural bodies at the time of writing are becoming increasingly interested in the role of culture in supporting health agendas, in particularly demonstrating that cultural organisations are able to support mental health and wellbeing.[37] The evidence explored here, suggests that sport in museums has a contribution to make in this field. However, the main area of success was in helping children and young people to make a positive contribution to public life, with many projects allowing young people to curate exhibitions and lead decision making. *Ironbridge Museums* stated that *OSL* "gave us the unique opportunity to engage new and diverse audiences [and] to engage young people in the exhibition process." Plans to integrate this into future activities have been introduced at some of *OSL*'s partners and therefore the involvement of staff with the OSL project has supported long-term attitudinal change and organisational growth of those museums involved.

Finally, a key impact from *OSL* was its role in strengthening public life. Figure 43, 44, 45, and 46 explore the impact of *OSL* on a range of outcomes associated with making communities stronger and active.

Figure 43: Strengthening Public Life – Local Decision Making

2nd Tier Indicator	Evidence
Encouraging and supporting awareness and participation in local-decision making and	*Manx Museum*: "The bulk of the artefacts on display were items on loan to us from the sporting community."

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[37] See for example UK Medial Collections Group. *Delivering Health Outcomes.* Leeds: UK Medical Collections Group. Date unknown.

Figure 43: Continued

2nd Tier Indicator	Evidence
wider civic and political engagement. Examples may include: − **community exhibitions** − **new objects accessioned to collections from community involvement** − **greater consultation with the public**	"We have developed strong links with our sporting community, and have received donations to our social history collections as a result."

Source: Author's research

Figure 44: Strengthening Public Life – Building Capacity

2nd Tier Indicator	Evidence
Building the capacity of community and voluntary groups. Examples may include: − **supporting volunteer led exhibitions** − **encouraging community involvement in museum exhibitions** − **supporting volunteer skills development**	*Visitor, Bowes Museum*: "The exhibition would not have happened without volunteer pressure at the outset and their continuing enthusiasm and commitment." "The Friends' local knowledge and connections were a great asset." *Surrey Heritage*: "In some cases the events were largely run by eg a museum or village cricket team, with us providing costumes, publicity and the exhibition. These were often entirely volunteer run, local events." *Manx Museum*: "We therefore felt that the sporting community volunteered as guest curators throughout this process." *Dorset Museums Service*: "The community museums are all run by volunteers so their exhibitions were completely volunteer led. Dorset County Museum logged over 500 volunteer hours from curatorial assistants, proof readers, exhibition installation and take down."

Source: Author's research

Figure 45: Strengthening Public Life – Community Empowerment

2nd Tier Indicator	Evidence
Enabling community empowerment through the awareness of rights, benefits and external services. Examples may include: − **the development of focus groups and consultation opportunities with the public**	*Dorset Museums Service:* "The community responded with time, energy and commitment." "Stronger links with the community, the participant's contributions were clearly evident in the exhibition."

Source: Author's research

Figure 46: Strengthening Public Life – Improving Responsiveness

2nd Tier Indicator	Evidence
Improving the responsiveness of services to the needs of the local community, including other stakeholders. Examples may include: − **the development of focus groups and consultation opportunities with the public developing new ways of working to include public opinions** − **providing the public with opportunities to inform museum practice**	*Bowes Museum*: "The exhibition was unlike other exhibitions at the Bowes Museum. A community exhibition has not been staged during the life of the current Trust." *Ironbridge Museum*: "We are continuing to build links and relationships with the local community through consultation and focus groups for specific projects and events."

Source: Author's research

The findings suggest that *OSL* encouraged participation from volunteers in all areas of exhibition development and delivery, and many organisations worked with new volunteers. At the time of writing, a key element of government policy as a whole is the use of volunteers in supporting public services.[38] The evidence suggests that sport in museums can support the delivery of this agenda. In addition, *OSL* allowed museums to work in a new way with their communities, opening spaces for community exhibitions which told the story of the locality, and inspired communities to feel part of

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[38] See for example Cabinet Office. *Promoting Social Action: Encouraging and enabling people to play a more active part in society.* London: The Cabinet Office. March 27th 2014.

the venue. Furthermore, the development of a sense of ownership over work can be been identified as a way to assert the role of consultation groups and audience forums. Finally, the evidence suggests that involvement in the project changed the way museums work. Specifically, because many museums needed the support of local communities to deliver the exhibitions either because of knowledge or collections gaps, museum staff needed to identify relevant local communities and establish new methods of working with them. These methods often meant that the communities were as essential to the project as the museum, leading to a shared sense of ownership in the final result. Although similar results could be made through other subject areas, because sport is linked to many communities which do not already visit museums, the evidence here suggests that sport in museums has a significant impact on the strengthening of public life and public involvement in museum activity.

8.4 Conclusion

The findings above appear to suggest that the outcomes of *OSL* are overtly positive however, there are a number of key factors which may have influenced the selected quotes and therefore the overall results of the programme. In total 39 respondents returned an evaluation form to the *OSL* project manager, all of which were made available to the author. The respondents were the organisers of *OSL* exhibitions in museums across the country. This meant that any quotes from visitors were not captured directly by the *OSL* team, but through a range of different methodologies used by the exhibition leaders on the ground. Consequently, vastly different methods were employed to capture information about the exhibitions. This in itself means that how audiences were asked to report their experience of the exhibition, varied from one site to another. In terms of the evaluation report itself, although mainly focused on quantitative measures, the respondents were also asked to "Describe what you did and how you adapted *OSL* locally" and "How did the process of putting on the *OSL* exhibition work and what could have been done better".[39] Because the form was created to justify the investment given from Arts Council England, and not influenced by the author, it did not specifically ask the respondents to provide information about

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[39] OSL evaluation form. Unpublished, made available to the author. 2012.

learning and social outcomes. Consequently, the respondents when discussing their exhibitions, were more likely to only mention learning and social outcomes in terms of positive findings mixed within the rest of their evaluation submission. This meant that the author was responsible for drawing out the quotes which related to social and learning outcomes. Indeed, although the responses did provide some negative aspects in terms of hosting the exhibition in general, in relationship to the learning and social outcomes of relevance to the evaluation outlined here, the responses were only positive. This could be a consequence of a visitor being more likely to provide a positive answer than a negative one, in essence giving the answer they think the interviewer wanted to hear rather than a more realistic opinion. There is also the potential that the respondents sifted the answers provided to the *OSL* project manager to include only positive quotes about the social and learning experiences of themselves and their audiences.

The author also conducted a further 11 telephone conversations with *OSL* exhibition team leaders to discuss their experiences and explore in more depth the social and learning outcomes experienced. The interviews were freeform and allowed the interviewee to express as much or as little as they wished about their experiences. However, even with direct questioning about social and learning outcomes, the responses were overwhelmingly positive, again suggesting that the *OSL* exhibitions provided significant opportunities for non-formal learning and a range of social outcomes for both audiences and organisations. The responses could again however be attributed to a certain amount of selection on the part of the interviewee, choosing to provide only positive answers, in essence providing the interviewer with what they think they want to hear. There is the potential that some respondents felt that by including negative statements about their activity it would reflect badly on their service and their ability to deliver projects, however, there were no financial repercussions to the organisations, and the findings were only ever to be shared within the *OSL* project manager and within an advocacy document, so this was unlikely to have had a significant bearing on the findings. Therefore, the fact that both those returning evaluation forms and those discussing their findings with the author remained consistently positive about these particular outcomes suggests that, even allowing for a certain amount of positive selection, *OSL* is a clear example of the

potential of sport in museums to deliver outcomes which support learning and social development.

Therefore, the evidence discussed in this chapter demonstrates that sport in museums has a significant contribution to make to both wider social and economic agendas. However, the general disinterest in evaluation in the museum field has meant that there is a lack of understanding about how to measure impact and the importance of doing so. This is reflected in the practice of sport in museums, where little evaluation is conducted, and the findings of any research are not shared with the other interested parties. This means that even where evidence exists, it is isolated and fails to support a bigger argument of that sport in museums can impact on the objectives of cultural policy. Consequently, although there is, and has been, a substantial amount of museum programming concerning the topic of sport, the existing evidence for both wider economic impact and wider social impact is scarce. Consequently, building a picture of the impact of sport in museums is both difficult and time-consuming. Therefore, the author conducted an in depth evaluation of the *OSL* programme to increase the understanding of the value of sport in museums. The evaluation of impact against the GLOs and GSOs demonstrates that *OSL* achieved significant societal impacts. As a result of the programme, many museums unearthed new artefacts which were then accessioned into their collections and previously unrecorded oral histories were captured from sports players, club staff, fans and people living near sports stadia. Exhibitions focused on local social histories and increased the understanding of the role that sport plays in inter-generational communication, changes to the landscape, and changes in attitudes and values towards sport. Involvement in the project was cited as an opportunity to celebrate the sporting heritage of museum communities and the recreation of old and valued sporting traditions have inspired schools, young people, adult learners and other community members to participate, research, teach and learn about their own history and heritage. The building of partnerships and the development of innovative engagement practices have shown that *OSL* could be developed into a model of best practice for future touring exhibitions, particularly in relation to major sporting events.

The findings of the author's evaluation of *OSL* combined with the additional evidence provided at the beginning of this chapter therefore demonstrates that sport in museums has a significant impact across a range of outcome areas. The challenge for future activity will be the ability to consistently evidence the impact of sport in museums and ultimately analyse the long-term effect on societies when they are engaged in activity connected to sport in museums. In turn, the ability to evidence this impact should provide those interested in, and working within, the fields associated with sport in museums with a coherent argument that supports increased funding to the subject area, and continues to alter the attitudes of those who still believe that sport is not relevant as subject matter for museums.