

TAAVI TATSI

Transformations of museum-embedded
cultural expertise



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Institute of Journalism and Communication, University of Tartu, Estonia

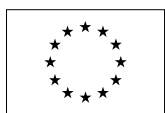
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LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

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- Study II:** Tatsi, Taavi. (2011). Identity Struggles of Museum Professionals: Autonomous Expertise and Audience Participation in Exhibition Production, *Journal of Ethnology and Folkloristics*, 5 (2) 2011, pp 65–80.
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- Study I:** The author conducted the data gathering through participatory observation and participated in formulating the research question, data analysis and writing the manuscript.
- Study III:** The author formulated the research question, selected and analysed the data as well as wrote most of the manuscript.
- Study IV:** The author has participated in the design and implementation of the research interventions as well as in writing the manuscript.

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INTRODUCTION

Why should media and communication studies look at museums? The issues around museums that influence their actualities and agendas are multifarious, covering an immense range of topics such as audience engagement (Black 2005); access and empowerment (MacDonald 2006, Burch 2010, Golding 2009); nationalism and national identity (Mason 2007, Knell 2010); emerging information society and active audiences (Runnel and Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt 2010); participation and power (Carpentier 2011a); technologisation (Parry 2007); implications of the new media (Simon 2010); leisure marketing (e.g. Witcomb 2003), etc. On the one hand, a noticeable array of museological literature has raised the debate over how museums should change in order to meet contemporary social needs. On the other hand, many of these potential changes are deeply embedded in communication issues. The driving agenda behind the initiation of the debate is often generally referred to as ‘new museology’ (Vergo 1989, Hooper-Greenhill 1992, Marstine 2005). According to new museology advocates, the social role and purpose of the museum needs rethinking along the lines of public participation, marketing and inclusivity. From the perspective of communication studies, a more networked and dialogical communication is implied by the revolutionary transformations in communications (Castells 2010a). The social technologies of web 2.0 also raise expectations towards museums to respond to the changes (Simon 2010).

Since the 1970s, a significant and increasing number of studies concerning museums have focused their attention on rethinking their professional priorities and the relationship with the public they are intended to serve. The traditional museum is often portrayed in these studies as anachronistic (Vergo 1989) and not coping with the apparent changes in the contemporary socio-cultural situation. Consequently, the danger of museums losing their relevance to the public is deemed imminent. The internal resources and assets which have been the primary components by which the museum is evaluated are now required to provide clear benefits (Watson 2007) and social relevance (Fyfe 2006) for the contemporary public.

The aim of this dissertation is to analyse the **identity formation of expertise** in museums in the context of a multi-layered and contingent transformation of the Estonian National Museum. The impact of **participation** of community groups/individuals is seen as a major element in this transformation process. The most significant paradigmatic perspective that has driven this study is a constructivist understanding of the contingency of the expertise in museums, and especially so in the context of transformation. While bound to its hegemonic traditional formation, the expertise embedded in museums is not completely immune to the transformative potential offered by contemporary participatory communication. An important component of this transformation in the particular research context is the usage of ‘activist’ **research interventions**, which also have a normative character. The interventions are aimed at

integrating reflexivity into the fundamental methods museums employ to build their communicative relationship with the public. The process of attempting to make power-sharing possible and to facilitate audience participation is part of a larger role change for a museum of national scale.

My research has had a particular setting that has constituted its starting point, data source and also the output direction: the Estonian National Museum (ENM). This large folk/ethnographic museum, which is over 100 years old, has been undergoing a major set of transformations that have been framed by the processes of planning and (long-awaited) construction of its own proper museum building which, ideally, should take into account all the requirements for a proper contemporary museum.

Apart from the disciplinary and theoretical legitimization, professional issues and cooperation in a larger research framework has led to the undertaking of this study. Initially, the research design was based on making the intellectual effort to participate in the planning processes not only as a museum professional but also as a reflexive observer/ethnographer. Working at the museum since 2006 first as exhibition manager and later as a researcher meant that in addition to fulfilling the professional tasks it was necessary to assume a dual role: studying the museum processes as well as being part of the decision-making and activities. Thus, as a researcher, I have not been a neutral observer but participated in the processes under study. Sometimes this meant inevitably taking more of an observant position, but at times also influencing the research object by assuming the role of the participation facilitator (especially in one of the research interventions under study – the ‘Open Curatorship’ project). Gradually the research narrowed multifarious issues down to the formation of the **identity of museum-embedded cultural expertise**. The ‘newness’ of a museum can be conceived in many different ways but in this research it is constituted by the transformation of that particular expertise and the influence of participatory museum communication on that identity.

Museum-embedded cultural expertise, as a form of a contingent social identity includes curatorship and collections – two functional particularities first and foremost associated with museum-like institutions. Any social identity is formed by both individual and collective factors, gaining its stability from being based upon certain similarities and differences (Jenkins 2008). Social identity as a ‘subject position’ is discursively organised around these similarities and differences – markers of meaning which are never ‘essentially’ predetermined (Laclau and Mouffe 1985). For example, the social identity of a curator in a historically ethnographic museum such as the ENM has involved the marker of knowledge on a specific subject matter (such as historic material artefacts) but not necessarily yet the marker of participatory production skills of exhibitions where members of the associated public take part in crucial decision-making over the concept, content or budget. The subject position of museum expertise and the influence of audience participation on it are the main focus of Study II (museum professional) and Study III (museum collections).

This study is also part of a larger research group activity launched in 2009 and including two other PhD projects (by Krista Lepik and Agnes Aljas) on related topics. The research is centred on (but not limited to) the developments at the Estonian National Museum. In terms of its research design it resembles **insider action research** because of its interventionist agenda (Study IV giving a methodological overview of these aspects). The research design of this study also includes interventions – actual experimental participatory actions – within the Estonian National Museum. Taking part in the development processes related to the exhibition production in the new building allowed me to superimpose some of the insights and experiences gained from the intervention processes and the reflexive analysis.

The research discussed in this paper is divided into a cover article and four publications that focus on different aspects of the overall research aim:

The cover article, apart from its summarising function, also synthesises and slightly expands the arguments developed in the publications related to the PhD project. The problem-setting focuses on explaining the relevance of ‘the museum issues’ for communication. In order to do that, I will first introduce the Estonian National Museum as the site for research, and then discuss the two socially relevant transformations affecting the museum today: the communicative and the participatory. The chapter on **societal transformation** gives an overview of the theories and perspectives that concern the very general context of the museum in contemporary society. The discussion about **communicative transformation** brings the focus closer to the research object through an important aspect: namely, how a more complex communication model that is sensitive to the voices of active communities and their representatives makes the museum a more social, socially relevant place. The chapter on **participatory transformation** zooms in even further by defining participation through power relations and thematising implications of these relations for museum-embedded cultural expertise. The theoretical introduction will end with a discussion of the social identity of **cultural expertise**. The cover article then will continue to introduce the research questions and discuss the method and ideas of data gathering. The findings section will summarise and expand the studies and will conclude in the discussion section to indicate some of the major changes within the context of this thesis.

Study I is about the authorship of the national museum space and audience participation: the research questions of this PhD project are implied in the problem of whether and how audiences participate in “authoring the nation” – the (mainly architectural) innovation of a museum that has been one of the most important symbols in the national memory.

Study II takes a closer look at the implications of audience participation for the identity of the museum professional on the formation of cultural expertise in museums and revolves around the question of how the more ‘traditional’ curatorial identity forms in the development of exhibitions and which (new)

horizons open up when audiences are given more power in key structural decisions in museums.

Study III focuses on the implications of audience participation for the formation of museum collections. It employs the research question to problematise the structural procedures that legitimise existing and (especially) new objects in museum collections. Again, the key question here is whether and how audience participation can have an impact on collection formation procedures.

Study IV is an analysis of intervening in the museum structure and processes through research interventions. While being a methodological reflection in nature, the analysis also helps to shed light on the means by which data was generated for this PhD project.

I. SETTING THE PROBLEM

I.1. Situating the Estonian National Museum as a site for research

“The act of creating an institution like a national museum has been and continues to be an act of assertion: a gesture designed to claim recognition for a given identity and an attempt to translate a set of intangible beliefs about the special quality of a certain cultural group into an identifiable, material and visible presence.” (Mason 2010: 247)

The Estonian National Museum has a special place in Estonian national consciousness because of its role in the formation of national identity. It is an ethnographic museum, the backbone of which consists of artefacts representing the native peasant culture of 19th century Estonian regions. According to Piret Õunapuu, a scholar of the history of the ENM, the inspiration for an ethnographic national (literally “folk” or “peoples”) museum of Estonia came from Finland, other Nordic countries and Russia. Its creation in 1909 was surrounded by the overall consolidation of national consciousness under the rule of the Russian tsarist regime and decisive action was taken in order to commemorate Jakob Hurt, whose folklore collection campaigns began to form one of the crucial components of Estonia’s own cultural heritage. Led by artists and the intellectual elite of the era, collecting artefacts consolidated the base of museum collections (Õunapuu 2011).

The table below (Table 1) sums up the historical context and factors that continue to influence the Estonian National Museum. Table 1 draws on sources such as the ENM 100th anniversary book (Õunapuu 2009), the chronology of the ENM that was compiled for the architectural competition brief in 2005 as well as Virve Hinnov’s overview of the ENM’s art collections (Hinnov 1984). The facts are selected on the principle of pointing out the historical landmark events (in the table marked with H), the formation of the museum as a modern institution that has continuously functioned without a proper building designed to house a museum (in the table referring to ‘space’ with S). Other important elements point to the roots of the social and cultural role of the ENM, for example the large-scale public collection campaigns that have led to a large depository of objects and public exhibitions. In addition to that, other modes of public engagement and participation (such as the Network of Correspondents) are taken into account (in the table referring to ‘the participatory’ with P).

Table 1. The Chronology of the Estonian National Museum¹. Historical landmark events of the museum are marked H, spatially relevant events S and participatory milestones with P (Õunapuu 2009, Hinnov 1984, The Estonian National Museum and Estonian Architects Union 2006).

19th century	H	<i>The area of present day Estonia is part of Tsarist Russia.</i> The German-Baltic nobility continues the legacy of centuries of colonisation initiated by the Teutonic order in the 12 th century.
1888	P	At the time of national awakening, a widespread folklore collection campaign is initiated by Jakob Hurt (the ENM would later be dedicated to his memory).
1909	H	Establishment of the Estonian National Museum in Tartu by the prominent figures of Estonian national cause.
1911	S P	First ENM exhibition in Vanemuine theatre (Tartu). The Museum decides to provide weekly public access to its storage spaces.
1911–1913	P	Intense period of publicising the museum through active volunteer collecting and donating, resulting in a total of 20 000 objects and thousands of photos. Temporary exhibitions at parish centres after collecting, as well as at public fairs, including the Home Handicraft Exhibition in the capital of the empire, St. Petersburg (1913).
1913	S	Temporary rooms in downtown Tartu.
1918–1940	H	<i>Period of the Republic of Estonia.</i>
1922	H S	Finnish ethnographer and museum developer Ilmari Manninen is invited to become the first director. The nationalised Raadi manor is given to the ENM.
1922	H	Systematisation of the collection. A: Estonian; B: Finno-ugric; C: Foreign peoples
1923	H	The idea of ‘a universal museum’ is realised in 5 departments, with ‘The Ethnographic’ being prominent.
1923	S	The first exhibition at Raadi estate halls. One tenth (2000) of the whole collection of ethnographic objects is displayed in 4 rooms, respectively: wooden objects, women’s handicraft, folk costumes and tools. The visual arts exhibition (deposited from various local sources) in 7 rooms, curated by the ENM arts department. Overall dominated by the canonical Western Art, “Art in Estonia” in the white hall includes works by three artists of Estonian origin.
1923	P	First annual ethnographic questionnaire (Folk costumes) compiled by director Manninen to facilitate data gathering during fieldwork.

¹ For a short history of the national museums in Estonia, see Kuutma 2011 (available online).

1925	P	First questionnaire (the geographic spread of ethnographic phenomena) sent to schools, responses by headmasters/teachers from 1021 schools.
1927	S	Permanent exhibition opens at Raadi manor: the ethnographic part is expanded considerably into 20 manor halls with an additional archaeological display (2 rooms). Materials from the Jakob Hurt archive of the first nationwide folklore collection campaigns from the late 19 th century arrives back in Tartu from Helsinki and the Estonian National Folklore Archive opens its doors to the public.
1928	S	Two display spaces on Finno-Ugric cultures open at Raadi.
1931	P	The Correspondents' Network is launched, following the successful examples of neighbouring countries. By April 1932, 241 responses had reached the museum (The Estonian Folklore Archive launched their network in 1928).
1930s	H	Exhibitions on Estonian Ethnography and exchange of objects with other museums around Europe. The museum is increasingly involved in the folk culture propaganda campaigns initiated by the national government.
1940–41		<i>Soviet occupation of Estonia</i>
	H	Objects pour in from liquidated organisations (2000 objects, over 10 000 photos, etc.). Nationalisation of museums. The ENM is divided into the Ethnographic and the Literary museum.
1941–44		<i>The German occupation of Estonia and the Second World War</i>
1943	H	Evacuation of the collections to rural manors, ignoring the order of the German authorities to take the objects to Germany.
1944	S	The Soviet army takes Estonia under its control by the end of the year. Raadi manor is destroyed, along with 2000 ethnographic objects. Raadi area is to become a Soviet military air force base.
1945–1949	S	The museum relocates into a former courthouse in Tartu. The museum's ethnographic exhibitions increasingly include Soviet slogans and portraits of Soviet leaders.
1950–53	H	Purge in Estonian educational research and cultural sphere. The collections of the ENM are also 'cleansed' and parts are divided among other museums.
1952–55	H	The Baltic ethnographic-anthropological expedition led by The Ethnographic Institute of the SSSR Academy of Sciences.
1953	H	"19 th Century Estonian Folk Art" exhibition opens, with a section called Contemporary Uses of Folk Art added in 1955 to meet ideological requirements.

1957	P	Exhibition called “Folk Art of the Finno-Ugric Peoples” opens. Network of Correspondents is revived and expanded (also thematically). 79 contributions are submitted by 44 different correspondents for the Museum’s 50 th anniversary competition on ethnographic data, in 1959.
1958	H	Large-scale collecting resumes, including detailed documenting of rural buildings (data processed in the 1960s on Tartu University’s Ural 4 computer).
1959	H	First large-scale exhibition after WWII: “50 years of the Ethnographic Museum”, with 2693 objects on display.
1961	H	Ethnographic filmmaking starts.
1964	H	Production of travelling temporary exhibitions begins.
1965	H	Annual expeditions to Finno-Ugric peoples begin. The number of objects in the Finno-Ugric collection increases from 1500 (1961) to 9000 (1990).
1968	S	Museum storage expansion to the rooms of Tartu churches begins.
1970s	H	Research on ‘contemporary everyday life’ starts.
1986	S	The restoration of the museum at Raadi is discussed.
1988	P	At the forefront of political upheavals, the original name of the museum is restored. 5000 signatures collected in support of the restoration of the museum at Raadi.
1991		<i>Restoration of the Republic of Estonia</i>
1993	S	Architectural competition for the new ENM building, the location of which was Tartu city centre. The Jury, comprised of the Estonian Architects Association, chose the “Northern Frog” by Estonian architects Ra Luhse and Tanel Tuhala from over 30 entries. First issue of ENM’s foreign language journal Pro Ethnologia.
1994	H	Opening of the ENM exhibition house and the permanent exhibition, called “Estonia. Land, people, culture” in the former Soviet Railroad Worker’s Club building. 2100 museum objects are on display. Temporary exhibition halls open a year later. Formation of the Friends’ Society of the Estonian National Museum.
1996	S	The Estonian Parliament decides to build the new Estonian National Museum after the buildings of the Estonian Music Academy and the Estonian Art Museum are completed.
2000	S	Construction of the Raadi storage complex begins.
2001	S	Restoration of the Raadi estate park initiated.
2003	S	Estonian government decides to locate the construction site of the new ENM building once again to Raadi and preparations for an international architectural competition begin.

2005	S	108 entries are submitted to the architectural competition
2006	S	Winners of the architectural competition are declared: Dan Dorell, Lina Ghotmeh and Tsuyoshi Tane of DGT architects with a project called “Memory Field”.
2007	S	The contract for designing the new museum building is signed with DGT architects in the Ministry of Culture. Later in 2007, the architects present their design solution.
2008	S	Preliminary design of the ENM new building is presented.
2009	S, P	<p>The main design of the new building is presented. Contracts signed with permanent exhibition designers.</p> <p>The research project “Museum Communication in the 21st Century Information Environment” is launched.</p> <p>ENM 100th anniversary. The “Donate a Day to the Museum” public campaign brings 450 contributions describing an ‘ordinary day’.</p>

While Study I provides some additional local context for understanding the museum’s position at the beginning of the 21st century, one needs to keep in mind the preceding and parallel museological developments in neighbouring Scandinavia and in countries with similar postcolonial histories. Hillström (2010) has discussed scandinavianism and the rise of the domestic folk culture museums where the Scandinavian countries took the lead in Europe. Krista Aru, the present director of the museum has emphasised the social reform agenda of the founders of the museum that led to large scale collecting campaigns of folk artefacts and also to the founding of a central library in the Estonian language (Aru 2009: 651–652). The participation of the general public was, according to Aru seen in three modes: donating objects, preserving objects for the future “as they are” and organising fundraising parties (Aru 2009: 653). Previously, in Sweden, Hazelius also clearly had a social reformist agenda in mind with his Skansen, hoping to “remake the Swedish society” (Bäckström 2010: 69) by “blend[ing] the Romanticism of the early nineteenth century with contemporary Darwinism” (Bäckström 2010: 84) into a museum that would function as a “feminine social and emotional space for patriotic love, reverence and sympathy” (Bäckström 2010: 69). Bella Dicks has pointed out the “myth of the folk” (Dicks 2004: 156) to be one of the values that laid the foundation of displaying “the vanishing, domestic other within” in a museum setting (Dicks 2004: 156).

Keeping in mind the fact that present day Estonia was subject to colonial rule, some comparative perspectives help to contextualise the developments of national museums among the non-settler postcolonial nations. Kirwan (2010) has pointed out that once independent, the non-settler postcolonial nations are

characterised by a “small but significant elite” (Kirwan 2010: 448) who tend to construct a primordial golden age and spiritual superiority over the coloniser through a cultural nationalism. Such cultural nationalism leads to homogenising national narratives and leaving much less consideration to different minorities (Kirwan 2010). In a seminal account of the formation of nationalism, Benedict Anderson (2006) reflected upon these processes in South-East Asia, saying that it was influenced by the development of modern schooling, hierarchisation of natives and the ways in which the descendants of European colonisers employ museums as a means of making the land their home. When the colonies gained independence they continued political museumising along very similar lines, reproducing and logoising their culture for public consumption (Anderson 2006 [1983]: 180–183). Estonia and its museums are in a particular situation: after a brief period of independence in the early 20th century that followed a long period of colonisation, they fell subject to the strong and controversial influence of Soviet modernisation that lasted 50 years. As a result of the rupture caused by the Soviet occupation and the Second World War, the ENM was ‘mutilated’, parts of its collections either destroyed or divided between different museums. Apart from ideological pressure, the museum had to continue functioning without its own proper building. Even after the restoration of national independence in 1991, the museum continued its existence in temporary premises and waited for its spatial **restitution** through a building of its own.

In order to fully comprehend the tension in national consciousness triggered by the choice of the jury of the architectural competition for the new museum space and building (Study I), it is also important to take into account the role of primordial, single-culture nationalism. It has prevailed in the social agendas that national museums in Europe were founded upon (Watson and Sawyer 2011), as well as in Estonian museology up to the present century (Raisma 2009). The ENM has clearly played a role in the development of the ‘primordial’ national consciousness and the accompanying decolonisation and postcolonial processes. The practices and ideas of the way a (national) museum constructs and uses cultural artefacts and narratives have been accordingly embedded through decades by both the audiences and professionals. The bold architectural design and the research interventions disrupted the primordialist national narrative and raised a question about the possibility of the ENM becoming the locus of ‘decolonisation’ from the more hegemonic discourses of ethno-romantic nationalism. It is not a common trend in European National Museums to be oriented towards a multi-cultural approach (Aronsson 2011: 1; Aronsson and Elgenius 2011: 14–16). The multiculturalist drive to involve communities does not make a significant use of the pasts but relies on ideas that emphasise the present, such as universal human rights and civic participation (Aronsson and Elgenius 2011: 16–17). While this study does not explicitly analyse the transformation of the discourses of nationalism in museums, issues of participation are related to the matter implicitly.

Anglo-American theorists read it as a healthy sign when the “private” museum space gradually opens up to public scrutiny (Marstine 2006: 27). The construction of new museum institutions in Central and Eastern Europe today, however, tend to be driven much less by the local civic society than the interests of public authorities and neoliberal market actors. These new institutions all consequently tend to function as symbolic monuments for the new social order established since the beginning of the 1990s (Tali and Pierantoni 2008: 243, 259–260). Given the situation, might it be utopian to fantasise about the ENM transforming along the contemporary ‘Western’ lines of museo-theoretical thinking to a “more democratic, open-ended ‘third space,’ beyond elitism and consumerism” (Prior 2002: 68, quoted in Marstine 2006: 27)? Rhiannon Mason’s (2010: 255) case study on the National Museum of Wales has made it evident that the “internal, practical and microcosmic reasons” can also considerably affect change in such museums. The research interventions in the Estonian National Museum can be viewed as an attempt to integrate the macro-level transformations – analytically distinguished below as the social, the communicative and the participatory – into a process of museum reinvention. This study looks at that reinvention with a particular focus on the developments regarding cultural expertise.

1.2. The societal context of museological transformations

1.2.1. The social transformation

Janet Marstine (2006: 2) has – rather normatively – summarised the shifting position of museums in our social context by saying that “museums are not neutral spaces that speak with one institutional, authoritative voice. Museums are about individuals making subjective choices.” However, the museum as a modern institution historically carries the spirit of modernist governmentality, and carries the function of civilising the masses (Bennett 1995), resembling the ‘hypodermic needle’ mode of communication. Stuart Hall defines governmentality as “how the state indirectly and at a distance induces and solicits appropriate attitudes and forms of conduct from its citizens” (Hall 1999: 14, quoted in Mason 2006: 24). An implication of a distant but hegemonic authority position does not have to fundamentally contradict the principle of individual choice. Nevertheless, the introduction of the more reflexive and postmodern ideologies and epistemologies to the museum context brings about both opportunities and obstacles. The aim of such developments would be to make ground for a more diverse platform or forum that actively promotes diversity and facilitates participation, something akin to what museum theorist Tony Bennett (2005) has labelled “civic laboratories”. Bennett has developed the concept by integrating post-Foucauldian governmentality theory with science

studies and actor network theory. Civic laboratories refer to the way museums – spaces “simultaneously epistemological and civic” – produce new kinds of “cultural objecthood” (Bennett 2005: 7) and how this refashions museums as instruments of social and civic management, especially for promoting cultural diversity. An important implication of the conceptualisation is that the expertise in museums encompasses not only the epistemic but also the civic and both are intertwined in the transformation processes. In the subsequent sections the transformation processes will be opened through the dimensions of the communicative transformation (from **monovocal** to **multivocal**) and the participatory transformation (from **authoritative** to **collaborative**).

Without going into an extensive overview of the critical museum history (see, for example, Hooper-Greenhill (1992), Bennett (1995) and EUNAMUS (2011)), it is important here to take a closer look at how the imperative for transformation has been theorised in the so-called new museology discourse(s). Opinions diverge, however, on which transformations are most acute and inevitable as well as on whether and when are they actually taking place. In general, these discourses are characterised by a demand for recognition of **new social relationships** in the museum and heritage field as well as the application of appropriate means to meet the challenges posed by these new social relationships. The new museological thought criticises a solely elitist shrine type of museum that apparently is not relevant enough to the broader public. Its aspiration towards critical reflection, power-sharing, decolonising and enabling self-representation would require prioritising inclusion, active engagement and participation (Marstine 2006: 5–6).

Although the Anglo-Saxon literature on new museology tends to begin its history with Peter Vergo’s *New Museology* (1989), sometimes making a quick reference to John Cotton Dana’s *The Gloom of the Museum* (1917) there are also considerable currents of thought that stem from The International Committee for Museology (ICOFOM) and the Latin new museology or ‘**ecomuseology**’ (dos Santos 2010). Both of the latter emphasise their earlier history and independent development compared to the ‘Anglo-Saxon’ and both have in their own way juxtaposed the ‘**traditional**’ and the ‘**new**’ museum. ‘**New museology**’ in the context of ICOFOM seems to be primarily oriented towards the professionalisation of museology and its potential for transcendence over multidisciplinary fragmentation in order to establish it as what seems to be a centralised and institutionalised way of theorising museums. Rooted in the 1972 ‘Round table of Santiago’, the Latin new museology is conceived as a ‘**community museology**’, emphasising the importance of control over heritage by the local population (Van Mensch 1995: 136). In the Latin new museology ‘ecomuseum’ has become the central concept to challenging the traditional museum, which consists of building, collections, experts and professional techniques while the ecomuseum emphasises territory, heritage, memory and population (Rivard 1984, used in Davis 2011: 82).

The transformation of the identity of a museum as a cultural expert is also reflected in the workings of the official international organisation responsible for the development of museums. The International Council of Museums (ICOM), made an attempt in 2007 to include audiences in the ‘official’ definition of a museum, which resulted only in differentiating between tangible and intangible heritage. The explicit recognition of the diversity of audiences and their responses, however, is still missing (Harris 2010: 133–134). An “old fashioned paternalistic role” (Harris 2010: 133) of the museum and the **monovocal** communicative relationship with its public, remain strongly implicit in that definition. One of the most important general issues in the context of this research, raised by Vergo’s (1989) new museology, was that there is a lack of reflexivity in much of what museums and their visitors are habitually doing and a need for a (re-)examination of how exhibitions are made (Vergo 1989: 43, 45). Although Vergo is convinced that all exhibitions are intended to be, in a broad sense, educational, a major lack of thinking by exhibition makers concerns “their intended audience” (Vergo 1989: 52, 58). Increasing reflexivity concerning the intended audiences is an integral part of both the communicative and participatory transformation of expertise in the museum context. The arguments made here in relation to museum-embedded expertise are closely related to the identity of the museum institution in general. Janet Marstine (2006: 8–21) effectively consolidates the arguments of the new museology theorists from different fields, shedding light on how contingent museum identity is and can be in the 21st century, and metaphorically presents these ideas about the contemporary museum as a ‘**shrine**’, ‘market-driven industry’, ‘colonising space’ and ‘**post-museum**’. Current study touches upon the way that a contemporary national museum is a shrine and has, through that, also being a *decolonising* space for ethnic Estonians twice when (re)gaining independence in the 20th century. The present study does not go into the full details of museum’s challenging relationship with the contemporary market-driven society, but is informed that the first steps towards breaking down the perceptions of audiences as a mass were triggered by market forces (Stylianou-Lambert 2010: 135). The ‘post-museum’, while perhaps an intellectually intriguing metaphor for conceptualising what a new museum should/could be, nevertheless remains highly abstract, or, at best, “just emerging” (Marstine 2006: 20) in practice. Borrowed from Hooper-Greenhill, the post-museum concept refers to a reinvented institution that is transparent in its practices and agendas, refuses to treat audiences as passive visitors, and encourages audience participation and power sharing (Marstine 2006: 19). There are a number of important functions that the word ‘museum’ designates and it is not the aim of this study to deconstruct those by employing the concept ‘post-museum’ (which implicitly contains such an agenda). Rather, the study at hand interprets social transformation in museums in two crucial dimensions that will be elaborated below: the communicative and the participatory.

I.2.2. The communicative transformation

In order to explain the communicative transformation of museum-embedded cultural expertise, there is a need to clarify the relevant conceptualisations of museum audiences. The concept of audiences in the context of communication (studies) can also, in a very broad sense, signify a group of receivers (or consumers) of produced messages (Schröder 2009: 63–64). More recently, audiences have also been theorised from the perspective of collective creativity, which implies that the boundaries between producers and receivers/consumers of content can become blurred (Schröder 2009: 67). Thus, ‘the visitor’ in everyday museum-speak is the general term for what media studies refers to as ‘audiences’ and can also be conceptualised as ‘active’, content creating groups and individuals (Runnel and Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt 2010; Simon 2010). In the context of this study, this characterises the transformation of museum communication from a mainly monovocal communicative framework and moves towards also encompassing the multivocal and dialogical.

Not only are active audiences in the museum present through the myriad of individual subjective choices (Marstine 2006: 2) but also as the active presence of ‘communities’. Communities and the socially relevant benefits museums can bring them are taking a more and more important position in the criteria by which museums are measured (Watson 2007; Fyfe 2006). In terms of museum communication and the involved power relationships, an important development in conceptualising visitors is their articulation as **stakeholders** (instead of a more general ‘people’, ‘visitors’ or ‘target groups’) (Lepik and Carpentier, forthcoming). Of the three types of stakeholdership that can be distinguished (Werther and Chandler (2006: 4), quoted in Lepik and Carpentier, forthcoming), the societal is obviously most relevant to this study. Divided into two major groups, one type of social stakeholdership includes peer institutions and the public media, while the other encompasses the **representatives of communities** (Lepik and Carpentier, forthcoming). Stakeholder communities in the context of this study are the audiences who are potential and active participants in the formation of museum-embedded expertise (and not only those from peer institutions).

While simpler conceptualisation of museum communities would distinguish (1) source communities, (2) communities of practice and (3) communities to be served (Stevens et al. 2010: 59), Rhiannon Mason (2005) distinguishes six possible categories of **interpretive** community. The unifying factors are, respectively, (1) shared historical/cultural experiences, (2) specialist knowledge, (3) demographic/socio-economic factors, (4) a wide array of identities, (5) visiting practices, and (6) exclusion from other communities (2005: 206–7, quoted in Watson 2007: 4). These definitions serve as a useful starting point for analysing the definition of the community and the role museums fulfil in society and with communities in particular (Watson 2007: 4). There clearly is room for a more diverse communication model in a national museum that has historically drawn upon source communities to construct ethnographic knowledge. At the

current permanent display of the ENM that knowledge is condensed in a monovocal curatorial message for a mass of visitors (Leete 1996). The aim of the present study is not to discuss the museum's relationship with any particular (type of) community but to analyse the more general transformation of cultural expertise towards multivocality.

Regarding the stakeholder-community relationship with a public knowledge institution, it has been pointed out that there are professional assumptions and practises that prevent them from being "sensitive enough to the motivations and experiences of their community-based partners" (Stevens et al. 2010: 59). Provided there are community groups whose own agendas and possibly alternative views on heritage might lead to implicit or explicit dissonance (Ashworth and Graham 2005: 5) in relation to the authorised heritage discourse (Smith 2006), museum professionals have the option of facilitating social justice, recognition and subordination (Waterton and Smith 2010) or taking a 'respectfully detached' position (Carpentier 2011b: 184). The leading curator of the ENM's new permanent exhibition has also communicated that both social and cultural diversity must be on the agenda of the contemporary exhibition production of cultural representation (Rattus 2009). To a certain extent, communities remain to be constructed/produced by the museum (Witcomb 2003). The crucial question that follows is how to "**embed** the community projects in state structures and discourses of community and community relations" (Crooke 2010: 27, my emphasis) while at the same time founding projects in the museum on community agendas (Crooke 2010) and not solely the agendas of the museum professionals? From the museum perspective, these are questions about the communicative nature of civic management, where a key premise seems to be to question to what extent the communities are conceptualised as active stakeholders.

The idea of active audiences has stemmed from media studies, and the museums began, under the pressures of the market and government, to adopt the concept quite late. In museums, first of all, the conceptualisation transformed from mass audiences to more diverse target groups, and subsequently more attention was given to finding the ways by which to attract non-visitors (Stylianou-Lambert 2010: 135). In the case of the ENM, the researchers involved have stressed the key role of active audiences in museum participation (Runnel and Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt 2010). In the interventions designed by a research team there was an important component of mediating the museum structures and habitual discourses with the agendas of active communities and individuals. Through the execution and deliberation of these interventions, museum communication comes to the forefront of both the related practices and academic discussion (Study IV).

Nina Simon (2010) has argued that museums are places where communication could and should build on individual consumption of content to cause interaction and, eventually, social interaction. Conceptualised through five possible stages of development, museum communication becomes increasingly

social: individual consumption of content becomes more social when communication with that content becomes more two-way in interaction. These interactions can be aggregated into a network so that participants can see all contributions and interactions. From there, these interactions can be organised so that it is possible for the interacting individuals to engage with each other socially. The museum is an important component in that social museum communication, but the subjective choices of individuals who use the museum as a platform for being social have, ideally, just as significant a role to play (Simon 2010). It must be noted that Nina Simon calls these “stages of social participation” (Simon 2010, online); however, because participation in this study also emphasises the power dynamics, her model is here conceptualised as that of **‘social dimension of museum communication’** (summarised in Figure 1). In order to emphasise the communicative aspect in the transformative potential from individual to social, the concepts of **monovocal** and **multivocal** are employed.

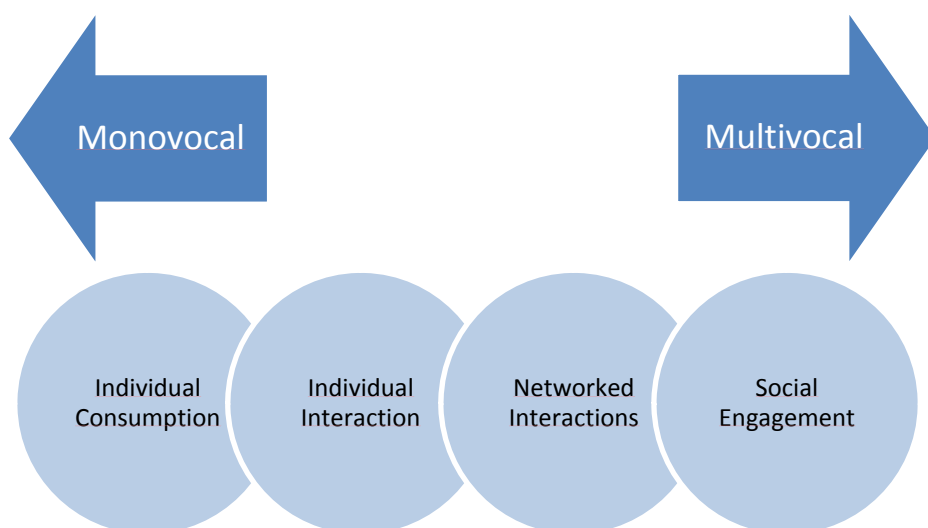


Figure 1. Transforming museum communication from individual to social, adapted from Simon’s stages of social participation (Simon 2010).

Thus, in order to be socially multivocal, not only has the museum to recognise “individuals making subjective choices” (Marstine 2006: 2) but also to create ways to make individuals engage socially with each other in the museum context. According to Nina Simon (2010), one can talk about museum content only when people who have been “just visiting” start to create and share the content, facilitated by the museum. By doing so, they also ‘make’ the museum so that it resembles more and more the social network. Simon derives her architectural principles of museum participation from the socially networked

technologies that allow content creation and sharing online and imply that museum visitors are familiar with managing their own content as well as interacting with that of others. When the visitor begins to actively participate, (s)he will transform from a visitor to a participant and become a more concrete person for both other participants as well as the museum. Participant assumes a different role/identity in the museum and so does the museum: instead of delivering monologues to its visitors, the museum will become a platform for dialogue. This does not mean that participation is a new magic wand that brings everyone to the museum and makes them active there. This is not guaranteed because, as social media studies have pointed out, the content creators are only a small minority (Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt and Aljas 2009; Forrester research 2009, used in Simon 2010).

In her discussion of visitor engagement, Simon borrows the typology of public participation in science from the Public Participation in Scientific Research (PPSR) project report (Center for Advancement of Informal Science Education, 2009) and interprets it in the museum context. **Contributive** participation – first of the three in the original typology – happens when “visitors are solicited to provide limited and specified objects, actions, or ideas to an institutionally controlled process” (Simon 2010, online). **Collaborative** participation happens when “visitors are invited to serve as active partners in the creation of institutional projects that are originated and ultimately controlled by the institution” (Simon 2010, online). “In **co-creative** projects, community members work together with institutional staff members from the beginning to define the project’s goals and to generate the program or exhibit based on community interests” (Simon 2010, online). Simon adds an additional, museum-specific type – **the hosted** – to the model. In the latter, an “institution turns over a portion of its facilities and/or resources to present programs developed and implemented by public groups or casual visitors” (Simon 2010, online). Simon’s typology provides an activist agenda for museum practitioners as well as a pragmatic interpretive framework for designing and evaluating participatory actions. In the context of new museology, all four types clearly suggest actions that make museums more multivocal and participatory. The contributive mode has the lowest participation threshold and also has the longest history in the context of the ENM – the ENM’s Network of Correspondents was founded in 1931. Asking visitors for their contributions is directed at the widest audience possible, is the most easily controlled participatory mode and does not require any special skills to join in. During a visit, one’s role usually alternates between being a visitor and a contributor. Simon also touches upon the issue of curating contributions, although she does not emphasise the issues related to power relations: “No one model is better than the others. Nor should they even be seen as progressive steps towards a model of ‘maximal participation’” (Simon, online). The power dimension in the participatory processes will be introduced in the following chapter.

1.2.3. The participatory transformation

Socially inclusive and participatory projects can impact on the individual and communal (i.e. audience) identity as they gain better access to the construction of meanings and representations in museum space, which is often still too much a place only for 'high culture' (O'Neill 2006; Newman and MacLean 2006). The way participation is conceptualised has a major part to play in the kind of transformation of museum communication that is the focus of this study. In Study IV, participation is discussed in the most general context through three societal dimensions (the cultural, the economic and the political), with the political delivering crucial implications to the transformation of museum-embedded cultural expertise. This PhD study argues that participation should also be theorised from the perspective of power relations. Whether, and by whom, contributions are curated, edited or not cannot be reduced to a 'neutral' (Morrone 2006) or simply a 'technical-practical' issue. Some well-known frameworks of (general) public participation (e.g. Arnstein 1969; IAP2, online), for example, take power relations into account and relate them to a greater public impact. However, these spectra do not (and obviously cannot) put enough emphasis on the communicative aspects raised above as being important in the museum context.

The **AIP (access-interaction-participation)** model elaborated by Nico Carpentier (2011b: 130) is also used in Study III. An important component of this model is the critical distinction between the three concepts in order to prevent access and interaction from being labelled participation in spite of the differences in the power dynamics. In the model, access connotes the presence of technologies, content, people and organisations both in terms of production and reception. Interaction refers to the socio-communicative relationships that can arise from usage of technology, content production and co-production (Simon 2010). An important element of co-decision-making on/with technology, content, people and organisational policy is what distinguishes participation from access as well as interaction (Carpentier 2011b: 130). When community representatives co-decide and collaborate in museum projects, then the difference between access and interaction is that **participation** (ideally) entails co-deciding on exhibition content, policy and technology as well as evaluating the content (Carpentier 2007).

Study III also follows the conceptualisation of democratisation by Pateman (1970) that Carpentier integrates into the AIP model, allowing **minimalist** and **maximalist** participation to be distinguished. The distinction draws an analytical border between (1) audience participation that does not affect structural decisions on technology, participants, content or organisational policy but keeps participation more in a format that coincides with the contributive mode in the aforementioned Simon's (2010) typology, and (2) the more maximalist approach to participation that broadens the structural decision-making power to members of the heterogenic public. Differentiating the maximalist approach from the minimalist is based on a social ontology that considers the

whole sphere of the social as political and calls for power sharing, consequently implying structural changes. (Carpentier 2011b: 17–22, 69) Figure 2 below interprets the potential of the participatory transformation through the AIP model and by engaging the concepts ‘**authoritative**’ and ‘**collaborative**’ to characterise the most general level of power dynamics in the museum context.

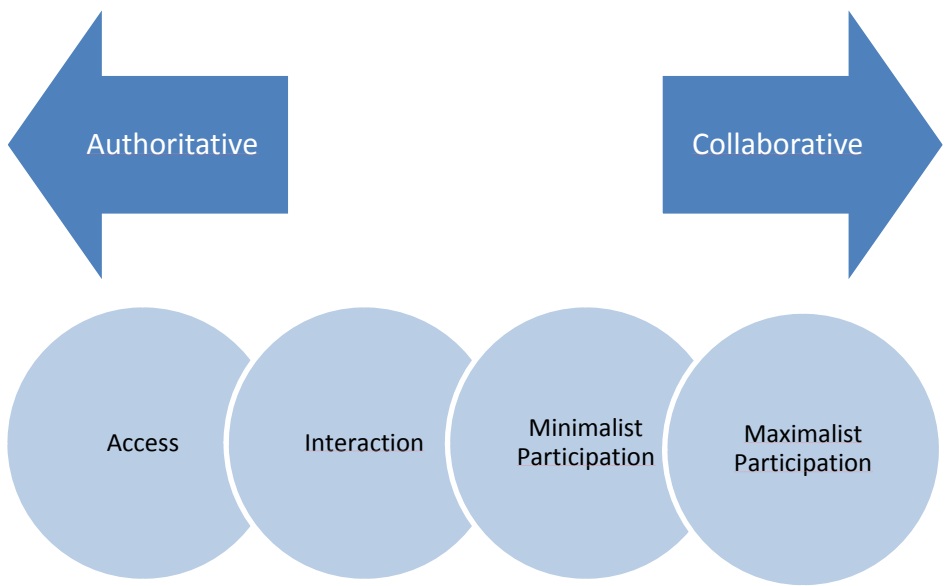


Figure 2. Transforming the power dynamics of museum participation.

Simon’s (2010) stages of social museum communication are appropriated for the model of museum communication, but do not explicitly discuss or take into account the power dynamics. Thus, it is necessary also to point out the dimension of power in museum communication. Studying museum communication from the perspective of museum texts, Louise Ravelli (2006) differentiates three typical ways in which visitors relate to museums as readers (receivers): the **compliant**, the **resistant** and the **tactical** position. While all of these positions entail some negotiation of one’s reading position and these positions can be combined in any particular case, their difference is that the compliant position does not problematise its own position, whereas the resistant position rejects it and the tactical position on to make opportunistic use of the text (Ravelli 2006: 15–16). The “reading positions” clearly take the power dynamics into account and can be compared to another paradigmatic conceptualisation of audiences by Abercombie and Longhurst, adopted by Stylianou-Lambert (2010) to the museum context. She gives an overview of the way in which these paradigms of “behavior”, “incorporation/resistance” and “spectacle/performance” (Stylianou-Lambert 2010: 132) influence how museums and audiences are perceived (see table 2).

Table 2. An adapted version of Ravelli’s reading positions and Stylianou-Lambert’s (2010: 132) paradigmatic conceptualisations of museum communication and its audiences

	Compliance (behaviour)	Incorporation/ resistance	Tactical (performance)
Audiences:	Receive a one-way single message without problematising it	Selected audiences according to who possess the ‘cultural capital’ to decode museum message(s)	‘Diffused audiences’: Opportunistic consumers and producers of culture and identity with a diverse range of possible subjective behaviours
Museum communication:	One-way (mass) communication of a preferred message (in this study further conceptualised as authoritative and monovocal)	Coding messages in the context of dominant cultural order for those who have the capability to decode	Facilitation of an ‘open work’ (Carr 2001, quoted in Stylianou-Lambert 2010) that has to be completed by the audience (in this study further conceptualised as collaborative and multivocal)

Adding the dimension of power relations to the discussion of museum communication takes into account the fact that the museum tends to possess an authoritative position in the context. Interpreted in the light of the communicative transformation (in figure 1), monovocal communication requires the presence of technologies, content, people, and organisation (access). Incorporation and resistance requires some form of interaction, meaning production and can also overarch to **minimalist participation** through contributive participation. The incorporative production of content with audiences takes place through the contribution of content to the museum, and possibly also through the provision of forum-like platforms in order to question, answer, give opinions on or ‘edit’ content (Nielsen 2006). Such **incorporation** can be done either with didactic or marketing goals in mind. Those who would otherwise not have access to museum space can be conceptualised as ‘**resistant**’ (or distanced) either because they have a different opinion towards some of the content in the museum or because there is a lack of content – thus these people are invited to provide alternatives of their own. At the level of **maximalist participation** the diffusion of audiences and experts becomes (theoretically) realised in a **collaborative** model characterised based on the premise of the heterogeneity of cultural expertise and co-decision-making on an ‘open work’. As will be shown later, the Open Curatorship intervention aimed to provide a platform for such

participation in which audiences were assumed to be rather autonomous in making important production decisions.

Now that communicative and participatory transformation have been introduced it is appropriate to discuss the formation of museum-embedded cultural expertise in the next chapter.

I.3. Cultural expertise in communicative and participatory transformation

In this chapter, the study introduces the formation of cultural expertise in order to unfold the discussion on how this formation is related to the communicative and participatory transformation that is to take place in museums. The case of the ENM transformation provides a unique opportunity to study and theorise museum-embedded cultural expertise and how audience participation influences the identity of museum professionals and museum collections.

When investigating the formation of **social identity**, the social ontology underlying Study II, for example, sympathised with the theory elaborated by Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe (1985, also Laclau 2007 [1996]). In the context of that paradigm identities are conceptualised as contingent ‘subject positions’. Human knowledge of “who is who and what is what” is a process very much embedded in language (Jenkins 2008: 5), and can never be entirely fixed. Identity forms when particular meanings are frequently articulated in relation to ‘who is who’ and ‘what is what’ in our social reality. According to the constructivist logics of contingency, the possibility of being rearranged, identifying with other markers of meaning, will always remain. Such processes are sometimes also called identity work in order to “capture the discursive efforts that people have undertaken in order to (re)construct and maintain their identities” (Carpentier 2011a: 189). This identity work involves ‘**articulation**’ which has to be understood in a wider meaning than just language, encompassing all practices, language among them (Lipping 2009: 631–2). These articulations of social meanings lead to identity formation. The particular process where this study is analysing these articulations is the process of exhibition production and, on a meta-analytical level, also collection formation. The following discussion will explain how the way in which the identity of a cultural expert is defined is crucial in the participatory logics of the processes embedded in the museum.

The discursive field is characterised by contingency of meaning, but certain meanings in this field tend to become privileged (‘nodal points’), sometimes leading to a universalised signifying function and a hegemony of these meanings (Lipping 2009: 636, 641). Following these logics of identity formation, Nico Carpentier (2011a) formulates the ‘old’/modernist components of the cultural expert’s identity. The first component is **knowledge and skills**, expertise in context and objects, sometimes with a more contemporary

marketing and managerial knowledge component (legitimate knowledge in Bourdieuan terminology). Closely linked to expertise is the second element – **autonomy** from a number of influences such as the market and state, but in some situations also the audiences. The third element is the **public service** provision, which tends to (but not necessarily) articulate audiences as more passive receivers. A certain category of **professional ethics** forms the fourth element, to which non-experts are not bound. The fifth element structuring the culture professional's identity is **institutional embeddedness**, which is often based on employment relationship, support systems and a network of peers. Sometimes, audiences are opposed to such 'elites' as 'ordinary'. Stemming from professional responsibility, a cultural expert inevitably deploys **management and power**, and this sixth element leads to a sense of psychological property. Consequently, cultural production often entails the management of an audience's bodies and the targeted exposure of their minds to carefully selected meanings. (Carpentier 2011: 190–193) These six elements are very important in providing this study with the theoretical perspective for analysing the transformation(s) of expertise in museums.

Kevin Walsh (1992) has articulated the characteristics of the modern museum that can be read as a hegemonic discursive framework and which also significantly determines the identity of the museum-embedded cultural expertise (Walsh 1992: 32). He also points out, relying on the work of Anthony Giddens, that, like experts in society in general, the museum professional has, through “disembedding mechanisms”, become somewhat distant from its public(s) (Walsh 1992: 27–28). Such identity formation for the cultural expert does have its own particular counter-hegemonic pressures from a number of sources. These can drive the museum transformation in different directions that can become antagonistic. Bella Dicks (2004) has discussed how the curator's role has been experiencing a shift from the dominance of collecting and safe-keeping to an increasing attention on design and facilitation of **multivocality** while coping with the market influences. Curators (and museums) have traditionally focused on displaying “specialist knowledge to non-specialist visitors” (Dicks 2004: 145). In the early 20th century this also entailed a progressive attitude toward the culture presented, in the Western world often shown through an evolutionary ordering of races and cultures. As the situatedness of cultures was gradually acknowledged, presenting cultures in their own terms without essentialising any particular one pressured curators to adapt the ways culture(s) were presented (Dicks 2004: 148–149). At the same time visitors continued to expect to see distinct cultural identities on display, pulling museums in different directions, becoming more reflexive about the dominant national mythologies that they present at the same time (Dicks 2004: 149–150). In a culture that has been decolonised from foreign influence this presents a dichotomy for the curators responsible for producing the display and becomes an important issue in resolving the changes in scholarship and public education (Dicks 2004: 154). In the Western museum scene, the ‘ecomuseum’ movement has offered one of

the solutions by taking on a local community-centred and skills-oriented role for the museum, bringing about a potential emancipation from the display case and a shift towards becoming a participatory forum (Dicks 2004: 156).

Another significant influencing factor on the expertise embedded in museums is the pressure from leisure commodification that brings 'edutainment' to the expertise agenda. Museums retain their educational role in the public, but turn more into places where the obstacle to public access posed by the 'serious' nature of learning is minimised (Dicks 2004: 160) and replaced with the "values of interactive, learner-centred education and public access to culture" (Dicks 160, 162). The required responsiveness of the museum (Lang et al. 2006) has resulted in curators specialising in the staging and design of exhibitions that communicate the multiple meanings associated with objects and artworks, which, for a long time, was not considered an important curatorial role (Dicks 2004: 163). Consequently, "[T]o begin to formulate exhibitionary approaches that both pull in visitors and deal with the challenges of representing culture constitutes, for museums, a most difficult task ahead" (Dicks 2004: 168).

Investigating two institutionally mediated cases of self-representation in the public media, Nancy Thumim (2009: 617) points out that "while institutional power is not fundamentally altered in the projects discussed, nevertheless empowerment of participants does have the potential to effect shifts in the role of public cultural institutions". Mediation is a prerequisite to a multitude of voices being (increasingly) included in cultural institutions. Because, somewhat paradoxically, culture professionals assume that self-representation "eradicates or minimizes" (Thumim 2009: 619) mediation in order for the participants' realities to come across, it is also "linked to professionals' power to shape representations and entwined with hopes for the democracy-enhancing benefits of new technologies" (Thumim 2009: 618, 632). Given the institutional power that has consolidated in the hands of professional experts, there is clearly a challenge in allowing self-representations in museums. 'Handing over' the production of representations to communities themselves (such as in the Open Curatorship intervention or what Simon classifies as the hosted mode) is only one of the ways to transform the museum to become more multivocal. The communicative/participatory challenge that museum professionals are faced with is more complex and tends to build upon and expand existing professional identity. To a certain extent this transformation cannot be pre-planned because the dialogue between the museum and communities creates case-specific dynamics.

Andrea Witcomb (2003: 51–78) has analysed, from an insider perspective, the pressures of popularisation on curatorial culture (based on research and conservation expertise) in the Australian museum scene and distinguished these pressures into two categories: the first is of the 'smiling professionalism' of the leisure-populist (rooted in the influence of marketing discourse, a result of the blurring of the borders between culture and economy), with the other closer to power-sharing and evolution towards **facilitatorship**. Hooper-Greenhill (1992:

7) has pointed out that a rigid “division is maintained between the collecting subject as curator, and the viewing subject as visitor”. According to Hooper-Greenhill (1992: 7), curators should understand that they are in a position of power and should try to rework curatorial practices that were “after all designed to keep objects out of the public view”. Witcomb’s analysis treats the first-hand experiences of a researcher who works with museums in the ‘contact zone’ between museum culture and external communities. Stemming from a real-life museum context, this analysis concerns the experiences of governmentality and provincialisation. The implications that Witcomb puts forward for a museum’s role are that by regulating and producing communities and initiating civic reform it is always possible to become more democratic and representative as new communities are continuously constructed and possible to reach. The curator and the museum cannot only play the role of a facilitator, but remain cultural producers as well. This was the case with the Portuguese immigrant ethnic minority community in the exemplary self-representational community-access gallery project that Witcomb references (Witcomb 2003: 79–80). She concurs with James Clifford that the governmental and dialogical approaches should be integrated and actively work on the translation between communities, which is more than just facilitation (Witcomb 2003: 101). Witcomb’s conclusions can be interpreted as saying that real community exhibitions are not those following the *hosted* (Simon 2010, online) participatory mode in which the activity of museum professionals is minimized.

This study set out to look at the limits of public participation in spatial authoring of the new Estonian National Museum. That participation appeared to be very limited. Continuing the analysis, I focused on the more ‘internal’ production of the exhibition spaces and museum collection opportunities and obstacles inherent in the ways that museum-embedded cultural expertise itself forms. Both analytical and practical implications arose, supported by the data gained from research interventions, participatory observation and the theoretical framework. These implications will be elaborated and discussed in the following section.

I.4. Research aim and questions

The motivation behind the research associated with this PhD project came from the opportunity to affect ‘the habitus’ of the museum from within, by means of reflexive research and through promotion of the idea of active audiences, in order to open up transformation opportunities for the museum in the 21st century information society. The initial research approach involved gathering ethnographic data and so did not follow any clear-cut research questions but aimed at ‘sensitising’ the workplace into a research object. The analysis that followed problematised some of the ‘self-evident’ structural characteristics that constitute the identity of a (particular) museum, namely that of cultural

expertise and the ways that audience participation can influence the formation of that expertise.

The overarching research question is the following: **how does cultural expertise take shape in the contingent transformation process of the Estonian National Museum (ENM)?** Secondary research questions are:

(1) **how are the identities of museum professionals played out and formed during the negotiations concerning the new ENM exhibition spaces;**
(2) **how does audience participation affect museum-embedded cultural expertise.**

In Study I the research questions of this PhD project are implied in the problem of whether and how audiences participate in “authoring the nation” – the (spatial) innovation of a museum that has been one of the most important symbols in the national memory.

Study II takes a closer look at the formation of cultural expertise in museums and evolves around the question of how the more ‘traditional’ curatorial identity forms in the development of exhibitions, and what horizons open up when audiences are given more power in key structural decisions and creative opportunities regarding the exhibition content in museums.

Study III employs the research question to problematise the structural procedures that legitimise existing and (especially) new objects in museum collections. Again, the key question here is whether and how audience participation can have an impact on these procedures and consequently the formation of the identity of collections.

Study IV, while being a methodological reflection in nature, also helps to shed light on the means by which data was generated for this PhD project.

2. METHODS AND DATA

The design and implementation of the methodology was a rather organic process, especially in the beginning. Starting with ‘production ethnography’ meant that the observations were made from the emic perspective, continuing to participate in the processes that took place within the museum. Gradually, this was supplemented (and somewhat juxtaposed) with the more ‘activist’ processes created through research intervention. The focus zoomed in on the formation of cultural expertise in the context of museum innovation. The paradigmatic social ontology of this study, rooted in discourse theory, enabled the analysis of the contingent identity processes from a constructivist perspective. Production ethnography provides a methodological platform for mapping the transformations, resistances, and articulations of meanings during the interventions as well as the ‘normal’ everyday production processes.

2.1. Method of inquiry, data gathering and analysis

The overarching method for collecting data for this research is participatory observation, which allowed sense to be made of a complicated transformation process. The main data set is composed of recordings and notes on museum construction (especially permanent exhibition production), and a series of interventions which aimed to increase visitor and community participation.

The period of my data gathering for this study covered, eventually, approximately three years (April 2008–May 2011). The first part of the data gathering contained audio and videotaped meetings as well as taking reflexive notes (April 2008 to June 2009). The starting position as a researcher stemmed from already being professionally embedded in the field of study. While working as a museum employee since summer 2006 (I had been working as a temporary exhibitions manager for two years), I frequently felt the lack of reflexivity and communicative dynamics in the way curators constructed and presented knowledge in exhibitions. My work tasks at the time included managing the workflow of exhibition production. It ranged from structurally crucial ‘gate-keeping’ in the exhibition committee to the most mundane chores of mounting displays. Often, I felt the exhibition policy to be too conservative both in terms of content selection and chosen display strategies. Inspired by the plan of a 4-year research project, I was able to transfer to the research department. Without too many hesitations or concerns regarding the limitations embedded in my (other) professional tasks, I began to take a researcher’s perspective on the curatorial production teamwork I was involved in. This period can be methodologically characterised by a rather broad approach of (media) production ethnography (Peterson 2003) and its research aims such as ‘whose message?’ and ‘whose authorship?’ are reflected in the co-authored Study I. The relatively open focus was also fruitful in that it allowed me to consciously

immerse myself in the workplace as a researcher. Ideally, this meant both being a legitimate ‘fly on the wall’ and having the right to voice an opinion as a museum employee on issues relating to the production of the exhibition spaces. The first interpretive filters that guided this phase of data gathering were: (1) the logics of the production field and the ‘formation’ of producers; (2) engagement, articulation and representation of audiences in the production process; (3) reflexivity in the production process. The process of permanent exhibition production that initially inspired my research aims turned out to be taking a much longer time to complete and by late 2009 it became clear that the production process would not be finished within the timeframe given for the PhD study. The second half of the fieldwork (October 2009 – May 2011) first sharpened the focus on identity formation and the role of participation in the current production/formation processes (Study II). Research interventions took place at the ENM from January 2009 to March 2011 and were subject to a more theoretical reflection in Study III and Study IV. The data set for Studies III and IV to a large extent overlapped and was meta-analytical in nature, broadening the reflexive horizon of the overall research group’s activity.

The recorded data (used mainly in Studies I and II) was composed of over 80 hours of meeting recordings (audio and/or video), accompanied by notes both in the form of a field diary to put down impressions as well as notes from the meetings (where both research and professional needs had to be taken into account). The main data set, of which Appendix 1 gives an overview, is divided into three broader categories: general museum production meetings (PM), spatial production meetings (SM), and the meetings related to interventions (IM). The data is kept in a personal archive. Even though I conducted 3 pilot interviews, I decided to keep gathering data on the real-life production process (different kinds of work meetings) where the dialogical atmosphere enabled subject positions to be articulated in a more natural way. During the Open Curatorship intervention, which was crucial for understanding the identity transformation processes, I also invited selected museum employees to give feedback at an internal round table discussion or by email. A significant portion of the data that were used in Study I were print media texts, in the selection of which I did not participate, but the emerging data from my field notes was used to situate the media debate in the on-going production process.

When it comes to the method of analysis, qualitative analysis of field notes and recordings was primarily used. Overall, the analysis resembles media production ethnography, concerning which Mark Allen Peterson (2003) has pointed out that the “interpretive practices that producers bring to their task and the ways these are derivative of larger cultural discourses” is one of the four major levels on which such ethnography should proceed (Peterson 2003: 162). The qualitative analysis in Study II, for example, consisted of close reading and rereading of field notes, looking for articulations of curatorial identity formation. The analysis employed theoretical categories such as resistance and assimilation, for example to analyse the manifestations of the pressures of

popularisation from different fields. Identity work related to non-expert participation was more evident when the Open Curatorship intervention was in effect, with this identity work remaining very implicit when the production process evoked only the more habitual articulations of audiences/visitors. Table 3 below offers a concise overview of the data gathering methods and the methods of analysis in all four studies.

Table 3. Summarising methods of data gathering and analysis in the four studies

	Data	Analysis
Study I	Articulations from public print media texts (including online comments; from 2001–3 and 2005–6) as well as reflexive notes from the planning process (2008–2009).	As a team effort, three key topics were examined through a close reading of the data: (1) restitution, (2) space, and (3) audiences. The main aspects of the agendas of the three key interest groups (architectural experts, museum professionals and the public). Restitution and space (architectural expertise) were the obvious categories stemming from the topic of the debate. The category of audiences was employed in order to address the research aim. While ‘visitor’ would have been a more museum-specific concept, ‘audience’, being a concept more familiar in media-studies, was chosen because the core data actually came from media sources. Furthermore, articulations under the three categories were then interpreted in the light of audience participation in the construction of the museum’s meaning (in the Study referred to as authorship of the nation).
Study II	Articulations from the recordings and reflexive notes from participatory observation of two exhibition production processes. One of them was the Open Curatorship research intervention.	The qualitative toolbox of the study could be characterised as a reflexive analysis and close reading of the data. For this, the theoretical conceptual categories of modernist and participatory professional identity formation and participation (including power dynamics) were used. Regarding the ‘regular’ production process the analysis centred on mapping the formation of the professional identity, looking for influences by professionalism of different fields and of the (absence of) audience influence. Regarding the intervention-based production process, the emphasis was on sensing the identity work of museum professionals. It manifested largely in the articulations at meetings and related to participatory audiences being structurally engaged. The analytical juxtaposition of the two modes of exhibition production (‘traditional’ and intervention-based) allowed me to categorise both assimilative and resistant articulations within transforming identity formation.

Study III	Analytical descriptions of participatory processes in museum (two existing frameworks and four interventions). (Table 1 in Study IV gives an overview of the research interventions.)	An interpretation of a more theoretical/meta-analytical nature in Study III conceptually categorised the participatory actions in the museum according to their influence on collection from the minimalist-maximalist participatory perspective. The theoretical lens drew upon the distinction to differentiate between participation practices that either share structural decision-making power (maximalist) or limit participation to institutionally controlled content contributions (minimalist). A further categorisation (physical/virtual) based on the influence on museum collections was developed during the analysis to enhance reflexivity over the ways participation can affect the formation of museum collections.
Study IV	Research interventions (design and application).	Being a methodological account, the analysis reflects upon the innovative characteristics of research interventions during the overall team effort of the 4-year research project. Research interventions are related and compared to action research and described through the conceptualisations of participation in different social domains.

The reflexive analysis of the process also gradually became part of the intervention design. For example, this led to a more reflexive and conscious participation in the facilitation of the second phase of the Open Curatorship intervention, intentionally producing professional support in graphic design and encouraging collaboration with the museum collection professionals.

2.2. Research interventions and participatory observation

The timeline below gives a chronological overview of the research interventions as well as the actions that were initiated in the pre-project phase, as well as those from the post-project phase following participatory actions.

1931–	2006–	2009			2010	2011		2012	
Network of Correspondents	Estonian Moments	Donate a Day	Commenting on Photo Collection	Museum Night Story-telling	Open Curatorship	My Favorite	Time Capsule	My Gift	Regretted Purchase

Research interventions 2009-2011

Figure 3. Timeline of the research interventions as well as preceding and subsequent participatory actions that were used as objects of analysis in this study.

In addition to the methodological discussion of the research interventions in Study IV, factors that were not part of the study deserve some additional references. Research interventions are akin to what Kondo, in an anthropological context, calls “an activist mode of inquiry” (Kondo 1997: 6, quoted in Mahon 2000: 484) and participant observation in that context akin to what Turner (1990: 10, quoted in Mahon 2000: 484) interprets as ‘observant participation’. These are not simply museum-bound experiments because they also gather data through surveys and content contributions, with a ‘distanced’ analysis already in mind. Intervening in exhibition production with both minimalist and maximalist participatory agendas could also be viewed as a method(ological) “enacting of democracy” (Weibel and Latour 2007: 13). In the context of the ENM, the interventions were also supported by the more verbal/textual mediation of the ‘participatory agenda’ within the institution (especially the research department) by the group of researchers who designed the interventions.

The logic of research intervention creates a situation of actively and consciously influencing the research object by creating a laboratory of its own. The ‘observant participation’ approach is participatory in a different style by being reflexive and consequently adaptive towards ‘the culture of cultural experts’ that to some extent is constructed by the intervention. While the research bears the characteristics of ‘fieldwork at home’ (Messerschmidt 1981, quoted in Mahon 2000: 481), there are many aspects of organisational everyday practices that structured the process. However, gradually, some of these aspects became thematised by the research – namely the cultural expertise, the components of its formation as well as the challenge that the interventions created.

Basu and Macdonald (2007) see exhibitions themselves as the “site for the generation rather than reproduction of knowledge and experience” (Basu and Macdonald 2007: 2). Experiments may (and probably should, if they are to be part of research) become research interventions when they facilitate the gathering of data materialised in survey answers, content contributions for a ‘distanced’ analysis. An equally important methodological component is also the agency of the participatory interactions and the feedback they generate within the organisation where they are taking place (**Study IV**).

An important question regarding the research design and analysis is its normativity. The research interventions themselves are normative in character by applying a certain ‘participatory’ agenda to museum processes and structures. The normative agenda enacted by in the interventions are, at the time of writing, gradually becoming everyday practices in exhibition production.

2.3.A situated double vision

With regard to power dynamics in the process, it must be acknowledged that many major negotiations leading to decisions over museum exhibition spaces were held in the meetings where my role was not only that of a quiet observer in the meeting room. For example the concepts of the (active pedagogic) interpretation hall and open collection space were collectively negotiated in the process. From the research perspective, I then based my articulations and arguments mainly on tacit knowledge aiming at the diversification and innovation of the public exhibition spaces in a national museum. The existence of a participation gallery (which started off as a room for enhancing ethnic minority participation) in the new building seems to be a direct consequence of my double subject position: a promotion of participatory initiatives and facilitation of the Create Your Own Exhibition project ‘naturally’ led to institutional responsibilities overseeing the preparation and production of the 128m² room envisaged to be a part of the semi-permanent part of the new building.

During fieldwork in such circumstances ‘negotiation’ and ‘swapping’ of two subject positions continuously took place: one of a ‘participatory activist’ and the other of a ‘reflexive analyst of social identity processes’. Some tension was thus present throughout the research period for both my colleagues and I, but this double vision turned out to be both methodologically and practically inevitable. Tension can also be productive for the researcher who is allowed access to internal processes without completely constructing him or herself as a researcher. Consequently, this can be supportive of the process and prevent the othering of the researcher in relation to the processes under study. The awareness of me participating also as a researcher in the work group at times created an uneasy feeling, but as a researcher I never felt excluded from the community of museum (or related) professionals. Being institutionally affiliated played the most important role in that regard but there was an overall (rather passive) acceptance of me conducting ‘fieldwork at home’. The constant negotiation between the two identities denies the possibility of fully assuming one or the other but neither does it allow full rejection of either of them. To study the formation and possible ‘transformation’ of museum-embedded cultural expertise I consider it to be crucial to be part of the actual processes. However, in order to be an effective museum professional working in a highly heterogeneous arena, it is not (yet?) the first priority to uphold a climate of intellectual transparency and critical reflexivity towards one’s subject position and the discursive structures and signifiers determining it.

Following Haraway’s (1991) fundamental argument that all knowledge (even the most ‘scientific’) is situated and embedded in a limited location, such a “double vision” could also be viewed as a method of making knowledge claims more locatable, more responsible and more embodied (Haraway 1991: 191, 195). An increasingly reflexive practitioner who phases into being a researcher

(and back into being a practitioner, when needed and possible) should hold this epistemological perspective in his or her intellectual toolbox. Hopefully this methodological reflection, together with a collective elaboration of the methodology of the overall research project in **Study IV**, takes a small but important step towards the necessary conditions for the formation of more situated cultural expertise.

3. FINDINGS

The findings of this study are published in four publications; the aim of this cover chapter is to account for some elements that were not explicit in the published studies. More attention is given to the articulations on which the findings are based. **Study I** looked at the ENM's spatial production through categories of restitution and space with the hope of finding 'traces' of the third category – audiences. From there, **Study II** zoomed in on the formation and transformation of curatorship in the production of exhibition spaces. In the middle of **Study II** there is also a turning point where research interventions come to influence the analysis and the research object. There is a twofold theoretical framework of the culture professional's identity model (by Carpentier 2011a) that fuels the analytical juxtaposition of the two modes of exhibition production ('traditional' and intervention-based). In addition to curatorship – the 'human' element of cultural expertise –, museums are embedded with another crucial component of expertise, and that is the collections of objects and their 'catalogue'. Interventions seemed to affect the exhibition space considerably more than collections and **Study III** looked into the matter from a meta-analytical perspective. The basis for the analysis was a conceptual categorisation of the interventions according to their participatory nature and effect on collections. **Study IV** takes another (collective) look at the interventions, but this time the research aim is to provide methodological insights into the innovative team effort. Participation is conceptualised on a societal level, through different social domains. The presentation of the findings below is organised according to the research questions.

3.1. Formation of curatorial cultural expertise

The findings about the museum production processes, producers and *audiences* in **Study I** is more about the ENM's identity in general (its institutionalised cultural authority and conflicting attitudes over its transformation) while **Study II** interprets the formation of the identity of expert in relation to the exhibition production. The winning architects (and the majority of the jury) aimed to bring new meanings to the public space with their design, causing friction in the public debate. Intellectuals in Estonia who spoke out about the matter, interpreted it as evoking a tension in the national consciousness and also saw addressing and explaining that tension is an important role that a research-based national museum should take on. There were voices from public that were clearly asking for a spatial restitution of the familiar, in other words: security and stability. Architectural competitions and large-scale curatorial projects are traditionally set up in a way that the audiences do not have any significant structural effect on the production process. So it is not a big surprise that **Study I** concludes that audiences are – although accounted for in certain ways –

nowhere near being actively present in the actual production. Once the experts focus on solving the issues surrounding the more specific internal exhibition space, it is no longer discussed in public (**Study II**). At the same time, the museum's identity appears to be diversifying: not only can it be a shrine (Marstine 2006: 9–10) but it also tries to become more reflexive and diversity-oriented.

The empirical data pooled through the ethnographic approach was not exemplified in **Study I** or **II** through straight quotations from the empirical data. One of the reasons behind this for the particular publications was a sense that it was important not to highlight specific articulations by particular people (my colleagues) in the published analysis. Particular people might have been connected with references personally, although the analysis was about a professional subject position, i.e. a social identity. For the purpose of overcoming the limitations of the article-based format, and to enhance the transparency of the analysis as well as to provide insights to the background of the study, I will exemplify some of the actual articulations on which the findings are based.

The identity formation of cultural expert in that process could be interpreted in the context of these findings as the **authoritative** one, formed by the modernist components that Carpentier (2011a) has highlighted to describe the traditional culture professional's identity formation. The modernist identity formation of the culture professional, the concept of participation in its AIP-elaborated form as well as a constructivist social ontology was used as an analytical platform to challenge the identity formation of the museum professional (**Study II**). The museum professionals were close to these spatial decision-making processes, and were able to influence the internal planning of the museum space (**Study II**). The planning process engaged not only the architects and museum workers, but also engineers. "*What is best for the museum*" (SM5) was the principle that was followed by the engineer who was hired by the museum to mediate the ideas of the architects and the visions of the museum workers concerning the internal spaces. This framed the overall atmosphere of the production debates between the representatives of different fields. Audiences were sometimes articulated in the debate as a general, heterogeneous visiting public who would receive a quality end product, often (and sometimes cynically) articulated in a marketing discourse (**Study II**). This finding echoes the argument made in **Study IV** that the economic field is very authoritative and limiting when it comes to participation. A museum professional called a large space for temporary exhibitions "purely marketing", and "the gold of the Aztecs" (PM14²). An external content expert compared a large-scale popular symbol to a supermarket strategy to attract customers (PM16). A member of the intervention team (mediating the ideas of John Falk 2009) tried to convince other ENM professionals that "the museum competes with the

² Abbreviations are used to refer to the field notes listed in Appendix 1.

beach, shoe shop and TV series, /---/ it is a leisure decision for ‘clients’” (IM1). This in turn resulted in another professional voicing a broader discomfort when talking about ‘clients’ in (the public) museum context – “we have visitors” (IM1). A somewhat disrespectful detachment towards popularisation in connection to the economic field references the prevailing sense among museum professionals that ‘true’ expertise in museums should (ideally) not be affected by profit-making logics.

As **Study II** points out, there are struggles between the different cultural experts, although largely because of their rootedness in different fields of knowledge: architecture, engineering, collections management, curatorship and research. What took place was not so much a consequence of the conflicted fields pointed out in **Study IV**, but of the identity work related to particular identity components such as legitimate knowledge and autonomy. One example of these struggles was the debate around the internal walls centred on the layout of the sub-halls. There was a general question of openness implicitly raised both by the architects and the museum professionals according to the ideas stemming from their fields, but these did not appear to match comfortably. As one museum professional phrased it: “They want open workspace and closed exhibition spaces, we want closed workspaces and open exhibition spaces” (PM6). The architects’ answer to the engineers’ demand to support the ceiling with pillars (SM1) was to “hide” them in the walls of the newly introduced sub-halls. They imitated internally the ‘rhythm’ of the runway layout outside, and although almost all of them were larger than the gallery spaces available at that moment, it still brought about a sense of the space being too fixed. Thus, the initial architectural idea of an extremely open exhibition space was transformed into what the engineer called “bunker after bunker” (SM1). Eventually a compromise was reached after a series of meetings where the goal of the museum professionals was to prevent the rigidity of “concrete boxes” (SM2) (the sub-halls) from limiting future exhibition designs. These extensive debates among professionals clearly favour professional identity formation that follows a clear distinction of producers (museum professionals) and receivers (museum visitors). The research interventions, however, do provide both at the practical and (meta-)analytical level certain means of suggesting more diverse possibilities in that regard.

3.2. How does audience participation affect museum-embedded cultural expertise?

3.2.1. Exhibitions

In the architectural phase of production, the voices of the audiences participate only in the form of online comments. The ‘big picture’ is not something audiences can affect through the participatory framework. The voices of the

audience in the form of online commentaries were spontaneous reactions to the news and opinion articles that were written from the position of expertise (**Study I**). As such the online commentaries remain limited by that particular 'frame' and do not significantly affect the identity formation of cultural experts. Research interventions in general, and Open Curatorship in particular, experimented with the participatory influence of audiences, Open Curatorship being the only maximalist example. This provoked identity work from those who have traditionally been positioned as cultural experts. The Open Curatorship intervention can be viewed as one of the instruments through which the traditional curatorial identity was forced to reconsider/confront new museological change (Marstine 2006). The intervention that gave curatorial power to the 'amateurs' was discussed within the museum on several occasions both before and after the Create Your Own Exhibition campaign took place. Because of the disempowering "rupture" that the intervention brought about for the traditional safeguarded and autonomous identity of museum professional, it evoked defensive and anxious responses from the ENM professionals (**Study II**).

Articulations emerged largely through positioning the professional identity in relation to the imagined Open Curatorship identity in the Create Your Own Exhibition project. Carpentier's (2011) components of modernist culture professional's identity served as the sensitised basis for selecting the specimens. The specimens were then categorised according to the tactics of identity work that emerged. The most evident of which were **resistance**, **othering** and **anxiety**. **Resistance** was mostly seen in relation to the museum professional's scarce resources of (such as time): "preparing museum objects for [the Open Curatorship] exhibition requires extra time" (IM8) and towards the new power relations: "exhibitions are chosen differently, not by ordinary people" (IM8). The mentioning of 'ordinary people' is also part of the strategy of **othering**, positioning them as ignorant people who should not be allowed any special access to the collections to prepare for their exhibition (IM8). Another subtle way of othering was to voice concern over experts' participation possibly "ruining" the amateur idea and production (IM8). **Anxiety** was revealed in the identity work of the museum professional when reliability in the production process and fair play in the public vote were brought up in the process (IM9) (**Study II**).

In the intervention team, **resistance**, **anxiety** and **othering** were also somewhat present, but the emphasis was on being **reflexive** and **productive**. This tendency is reflected in the debate over the Open Curatorship intervention's aim. The intervention team leader wished to "invite folks who are a bit different to think with us and participate" (IM7), provoking some doubt from others who pointed out the danger of nevertheless receiving proposals mainly from "collectors of matchbox houses" and "handicraft groups" (IM7), signifying those who already consider themselves legitimate candidates to make their own exhibition at the ENM (IM7) (**Study II**). To some extent, these apprehensions came true. The overall winner was a practising funeral and

graveyard manager with a clear sense of mission to collect and study customs relating to his profession. The second winner was a group of handicrafters with considerable professional experience from the popular handicraft manufacture of the Soviet era.

Not all findings in the analysis were included in the published version of **Study II** and will thus be presented below. Being responsible for the facilitation of the Open Curatorship process as a museum representative, I decided not to make the analysis an autobiographical one or ‘professionalise’ my own curatorial identity in favour of a more facilitatory one. For the sake of a more distanced and general reflection, I gathered feedback from my fellow museum professionals after the first exhibition was finished. In short, although I used some field notes for reflection during the process, the reflective meeting provided a more open and focused opportunity to look at how and whether the result of the participatory process affected the way museum professionals articulate the curatorial identity. The curators of the two Open Curatorship exhibitions from outside the ENM were independent and, in principle, ready to make a majority of the decisions on their own. However, there was a prevailing sense that they tended to humbly accept proposals from the museum representatives (e.g. the inclusion of a board game in the exhibition or, especially, proposals related to graphic design (field notes)).

At roundtable discussion after the first Open Curatorship exhibition had finished, resistance gave way to **assimilation**, albeit with reservations. The goal of reaching a wider audience through an invitation to make one’s own exhibition was generally received positively and the exhibition house employees noticed that, “it brought in totally different audiences” (IM11). The reversal of the power balance in a larger context of exhibition production was interpreted as “exclusion of certain people [museum curators] from the dialogue” (IM11) and did not (yet) seem to be a useful priority for museum professionals. The first exhibition on funeral customs also did not meet the rather high expectations of “changing the paradigm” (IM11) or “creating a new visual quality” as it had apparently succeeded in doing in Stockholm (IM11). Behind the scenes there was a rumour that a few of the photos on display “had disappeared from a local farmhouse” (IM11), emphasising the disparity between the non-professionals’ work ethics and those of the museum professionals.

The media coverage of the Open Curatorship was described as “astonishing” (IM11) because to a museum professional the ideas proposed looked “so fragmented that I could not imagine the possibility of combining them into an exhibition” (IM11). This explains why it was also considered important to emphasise the distinction between the “ENM and non-ENM” exhibitions as visitors automatically assume everything to be an ENM production (IM11). Such distinction still seemed to be largely based on the **othering** of ‘amateur’ curators from museum professionals, because when Open Curatorship exhibitions do not meet the ‘professional’ quality that the visitors expect, this was considered to be damaging to the museum’s interests and image. The

proposal for the future to develop the intervention into a Create Your Own Exhibition brand was, on the one hand **assimilating** Open Curatorship as a legitimate practice in the museum, but on the other hand is a way of keeping it in its own box both spatially and in terms of expert identity formation. Essentially, Open Curatorship seems to be ‘automatically’ assigned to the already familiar **hosted** (Simon 2010) which, through the discussions, acquired a new label.

The construction of ethnological knowledge involves a participatory relationship between the researcher and the informant that resembles the **contributory** logics. It is rather logical that this has also been the mode by which members of the public have historically been invited to contribute objects and other content to the Estonian National Museum (**Study III**). **Collaborative** and **co-creative** modes of **participation** are more difficult to integrate with the museum professional’s identity when it comes to exhibition production in the public premises of the museum. In terms of professional ethics and power relations, co-creation of content (for example Simon 2010) and knowledge (Basu and Macdonald 2007) does not yet seem to be accepted as a way to legitimise the work of exhibition production (**Study II**).

Since the Open Curatorship intervention led to the strategic plan to accept it as an official format for making exhibitions, its own space has been developed as part of permanent exhibition production. Ideas for several more collaborative and co-creative regular formats for participation in exhibition context have been added to the agenda.

3.2.2. Collections

While **Study II** looked at the exhibition production process and how a participatory intervention in such context can influence the identity of the curator, **Study III** interpreted the results of the intervention according to the influence on the collections. Collections form through a certain legitimisation process where objects become ‘musealised’ and gain the status of being part of the national cultural heritage. Collections can therefore be considered an ‘**embodied**’ manifestation of cultural expertise.

Theoretical analysis of the **authoritative-to-collaborative** transformation focused on the formation of museum collections through the AIP model of participation distinguishing **access**, **interaction** and **participation** (Carpentier 2007), especially the **minimalist-maximalist** distinction of participation (Carpentier 2007). The distinction is based on the fundamental way in which the political manifests itself. When participatory processes and structures are under the control of designated professionals, then such participation can be categorised as **minimalist** (Carpentier 2011b: 17–22). In the **maximalist** mode, participatory processual and structural power is shared beyond the group of designated experts and the political manifests as “a dimension of the social” (Carpentier 2011b: 69). Subsequently, the concepts of ‘**virtual**’ and ‘**physical**’

were developed to further categorise the impact of participatory interventions in museum collection formation (**Study III, table 4**). Taking into account the idea of the digital becoming innate to our museum experiences (Parry 2007: 136) and acknowledging the possible misunderstanding of the notion of virtual as in the digital media, the concept of ‘virtual’ impact on collections refers to participatory action that does not physically affect museum collections (i.e. not resulting in any accessioning of objects or change in catalogue description). The ‘**virtual**’ also has a temporal component, referring to the ephemeral nature of participation in the museum exhibition space: the framework in which the activities take place in a certain timeframe. Obviously, the concept of ‘**physical**’ impact consequently refers to participatory processes that result in collections being physically affected (for example, when new contributions and/or interpretations are accessioned).

The following table summarises the categorisations of the interventions according to the theoretical matrix. It is slightly reorganised compared to the one printed in **Study III** (p. 38). First of all, the table in the published article attempted to point out that access and interaction are prerequisites to participation, even though they should analytically be distinguished in order not to allow participation to be reduced to access or interaction. The matrix categorises them under the broader category of ‘impact’ (‘**virtual**’ and ‘**physical**’) in order to avoid the impression of such reduction. Two subsequent interventions from 2012 – My Gift, and A Regretted Purchase – and the development of the participation gallery for the new building from 2011 have been added as a reference to continuity (see also Figure 3).

Table 4. Audience participation interventions at the ENM according to their influence on museum collections. The number of objects involved in the impact is given in brackets.

Participation	‘Virtual’ impact	‘Physical’ impact
Minimalist	With 1000 Steps... (80 comments) My Favourite (50 objects)	Correspondents’ network (6193 pages in 2011) Estonian Moments (1000 photographs since 2006) Donate a Day (450 descriptions) My Favourite (4 objects) Create Your Own Exhibition (6 objects) My Gift (3225 drawings from 174 schools) A Regretted Purchase (50 stories and 44 objects)
Maximalist	Create Your Own Exhibition (2 exhibitions, 33 proposals)	(Participation Gallery in development for the new building)

All interventions except Open Curatorship have so far been **minimalist** participatory processes. All of the minimalist interventions can be categorised as **contributive** according to Simon's (2010) typology, whereas the Open Curatorship intervention tends to fall into the **hosted** category. To a large extent, Open Curatorship intervention was about ENM resources turned over to serve the presentation by public groups (Simon 2010, online), although an important component of the intervention was to be sensitive towards the power relationships and treat the process as an experiment with **maximalist** participation. Sticking to Simon's typology for a full categorisation of interventions would fall short of including the power dynamics around collection formation. Simon's typology does not distinguish the minimalist and maximalist dimension of the participatory and also does not distinguish the 'virtual' and 'physical' impact. Therefore the relevant dimensions were added to the categorisation.

The following will explain some of the reasoning behind the conceptual categorisation of the interventions. First of all, it must be pointed out that the most typical mediation of existing objects in museums – for contemplation (exhibition) or study (researchers visiting the collections) – can also be considered '**virtual**'. Physical impact to the museum object is in most cases being minimised by conservation regulations. In participatory processes such as the experimental intervention this distinction (a quite trivial one at first glance) enables one to notice contingency in the formation of collections.

The impact of a comment on a post-it sticker to a photo reproduction (such as in the intervention at the With 1000 steps exhibition) remains '**virtual**' unless the comment becomes part of the photo's legitimate '**physical**' catalogue description. According to the same logics, an object donated through a participatory process and temporarily displayed in an exhibition hall has a virtual impact as well (although it can be a highly interactive and communicative process), which can become physical when it is accessioned to the museum collections. In the My Favourite exhibition, intervention objects were created on the basis of collections through an interaction of meanings between the existing 'authentic' object in collections and the personal creativity of the participant. Four created objects out of 50 created had a '**physical**' impact, carefully chosen by museum representatives to become part of the museum collections in such a way. From the Open Curatorship intervention, 6 objects became part of the collection, thus having some physical impact. As a comparison, it must be pointed out that the two regular and continuing participatory frameworks – the historic Correspondents' Network and the photo portal Estonian Moments have essentially all entered contributions accessioned by the museum. The Donate a Day campaign followed along the same lines and the descriptions of the participants' day became part of the Museum's archive of correspondents' contributions. A certain disparity appears concerning the physical impact of the different interventions on the formation of collections. To some extent, this can probably be explained by the organisational logics within the museum (for example, to what extent representatives of the collections department were

involved in the creation and execution of the intervention) – but could it also be explained by the particular participatory characteristics? In any case of accessioning, the ‘**physical**’ impact leads to an accumulation of objects and/or the additional layer of description. In order for the physical impact to be maximalist, it should generate some kind of structural change in the collections and/or catalogue. The current formation of the material dimension of museum-embedded cultural expertise (the collections) clearly allows (some) minimalist participation but appears to remain structurally rigid, which probably cannot be explained by conservation requirements alone. One possibility of maximalist impact on collections will be outlined in the discussion chapter below.

The most important finding of this study is that although museum-embedded cultural expertise has formed mainly through the ‘**authoritative**’ and to some extent contributive participation, there are emerging possibilities for diversification. Traditional curatorial expertise has already relied on public participation and becoming conscious of the limitations of the ‘**authoritative**’ should provide ample opportunities to do that. What seems to be emerging (and not only theoretically, because of the planning of the Gallery of Open Participation in the new building) is a broadening social engagement. (Ideally) embedding social structural collaboration in museum expertise can make the museum actively multivocal, empowering and collaborative.

4. DISCUSSION

For the communities, social transformation provides more overall opportunities to create and share cultural content. While museums could take advantage of this, the formation of museum-embedded cultural expertise provides some obstacles that were highlighted in the previous chapter. When museum experts are more willing to share power and authority over museum content, the museum could also provide a platform for the development of new social relationships.

An important transformation for the ENM is the shift from a **shrine**-type of social function (which has also historically had a decolonising function and is retained in the new museum) to one that is more actively building new **social** relationships. The curator of the current permanent exhibition on Estonian culture, Vaike Reeman (2011) looks back at the intentions of the time of its production in “the early 1990s when [ethnic] nationalism was the focus of attention” (Reeman 2011: 39), which guided the main aim of the exhibition “to focus on the most important characteristics and phenomena of Estonian culture” (Reeman 2011: 41). The exhibition on Estonian culture in the 1920s and 1930s was based on the Nordic approach to folk studies and museology, mixing the dominant ethnographic objects of the peasant lifeworld with some artworks from the Baltic German collection. This ‘framed’ peasant everyday life in the 19th century had been criticised by the Soviet government at the time for being too apolitical (Reeman 2011: 43). The permanent exhibition of 1993 in turn has been criticised for trying to fix a certain utopian local-centred approach, suggesting that every parish had one and only one kind of folk costume (Leete 1996, online). Overcoming **monovocal** communication by representing cultural variation and **multivocality** has not (and probably could not have) been the main aim of the current permanent exhibition, produced at the height of popular nationalist sentiment immediately after gaining independence from the Soviet Union. The current transformation of museum expertise envisions an identity for the museum that is more dialogical and less assertive of a timeless ethno-romantic mythology. Achieving this is not an easy task considering the image of the museum among the wider public, as discussed in Study I. The architectural competition of the whole museum space was organised in a way that resulted in a winning design that provoked considerable resistance in the media. Its bold attempt to provide a spatial solution clearly did not coincide with a more general public expectation, which questioned some of the ‘safeguarding’ functions that are imagined in relation to a national museum. Communicative and participatory limitations that are embedded in the formation of traditional expertise bring this discussion to the possibilities for transformation.

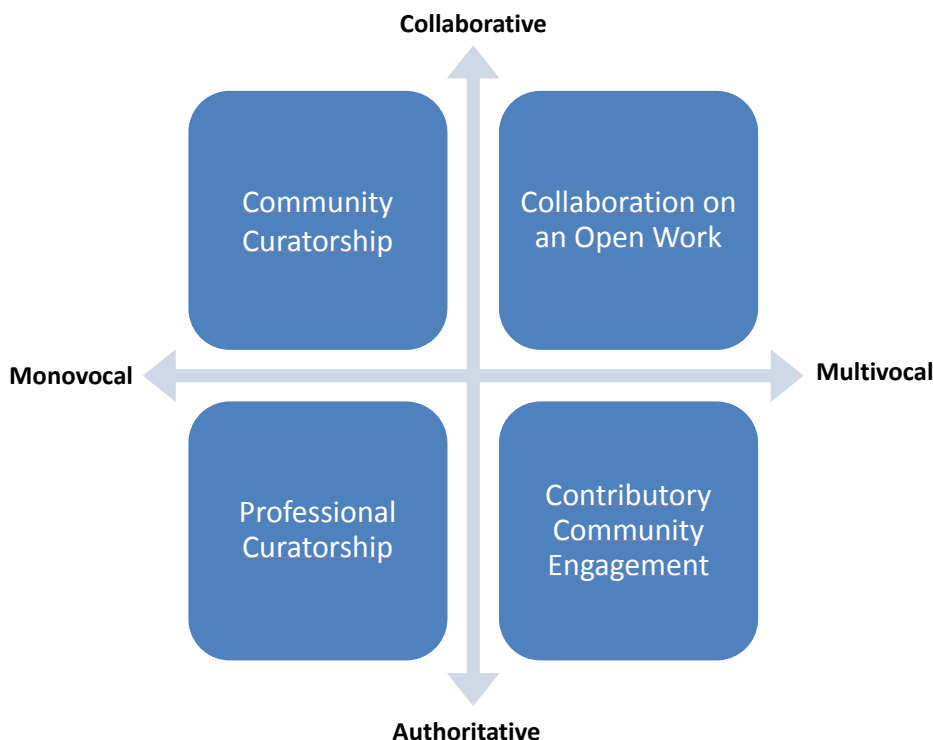


Figure 3. The communicative and participatory transformations of museum-embedded cultural expertise.

The model above interprets the findings on the communicative and participatory transformation by pointing out which main identity formations of (production) expertise are ‘available’. Based on the apprehension that the majority of the museum’s activities have employed **authoritative-monovocal** formation, the research interventions have raised an agenda that gradually extends it, largely through **collaborative community engagement**, but also towards the **authoritative-multivocal** (contributory) formation. Open Curatorship also provided, through a **community curatorship** intervention, an experience of **monovocal-collaborative** formation. Developed further, hopefully the future lies in expertise formation that aims to be both **multivocal and collaborative** by producing content through the mode of ‘**collaboration on an open work**’.

As a normative implication of this study it can be said that in a contemporary museum, these four modes of expertise formation in the communicative and participatory processes should be reflexively developed in order to achieve a balance that respects the old as well as the new. Andrea Witcomb pointed out in her case study that the conservative museum professionals (which in Figure 1 refers to the **authoritative**) were not reflexive enough to see the implications of their reactions to popularising pressures, leaving the innovation of the museum

in the hands of external designers and marketing interests (Witcomb 2003: 74). One could argue, then, that reflexivity is crucial for the museum professionals who want to be able to cope with and manage the changes that innovation within a museum requires. The Museum communication seminars and interventions facilitated by the intervention team can be interpreted as a way of serving that end, as Study IV also concluded.

The components of the culture professional's identity theorised by Carpentier (2011) in the context of participation have been used in this study to conceptually frame the possible diversification of the museum professional's identity. In the discussion here, it is appropriate to discuss the implications of the rearticulation of these components.

Knowledge and skills, from the perspective of diverse audience participation in an ethnographic museum, should mean engaging everyone's 'competence' in one's own everyday life. The intervention "Donate a Day" and the following **contributory engagements** have already been successful in doing so. Competence and skills in fully managing the design process of an exhibition is still not expected of someone other than the museum professional and the major challenge is not to undermine the 'quality' (Carpentier 2011: 339–344) of **community curatorship** in the eyes of the visitors. **Collaboration on an open work** should be seen as an ideal participatory framework where communities could ideally be empowered by professional skills and knowledge through collaboration that also brings valuable self-representational content to the museum (without being reduced to contributory logics only).

Autonomy from external influence is rarely achieved in its fullest extent, as the process of producing a permanent exhibition also showed. Even though the identity work of the **authoritative-monovocal** formation clearly presumes certain field-specific autonomy, there are always some representatives from a different field of expertise involved. The consequence, however, is that potential community participants are easily excluded from the major production processes: Studies I and II showed that it is not easy to locate active audiences in the traditional production processes of museum space and exhibitions. To some extent, this can be explained by the presence of a rather rigid distinction between professionals and 'amateurs', but both the communicative and participatory transformation call for a reconsideration of these boundaries, especially where the production of 'the **open work** on culture(s)' is concerned.

Provided that facilitating **contributive** participation has already become a self-evident component of cultural expertise in museums, a few questions need to be explored in relation to the **public service** component. When non-professional audiences participate, the public relevance of the content produced in the museum setting has to be negotiated. The legitimisation of **community-curated** representations for the general public is a key challenge that, when met effectively, could significantly contribute to the development of a more **multivocal** and **collaborative** cultural expertise and make the whole production climate in museums better functional in the participatory domain. As already

noted in the methodological overview, one of the main personal motivations for engaging in a PhD study was to increase the reflexivity of the museum processes while the museum itself is undergoing a major structural change. Since the interventions slowly but gradually began to merge with the permanent exhibition development processes, it seems that the Estonian National Museum is making the most of the **contributory engagement** potential available to it. This could also be seen as a possible step towards becoming a more **multivocal** and **collaborative** museum that includes an expanded array of contemporary social groups and topics.

Professional ethics is probably one of the reasons why audience participation is often limited to a contributory form. **Contributory engagement** reserves the museum professionals the decision-making power over content. In a museum, a number of professional principles are employed, such as conservation requirements or the ethics concerning ethnological knowledge production in general. In the reactions that were evoked in the Open Curatorship intervention, the discrepancy between the ethics of community curatorship and that of the professional curatorship became apparent. To a great extent, this discrepancy seemed to be constructed through othering, but at the same time it pointed out the need to ensure direct communication regarding the ethical standards of collecting and knowledge production when **community curatorship** takes place. A more collaborative formation of cultural expertise in museums suggests that the educational aspect becomes crucial for participating communities: their possible 'ignorance' in professional ethics (apart from knowledge and skills) can also be seen as an opportunity rather than hindrance to collaborative participation. In a process of audience participation (both minimalist and maximalist), the 'external' participants are never really **embedded in museum institution** and the relationship needs to be rearticulated. The logics of the target group, when replaced by one of collaboration or even stakeholdership could well provide a new ground from which to explain and negotiate responsibility for production where both the museum and the 'external' parties have their stakes.

Traditionally collected, preserved and exhibited as safeguarded heritage treasures, the museum **collections** can be viewed as a museum-specific addition to Carpentier's general framework of the culture professional's identity. The research interventions were not elaborated to impact this component of expertise and the conclusions about the possible transformation of the identity of collections are somewhat more theoretical in that regard. The meta-analysis can therefore serve as a starting point for a careful design of a possible participatory intervention aimed directly at a structural impact on the museum. Collections as assets can be further diversified through participatory transformation, for example when the museum strives towards its progressivist educational goals, such as interaction design or engagement of an (online) community in heritage reinterpretation (as with the My Favourite intervention). The Open Curatorship intervention could be developed into an experimental

create-your-own-collections participatory framework. Objects that are exhibited would also be accessioned as diffused collections – for example, labelling objects with a ‘tag’ or label that catalogues them in museum collections but at the same time leaves them physically in the hands of community members (with some simple preservation instructions).

When it comes to **management and power** it has also been concluded in other research (Davis 2010) that actual project management and financial decisions hardly involve those who are not professionals and/or internal stakeholders. Even though it is not so uncommon for the external parties to work on the “initial idea and early development of the exhibition concept, in generating content, in understanding the topic, and in helping to deliver associated events”, only on rare occasions did they became engaged in “management planning or in defining the key interpretative messages” (Davies 2011: 318). The Open Curatorship intervention addressed the power relations in cultural production most directly, and from an experimental perspective also took a considerable step away from curatorial control over representations in the museum, disempowering the museum professionals. One should not expect too much from **community curatorship**, for example the emancipation of the museum from the traditional ‘showcase and label’ practice of exhibiting. The Open Curatorship process can also be approached as a translation between communities rather than mere facilitation (Witcomb 2003: 101), and a personal experience from the Open Curatorship process supports this argument. Museum professionals who designed the intervention expected individuals and communities who are not used to participating (or are not yet ‘allowed’ to participate) to make their proposal. At the same time, certain types of amateur were articulated as undesirable participants, which shows that even the participation-enthusiasts have a subject position to defend and position ‘significant others’ among the audiences they aim to engage. A community access gallery can, on the one hand, be seen as an extended form of governmentality (Witcomb 2003) or as legitimising itself as a representative of cultural diversity. On the other hand, stripping museum professionals of complete control might result in the access and participation of individuals and/or communities that the museum institution is not comfortable having on ‘their grounds’. There is also a danger of “underestim[ing] power issues, while romanticizing the power of audience activity, thereby ignoring issues of responsibility” (Stylianou-Lambert 2010: 141).

As with professional curatorship, community curatorship will never be completely autonomous in practice. Open Curatorship processes were incorporated into museum space and in the exhibition production processes, influenced by the suggestions and support by museum professionals. The museum opened its gates to community curators so that they could ‘do their own thing’ in the museum space and then ‘leave’ again. Hopefully this expanded the horizons of museum expertise towards an aim for a more openly diffused and shared space. The argument put forward by Castells is that “power

in the information age is at the same time identifiable and diffused” (Castells 2010b: 425). Ideally, this power could emerge when the identities of museum communities and professionals become diffused through performative actions in which power is shared.

It must also be noted that the agenda behind research interventions did not initially include an explicit goal to promote a ‘participatory museum’. These idea(l)s emerged during the process and the research and are embedded in the change or reinvention gradually taking place (or not) in the whole organisation of the museum. As Elo Võrk has pointed out in her Master’s study (2010) on the organisational changes taking place at the Estonian National Museum. There are multiple changes taking place and typical to any change, the ‘new museological’ change was largely in the ‘unfreezing’ phase during the period under study (Lewin 1951, used in Võrk 2010). The participatory agenda only emerged in these processes through the planning of the imaginary interaction and participation in the planned open collection spaces, interpretation hall and open participation hall. Professional struggles determined the outcome, but some spaces were prudently ‘reserved’ for participation. Since then, there has been some increase in reflexivity and an increase of participatory actions as part of the permanent exhibitions development for the new building. **Collaboration** on ENM collections as ‘**open work**’ is still to be experimented with and some possible directions to take are given in the discussion below. By now, the production of the permanent exhibition is experimenting with an approach that Nina Simon designates as “participatory design” (Simon 2010, online). The Exhibition Laboratory was launched in 2012 in the main temporary gallery of the ENM. It is a dynamic platform for both regular participatory actions as well as the permanent exhibition (including user-testing of the future design elements).

CONCLUSIONS

The Estonian National Museum has played a significant role in consolidating material heritage into the construction of national consciousness. Its historical role continues to dominate its overall public image of a storage for national treasures. The People's Museum (to translate it directly from Estonian) was clearly a major player in the processes of claiming recognition and asserting the special qualities of the Estonian nation in the early 20th century. Museum expertise **embedded** certain practices and values to provide a necessary (material) basis for the imagination of nationhood. The "Transformation of Museum-embedded Cultural Expertise" as a title for this study encompasses both the processual and the situated nature of the cultural expertise that has always been so crucial and which makes 'embeddedness' such a charged concept.

The **transformations** of museum-embedded expertise are implied by the communicative and participatory shifts in society. Theoretical elaborations of the **monovocal-to-multivocal** communication transformation and the **authoritative-to-collaborative** participatory transformation formed the two main intersecting axis through which the study interpreted the transformation of museum-embedded cultural expertise. Methodologically, **participatory observation** and **research interventions** in exhibition production processes provided the empirical and meta-analytical basis from which to interpret the transformative capacity of both the curatorial and the collections components of museum expertise. Stemming from the reflexive agenda of the research group, the research interventions themselves were also discussed in a collective effort as a form of **insider action research**.

How are the identities of museum professionals played out and formed during the negotiations concerning the new ENM exhibition spaces?

In the context of developing the architectural idea and design for a major national museum such as the ENM, the plurality of expertise involved reinstates the autonomy component of expertise. The **authoritative** autonomy in spatial planning seems to be 'disembedded' from the public whose voice is only 'active' in online commentaries. The winning architectural idea also contested some of the components of the 'shrine' identity that the general public still seems to expect from the museum. On the one hand, authoritative expertise in spatial design is bold enough to point out that a national museum and its location can be active agents in a continuous decolonisation process. On the other hand, there is a noticeable gap between authoritative expert design and public opinion. The fact that museological change within the Museum was only at the unfreezing phase explains why to a large extent museum-embedded expertise did not form through multivocal communication with the active

audiences but focused on ensuring authority in curating the internal exhibition spaces. The material manifestation of museum-embedded cultural expertise – the ENM object collections – has also been a crucial component for both the museum expertise as well as the national identity formation for Estonians. Today, the massive collections are stored in many different locations, are managed by professional storage managers and mediated by curators, with the promise to protect and show the existing ‘treasures’.

How does audience participation affect these identity constructions?

Contributory audience engagement has played an important public role in the history of the ENM. Inspired by the neighbouring Scandinavian countries, the cultural elite of the early 20th century led many volunteers and enthusiasts to take part in a widespread ‘salvage’ of the material essence of rural peasant culture, representing ‘Estonianness’. Contributors continue to take part in the museum in a minimalist democratic sense, with curatorial and accessioning decisions in the hands of museum professionals. The Open Curatorship research intervention challenged the power relations in exhibition production and experimented with more maximalist modes of participation by allowing active community members to assume the expert position in a temporary exhibition space. Resistance, anxiety and othering appeared towards this change in identity formation, followed by reserved assimilation. However, most of the ‘identity work’ required to bring more balance and diversification to the expertise embedded in museum activities still lies ahead. The museum professional is considering, more than in the earlier phases, the ways to make audiences part of the development process. Adding more contributory engagement actions to the development process such as the current Exhibition Laboratory (with new participatory action launched almost every three months) clearly brings more diverse participation and communication issues to the forefront. Based on the experiences of the Open Curatorship intervention, a specifically assigned space for maximalist participatory actions based on **community curatorship** is also under development. Its aim is to become a platform on which to build processes where museum-embedded cultural expertise takes different **multivocal** and **collaborative** social forms. The ENM thus strives to ‘renew’ itself in multiple positive respects over and above just a new building, which too often seems to be the focus of media attention.

This study believes that **overcoming rigid distinctions** between the identities of culture expert and visitor is a prerequisite to seeing a multitude of ways that communication and participation can be organised and structured in the museum context. The museum will continue to be, first and foremost, a ‘national shrine’ for Estonians – it is not the aim of this study to argue against that. On the contrary, participatory engagement has indicated it would be beneficial to expand and build upon that expertise. When looking at an array of developments that might enhance the Estonian National Museum and allow it to

become more active at a contemporary societal level, there is certainly plenty of identity work to be done to initiate dialogue, meaningful contributory engagement, community curatorship, and, on appropriate occasions, ‘**collaboration on an open work**’. It is not that museums no longer have any messages and need to turn to the public for help, it is the broader sociocultural transformation processes that makes it imperative to rethink the museum’s communicative and participatory potential.

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SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN

Muutused muuseumipõhises kultuuriekspertiis (Eesti Rahva Muuseumi näitel)

Lühiülevaade uurimuse eesmärgist, metodoloogiast ja ülesehitusest

Alates 1970. aastatest on uus museoloogia pööranud üha enam tähelepanu muuseumi eesmärkide ümbermõtestamisele. Kõige üldisemas plaanis peaks muuseum pakkuma ühiskonnale selget kasu (Watson 2007) ja olema tänapäeva külastajale sotsiaalses mõttes asjakohane (Fyfe 2006). Traditsiooniline koguv ja säilitav muuseum jäävat sotsiaalkultuurilistele muutustele mõneti jalgu ning muutub anakronistlikuks (Vergo 1989). Traditsioonilisel muuseumil on ühiskonnas siiski kinnistunud eksperdi positsioon ning käesoleva uurimuse keskmes ongi „muuseumipõhise ekspertsuse“ muutumine nende võimaluste ja vajaduste väljal, mida pakuvad osaluspõhised võimusuhted ja kommunikatsioon.

Dissertatsioon uurib, milline on Eesti Rahva Muuseumi muutumise kontekstis kultuuriekspertiisi ülesehitus ning kuidas täpsemalt võiks auditooriumide osalus ekspertsust mõjutada või koguni muuta. Uurimuse sotsiaaltoloogiline lähtekoht on konstruktivistlik, laenates identiteedi mõiste 'subjektipositsioon' Ernesto Laclau ja Chantal Mouffe'i (Laclau & Mouffe 1985) diskursusteooriast. Selle kohaselt moodustatakse/liigendatakse sotsiaalne identiteet diskursiivselt, sarnasust ja erisust määratlevate tähistajate kaudu, mis ei ole olemuslikult ette määratud.

Käesolev doktoritöö on osa suurema uurimisrühma tööst, mis alustas tegevust 2009. aastal ning mille raames teevad sarnastel teemadel doktoritööd ka Krista Lepik ja Agnes Aljas. Uurimisrühma metodoloogilist lähtekohta võib sekkumistel põhineva ülesehituse tõttu iseloomustada kui sisemise sekkumisega uuringut (ingl k *insider action research*) (**Uurimus IV**). Sekkumised on aset leidnud eksperimentaalsete osalusaktatsioonide kujul, mille lähtekohaks, andmete allikaks ja ka väljundiks on uurimistöös olnud Eesti Rahva Muuseumi muutumine seoses uue hoone planeerimise ja sisu ettevalmistusega. Käesolevale uurimistööle eelnes ametialane töö muuseumis näituste korraldajana ning seejärel uurimust teostades teadurina. Nagu uurimuslikud sekkumised on ühtaegu nii konkreetseid tegevused muuseumi arendamiseks kui ka uurimiseks, on ka minu kui uurija roll olnud läbivalt kahetine. Uurijana tuli võtta aktiivselt osaleva vaatleja positsioon, mis sekkumiste (eelkõige osalusaktatsioon „Oma näitus“) puhul on tähendanud osadust ja vastutust muuseumi tööprotsessis.

Andmete kogumise periood kestis kokku kolm aastat (aprill 2008 – mai 2011). Uurimuslikud sekkumised leidsid ERMis aset jaanuarist 2009 märtsini 2011, millele eelnes vaatlev osalus uue püsinäituse ruumide planeerimises ja sisu kavandamises. Kvalitatiivne analüüsi meetod seisnes välitöömaterjalide lähilugemises, kaardistamiseks väljaütlemisi ehk artikulatsioone, millest nähtub muuseumipõhise kultuuriekspertiidi identiteedi liigendus. Igapäevastes tööprotsessides identiteet otsesõnu ei väljendunud, kuid sekkumiste mõjul nähtus see

ka aktiivsemates väljaütlemistes. Refleksiivne analüüs mõjutas osaliselt ka uurimusliku sekkumise protsessi käiku ning “Oma näituse” konkursi ja võiduideede elluviimine mõjutas edasist osalustegevuste planeerimist ERMi uues hoones. Muuseumi siseselt toimusid sekkumistega paralleelselt ka siseseminarid, kus osaluspõhimõtteid ja -strateegiat vahendati ja analüüsiti.

Uurimistulemused jagunevad lisaks katustekstile nelja publikatsiooni. **Uurimus I** vaatles muuseumi ruumilist kavandamist, otsides nende raames aktiivsete auditooriumide olemasolu. **Uurimus II** süvenes enam kuraatori ekspertsuse väljendumisele, seda võrdlevalt uue püsinäituse ja “Oma näituste” ettevalmistamise protsessides. **Uurimus II** on ka teatavaks pöördepunktiks, kus sekkumistest saab (meta)analüüsi objekt ning **Uurimuses III** ongi metaanalüütilise vaatluse all osaluse mõju muuseumi kogudele kui ühele muuseumipõhise ekspertsuse komponendile. **Uurimus IV** on osaluslike sekkumiste kollektiivne metodoloogiline analüüs ühiskondlike makrokategooriate (kultuuriline, majanduslik ja poliitiline) valguses.

Muuseumipõhise ekspertsuse teoreetiline kontekst

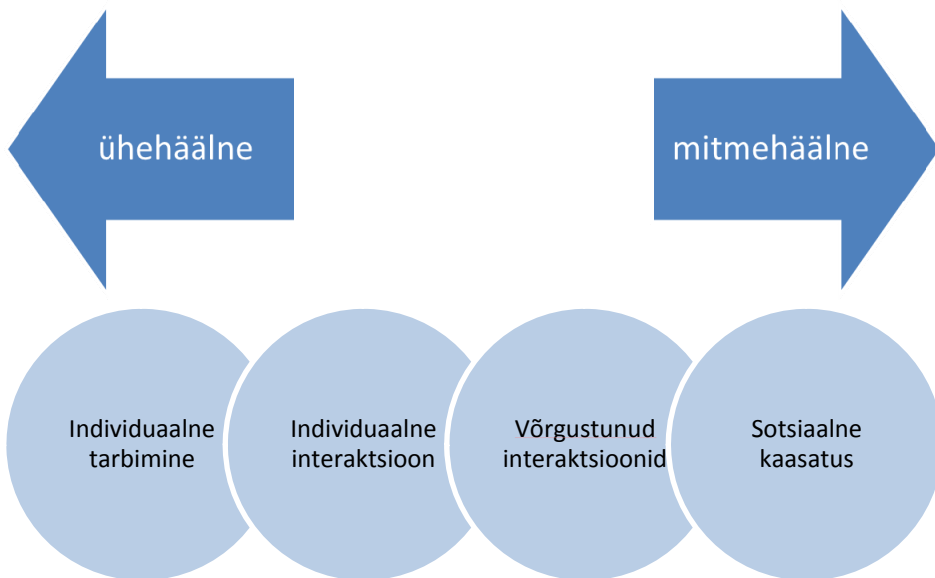
ERMi ajalooline roll kultuurirahvuslusel põhinevais dekoloniseerimisprotsessides on eeldanud seismist selle eest, et rahvusteadvuse materiaalne osa säiliks ning oleks avalikkuses teadvustatud. Niisugune roll on määratlenud ja kinnistanud ekspertide ja vastuvõtjate-külastajate sotsiaalsed identiteedid. Muuseumidest on saanud paigad, kus vahendatakse professionaalide eriteadmisi mittespetsialistidele külastajatele (Dicks 2004: 145). Nico Carpentier (2011) on oma teoreetilises analüüsis eristanud kultuurieksperti (modernistliku) identiteedi tüüpkomponendid ehk teatavad kinnistunud tähistajad, millest „ekspertsus“ koosneb ning mis võimaldavad ka vastandada eksperte auditooriumidele kui “tavalistele inimestele”. Tüüpkomponentidest esimene on “legitimeeritud” **teadmised ja oskused** ehk ekspertiis konteksti ja esemete osas, mis vahel laieneb ka turunduse ja asjaajamise valdkonda. **Sõltumatus** on “legitiimsete teadmistega” lähedalt seotud ekspertsuse osa ning tähistab autonoomiat välistest mõjudest, sealhulgas teatud olukordades ka auditooriumidest. Siiski on kultuurieksperti identiteedi osaks ka **avaliku huvi teenimine**, mis võib aga (nagu ka ICOMi muuseumi definitsioonist nähtub (Harris 2010)) sisaldada vaikumisi eeldust, et külastajad on muuseumikommunikatsioonis pigem passiivsed vastuvõtjad. Ka kohustus lähtuda **professionaalse eetika** põhimõtetest eristab eksperti mitte-ekspertidest. Oluline on ka kultuuriekspertide **institutsionaliseeritus**, mis põhineb tihti töösuhtel, tugisüsteemidel ja kolleegide võrgustikul. Eksperti vastutusega kaasneb **võimu ja vastutuse** rakendamine, mis tekitab aga ka psühholoogilise omandi tunde. (Carpentier 2011: 190–193) Muuseumide puhul on psühholoogilise omandi tunde objektiks muuseumi ressursid ja eriti muidugi **kogud**. Osaluspõhise kommunikatsiooni ja võimuhete väljal on eelpool loetletud komponente võimalik ümber mõtestada ja mitmekesistada ning neid võimalusi alljärgnevalt analüüsi kokkuvõtte avabki.

Kuigi käesoleva uurimuse eesmärk ei ole analüüsida rahvusluse diskursuste muutumist rahvusmuuseumides, siis osalusega seondud probleemide võrgustik puudutab ka neid küsimusi. Lääneriikides on 20. sajandil palju kriitikat saanud eksponeeritava kultuuri suhtes valitsenud progressivistlik hoiak, mis tekitas vaikumisi eri kultuuride vahele hierarhiad (Dicks 2004: 149–150). Ometi on täheldatud, et multikultuurne lähenemine ei ole Euroopa rahvusmuuseumides sugugi levinud (Aronsson 2011:1; Aronsson and Elgenius 2011:14–16). Osaliselt seletub see ilmselt tõsiasjaga, et kuraatorid ongi tänapäeval keerulises olukorras, kus tuleb ühelt poolt süvitsi lahata rahvuslike mütoloožiatega seonduvaid küsimusi, kuid tulla teiselt poolt vastu ka külastajate ootusele, et muuseumist leiavad nad endiselt kinnitust konkreetsete kultuuriliste identiteetide olemasolule (Dicks 2004: 149–150). ERMi uue püsinäituse töörühma koordinaator ja juhtteadur on siiski tõstnud sotsiaalse ja kultuurilise mitmekesisuse muuseumi uuel püsinäitusel tähelepanu keskmesse (Rattus 2009), mis loob head eeldused osaluspõhisema ekspertsuse tekkeks.

Vaba aja kaubastumine on ühiskondlik suundumus, mis mõjutab ka muuseume, eeldades muuhulgas ka haridusliku meelelahutuse osakaalu suurenemist (Dicks 2004). Muuseumidel tuleb edasi kanda tsiviliseerija ja harija rolli ning võistelda ka külastaja tähelepanu eest äri sektori meelelahutuslike ahvatlustega. Kaubastumise mõju jääb küll käesoleva uurimuse fookusest välja, kuid tasub siiski märkida, et muuseumi “turundusniši” vajalikkusest on muuseumiprofessionaalid teadlikud, kuigi kasumi teenimise loogikaga (kus „külastajast“ saab „klient“ või „tarbija“) nad oma ekspertiisi parema meelega ei seostaks.

Lisaks turunduslikule survele mõjutavad ekspertsust aktiivsed auditooriumid (Runnel & Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt 2010; Simon 2010) ja nn kollektiivne loovus, mis on hägustanud sisu loojate ja vastuvõtjate/tarbijate vahelisi piire (Schröder 2009:67). Aktiivsed auditooriumid pole muuseumis esindatud mitte pelgalt isiklike valikute kaudu (Marstine 2006: 2), vaid neid on oluline mõtestada ka kogukonna mõiste kaudu. „Kogukond“ tähistab auditooriume, kes on (võimalikud) aktiivsed osalejad muuseumi tegevustes, mõjutades seega ka muuseumipõhise ekspertsuse ülesehitust. Kogukondade kaasamine näitusekontekstis ei keskendu enam üksnes mineviku kajastamisele, vaid rõhuasetus nihkub kaasaega, tõstes tähelepanu keskmesse inimõigused ja kodanikuosaluse (Aronsson and Elgenius 2011: 16–17). Mis puudutab muuseumide nõ ametlikku määratlust, siis ICOMi kaasajastatud muuseumi definitsioon täienes aastal 2007 küll ‘vaimse kultuuripärandi’ mõistega, kuid eeldab vaikumisi endiselt muuseumi “vanamoodsat paternalistlikku rolli” ning ei arvesta otsesõnu auditooriumide mitmekesisusega (Harris 2010:133–134). Teatud määral jääb muuseum alati kogukondade konstrueerijaks (Witcomb 2003), kuna tegemist on modernistliku asutusega, mida kannab masse kaudselt ohjav „valitsuslik“ vaimulaad (ingl k *governmentality*) (Bennett 1995, Hall 1999:14, tsit Mason 2006:24). Teatud määral ongi tsiviliseeriva funktsiooniga vaimulaad muuseumide võimupositsioonile kuju andnud ning muutnud valdavaks ühtlustava ja ühesuunalise kommunikatsiooni (nõ kuraatori sõnum): muuseum “kõneleb” ja õpetab ning

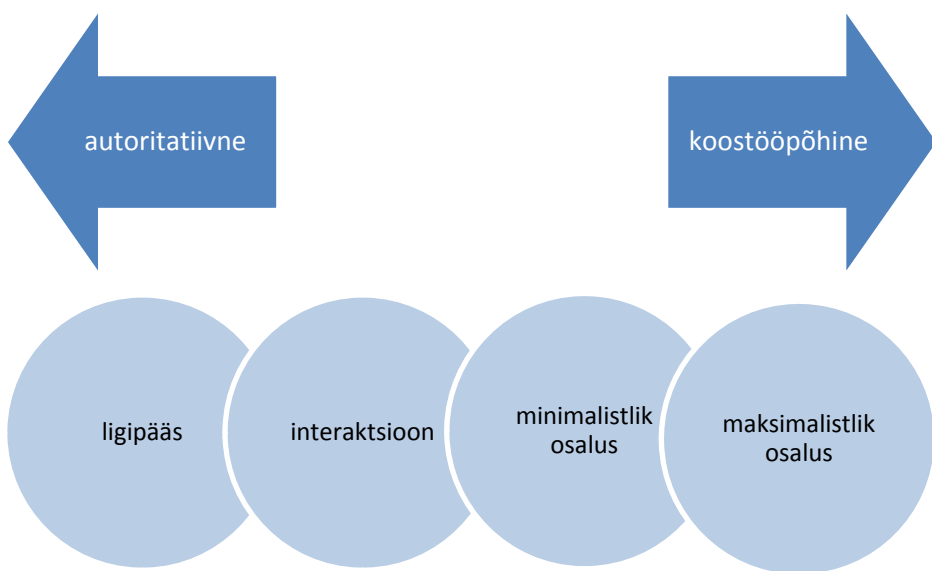
külastaja “kuulab” ja õpib. Niisugune positsioon pole iseenesest halb, kuid liigselt kinnistununa võib varjata mõned võimalused, kuidas ühiskonnas aktiivsemat ja kaasaegsemat rolli etendada. Väljakutse, millega muuseumi silmitsi seisab, on: kuidas muuta kogukondade projektid muuseumipõhiseks nii, et nad jääksid samal ajal ka kogukondade arusaamade ja ülesehitusega piisavalt kooskõlla (Crooke 2010:27)? Muuseumi seisukohalt vaadatuna on üks lahenduse võtmeid selles, kui võrd on kogukondi mõtestatud aktiivsete osanikena (Lepik & Carpentier, ilummas) kultuuripärandis. Muuseumiosalusest rääkiva raamatu „*The Participatory Museum*“ autor Nina Simon (2010) on väitnud, et muuseumiosalust peaks mõtestama individuaalselt sotsiaalsele orienteeritud skaalal. Lähtudes sotsiaalse veebi põhimõtetest on individuaalsest sisutarbimisest võimalik kujundada järjepanu interaktsiooniks, võrgustunud interaktsioonidest ning viimaks sotsiaalne (meilt-meile) kommunikatsioon (Simon 2010). Kui tavapärases muuseumi-kõnepruugis nimetatakse auditooriume külastajateks, siis osaluspõhise kommunikatsioonimudel püüab mõistesse hõlmata ka uuemaid arenguid aktiivsuse ja kollektiivse loomingu suunas. Järgneva mudeli puhul on oluline märgata, et efektiivselt sõnumit edastava ühehäälsel kommunikatsiooni kõrval on võrdselt oluline mitmehäälsed ja dialoogiline kommunikatsioon.



Joonis 1. Osaluspõhise muuseumikommunikatsiooni väli (Simon 2010 põhjal).

Simoni tüpoloogia pakub ühelt poolt osalusaktivisti “retsepti” muuseumi-professionaalidele, kuid teiselt poolt ka pragmaatilise tõlgendusraamistiku, mille alusel luua ja hinnata osalusaktsioone. Uue museoloogia kontekstis viitab tema nelikjaotus selgelt vajadusele muuta muuseume mitmehäälsemaks ja osaluspõhisemaks. Võtmeroll on siinkohal võimusuhte ümbermõtestamisel. Hooper-Greenhill (1992:7) osutab, et kuraatorid peaksid oma võimupositsiooni teadvustama ning püüdma kohandada vastavalt ka oma praktikaid. Kuna “demokraatia demokratiseerimine” (Giddens 1998) on kestev protsess ning uued tehnoloogiad võiksid seda toetada (Thumim 2009: 618, 632), siis on kultuurisfääris ekspertsuse mitmekesistamise võimalikkus ja vajalikkus ajakohane probleem. Osaluspõhiselt mõtestatud võimusuhted ongi käesolevas uurimuses muuseumipõhise eksperdi identiteedi analüüsimisel teine oluline aspekt kommunikatsiooni kõrval.

Uurimuslikud sekkumised pakkusid nii praktilisi kui (meta)analüütilisi lähtekohti ekspertsuse mitmekesistamiseks. Võimusuhte ja osaluse vahekorra mõtestamisel oli uurimuses abiks Nico Carpentieri AIP (*access-interaction-participation* ehk ligipääs-interaktsioon-osalus) mudel. Mudeli eesmärk on eristada võimusuhte dünaamika alusel seda, kas tehnoloogia, sisu, inimesed ja organisatsioonid on ligipääsetavad ja kommunikatiivsed ning kuivõrd võimaldatakse otsuste tegemisel ühisosa. Osalus sisuliste otsuste tegemises eristabki osalust ligipääsust ja interaktsioonist. (Carpentier 2011b: 130) **Uurimus III** võttis analüüsis abiks ka Patemanilt (1970) pärit minimalistliku ja maksimalistliku osaluse eristuse. Maksimalistlik osalus eeldab võimu jagamist ka võtmeotsuste tegemisel (Carpentier 2011b:17–22, 69). Minimalistlik osalus on muuseumikontekstis pigem panustavat tüüpi, mille puhul muuseum mõtleb välja projekti, mille sisuks või osaks on külastaja poolne panustamine asjakohaste esemete, tegevuste või ideedega (Simon 2010). Osalemine sel moel käib asutuse poolt piiritletud viisil ning nii projekti eesmärk, struktuur kui ka tulemuste kasutamise viisid on asutuse pärusmaa (Simon 2010). Arvestades nii AIP kui ka minimalistlik-maksimalistliku osaluse mudeleid üldistab muuseumi-ekspertiisi identiteedivälja järgnev joonis, mille telje ühes otsas on autoritatiivsed ning teises otsas koostööpõhised võimusuhted.



Joonis 2. Osaluspõhiste võimusuhte muutumise väli (Carpentier 2011 põhjal)

Arhitektuurivõistlused ja suured kuraatoriprojektid on traditsiooniliselt üles ehitatud nii, et auditooriumidel neile suurt mõju olla ei saa. Seetõttu pole ka väga üllatav **Uurimuse I** järeldus, et kuigi auditooriumidega teatud määral arvestatakse, ei ole nad produktsiooniprotsessis kaugeltki aktiivsed osalised. Uue hoone konkursi võidutöö pälvis küll meediatähelepanu, kuid hoone sisu loomist puudutavad arutelud enam avalikku kõlapinda ei leidnud (**Uurimus I ja II**). Sisu kureerimisse on püütud hõlmata küll erinevaid eksperte ning teatud määral on märgata, et lisaks „muuseumi kui pühamu“ (Marstine 2006: 9–10) tähendusele püütakse sisu luua refleksiivsemalt ja mitmekesisust arvestavamalt. Näitusepindade ruumilise planeerimise protsessi üle oli mõju erinevate ekspertiisiväljade esindajatel ning arhitektuurne lahendus pidi teenima muuseumi esindajate soove. Arhitektuuri, inseneriteaduse, koguhoidmise, kuraatorluse ja teaduse ekspertiisiväljade vahel on erinevused piisavalt suured, et kompromisslahenduste leidmiseks kulus aega (näiteks näitusesaalide seinte asukohtade kinnitamise puhul, kus kuraatorite identiteeditöö keskendus ruumilise sõltumatus tagamisele). Vaidlused eri valdkondade professionaalide vahel paistavad aga vaikimisi soosivat ikkagi selget eristust mitteprofessionaalide (küllastajate) identiteedist.

Arhitektuurilise planeerimise faasis oli auditooriumi hääli protsessis osaline üksnes *online*-kommentaariumide kaudu, mis seisnesid pigem spontaansetes reaktsioonides ekspertpositsioonilt kirjutatud uudistele ja arvamuskirjeldustele. Laiemale publikule muid osalemise võimalusi ei olnud, nii et ka minimalistlik osalus muuseumi ruumilises planeerimises oli pigem sümbolne ning kinnistas

ekspertsuse sõltumatust (**Uurimus II**). Uurimuslikest sekkumistest oli maksimalistliku osalusliku mõjuga “Oma näituse” konkurss, nõudes muuseumiprofessionaalidelt identiteeditööd ja suhestumist. Kuna näituseideede valik ja teostus (kuraatori võim) anti üle aktiivsetele auditooriumidele, siis võimaldas protsessi käigus osalemine täheldada ekspertsuse ülesehitust ja võimalikku muutumist. Muuseumiprofessionaalid kaitsevad esmalt oma harjumuslikult sõltumatut ja turvalist positsiooni. Ilmnes kartus, et muuseumi esemete ettevalmistus osalusprojektides võib liiga palju töökoormust suurendada ning märgatav oli ka kahtlus teistsuguse võimusuhte skeemi suhtes, kus mitteprofessionaalidele antakse võim otsustada muuseumi näitusesaali sisu üle. Teisestamine oli üks ekspertsuse „kaitsmise“ viise, mis ilmnes läbi väljaütlemiste, milles näiteks positsioneeriti osaleja ‘tavaliseks inimeseks’, kes muuseumi kogusid ei tunne, mistõttu poleks neil ka niisama lihtne kogudesse pääseda. Kaheldi ka ausa mängu põhimõtetest kinnipidamise võimalikkuses avalikul hääletusel, kus osalevad mitteprofessionaalid. Eraldusjoont mitteprofessionaalidega ilmestasid teisalt aga ka väljaütlemised, mis avaldasid toetust vabade käte andmist “puhtale” amatöörilusele, mida professionaalid ei tohiks omakorda “ära rikkuda”. Uurimuslike sekkumisi planeerinud uurimiskogumises võis samuti täheldada asjaarmastajate teisestamist, kuid rõhk oli lõppkokkuvõttes pigem refleksiivsusel ja konstruktiivsel eksperimenteerimisel. (**Uurimus II**)

Peale “Oma näituse” (esimest) võidutöö näituseks vormistamist toimus analüüs muuseumisisese arutelu vormis. Vastupanu strateegiad olid identiteeditöös asendunud pigem kohanduva taktikaga, kuid siiski teatavate reservatsioonidega. Ettepanek teha “Oma näitusest” tulevikus eraldi bränd näitlikustab hästi kohanduvat identiteeditööd: mitteprofessionaalide kureeriv tegevus muuseumis võetakse osaliselt omaks, kuid luuakse seejuures uus amatööride eristamise viis. „Bränditud“ kujul sarnaneb “Oma näitus” Nina Simoni tüpoloogias pigem “võõrustava” kui “koostööpõhise” (Simon 2010) mudeliga. Identiteeditöö negatiivsema poole pealt oli märgata, et võimusuhetesse sekkumist tõlgendati kui ekspertide dialoogist välja jätmist ning leiti, et “Oma näitus” ei toonud kaasa “paradigma muutust” ega “loonud uut visuaalset kvaliteeti”. Meediakajastuse ulatuslikkus oli professionaalidele siiski ootamatu ja üllatav, kuna konkursile laekunud ideed paistsid liiga toored, et näitusele kõlbulikku sisu võimaldada. See seletab ka ehk ilmnenu tõesiasja, et muuseumitöötajatele oli väga oluline ERMi ja “mitte-ERMi” näituste eristamine. Professionaale häiris, kui külastajad pidasid “Oma näitust” automaatselt ERMi näituseks, kuna sekkumisaktatsioonide raames korraldatud näitused ei vastanud nende meelest professionaalsetele standarditele ega saanud eeldatavalt vastata ka külastaja ootustele muuseumist.

Osaluse mõju muuseumi kogudele eristas **Uurimus III** ‘virtuaalse’ ja ‘füüsilise’ mõju alusel. Digitaalsus on tänapäeva infokeskkonnale juba pigem loomumane kui eriline mõõde (Parry 2007: 136) ning kuigi ‘virtuaalsuse’ mõiste võib endiselt seostuda pelgalt digitaalse meediaga, siis antud uurimuses tähistab ‘virtuaalne’ niisugust osaluse mõju, mis ei muuda püsivalt ehk

füüsiliselt muuseumi kogusid. Näiteks tavapärane museaalide vahendamine muuseumis uurijatele või näitusel külastajatele on kogudele virtuaalse mõjuga. Säilituslike regulatsioonide eesmärk on aga näiteks ohjeldada füüsilist mõju museaalidele. Kui osaluse tulemusel võetakse muuseumis kogudesse uusi esemeid ja/või täiendatakse museaalide kirjeldusi, siis seda tähistabki juba ‘füüsilise’ mõju mõiste osaluse kontekstis.

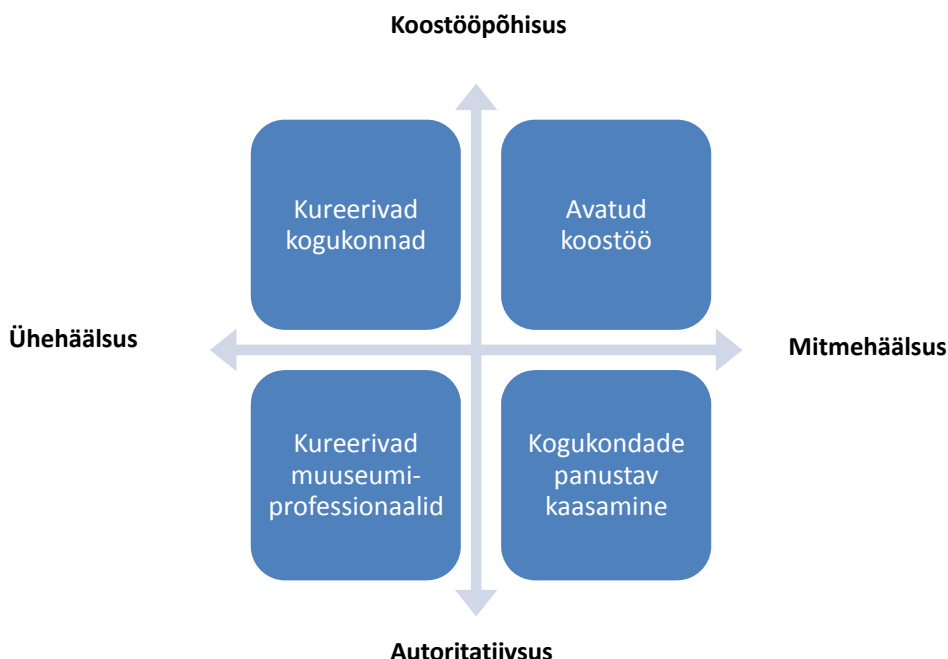
Tabel 1. Auditooriumide osalusega aktsioonid ja nende mõju muuseumi kogudele. Seonduvate esemete arv on ära toodud iga aktsiooni järel sulgudes. Ajalise järjepidevuse esiletõstmiseks on kursiivis ära toodud ka uurimuslikele sekkumistele eelnenud ja järgnenud aktsioonid (**Uurimus III**).

Osalus	‘virtuaalse’ mõjuga	‘füüsiline’ mõjuga
Minimalistlik	Tuhande sammuga... (80 kommentaari) Minu lemmik (50 eset)	<i>Korrespondentide võrk</i> (6193 lk 2011.a) <i>Eesti hetked</i> (1000 kogutud fotot alates 2006) Kingi päev (450 kirjeldust) Minu lemmik (4 eset) Oma näitus (6 eset) <i>Minu kingitus</i> (3225 joonistust 174 koolist) <i>Kahetsetud ost</i> (50 lugu ja 44 eset)
Maksimalistlik	Oma näitus (2 näitust, 33 ideekavandit)	<i>(Avatud osaluse saal ERMi uues hoones)</i>

Kõiki seniseid osalusprotsesse (välja arvatud “Oma näitus”) on iseloomustanud minimalistlik vorm. Nina Simoni (2010) tüpoloogiale kohandatuna võib minimalistlikus vormis sekkumisi liigitada panustavaks osaluseks, maksimalistlikus vormis “Oma näitus” aga asetub “võõrustava” ja „koostööpõhise“ tüübi piirialale. “Oma näitus” suunas ERMi ressursid aktiivsetele kogukondadele kasutamiseks ning sekkus maksimalistliku osalusvormi kaudu tugevalt ka võimusuhtesse muuseumis. Simoni tüpoloogia võimusuhteid ja muuseumi kogusid eraldi ei käsitle, kuid ülalpool olev tabel eristab osaluslike sekkumiste mõju muuseumi kogudele siiski ka võimu mõõtme alusel. Uurimuslike sekkumiste mõju kogudele on olnud erinev traditsiooniliste osalusaktsioonide mõjust. Mingil määral seletub see muuseumi kui organisatsiooni sisemise loogikaga ehk teisisõnu kogude osakonna esindajate kaasatuses aktsiooni algatamisse ja elluviimisse. Osaluse vormide võrdluses torkab silma, et selgest ‘füüsilisest’ mõjust saab rääkida vaid minimalistliku/panustava osaluse kontekstis.

Diskussioon ja kokkuvõte

Kuna käesolev doktoritöö põhineb sisemise sekkumisega uuringul, iseloomustab seda ka normatiivne hoiak muuseumi ekspertsuse mitmekesistamise vajalikkuse suhtes. Ekspertpositsiooni kommunikatiivse ja osaluspõhise mitmekesistamise võimaluste välja võtab kokku allpool olev joonis.



Joonis 3. Ekspertsuse vormid muuseumis kommunikatiivsete ja osaluspõhiste võimaluste väljal.

Eeldades, et ekspertsuse kinnistunud vorm (kureerivad muuseumiprofessionaalid) muuseumis põhineb autoritatiivsel võimusuhtel ja ühehäälsel kommunikatsioonil, lõid uurimuslikud sekkumised võimalusi selle ümbermõtestamiseks. Kogukondade panustav kaasamine on ERMis kasutusel üha aktiivsemalt ning see suurendab mitmehäälsust. Võimuhete avardamine koostööpõhise ekspertiisi omandamisel seisab enamjaolt ERMis veel ees. Mõningad võimalused on järgnevalt esile toodud Carpentieri (2011) mudeli komponentide kaupa.

Teadmised ja oskused on etnoloogilise teadmise seisukohalt seostatavad osalusega, kui eeldada, et igaüks omab “kompetentsi” oma igapäevaelu kohta. “Kingi muuseumile päev oma elust” ning ka ülejäänud panustava kaasamise aktsioonid on igapäevaelu-ekspertiisi kahtlemata muuseumisse toonud. Etnoloogilise teadmise konstrueerimine hõlmab osaluslikku vahetõrja ja

informandi vahel, sarnanedes seeläbi panustava osaluse loogikale. Seetõttu on mõistetav, miks on ERM seni kõige enam avalikkust oma tegevusse kaasanud just panustava osaluse vormis. Koostööl ja ühisloomel põhinevaid osalusviise on eksperdi identiteediga ERMis keerukam sobitada. Kuigi kogukondade kuraatorluse puhul on väga olulisel kohal demokraatlikkus kui kvaliteet (Carpentier 2011: 339–344), võib teostuse protsessis sisalduv demokraatlikkus jääda lõpptulemuses märkamatuks. “Oma näituse” näituseproduktiooni mudeli katsetamine on siiski loonud eeldusi nn avatud osaluse saali planeerimiseks uude hoonesse, osana uue püsinäituse tootmise protsessist.

Sõltumatus välistest mõjudest on harva täies ulatuses saavutatav ning sellele osutas ka püsinäituse produktiooniprotsess. Kuigi kureeriva muuseumiprofessionaali ekspertsuse korral keskendub identiteeditöö teatava väljaspet-siifilise sõltumatuse tagamisele, on protsessis osalisteks pea alati ka mõne teise produktioonivälja eksperdid. Muud kogukonnad kipuvad tähtsamatest produktiooniprotsessidest seetõttu kõrvale, mis seletub ekspertsuse piirjoonte jäikusega. Mitmehäälsmaks ja koostööpõhisemaks muutumise kontekstis on neid piirjooni võimalik vastavalt vajadusele kohandada, iseäranis kui eesmärgiks on soodustada avatud teose tüüpi sisulooime võimalikkust muuseumis.

Kuna panustav kaasamine on praeguseks saamas muuseumi tegevuse loomulikuks osaks, siis **avaliku huvi teenimise** seisukohalt saaks ekspertsuse üles-ehitust veelgi avardada, hõlmates laiemalt sotsiaalseid rühmi ja teemasid. Kui mitteprofessionaalsed aktiivsed auditooriumid muuseumi tegevustes osalevad, siis maksimalistlikuma osaluse puhul teravdub küsimus, et kuivõrd asjakohane on loodud sisu ja vorm avalikkuse silmis. Kogukondade enda poolt kureeritud sisu juures tundub olevat üheks oluliseks väljakutseks koostööpõhisema ekspertsuse legitiimeerimine, vältides seejuures joondumist traditsiooniliste professionaalse/mitteprofessionaalse identiteedi piiride järgi. Koostööpõhisuse legitiimeerimiseks oleks vaja osaluse vormide põhjal pikaajalise strateegia vahenditega kohandada nii muuseumitöötajate kui erinevate osalejate rolle kui osanikeks teadmiste loomises.

Üks professionaalse identiteedi komponent, millest tulenevalt tundub esmapilgul mõistlikum piiratagi auditooriumide osalus panustava vormiga, on **professionaalne eetika**. Panustava osaluse raamistik võimaldab muuseumiprofessionaalidel säilitada otsustusõiguse sisu üle, sealhulgas rakendada näiteks ka ettekirjutusi säilitustingimuste või etnoloogilise teadmise metodoloogiliste põhimõtete osas. Kindlasti oleks võimalik kogumise ja teadmislööme alaseid eetilisi standardeid ka kureerivate kogukondade ekspertsuse edendamise huvi korral selgemalt teavitada. Koostööpõhisem sisulooime hõlmab endas ka muuseumide traditsioonilist hariduslikku rolli ning eetiliste standardite teadvustamise küsimuses saaks muuseum seda rolli edasi arendada.

Carpentieri poolt visandatud kultuurisfääri professionaali identiteedi teoreetilisele mudelile lisandub muuseumispetsiifikast lähtuvalt veel “materiaalne” osa, milleks on muuseumi **kogud**. Kui vaadeldagi kogutavat, säilitatavat ja näidatavat kultuuriväärtuste kogumit kui professionaalse identiteedi osa, siis

pakub kommunikatiivne ja osaluspõhine lähenemine selle mitmekesistamiseks tegelikult hulga võimalusi. “Minu lemmik ERMi kogudest” kaasas traditsioonilise sidusrühma – käsitööhuvilised – *online*-kogukonnana kogusid tõlgendama. Tolle sekkumise mõju kogudele (museaalide koopiade ja nende tõlgenduste musealiseerimine) jäi veel küll suures osas ‘virtuaalseks’, kuid on ilmselt vaid aja küsimus, et niisugused aktsioonid kogudele ja nende kohta käivale info- ja tähenduste kihile ulatuslikumat mõju avaldaksid. “Oma näituse” konkursile sarnaselt saaks näiteks algatada ka kogudele kaasaegseid tähendusi lisavaid veebipõhiseid osaluskonkursse (“Loo oma kogud”). Kui üleskutses rakendada samuti kaht kategooriat – kus “oma kogu” saaks luua nii isiklike esemete kui ka olemasolevate museaalide põhjal – ning tehtud valikuid näiteks veebis või digitaalses andmebaasis sorteerimisvõimalusena pakkuda, ei kahjustaks see esemeid vaid lisaks uusi aktiivseid tõlgendamise kihte.

Võim ja vastutus on ekspertsuse tahk, mille tõttu osalevad oluliste otsuste tegemises aktiivselt eelkõige institutsiooni-sisesed professionaalid (Davis 2010). “Oma näituse” konkurss eksperimenteeris kogukondliku kureerimise (proto)udeliga, andes võtmeotsuste tegemisel suurema osa vastutust muuseumiväliste osalejate kätte. Väljanägemiselt ei toonud selline protsess küll näitusesaalis kaasa märgatavat kujunduslikku emantsipeerumist, kuid demokratiseerumise perspektiivist võib öelda, et muuseumi ja (väliseid) sidusrühmi tuleks püüda kohelda kui võrdseid kogukondi ning mitmekesistada nendevahelist „tõlkeprotsessi“. Ühelt poolt tasub professionaalidel suurendada refleksiivust, et teatud kogukondi mitte vaikinisi teisendada, kuid teiselt poolt ka mitte liigselt romantiseerida aktiivseid auditooriume ja vastutusest loobuda (Stylianou-Lambert 2010: 141), mis, nagu nähtus “Oma näituse“ protsessist, kergesti võib sündida.

Kui vaadata ekspertsuse muutumist laiemalt, siis ERMi jaoks tervikuna toob kommunikatiivne ja osaluspõhine muutus tõenäoliselt kaasa pühamu-tüüpi rollile lisaks sotsiaalsete suhete mitmekesistumise, mille puhul kipub harjumuspärane ekspertsus jääma liiga jäigaks. Kui 1990. aastate alguses oli ERMi ülesanne taaskehtestada kultuurirahvuslust, siis tänaseks päevaks on Eesti ühiskond muutunud nii kultuuriliselt kui sotsiaalselt keerukamaks. Ühehäälsel kommunikatsiooni kaudu rahvusliku mütoloogia kehtestamine ei pea seejuures rahvusmuuseumi eesmärkidest kaduma, vaid üha nõudlikumas ja võrgustuvas (Castells 2010) ühiskonnas tuleks muuhulgas anda kogukondadele võimalus oma “väikseid mütoloogiaid” luua. ERMis seda tehes jääb kahekõne kultuuri-rahvusliku põhiteljele tähenduslikult alati alles.

APPENDIX 1. FIELD NOTES

Field note code	Date	Meetings related to the exhibition space, content and interventions
PM1	02.04.2008	Curatorial production meeting
PM2	30.04.2008	General content production meeting
PM3	22.05.2008	General content production meeting
PM4	23.05.2008	Curatorial production meeting
PM5	28.05.2008	Curatorial production meeting
PM6	28.05.2008	Curatorial production meeting
SM1	03.06.2008	Curatorial production meeting
SM2	11.6.08	Spatial planning meeting (internal)
SM3	12.06.2008	Spatial planning meeting (with architects)
SM4	12.06.2008	Spatial planning meeting (with architects)
SM5	13.6.08	Spatial planning meeting (with architects)
PM7	19.06.2008	Curatorial production meeting
SM6	30.07.2008	Spatial planning meeting (with engineers only)
PM8	25.8.08	Curatorial production meeting
SM7	26.08.2008	Spatial planning meeting (with engineers only)
SM8	09.09.2008	Spatial planning meeting (with architects)
PM9	17.9.08	Curatorial production meeting
IM1	23.09.2008	Internal seminar led by intervention designers
PM10	06.10.2008	Open board meeting on curatorial production
PM11	07.10.2008	Curatorial production meeting
PM12	14.10.2008	Curatorial production meeting
SM9	15.10.2008	Spatial planning meeting (with architects)
SM10	15.10.2008	Spatial planning meeting (with architects)
IM2	15.10.2008	Internal seminar led by intervention designers
PM13	17.10.2008	Curatorial production meeting
SM11	07.11.2008	New Building preliminary design presentation
PM14	12.11.2008	Curatorial production meeting
IM3	12.11.2008	Internal seminar led by intervention designers
SM12	26.11.2008	Curatorial production meeting
PM15	01.12.2008	Production meeting (feasibility analysis)
PM16	04.12.2008	Curatorial production meeting
PM17	05.12.2008	Curatorial production meeting
PM18	09.12.2008	Curatorial production meeting
IM4	10.12.2008	Internal seminar led by intervention designers
IM5	17.12.2008	Donate a Day intervention planning meeting

PM19	21.1.09	Curatorial production meeting
PM20	26.01.2009	Production meeting (feasibility analysis)
IM6	30.01.2009	Internal seminar led by intervention designers
PM21	11.02.2009	Curatorial production meeting
SM13	04.03.2009	Permanent exhibition design contest info day
SM14	01.04.2009	Permanent exhibition design contest winners' presentation
PM22	7.5.09	Curatorial production meeting
SM15	09.05.2009	Spatial planning meeting (with designers)
SM16	20.05.2009	Spatial planning meeting (with designers)
SM17	4.6.09	Spatial planning meeting (with designers)
SM18	18.06.2009	Spatial planning meeting (with designers)
IM7	27.10.2009	Open Curatorship intervention planning meeting
IM8	16.11.2009	Open board meeting (incl Open Curatorship)
		Internal seminar led by intervention designers (on Open
IM9	04.03.2010	Curatorship intervention)
IM10	27.10.2010	Open Curatorship intervention planning meeting
IM11	16.11.2010	Internal focus group meeting (Open Curatorship debriefing)
IM12	13.12.2010	Museum open board meeting (Open Curatorship debriefing)

PUBLICATIONS

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2008–2013 Eesti Rahva Muuseum; teadur
2006–2008 Eesti Rahva Muuseum; näituste korraldaja
2005–2010 Tartu Visuaalse Kultuuri Festival “Maailmafilm” koordinaator
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